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FAMILY DYNAMICS IN RELATION TO CONSCIENCE AND DEVIANT BEHAVIOR AMONG ADOLESCENT BOYS

by
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The control of deviant behavior is a central problem for every group or society concerned about its continued existence. Many institutions have been set up to develop, maintain, and enforce those controls which permit the society to function and perpetuate itself. One of the central institutions concerned with the development of these controls in the individual is the family. Here, it is expected that influence will be exerted on the child during the formative years in such a way that standards are developed in the individual which will continue to act as forces against antisocial behavior when adulthood is reached.

Delinquency is a term that is commonly applied to antisocial behavior among adolescents. In the studies of delinquency, frequent mention is made of the important role of the family and the particular parental behaviors which seem to contribute to or work against the occurrence of delinquent behavior in the child. The purpose of the present study is to examine the association between selected parent-child relationships and the existence in the adolescent boy of a conscience which is compatible with the requirements of the larger society and which will act as an effective control on deviant behavior.

Previous research has shown that both child-rearing practices and delinquency rates vary in the different social strata in our society. A related interest of this present study is to explore the degree to which social class differences in socialization techniques account for the disproportionate amount of delinquency found in the lower classes. If the parent-child relationships which are least effective in producing adequate internal controls are characteristic of the lower class, then one would expect that delinquency rates would also be higher in that class.

Fortunately, a wealth of previous research is available on topics which touch upon the problem of this study. The studies most relevant are briefly reviewed here to provide the reader with a perspective on the particular problem which will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter II. The review is by no means exhaustive; it simply cites some of the important studies in the different lines of research that have led up to this present study.

Some Perspective on the Problem

Delinquency and child development

The study of the family as a major agent in producing or controlling delinquency stands out in many of the major works on delinquency. Healy and Bronner (1936), Hewitt and Jenkins (1946), Glueck and Glueck (1950), Nye (1958), and McCord and McCord (1959) represent some of the larger research reports that have attempted to trace out the lines of causation which stem from the family and result in the performance of delinquent acts.

The results of the many different research projects which have related family variables to deviant behavior have been remarkably consistent considering the different orientations of the

researchers and the different populations studied. Although the terminology is somewhat different from study to study, the five factors reported by the Gluecks are representative of the findings of a large number of researches. They found delinquency to be associated with harsh discipline of the boy by the father, lack of supervision by the mother, a lack of affection for the boy by both the father and mother, and a low degree of cohesiveness of the family.

Using the same body of data as the present study, Gold (1961) presents material which demonstrates that delinquents are more likely than their matched controls to (1) receive physical punishment and deprivation of privileges as opposed to reasoning and withdrawal of love, (2) choose someone other than their fathers to be like when they grow up, (3) choose someone other than their parents to help them with personal problems (attraction), (4) mention no activities which they do together with either the mother or the father (inclusion), and (5) disagree with both parents about the things they should or ought to do.

The development of conscience through such processes as identification and internalization has been proposed as a central intervening link between these parental behaviors and the control of deviant behavior. These concepts have generally been used to indicate the transmission of values and behavior patterns from the parent to the child in such a way that these values and behavior are integrated by the child and become his "own."

The work of Hewitt and Jenkins is illustrative of the research which links conscience and deviant behavior. They point out two types of delinquents, the "socialized aggressive" child and the "unsocialized aggressive" child. The socialized aggressive group includes those cases where a conscience has developed in the child, but the content of the conscience is not compatible with the dominant

moral standards of the community. The unsocialized aggressive group is characterized by a low level of conscience development which is evidenced by a lack of guilt reactions in the child. Both of these categories may result from a lack of identification with the parents; however, the socialized aggressive boy has identified with another person or group whose values do not coincide with those of society while the unsocialized aggressive boy has not found a strong substitute object of identification.

In a study of a related aspect of child development, Bronfenbrenner (1960) finds that the development of leadership and responsibility are a function of many of the same variables that are related to delinquency. Mild but firm discipline, parental affection, and acceptance of the child are associated with a high level of responsibility and leadership in the child. Interestingly enough, he finds that too lenient modes of control or too much affection can lead to the overinhibitions which stifle leadership and responsibility although they may not result in delinquent behavior.

In a matched sample study, Bandura and Walters (1959) report that non-aggressive children are differentiated from aggressive children by many of the same syndromes of parent-child relationships which are reported by the Gluecks and Bronfenbrenner. Once again, the role of identification is central in the theory development. They show that the non-aggressive boys are likely to identify with their fathers more than their aggressive counterparts are apt to do.

The work of Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) is concerned with the development of conscience in the child rather than specific behavioral outcomes. They measure conscience by deriving an index based on measures of resistance to temptation, self-instructions of the child to obey rules, and evidence of guilt when transgression occurs. They conclude that conscience development is a result of

the process of identification with the parents which, in turn, is related to the amount of parental affection and the methods employed in sanctioning the child. Specifically, they find that a high level of conscience is associated with the use of reasoning and withdrawal of love as methods of punishment, parental warmth, and the use of love-oriented methods of rewarding the child.

Following the work of Sears et al. (1957), Rau (1960) has summarized the work on the concept of identification. In this theoretical paper she points out that the different kinds of identification that have been discussed in the literature can be classified into those based on the motivation of the child to be loved and the motivation to achieve power or mastery over the environment. These two kinds of identification have sometimes been referred to as affectional and defensive types, respectively.

These two motivations for identification, love and mastery, are seen by Schutz (1958) as representing two of the three basic dimensions required to classify both needs and interpersonal behavior. He suggests that the concepts of inclusion, control, and affection are sufficient to describe and predict interpersonal behavior. He cites as evidence researches in many different areas. As an example, he points out that the five factors which the Gluecks have found to be related to delinquency fall into his scheme. Although he does not specifically state this point, it is compatible with his theory that inclusion or the need to belong to a stable social group may well be a third basis for the process of identification.

Conscience can be a function of other factors than identification of the child with the parents or with parent substitutes. Conscience can be viewed as a result of processes in which significant individuals such as the parents can exert influence on the

child in such a way that the child develops standards of behavior which conform to the wishes of the parents. This is pointed out by Kelman who discusses three processes which lead to conformity: identification, internalization, and compliance. Identification is illustrated by the child's adoption of the values or behavior of the parent by virtue of emotional dependence upon that parent. Internalization, by contrast, is adoption of the parent's standards because the content of the standards is satisfying to the child. The values of the parent are adopted to the extent that they seem "reasonable" and useful to the child. Compliance represents public acceptance of the parent's values and behavior in order to bring about a favorable reaction from them. However, influence attempts which bring about compliance do not necessarily lead to conscience development. Thus, this typology includes two processes, identification and internalization, which could lead to conscience development. A third process, compliance, results in conformity but is dependent on the maintenance of external forces for control as opposed to the internal forces characterized by the conscience.

Social class

Many important parts of family life and child development are determined by the social structure and the relationship between the particular family and other families in the society. One important way of classifying units within the social structure, social class, has been shown to be associated with the behavior of both parents and children.

Gold (1961) reviews the relationship between delinquency and social class and concludes along with most researchers in delinquency that the lower classes have a disproportionate amount of delinquency. This seems to be true despite the factors which might

operate to bias the results in that direction such as differential rates of reporting by the police. He sees this as primarily the result of the unequal distribution of resources in the community such as educational and recreational opportunities, and the limited number of pathways by which the lower class boy can achieve status. It is the clustering together in the lower class of the factors which provoke delinquency or weaken controls over behavior that accounts for the high incidence of delinquency in that class. However, middle class and lower class delinquency are seen as arising from the same kinds of provoking forces or the same weakened patterns of controls. When the factors which tend to cluster in the lower class do occur together in a middle class setting, deviant behavior such as delinquency is just as likely to develop as when these factors are found in the lower class home.

This line of reasoning is also applicable to the problem of parent-child relationships. Bronfenbrenner (1958) has summarized the results of studies of child-rearing in different social classes over the last twenty-five years. His findings are that the lower class is characterized by greater use of physical discipline, less affectionate relations between both parents and the child, and less acceptance of the child. These are much the same as the factors that have been found to be related to delinquency. But, if these same child-rearing patterns should be found in a given middle class family, it is supposed that they will have the same consequences as in the lower class home.

The Scope of the Present Study

It must be emphasized here that deviant behavior is a complex phenomenon, and it is not amenable to simple or single theories

of causation or control. Status frustrations, psychiatric problems, pressure from criminal groups, and the influence of one's peers are but a few of the factors which take their place beside family relations as forces which are related to deviant behavior. One particular area, the influence of family relationships on the strength of a conscience which is compatible with the demands of society, has been selected as the core of the present research. By this very process of selection, it is clear that we will not arrive at the answer to delinquency no matter what our findings may be. The goal is more limited—to gain a greater understanding of some of the factors related to conscience and the consequences of conscience for the control of deviant behavior in adolescent boys.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

There are many different ways in which control can be exercised over the behavior of individuals in a community or society. External restraints such as police surveillance or the threat of punishment by the judiciary are examples of the institutional controls of society. An analogy can be drawn from this to the family group; during the first part of a child's life the parents play a role somewhat like the police; they are present to direct and physically control the behavior of the child. When the small child reaches out towards a vase of flowers on the table, the parents are likely to restrain the child. The parents also play the judicial role in that they are capable of rewarding and punishing the child. Here the external control may not depend upon the physical presence of the parent but rather on the child's awareness that a particular sanction may be applied when and if the parent does find out what the child has done. This anticipation of external control extends the surveillance of the parents to situations outside the home making the parents that much more effective in putting limits on the child's behavior. Even so, deviant behavior may occur. Where impulses run counter to external controls, deviant behavior is simply a function of the probability of being caught and the severity of the sanction.

It is for this reason that one of the major aims of the socialization process is the development of internal controls in the individual

that are compatible with and supportive of the dominant social norms, especially those codified into laws. These internal controls will be referred to as conscience.

The Concept of Conscience

Conscience refers to the internal moral standards of an individual which act as guides and controls over his behavior. The development of conscience includes the growth of the ability to control one's own behavior by reference to internal standards rather than dependence upon external forces such as the fear of punishment from others, and the acquisition of standards which are seen as "moral" by oneself and the members of significant social groups which one uses as a reference point for determining appropriate behavior.

The ability to control one's own behavior represents a shift in orientation from censorship of behavior based upon anticipation of punishment or blame from other persons to the anticipation of guilt feelings and self-blame. This ability is thought to develop fairly early in life as a result of the relationships between the child and his parents. Sears et al. (1957) conclude that "there is a learning of internal control that goes on mainly in the years befor puberty, perhaps even chiefly in the first six to ten years of life, which establishes the extent to which conscience will operate throughout all the rest of life" (p. 367). However, it is likely that the ability to control one's own behavior is present to some degree in almost every person. In some individuals the conscience functions only sporadically and may not prove to be a strong control over the expression of impulses that would violate the internal standards of behavior. At the other extreme we may find the

"conscience-ridden" person who could never live up to the strict moral standards that form the conscience. This person may withdraw and become very inhibited, taking no initiative for fear of moral violation.

The acquisition of particular standards of behavior which form the content of the conscience is a continuous process in that the individual is constantly facing new situations which require new or modified standards. Although the groundwork for particular standards may be found in the early years of childhood, the content of the conscience is more amenable to change during a lifetime than the ability to control one's behavior. It is in the content of the conscience that the standards of other individuals play a particularly significant role. We develop standards of right and wrong which refer to our rights and obligations with respect to other individuals, and these moral rules are learned in interaction with other persons. In general, moral standards are related to the welfare of the social community and represent commonly shared values by the members of that community. The parents act as the main representatives of the community or society in transmitting these values to the child.

Several different indications have been used to infer the existence of a conscience which is exerting a controlling force on behavior. Sears et al. (1957), point out three major signs of conscience; resistance to temptation, self-instructions to obey the rules imposed by others, and evidence of guilt when transgression occurs. All of these represent reactions of the individual to his impulses which are incompatible with his standards. These signs are not perfect indicators of conscience but are clues that internal standards may be controlling behavior. Resistance to temptation is perhaps one of the first stages of the change from fear of external punishment to the development of internal controls. This resistance

to temptation, even when there is no anticipation of being caught violating a rule, is often accompanied by self-instructions to obey rules. These self-instructions reflect a taking over of the role of the person who has imposed control previously. Where the parent had previously told the child not to run out into the street, the child may now give himself instructions very similar to those that the parent had issued. If the self-instructions are followed and the temptation is resisted, the child is not only taking over the role of the parent by telling himself not to run into the street, but he is also responding to this role of the other. Even so, the conscience does not hold complete control over behavior, and one may violate internal standards if the external forces or other internal impulses are strong. However, when such violation does occur, the existence of a conscience may be inferred from guilt feelings which arise in the individual. This guilt may manifest itself in attempts to make restitution, confession, or seeking out punishment for one's wrongdoing.

Still another sign of conscience is suggested by the notion that conscience development is a process of acquisition of values from other persons of significance in an individual's life. Taking the family as an example, the degree of agreement between the child and his parents (or parent substitutes) on moral standards would be seen as an indicator of conscience development. This notion of congruence or agreement of values between the child and the parents plays a central role in testing the theory in the present research.

Congruence As a Measure of Conscience

The measure of congruence reflects two aspects of conscience development, the ability of the child to let his conscience influence

his behavior, and the compatibility of the internal standards of the child with the demands of the larger society. Congruence is used in this study to indicate the amount of agreement the child perceives between his internal values and the values the parents hold for him. When there is high agreement between the child and his parents about the desirability, morality, and rightness of particular behaviors, we shall speak of a high level of congruence. Where there is conflict and disagreement over these values we shall speak of a low level of congruence.

There are several important aspects of this particular measure of congruence. First, it is assumed that the child's perception of congruence is based upon the objective amount of congruence. Where there are parent-child disagreements, it is assumed that disagreements are communicated and that the child will be aware of his conflict with the parents.

Second, a high level of congruence is taken to be an indicator that the child has developed the ability to control his behavior by means of internal standards. At the opposite end of the scale, disagreement is taken to be an indication of either a weak conscience or a conscience built around values which are counter to those which the parent holds for the child. This disadvantage of the double meaning of low congruence is offset to some extent by the fact that either interpretation would lead us to predict a greater amount of deviant behavior than would occur in the child with high congruence. Unfortunately, one might well expect there would be different antecedent conditions for each interpretation of low congruence.

Third, it is assumed that the values which the parents hold for the child are compatible with and supportive of the dominant community standards for the behavior of adolescents. These

standards are most clearly expressed in the laws of the community but there may be a general consensus about certain standards which are not specifically covered by these laws. It is the exception rather than the rule to find a parent who does not hold standards for the boy which are consistent with the laws of the society regarding murder, attack on another person, stealing, shoplifting, destruction of property, or gang activity. The parent is thus the socializing agent for the community as well as the transmitter of certain norms, values, and patterns of behavior which might be idiosyncratic to any given family. The parents may be completely inadequate to communicate effectively the community standards to the boy, or they may behave in ways which undermine their attempts to influence the boy, but it is nevertheless assumed that the rules of right and wrong which they hold for the boy are in agreement with the community standards for the behavior of children.

The term congruence could be applied to the relationship of the boy's values to either the values of the mother, the father, or both. It will be used in this study to indicate the total amount of agreement with both parents while the amount of agreement with each parent separately will be referred to as the agreement scores. Two advantages accrue from using the combined agreement scores represented in the measure of congruence. First, it is probably a more stable measure which decreases the importance of factors such as transitory feelings of strong love or disagreement toward one parent which would cause either of the individual scores to fluctuate. Second, if the parents should disagree among themselves on the desirable moral standards for the child, it is expected that this would lead to more deviancy than if the parents supported each other in their attempts to influence the standards of the child.

A combined score reflects this difference since high agreement with one parent and low agreement with the other leads to a moderate congruence score, while strong agreement with both parents leads to a high congruence.

Processes Related to the Development of Conscience

The development of conscience represents a change from controls over a child's behavior based on a fear of external punishment to controls based upon anticipation of guilt feelings. These controls are directed toward producing conformity with the rules and norms of the society. The main persons responsible for transmitting these rules and norms to the child are the parents. This transmission is seen as a function of two closely related processes, identification and internalization.

The process of identification

Identification is used here to refer to the process by which the child links his self-image to that of a parent and adopts behaviors and attitudes of that parent which become intrinsically rewarding. One of the first signs of identification is the child taking over the role of the parent and imitating the behavior of the parent. This may be as simple an act as the child reaching toward a forbidden object and then telling himself "no," just as the parent has done in the past.

This kind of identification is generally thought to take place within the first few years of a child's life. During this time, the child is almost completely dependent upon the parents, particularly the mother. The attention of the mother is gradually withdrawn as the child develops the ability to care for some of his own needs.

The parents may also attempt to begin the training for independence at this stage. The child desires, however, to keep the parent's affection and finds that one way to do this is to imitate the behavior of the parents. The parents generally reward and encourage these imitative behaviors, including the expression of self-criticism by the child when he does misbehave.

The relation of the frustration of the dependency needs of the child to the development of conscience is stated by Whiting and Child as follows:

> We suggest that the basic process responsible for socialization through identification is one of the child's learning to substitute self-love for love from others when and if the latter is withheld at a time when the child strongly needs to be loved. The reward of self-love is obtained by imitating the evaluative behavior of the parents, and is provided by the child to itself in situations similar to those in which the parents have provided special indications of love. Under these conditions self-love is thus tied to conformity with cultural rules, for it is conformity rather than non-conformity which has previously led to parental love. Self-blame thus serves an instrumental role in inhibiting the child's transgressions of cultural rules and facilitating the conformity which will provide the cue for his self-love.
>
> At the same time self-blame can serve the same instrumental role to the child's striving still in actuality for the love of the parents. Like the striving for self-love, this striving too would be expected to be more intense when parental love is withheld at a time when the child strongly needs to be loved. Reinforcement of self-blame through renewed parental love may be a powerful influence on the initial development of feelings of guilt, though we would suspect that their continued maintenance throughout life is dependent upon the taking over of the parent's role by the person's own imitation of their evaluative responses [Whiting and Child, 1953, pp. 260–261].

Following the same line of reasoning, Sears et al. (1957), suggest that a high degree of love and affection during the early years, followed by deprivation of love when misbehavior occurs, will encourage

the child to identify with the parent in an attempt to recover the lost love. As the imitative behavior is associated with the reward, it tends to become rewarding in itself.

However, the use of withdrawal of love as a disciplinary technique to promote the development of conscience is probably related to the age of the child. As Whiting and Child point out, "When the child is still relatively helpless, withdrawal of love should be considerably more effective as a disciplinary technique than when he is older and has developed habits of self-reliance and can cope with the environment by himself" (1953, p. 254). Although the withdrawal of love may bring about guilt at an older age, it is primarily effective in the development of conscience by leading to the development of the ability to control one's own behavior at an early age.

However, a strong identification with a parent is seen as having an influence on the particular values which form the content of the conscience. One such influence is discussed by White and Lippitt (1960) in which the child develops a favorable perception of the parent based on his love for the parent, his respect for the parent's power, or both. The child forms a perceptual unit which includes himself and the parent along with the values they represent. This perceptual unit provides one basis for the development of the child's self-image. To act in ways which would violate this perceived similarity would be incongruous with the self-image. Identification is thus one means to the establishment of the child's identity.

The formation of this perceptual unit, in which the child sees his own self-image linked with the image of the parent, is most likely to occur when the parent expresses warmth and affection to the child in combination with firm discipline in the setting of limits

on the behavior of the child. Where there is rejection or the use of harsh, severe discipline, the child is generally driven away from the parent, and the bond between the two is likely to be weakened. The continued use of harsh methods of discipline tempts the child to fight back against the parent and tempts him to seek other sources of emotional support.

The process of internalization

The ability to discriminate and evaluate the desirability and usefulness of certain behaviors and standards of behavior develops as the child matures and acquires intellectual skills. Early identification generally induces a non-critical imitation of the parent's standards. As the child develops, standards of behavior are more likely to be critically appraised by the child, both for their reasonableness and usefulness, before being adopted as his own. The concept of internalization is used here to refer to the process by which the child adopts the parent's standards of behavior on the basis of satisfactions derived from them.

The main influence of the parent in bringing about internalization of standards in the child is the credibility and reliability which the child attributes to the parent as a source of information. The same factors which are associated with identification, love for the parent and respect for the parent's power, may serve to increase the likelihood that the child will positively evaluate the standards which the parent attempts to transmit. However, the continued perception of the parent as an acceptable source of standards is dependent upon the child critically evaluating the content of the standards and finding them reasonable and useful.

Internalization thus serves to augment the effectiveness of the process of identification. The transition from external sources

of control to identification and internalization is described by Kelman in the following example.

> A child may start out by complying with his father's wishes in order to avoid punishment. To facilitate the process of compliance, he may rehearse the father's admonitions to him. In doing so, however, he may find that playing the father's role does not only have utilitarian value, but is also satisfying in and of itself. As a result, he may identify with his father, and thus adopt his admonitions on this new level. As time goes on he may find that the father's admonitions are useful for the solution of some of the problems of daily living and hence he may internalize them [Kelman, 1956, p. 40].

The Importance of the Father in the Socialization of the Male Child

Thus far, the relation of the child to both parents has been discussed. There is some reason to believe, however, that the father is a more critical figure than the mother in the life of the adolescent male child.

The importance of the father is due primarily to the emphasis placed on the sex-role differences in our society. Quite early in life distinctions are made between boys and girls in the way they are dressed, the kinds of activities in which parents and peers encourage them to participate, and the kinds of behaviors which are deemed appropriate. Boys are generally encouraged to be more aggressive, to engage in more strenuous physical exercise, and to be more courageous and daring than girls. The male child is not likely to be encouraged and rewarded for playing with dolls, playing house, or playing the role of a nurse.

The importance of the father is also thought by some to be a result of the Oedipal situation. Sears et al. (1957) present this

point of view based on psychoanalytic theory. The mother is generally the more important figure during the first few years of life because of the greater amount of time and attention she devotes to the boy. At about the age of four or five, the boy develops a hostility towards his father whom he sees as a competitor for the affection of the mother. To overcome the fear that the father will be hostile in return, the boy takes over the role of the father in a defensive kind of identification. However, this identification with the father is supported by the expectations and approval of parents, peers, and other significant figures in the boy's life, not on the basis of competition for the mother's love, but on the basis of the boy's adoption of sex-appropriate roles.

The findings of Bronfenbrenner (1960), Nye (1958), and Bandura and Walters (1959) support the conclusion that the father is the more important figure in the development of controls against deviant behavior among boys. However, the specific reason for these findings is not made clear in the research. Both Nye and Bronfenbrenner consider the possibility that the results are due to a statistical artifact, the greater variability of the father's behavior as compared to that of the mother. Some evidence against this statistical rationale is provided by Mussen and Distler (1960) who show evidence that identification with the father is particularly crucial for the development of sex-appropriate behavior. They find that the father-son relationship is of importance in the development of masculinity in the five-year-old boy.

At the adolescent stage of maturity, when masculinity is a focal concern for the boy, it is expected that the importance of the father as an object of identification is somewhat increased in comparison with the mother. Although the mother may still play a

significant role, it is expected that the father will be the relatively more important parent.

One way in which this difference would appear, if the theory is in fact sound, is in the association of congruence with different patterns of relationships with the two parents. For example, if the parents are of equal significance in influencing the boy's development of standards of behavior, there should be no difference in the congruence socres of boys who have high attraction to the mother and low attraction to the father in comparison with a group of boys with the opposite pattern of attraction, assuming other factors are constant. However, if the father is the more significant figure, a higher congruence would be expected among the boys who have high attraction to the father and low attraction to the mother. Similar patterns can be tested for the reward and punishment behaviors of the parents. This approach exercises some control over the statistical difficulties posed by Bronfenbrenner and Nye since there is at least a crude kind of control on the opposite parent's behavior. It is this pattern approach which will be utilized in the present research to test the hypotheses about the importance of the mother and the father in the development of the adolescent boy.

Hypotheses Concerning Congruence and Deviant Behavior

Two measures of deviant behavior have been used in this study, delinquency and citizenship in school. These measures represent the degree of deviant behavior from the standards held by the community for adolescent behavior. Although there are other indices of deviancy which might be proposed, these measures represent one aspect of the child's relation to two of the institutions in

the community which are specifically charged with the control of deviant behavior in young people, the law enforcement agencies and the schools.

The police are concerned with deviance from those standards of the community which are written down in the form of laws. Within the school setting the criteria for deviance are somewhat different, although they fall on the same scale of deviance or conformity with the standards set by the community for adolescent boys. The measure of citizenship makes it possible to control on delinquency and still test hypotheses relating congruence with deviancy by using citizenship as the dependent variable since the measure of citizenship provides finer differentiations between boys on a scale of deviancy. Specifically, the citizenship score is obtained by teacher ratings on the following criteria: cooperativeness, integrity, dependability, demonstration of loyalty, respect for authority and property, and participation according to his ability and interest. These represent dimensions that may not fall directly under the scope of any law but which still reflect value dimensions relevant to dominant community standards. That is to say, there is some degree of consensus on what is the "good" position on each of these dimensions and what is "bad" or deviant.

The relationship between congruence and deviant behavior that is proposed here is based upon two assumptions. As has already been stated, it is assumed that the parents' standards of behavior for the boy are compatible with and supportive of the dominant standards of the community. Second, since congruence refers to the agreement of the internal standards of the boy with the standards his parent holds for him, it is assumed that the degree of congruence will affect the behavior of the boy outside of the home. If the boy has high congruence the internal standards should act as

forces which make it less likely that the boy will engage in deviant behavior in the community setting. On the basis of these assumptions, the following hypothesis is made.

Hypothesis 1. The greater the congruence, the less likely is it that the boy will deviate from community standards of behavior.

The general proposition that it is the father who is the more critical parent in the control of deviant behavior can be tested by relating the patterns of agreement with the two parents and the measures of deviant behavior.

Hypothesis 2. High agreement between the boy and the father in combination with low agreement with the mother will lead to less deviancy than the opposite pattern of high agreement with the mother and low agreement with the father.

Hypotheses Concerning Parent-Child Relationships and Congruence

The discussion above has focused on the consequences of congruence in the behavior of the adolescent boy. This section deals with some of the antecedents of congruence, the relationships between the child and his parents.

Three clusters of variables are examined: control, attraction, and inclusion. These correspond to the three major factors proposed by Schutz (1958) as the fundamental categories of interpersonal needs and behavior.

The area of control refers here to three aspects of the parents' attempts to influence the moral standards of the child; the method of punishment employed when the child misbehaves, the authority of the parent who attempts to influence the child, and the

agreement or consistency of the parents in their attitudes toward the control of the child. Control is seen here not in the static sense of maintenance of the status quo but in the dynamic sense of an ongoing process of influence designed to guide the development of the child. In our particular case, it is the attempts by the mother or father to set limits on the acceptable behavior and values of their child as he develops.

Attraction refers to the affective relationships between the members of the family. The particular variables examined are the choice of one or both parents as someone who could help with personal problems, the kinds of reward used by the parents, and the parent's evaluation of the boy. As has been pointed out in a discussion of the processes leading to congruence, attraction is one of the important bases for the identification of the child with the father or mother. Attraction provides both direct and indirect pathways to the development of congruence. If the child is highly attracted to a parent, this then becomes a leverage point for the parent, because he may withhold or provide the child with the desired affection depending on the behavior of the child. Indirectly, attraction is influential in that the child may take over aspects of the parent's behavior and attitudes which the parents may not have specifically attempted to promote by the use of sanctions.

Inclusion refers to the interaction patterns of the members of the family. The particular variable used in this study is the number of activities which the boy mentions doing with each parent. The assumption is made that mutual participation in activities involves a communication and sharing of values, and is a situation in which parents can transmit their standards of behavior to the child. This can be done either verbally or by example of their own behavior.

Inclusion in the family is one way in which the child can come into contact with the dominant standards of the community.

With this brief introduction, we now turn to the more specific hypotheses in these three areas.

Parental control in relation to congruence

The attempts of parents to eliminate undesirable patterns of behavior in their children and encourage desirable patterns cover a wide variety of methods and techniques which have different effects depending upon the context in which they are used. Of particular interest to researchers in the area of child development have been the techniques of discipline employed by the parent when the child misbehaves.

Methods of punishment.—The studies of Miller and Swanson (1960), Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957), and Bronfenbrenner (1960) are recent examples of studies which have shown that different methods of punishment are associated with different kinds of child behavior. The typology of significant modes of punishment is far from satisfactory and has led to some difficulty in comparing one study with another. Some researchers are mostly concerned with the harshness of the method, others with the time elapsing between the occurrence of the misbehavior and the use of a sanction, while others have focused upon the motivations of the parents that cause them to use a particular technique. The categories employed in the present research—physical methods, withdrawal of love, and reasoning—are based upon some distinctions that have appeared repeatedly in past research. These have the advantage of being fairly descriptive categories into which parents can easily classify their

own behavior as well as providing some continuity between this research and past works.

The use of physical methods of punishment—spanking or striking the child, threats of spanking, and depriving the child of a privilege—is seen as the most ineffective method of achieving desired behavior in a child. First, they may provide the child with a model of aggression, a form of behavior which in general is deviant from the community standards of acceptable social behavior. If defensive identification should occur, the child adopts the aggressive behavior of the parent rather than the values and behavior which the parent sees as desirable for the child. Second, physical punishment is more likely to induce an aggressive response at the time, which may be accompanied by a feeling of rejection or strong negative feelings toward the parent. Third, physical punishment is assumed to occur primarily as a reaction of the parents to their own feelings of frustration or their aggressive needs which might be quite independent of the behavior of the child. As such, physical discipline does not generally occur when it would be perceived by the child as consistent reinforcement or discouragement of a particular behavior. The standards which are enforced by means of physical punishment tend to result in public acceptance rather than in internalized values which are congruent with those of the parent.

Withdrawal of love is seen as a more effective technique than physical punishment, especially during early childhood. Sears et al. (1957) point out that if love-oriented techniques of discipline are used, then it would be expected that the child's efforts to rehearse love-expressions from the parent would be more vigorous than if techniques such as physical punishment or the deprivation of privileges are used. In the latter instances, the child could adapt by flight or hiding or by independent activity designed to recover the

withheld objects or privileges. It is the taking of the parent's role to regain the love of the parent that forms one basis for identification with the parent. This should lead to a higher level of congruence since the values are internalized as the child takes over the role of the parent and begins to administer self-instructions. This does not mean that withdrawal of love is necessarily less painful to the child than physical punishment, but that it is a more compelling force for taking over the values and behaviors of the parents. However, as has been mentioned, this form of discipline should be most effective in the early years of life before the boy has developed self-reliance and the ability to evaluate the content of standards himself.

A third method of dealing with misbehavior of the child, reasoning, is included here although, to be more accurate, it is not a form of discipline. Rather than representing an application of a sanction, it is seen as providing positive direction to the child's behavior rather than restraint of undesirable behavior. It is the use of the method of reasoning which provides the child with a rationale for why he should or should not do a particular thing that is of interest here. Reasoning is seen as the most likely of the three methods discussed to lead to the internalization of standards. At the adolescent stage of development, when the child is being exposed to many different value systems from his experiences with peers, teachers, movies and television, and the reading of books, it is seen as particularly important that the value system, which the parents transmit, be presented as something both reasonable and useful to the boy. While identification with the parents will aid in the process of internalization, the use of reasoning in influencing the child is also a strong force towards the acceptance of parental standards. The boy needs to have a rationale for accepting

their particular values from among alternatives which are available from other parts of his environment.

Sears et al. (1957) present evidence that reasoning is a stronger force than withdrawal of love in promoting the development of conscience, even by the age of five. Bandura and Walters (1959), in a study of adolescent boys, also find reasoning to be more effective than withdrawal of love in the development of conscience. On the basis of this previous research and the rationale given above, the following hypothesis is proposed.

Hypothesis 3. Reasoning as a mode of control will produce the greatest degree of congruence; withdrawal of love will be intermediate, and physical methods will produce the least congruence.

For the purpose of testing the relative importance of the mother and the father as discipline agents in producing congruence, the three categories have been judged to vary from most severe to least severe in terms of their supposed relationship to congruence as follows: physical methods, withdrawal of love, and reasoning. Using this distinction, the following hypothesis is proposed, based upon the assumptions concerning the importance of the father.

Hypothesis 4. When the father uses a method of punishment which is less severe than the mother, there will be greater congruence than where the father uses a more severe method than the mother.

Parental agreement and the authority structure.—A second aspect of parental control is the degree to which the two parents agree on how to handle the child. Where there are disagreements between the parents, it is expected that there will be inconsistencies in their efforts to modify the child's behavior. If these disagreements occur in the presence of the child or are obvious to him, he

is presented with a model for relating to the parents in this same manner. The amount of parental agreement is also assumed to be correlated with the amount of support that one parent gives to the other parent's control efforts and to the amount of encouragement given by one parent to the child to use the other parent as a model for behavior. In terms of the processes leading to conscience development, it is expected that parental agreement encourages the identification of the child with both parents. This assumes that parental agreement is an indicator of the support each parent gives to the child to pay heed to the other parent.

While disagreement might lead to such things as "playing one parent off" against the other, it is expected that a pattern of parental support and the presentation of consistent and compatible attitudes and behavior by the parents encourages the child to adopt the parent's standards of behavior as his own.

One way of creating agreement within a family is to have one person be the primary decision maker, the person with the authority. Traditionally in our society, it has been the father who has been the dominant parent in the family. This stereotyping of the father as the lord and master may not find much support in many of the families in America today, but the general expectation is that, if anyone in the house is to be the boss, it should be the father. These pressures on the husband to live up to the cultural expectations, to avoid being a "hen-pecked" husband, should lead to a more stable family structure in a father-dominated household than one in which the wife is dominant. On this basis, it is expected that father dominance will be associated with a high degree of agreement between the parents while an equalitarian or mother-dominant household will be characterized by more disagreement.

But, it is recognized that there are other determinants of parental agreement than the authority structure. Although it is expected that the two are related, it would not be surprising to find that there are some father-dominant families which do have a high level of parental disagreement and some equalitarian families which have a high level of parental agreement. In those cases where there is a high level of parental disagreement, it is expected that the authority structure acts as a conditioning variable in the development of the child's standards of behavior. It is supposed that disagreements are seen as less crucial and less "real" to the child to the extent that one parent is seen as the ultimate decision maker. The authority gives weight to one side in the disagreement and thus reduces the negative effects of disagreement.

To summarize, the father dominance in the authority structure is seen as playing a dual role in the development of congruence. First, it increases the amount of parental agreement which in turn leads to high congruence. However, it is not anticipated that all cases of disagreement will be found among equalitarian or mother-dominant families. This leads to the second function. Where there is parental disagreement, father dominance will lead to a higher level of congruence than will an equalitarian or mother-dominant family structure. Where there is a high level of agreement, the authority structure is not seen as affecting the level of congruence. Since there are no cases of strong mother dominance in the sample of this study, only father-dominant and equalitarian families are considered in the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 5. The greater the dominance of the father in the authority structure, the greater the degree of agreement between the parents on how to handle the child.

Hypothesis 6. The greater the agreement between parents on how to handle the child, the greater the congruence.

Hypothesis 7. When there is low agreement between parents on how to handle the child, there will be a stronger relationship between father dominance and high congruence than for those cases where there is high agreement between parents.

Attraction to the parents in relation to congruence

The attraction of a boy to the parent is postulated as one of the main conditions which is necessary for identification to occur. Under conditions of high attraction, the boy will adopt the role of the parent to recreate the pleasurable experiences of being loved by the parent and to assure himself that he is loved.

Attraction also has another basis of modifying behavior. Studies with small groups have shown that the greater the attraction of a member to a group, the greater the control that can be exerted on the member to conform. Under laboratory conditions it is doubtful if such a process as identification occurs to any appreciable extent. Instead, it is expected that conforming behavior in the group could be a form of compliance based on the means-control of the group. Outside the group, it is expected that conforming behavior is the result of using the group as a reference point for the determination of appropriate behavior. In ambiguous situations where one's own standards do not clearly indicate what kind of behavior is appropriate, it is suggested that one will use the standards of persons he is attracted to as a reference point.

The use of a person as a reference point may be the beginning of either the process of identification or of internalization if it is found that the content of the behavior or attitude is particularly satisfying. On the basis of this reasoning and on the

general proposition about the relative importance of the two parents, the following hypotheses are formulated:

Hypothesis 8. The greater the attraction to a parent or to both parents, the greater the congruence.

Hypothesis 9. High attraction of the boy to the father in combination with low attraction to the mother will lead to greater congruence than the opposite pattern of high attraction to the mother and low attraction to the father.

The relation of reward to attraction and congruence.—One of the main sources of attraction of a parent is the amount of affection which is displayed toward the child. When the child behaves in a way which is approved of by the parent, several courses of action may be taken. The main distinction drawn here is between the use of rewards which reflect a love-orientation through the use of affection and praise as opposed to the use of material rewards of special privileges. Some parents report that they use still another technique which is to apply direct pressure for the continuance of such behavior by showing the boy that they expected the behavior of him or that he could have done still better. These latter techniques are classified into the category of non-love-oriented or "other" techniques.

It is assumed that the supply of love is one of the unique resources of the parent which satisfy a particularly strong need in the child. While the use of any reward at all might serve to increase the attractiveness of a parent, the use of praise and affection would seem to be the more potent influence on attraction.

The influence of praise and affection upon conscience development is documented by Sears et al. (1957), where they find that love-oriented modes of reward have a positive relationship to the

development of conscience while the use of tangible kinds of rewards was not found to be related at all. This is consistent with the findings from other studies which have shown that acquisition of parental values occurs to the greatest extent in an atmosphere of love. In terms of the processes leading to conscience development, it is supposed that parental affection increases the dependency of the child upon the parent and also increases the likelihood of the child rehearsing parental actions, both of which encourage the child to take over the parental values.

The use of material rewards, by contrast, is seen as leading to public conformity rather than to the development of internal controls. Pressure for continuance of "good" behavior is seen as a reaction of the parent which has little if any reward value for the child. In fact, showing the child he could have done better is more like a discipline than a reward, and it would be expected that this would act against the reinforcement of the desired behavior unless combined with some other techniques such as reasoning.

Thus, it is expected that the use of love-oriented techniques will lead to the development of conscience through the encouragement of identification.

Hypothesis 10. Love-oriented rewards will lead to higher attraction to the parent than will non-love-oriented rewards.

Hypothesis 11. Love-oriented rewards will lead to higher congruence than will non-love-oriented rewards.

Hypothesis 12. The use of love-oriented rewards by the father and non-love-oriented rewards by the mother will be associated with greater congruence than the use of love-oriented rewards by the mother and non-love-oriented rewards by the father.

The relation of parental evaluation to attraction and congruence.—A related influence on the child's attraction to the parent and subsequent development of congruent standards is the boy's perception of his parents' evaluation of him. In some ways, the evaluative dimension of parental behavior is similar to the kinds of rewards the parents use. We would expect that a positive evaluation would be perceived by the child as evidence of support and acceptance on the part of the parent.

Positive evaluation also provides that child with some strong support for using the parents as a reference group, a notion which came up in the discussion of attraction. This support, tied in with the feelings of worth and self-esteem which would result from a positive evaluation, should lead to greater conformity to the standards of the parent.

The measure of perceived evaluation is used here because it is the perception of support and acceptance by the child that form the basis for the child's actions outside the home. The parent's report of the evaluation of the child should be related to some degree, but it is also true that there may be many actions of the parent which the child perceives as evaluative that are not so intended by the parent.

These thoughts lead to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 13. The more positive the perceived evaluation from the parent, the greater the attraction to that parent.

Hypothesis 14. The more positive the perceived evaluation from the parent, the greater the congruence.

Hypothesis 15. A positive evaluation of the boy by the father in combination with a negative evaluation by the mother will lead to greater congruence than the opposite pattern of a positive evaluation by the mother and a negative evaluation by the father.

Inclusion with the parents in relation to congruence

The amount of interaction between the child and the parents is seen as related to conscience development in several ways. During the early years of life, it is expected that the degree of inclusion of the child in activities with either the mother or father would be associated with the growth of the ability to control one's behavior by means of internal standards. The more the interaction, the greater would be the opportunity for (1) the child to become aware of parental standards, (2) the opportunity for the parent to build up a relationship based upon trust and love, and (3) the opportunity for the parent to exert direct influence on the child's behavior.

As the child matures, it is supposed that the emphasis changes to the particular content of the conscience that is appropriate for any given age. Once again, inclusion in the family serves as a context for parents to communicate their standards to the child. Now the focus is upon modification of existing standards, the further specification of those already learned at an earlier age.

The amount of influence which a parent can exert on the child, either through the processes of identification or internalization, is based upon a minimum amount of communication or interaction. It is supposed that interaction will be positively related to the amount of influence the parent can exert on the child.

Hypothesis 16. The greater the inclusion of the boy in activities with the parents, the greater the congruence.

Hypothesis 17. High inclusion of the boy with the father in combination with low inclusion with the mother will lead to greater congruence than the opposite pattern of high inclusion with the mother and low inclusion with the father.

This concludes the discussion of the theory and hypotheses relating parent-child relationships to the development of conscience and deviant behavior. Yet to be considered is the effect of the social structure on the processes considered in this chapter. This matter will be taken up in Chapter V.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research is based upon data collected for a larger research project in the Inter-Center Program of Studies in Children, Youth, and Family Life at the Institute for Social Research of The University of Michigan. The data have been gathered by interviews with adolescent boys and their mothers and fathers. In addition, questionnaires were administered to the boys. A detailed account of the procedure used and the personnel involved in the collection of the data appears in the research reported by Gold (1961). Only those aspects of the methodology which are directly applicable to the present study are reviewed here.

The Sample

The subjects in this study were selected from among those included in a larger research project. For that project, ninety-three delinquent boys were selected and matched one-for-one with boys who had no police record during the last three years. In order to be included in the sample, the delinquents had to meet the following criteria at the time of selection: they had to have committed two fairly serious crimes within the last three years (traffic offenses and truancy being examples of offenses not considered serious enough to warrant inclusion in the study); the boys had to be

Caucasians between the ages of 12 and 16; they had to have an I.Q. score of 80 or more; and they had to be enrolled in the Flint, Michigan public school system. In addition, an attempt was made to select boys from different social strata in the community based upon the father's occupation. A non-delinquent was then located in the Flint schools who was matched with each delinquent on the basis of I.Q., age, and occupation of the father. The fathers of the boys in each matched pair were within one occupational category of each other. Occupational categories are classified in the following manner:

1. Professional, technical, and kindred workers	White collar
2. Self-employed businessmen and artisans	
3. Managers and officials	
4. Clerical and sales	
5. Craftsmen and foremen	Skilled
6. Protective services	
7. Operatives and kindred workers	Unskilled
8. Laborers, service workers, unskilled	

In no cases were matches made across categories 4 and 5, the division between white collar and skilled blue collar occupations.

For the purposes of the present study, boys who did not come from a home in which both parents (or step-parents) were present were eliminated. This procedure left a total of seventy-four matched pairs of delinquents and non-delinquents.

For purposes of testing the relationship between congruence and delinquency, the matched sample is the most appropriate unit since social class, age, and I.Q. are built in as controls. However, for the testing of the association between family relationships and congruence, the matched sample is not appropriate. The delinquents and non-delinquents could not be combined to form a total group due to the statistical requirement of independent cell entries as a basis for testing the significance of association. Thus, all hypotheses in this area are tested separately for delinquents and non-delinquents, treating them as two different samples. For these purposes, all boys are included in each of the two groups who met the qualification of having an intact home.

An attempt was made to interview all of the mothers and fathers of the boys included in the sample. In a few cases, the parents refused to be interviewed or for other reasons could not be contacted. The size of the unmatched sample is as follows: eighty-nine of the non-delinquent boys came from intact homes, with interviews obtained from eighty-five mothers and eighty fathers; seventy-eight of the delinquent boys came from intact homes, with interviews obtained from seventy-one mothers and seventy-two fathers.

Based upon the father's occupation, the sample is classified into social class as follows: among the seventy-eight delinquent boys, 24 per cent were white collar, 28 per cent were skilled, and 47 per cent were unskilled; among the eighty-nine non-delinquent boys, 19 per cent were white collar, 29 per cent were skilled, and 52 per cent were unskilled.

The range and mean of the I.Q. scores are quite similar for the two groups. The mean for both is approximately 100, and 75 per cent of each group fall in the range from 90–110. The mean age for the two groups is also the same, approximately 15 years.

As can be seen, the major effect of "unmatching" the sample has been to vary slightly the proportion of boys in the delinquent and non-delinquent groups from the social class groups. A higher proportion of delinquent boys came from homes where the father was engaged in a white collar occupation, while the non-delinquents had a larger proportion of boys whose fathers were in unskilled occupations.

The Problem of Generalization

The sample used in this study was chosen on the basis of boys who had two or more serious contacts with the police and met the other criteria previously mentioned. The non-delinquent group was then selected on the basis of the characteristics of the delinquent group. Thus, it is clear that we do not have a random sample of any particular population. The delinquents were not selected at random, and there was no reason to believe that a group of non-delinquents with the characteristics desired for this study would have been selected if all children in Flint who had not had any contacts with the police had an equal chance of being selected for the study.

What then can be said about the generality of any results that may be found? Without making some assumptions one cannot legitimately go beyond the statement that the results of this study are true only for those families included in this study; or by stretching the point slightly one can quote a probability value based on a statistical test which indicates the likelihood of finding a particular result if one selected another population to study that was similar in all relevant respects to the groups included in this research. Both of the alternatives mentioned above appear to this

author to be a bit on the conservative side. An alternative approach is taken which has little support statistically but considerable support in the practice of other researchers. The tentative position is taken that the findings in this study are typical of families of delinquent and non-delinquent adolescent boys in our society. This means that one must assess how the findings from this sample compare with previous research which has studied similar problems but used different populations. One must also let the results stand in comparison with studies yet to be done before judging whether the assumptions will be upheld regarding the representativeness of the population in this study. This is another way of saying that no research project yields definitive results, and that it is only as a large number of related studies are compared and pieced together that one can gain confidence that the "truth" of the matter is being approached.

The Direction of Causation

Since the variables in this study have not been experimentally manipulated, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make definite statements about causal direction. It would also be difficult to study and control experimentally the kinds of variables which are considered here in the family environment. The judgments concerning the direction of causality must be made from information other than that found in the data of the present study.

One basis for inferring causality is the theory to be tested in which one variable is seen as logically prior and causally related to another variable. The general approach that has been taken in this theory is that the behavior of the parent and the child's relation to the parent are causally prior to the development

of conscience which, in turn, influences deviant behavior. In many cases, it is also reasonable to assume that the lines of causation also flow in the reverse direction. As examples, physical punishment by the parent may be a result of a weak conscience in the boy, or the parent may tend to give love and affection to the child who shows a strong attraction to the parent. These mutual patterns of causation are assumed to exist, but the major focus of this study is on one direction that the causation might take.

Once again, a tentative position must be taken on the assumption that it is reasonable to infer causality on theoretical grounds from any particular relationship. To test this assumption, the results would have to be compared with other research, either laboratory studies where one can control and manipulate a single variable, or other field studies which might tend to confirm or disallow the theoretically expected direction of causation.

Statistical Tests

Several different kinds of statistical tests have been employed in measuring the relationship between variables. Where the matched sample design was employed to test delinquent–non-delinquent differences, a t-test of differences between correlated means is used. In testing the association of parent-child relationships with congruence, either a Pearson correlation or a t-test for uncorrelated means is used since the hypotheses are tested separately for delinquents and non-delinquents. Where the data did not meet the assumptions of normal distribution on an interval scale, a chi-square measure of association is used. Unless otherwise indicated in the table, it can be assumed that all t-tests are for uncorrelated means.

Wherever predictions have been made and the results are in the expected direction, a one-tailed test of significance is employed. All tests of significance can be assumed to be one-tailed tests unless there is a (2t) following the probability value which indicates that a two-tailed test is used.

The probability value for any result occurring by chance alone is reported for all differences, rounded off to the nearest five-hundredths when the p is .10 or greater. This is done so the reader may draw whatever conclusions he wishes from the differences that are reported. For purposes of the discussion of results in Chapter IV, the .10 level is used as the arbitrary line between significant and non-significant results. It should be pointed out that .05 is the usual criterion for interpretation of significance of findings in psychological research. Therefore, caution should be used in basing conclusions on probabilities greater than .05. However, the rough measurement of the concepts and the exploratory nature of the study are seen as justifications for speculating on the more "trendish" data.

The Measurement of the Concepts

It is necessary to qualify any theoretical conclusions with the operations that have been used to test a theory. In this section, the specific items that have been used to measure the concepts in the theory are discussed.

Delinquency

This concept is measured by the number of serious offenses committed by a boy in the three years prior to the study. Those who are classified as delinquents have two or more such contacts

with the police, with approximately half of the boys having more than two contacts. At the time of the selection of the sample an attempt was made to exclude those boys who were institutionalized. This was not entirely successful, and a few of the boys were finally interviewed at one of the institutions for juvenile offenders in Michigan. Mainly, this study deals with non-institutionalized delinquents who were living at home and attending school at the time they were interviewed. All non-delinquents had no police record for the three years prior to the time they were selected for the sample. During the year and a half following the interviewing, five of the non-delinquent boys committed two or more serious offenses which would have qualified them for the delinquent sample had this occurred earlier in their lives.

It is quite possible that many of the non-delinquent boys have committed serious offenses and have not been apprehended by the police. However, it is equally possible that many of the delinquent boys have also committed offenses without being caught. Thus, it is believed that the measure of police contacts represents relative amounts of deviant behavior in the community. Although there may be some overlapping in the two groups, it is assumed that the delinquent group is characterized by greater deviancy than the non-delinquent group.

Citizenship

A second measure of deviancy is represented by the teacher ratings of the boy on five criteria of citizenship: cooperation, integrity; dependability; demonstration of loyalty; respect for authority and property; participation according to his ability and interest. The teacher makes an over-all rating of citizenship using a five-point scale. The grades are averaged over a two-year period to

give a more stable figure than would be obtained in any one semester grade report. These grades were obtained from the school records after the sample was selected and the participants interviewed.

Congruence

This concept is measured by combining two sub-scores representing the degree of agreement with the mother and the father. The following question was asked of the boy:

> When you think of how you should do things or what you ought to do . . . do you feel that you and your (mother) (father) always agree, usually, sometimes, seldom, or never?

The boy was then presented with a card which had the five alternatives in the question written on it, and he indicated his judgment to the interviewer. A scale score of 1 was given to "never," and "always" represented a scale value of 5 with the others falling in the three intermediate intervals. The congruence score was then obtained by adding the two agreement scores. Thus, a score of 2 represents minimum congruence, and a score of 10 represents maximum congruence.

Punishment methods

Each parent who was interviewed was asked the following question:

> When your son does something he's not supposed to do, which of these things are you most likely to do?

The parent was then shown a card with the following alternatives on it:

1. Spank him or hit him
2. Threaten to spank him or hit him
3. Deprive him of something he likes, like a treat or privilege
4. Scold him or yell at him
5. Tell him or show him you are disappointed in him
6. Point out how he should behave, talk it over
7. Show no feeling about it
8. Just wait until he does what you want, then praise him

Categories 1–4 are included in the category physical punishment. Although deprivation of privileges is usually considered as a separate category, previous research has shown this to produce about the same effects on conscience development as spanking or other physical methods. It is included here for that reason. Category 5 represents withdrawal of love, and category 6 indicates reasoning. There were no responses in categories 7 and 8. Although it was possible for the parent to give two responses, only the first response is used in this research.

Agreement between parents

The following question was asked of mothers:

> About how often would you say that you and your husband disagreed about how children should be handled?
>
> 1. Quite often
> 2. Sometimes
> 3. Hardly ever
> 4. Never

Authority structure

In the interview with the mother, the following set of questions was asked:

> Husbands and wives may often disagree about things. When you and your husband disagree about something, who has the final say in the decision? For example, if you and your husband

disagreed about where to go for a vacation, who would have the final say?

. . . about which doctor to call when someone was ill?
. . . about your taking a job or a different job?
. . . about which car to buy?
. . . about how much money to spend on food for the family?
. . . about which new house or apartment to move to?
. . . about buying life insurance?
. . . about your husband changing his job?

1. wife always
2. wife usually, husband sometimes
3. wife and husband about the same
4. husband usually, wife sometimes
5. husband always

These items are used for two reasons. First, they represent reports of decisions that have been made in several different areas of concern to the family. Although they do not represent all decisions that husbands and wives make, it is assumed that they provide a valid index of the weight each parent carries in the family decision-making process. Second, the same measure has been used in previous research on family life (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Gold and Slater, 1958).

Scores were summed over the eight items so that the possible scores ranged from 8 to 40 with 8 representing mother dominance and 40, father dominance. The distribution of the actual scores was skewed in the direction of father dominance although there were not many scores showing strong father dominance and none showing strong mother dominance. A dichotomy is made with those scores 28 and above being interpreted as father dominant and those below 28 being interpreted as equalitarian. The mean of the equalitarian group was about 24, the mid-point of the scale.

Attraction

This concept was measured by the response of the boys to the following question:

> If you had some personal problem you wanted to talk about with someone, who do you feel you could talk with? Whom would you most likely go to?
>
> 1. Mother
> 2. Father
> 3. Both mother and father mentioned
> 4. Other

The question was open-ended and was coded into the four categories above. High attraction to the mother is a combination of categories 1 and 3, and low attraction to the mother is a combination of categories 2 and 4. A similar division is made for the measures of attraction to the father. When comparing high attraction to both parents and low attraction to both parents, categories 3 and 4 are used.

Rewards

The mother and father were each asked to respond to the following question:

> When your son does something you like to have him do, which of these things are you most likely to do?
>
> 1. Kiss him or hug him to show him how pleased you are
> 2. Praise him for being good
> 3. Give him a special treat or privilege
> 4. Show him that you expected it of him
> 5. Show him that he could have done better

The respondent was handed a card with the five alternatives on it and was asked to select the most likely response that he or she would give. Those who indicated categories 1 or 2 were classified as using love-oriented methods of reward, and those who indicated

categories 3, 4, or 5 were classified as using other techniques which were not love-oriented.

Parental evaluation

The boy's perception of parental evaluation was obtained on the questionnaire which he filled out by himself. On one page there were nine circles, each divided into eight parts. Each part had either a plus or a minus in it. The nine circles represented the range from all minuses to all pluses. The boy then read the following instructions:

> Everyone has some good things about them and some bad things about them. Some people seem to have more good things than bad and other people have more bad things than good.
>
> Look at the page with the nine circles on it. Suppose each circle stands for a person you know. Each person has different parts. Circle A has all pluses (+) in it. This stands for a person who has only good things about him as far as you know. Circle I has all minuses (-) in it. This means a person who has only bad things about him as far as you know. The other circles have some good things and some bad things. Some have more good than bad; and some have more bad than good. Which circle would your (mother) (father) choose as most like you?

The boy then indicated his response. He was also asked to choose which circle he thought was most like him and which circles the teacher, the police, and his best friend would choose as most like him. The number of pluses in the circle he chose for each of these questions was used as the score. Thus, the scores range from 0 (most negative) to 8 (most positive).

Inclusion

This measure was taken from the boy's interview. The boy was asked the following question:

What sort of things do you usually do with your (mother) (father)?

The number of things the boy mentioned doing with each parent were coded into three categories—none, one, and two or more. None is taken as an indication of low inclusion, and two or more is taken to mean a relatively high amount of inclusion. No distinctions are made in the content of the responses.

Some Comments on the Design and Execution of This Research

This particular study was conceived after the design was established and the data collected for the Flint Youth Study. The major study which serves as the basis for the design and for the collection of data is reported by Gold (1961). The present study is an extension of one section of that work dealing with family variables as they relate to delinquency. Although this approach has some real advantages in building on the foundation of the previous study, there are some negative features as well which have limited this research.

The data that were available have, of course, been a major influence on the kind of conceptual scheme proposed. Even so, many of the available measures are not as complete or as detailed as would be desirable for a more rigorous testing of the theory.

The size of the sample has also limited the degree to which factors such as social class can be considered. In such cases, one is forced to speculate beyond the scope of the data or the problem for further research. While these are not unusual positions in any research project, this point has been arrived at somewhat sooner

in this project than might have been the case if the data collection had followed the formulation of the problem.

Thus, the study is in a position to benefit from a large amount of data which bears on the problem considered here. At the same time it is limited because it was not possible to select the most appropriate design or measures to test the theory. In this research, it is felt that the benefits outweigh the limitations; however, the reader is cautioned to be attuned to these limitations in design and measurement in drawing conclusions from this study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results in this chapter will be presented in four sections showing the relationship of conscience development, as measured by congruence, to (1) deviant behavior, (2) control, (3) attraction, and (4) inclusion. A fifth section is devoted to surveying the results to determine the extent to which the separate findings lend themselves to a systematic and coherent interpretation.

Congruence is the major measure which is related to other variables. It will be recalled that congruence is a sum score derived from the statement of the boy about the degree to which he agrees with each parent concerning standards of behavior. For this reason, all variables which are related to congruence in this analysis are also examined to determine the separate influence on the agreement score with each parent. These data are presented in Table 1 and the Appendix, where the value of the t-test and the probability value for rejecting the null hypothesis are given for all three scores, congruence and the two agreement scores. These will be referred to in the text of the chapter where consideration of the more detailed data is helpful in understanding a particular relationship.

Congruence and Deviant Behavior

Hypothesis 1. The greater the congruence, the less likely it is that the boy will deviate from community standards of behavior.

TABLE 1

A COMPARISON OF MEANS ON SELECTED VARIABLES FOR DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS[a]

Variable	Matched Pairs n	Non-Delinquents Mean	Delinquents Mean	t[b]	p
Congruence	74	5.48	4.55	5.07	.001
Agreement–Mother .	74	2.79	2.36	3.91	.001
Agreement–Father .	74	2.69	2.19	4.19	.001
Citizenship	90	2.51	1.69	9.68	.001

[a]Meaning of scores:

Variable	Low–High
Congruence	2–10
Agreement scores	1–5
Citizenship	1–5

[b]t-tests computed using the method for correlated means.

Hypothesis 2. High agreement between the boy and the father in combination with low agreement with the mother will lead to less deviancy than the opposite pattern of high agreement with the mother and low agreement with the father.

Table 1 shows the relationship between congruence and delinquency. The results are in the expected direction, with delinquents being characterized by significantly[1] less congruence with their parents than their non-delinquent counterparts. A comparison of the values of t based upon differences in the matched sample

[1]Differences which could have occurred 10 times or less out of 100 (.10) by chance alone are referred to in this discussion as significant. See Chapter III for further comment on this point.

on congruence, agreement with the mother, and agreement with the father indicates that congruence is related to delinquency to a slightly higher degree than either of the subscores alone.

A second measure of deviancy, citizenship grades in school, has been utilized to provide a means of testing the hypotheses while controlling on delinquency. This is done for two reasons. First, all of the relationships between family variables and congruence are tested separately for delinquents and non-delinquents; thus, it seems desirable to relate the congruence scores within each of these groups to a measure of deviancy. Second, it might well be argued that delinquency is the major determinant of congruence. That is, low congruence could develop after a boy is apprehended by the police because of the parents' reaction to his involvement with the law. Nevertheless, the use of citizenship grades in this context still poses some problems. As shown in Table 1, citizenship grades are highly related to delinquency. This provides some justification for using citizenship as an alternative measure of deviancy. However, we are now faced with the problem of a restriction of the range in both congruence and citizenship variables due to their relationship with delinquency. Keeping in mind both the rationale and the reservations, the data can now be examined.

The relationship between congruence and citizenship is shown in Table 2. Here, the hypothesis is supported at a reliable level for the delinquents, but the finding is questionable for the non-delinquents. The reason for this difference in the findings of the two groups is not readily apparent. It may be a reflection of the greater range of congruence scores in the delinquent group than among the non-delinquents (variances of 1.41 and 1.03 respectively), or it may be for more substantive reasons. In the context of the high degree of association of both congruence and citizenship with

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF MEAN CITIZENSHIP SCORES FOR GROUPS WITH HIGH, MEDIUM, AND LOW CONGRUENCE, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Degree of Congruence			t^b	p
	High (1)	Medium (2)	Low (3)		
	Mean	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	2.00	1.91	1.63	2.27	.02
	(20)	(16)	(40)		
Non-delinquents . .	2.58	2.57	2.39	1.03	.15
	(51)	(23)	(15)		

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2–6 = low congruence
7 = medium congruence
8–10 = high congruence
Citizenship scores range from 1–5:
1 = low citizenship
5 = high citizenship.

[b]t-test based on differences between groups (1) and (3).

delinquency, these results are taken to represent a limited confirmation of the first hypothesis.

The second hypothesis, concerning the relative importance of agreement with the father as opposed to the mother, is even more difficult to test adequately with the data that are available. However, two pieces of evidence are available which shed some light on this problem. The first is the comparison of the relationship between the agreement scores with the individual parents and delinquency (see Table 1). Here, the difference is slight with the trend for the agreement with the father to be more highly related to delinquency than agreement with the mother. The second and more relevant piece of evidence is presented in Table 3. Here the patterns of agreement with the parents are related to the citizenship scores with delinquency controlled. Once again, there is only a slight trend for agreement with the father to be a more important factor in producing high citizenship than high agreement with the mother.

On the basis of these data it must be concluded that agreement with the father is not significantly more important than agreement with the mother in the control of deviant behavior. Hypothesis 2 is based upon the rationale that the father is the more important parent in the socialization of the male child, especially during adolescence. To what degree do the findings cast doubt on this rationale? With the advantage of having examined this particular finding within the total pattern of results presented in this chapter, the position taken here is that it would be wise to reserve judgment on the larger issue of impaired father-son relations leading to deviant behavior until more data are presented and discussed. With the general statement that results presented later in this chapter do seem to support the rationale, a comment is appropriate here on the

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF MEAN CITIZENSHIP SCORES FOR GROUPS WITH HIGH AGREEMENT WITH ONE PARENT AND LOW AGREEMENT WITH THE OTHER, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Pattern of Agreement with Parents		t	p
	High Father Low Mother	Low Father High Mother		
	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	1.88	1.77	.36	.40
	(9)	(18)		
Non-delinquents	2.61	2.38	.95	.18
	(9)	(19)		

[a]Agreement scores range from 1–5:
1–3 = low agreement
4–5 = high agreement
Citizenship scores range from 1–5:
1 = low citizenship
2 = high citizenship.

lack of significant differences in deviancy as a function of greater agreement with the father rather than the mother.

One possibility is that the mother and the father may be holding many of the same standards for the boy. Thus, the mother may serve as an equally potent agent for the enforcement of appropriate masculine standards of behavior. Second, many moral standards are not identified as being either masculine or feminine, e.g., stealing, and for this reason strong agreement with either parent may be sufficient evidence that appropriate standards of conduct have been adopted by the boy. This does not preclude the possibility that a strong identification with both parents would further the development of congruence. It is possible, however, that disturbed father-son relationships are reflected in low agreement with the mother as well as low agreement with the father.

At this point, it is clear from the data that congruence is significantly associated with delinquency, but that caution should be taken in drawing conclusions from the data on congruence and citizenship.

Parental Control and Congruence

This section is divided into two parts dealing with the relationship of congruence to (1) punishment styles of the parents, and (2) the degree of disagreement between the parents on how the child should be handled.

Parental punishment and congruence

Hypothesis 3. Reasoning as a mode of control will produce the greatest degree of congruence, withdrawal of love will be intermediate, and physical methods will produce the least congruence.

Hypothesis 4. When the father uses a method of punishment which is less severe than that of the mother, there will be greater congruence than when the father uses a more severe method than the mother.

The tests of significance for these hypotheses have been applied to the differences between the influence of reasoning and the physical methods of punishment. The data for withdrawal of love, predicted to fall in the intermediate category, are also included in the tables below. None of the differences between withdrawal of love and either of the other categories are significant at the .10 level or less.

The data showing the relationship between the punishment techniques and congruence are presented in Table 4. The data on the influence of the mother's method of punishment show that among the delinquents reasoning is associated with higher congruence than is physical punishment ($p < .01$). For the non-delinquents, the difference is very slight, indicating that the method of punishment of the mother does not have any significant influence on congruence in that group.

The data concerning the method of punishment used by the father show that physical methods of punishment, in comparison with reasoning, are significantly associated with low congruence for the non-delinquent boys ($p < .10$), while the difference for the delinquent boys is in the predicted direction but of questionable significance ($p < .16$).

When the families where the mother and the father use the same mode of punishment are examined, results are obtained which are consistent with the findings from the individual parents. These data are presented in Table 5. Again, the findings are somewhat stronger for the delinquents ($p < .06$) than for the non-delinquents

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS PUNISHED DIFFERENTLY BY THE MOTHER AND BY THE FATHER, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Type of Punishment: Reasoning (1)	Withdrawal of Love (2)	Physical (3)	t[b]	p
Mother					
Delinquents	5.15 (20)	4.53 (17)	4.30 (33)	2.43	.01
Non-delinquents . .	5.49 (41)	5.55 (11)	5.45 (33)	—	—
Father					
Delinquents	4.85 (20)	4.40 (15)	4.50 (36)	1.02	.16
Non-delinquents . .	5.72 (29)	5.37 (11)	5.37 (38)	1.42	.10

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]t-test based on differences between groups (1) and (3).

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS PUNISHED DIFFERENTLY WHERE THE PARENTS USE THE SAME PUNISHMENT, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Type of Punishment			t^b	p
	Reasoning (1)	Withdrawal of Love (2)	Physical (3)		
	Mean	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	5.23	4.25	4.45	1.60	.06 (1t)
	(9)	(4)	(18)		
Non-delinquents . .	5.57	5.25	5.27	.76	.25 (1t)
	(16)	(4)	(19)		

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]t-test based on differences between groups (1) and (3).

($p < .25$), probably reflecting the strength of the association between the mother's punishment and congruence among delinquent boys.

We now turn to a comparison of those families in which the parents use different methods of punishment. Physical punishment, withdrawal of love, and reasoning were judged to represent decreasing degrees of severity of control on the basis of their hypothesized relationship to the measure of congruence. Those families in which the father used a more severe punishment than the mother were compared with those in which the mother was the more severe agent of control. These results are shown in Table 6.

For the non-delinquents, the findings are significant in the predicted direction ($p < .05$). This indicates that, when the father uses a less severe method, the boy has higher congruence than when the mother uses a less severe method. For the delinquent boys, the finding is in the opposite direction although not significant ($p < .20$, 2t). However, it does represent a trend which is considered here because of other findings to be presented on rewards and authority structure which suggest that this reversal in direction may represent an important finding.

It would seem to be characteristic of the delinquent group that the mother has played a more important role than the father in the socialization process. This decreased importance of the father may, in fact, lie back of the boy's delinquent behavior. It is the mother's use of reasoning which is related to a relatively high degree of congruence for the delinquent boy. It must be remembered that the delinquent boys have significantly lower congruence scores than the non-delinquents. In families where the father is ineffectual, the mother's behavior may be related to the degree of congruence within this limited range, but the congruence may still be below the point where the child would have adequate internal controls over the

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS IN WHICH THE PARENTS USE DIFFERENT METHODS OF PUNISHMENT, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Parent Using More Severe Method[b]		t	p
	Mother	Father		
	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	4.27 (15)	4.85 (10)	1.45	.20 (2t)
Non-delinquents	5.94 (14)	5.44 (25)	1.75	.05 (1t)

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]Punishment rated from most severe to least severe as follows: physical, withdrawal of love, reasoning.

expression of deviant behavior in the community. The fact that the mother tends to be more influential than the father for the delinquent boy is taken as evidence that the relationship between the father and son has already been disrupted to the point where any method of punishment he uses will be relatively ineffectual. Among the non-delinquents, where it is assumed that the father-son relationship is stronger, we find the expected result, that higher congruence is associated with the father using the less severe method of discipline.

To examine the relationship between punishment and congruence in more detail, the method of discipline of each parent was related to the amount of attraction the boy felt toward that parent as measured by whether or not he would take a personal problem to him. These results are presented in Table 7. It is expected on the basis of the theory that physical punishment would tend to decrease the parent's attractiveness while reasoning should lead to a greater degree of attraction.

As shown in Table 7, this expectation is clearly not supported by the relations between the mother's pattern of punishment and attraction. In fact, the difference is significant in the opposite direction for the mothers of the delinquents, where physical punishment is associated with high attraction. The relationship for the non-delinquents is not significant. The comparable data for the father show the expected relationship is found among the non-delinquents but not among the delinquents.

The relationship between the mother's use of physical punishment and attraction to the mother among the delinquent boys is an unexpected finding. Gold (1961), in speculating on these same general findings, suggests that the results may indicate that the delinquent boy may be seeking harsh punishment from a loved one in order to dispel guilt arising from his deviant behavior. However, this result, together with the finding that physical punishment by the mother of the delinquent, leads to low congruence (Table 4) also suggests that the process sometimes referred to as "identification with the aggressor" or defensive identification has taken place. As a means to control his environment, the child models himself after the parent who threatens to hurt him and in the process becomes aggressive. Identification with the aggressive behavior of the mother, rather than the values she is trying to induce, would lead

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF PUNISHMENT USED BY THE MOTHER AND BY THE FATHER AND THE ATTRACTION OF THE BOY TO THE MOTHER AND TO THE FATHER, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY

Punishment	Delinquents		χ^2	p	Non-delinquents		χ^2	p
	Attraction				Attraction			
	High	Low			High	Low		
			Mother					
Physical	14	19	4.29	.05 (2t)	20	13	1.02	.40 (2t)
Reasoning	3	17			20	21		
			Father					
Physical	14	22	.83	.50 (2t)	10	28	8.64	.005 (1t)
Reasoning	7	13			18	11		

to both low congruence and delinquency. It is quite clear, however, that the basis for the relationship between the use of reasoning by the mother of the delinquent and high congruence is not to be found in this form of punishment being associated with high attraction. Rather, we must assume that it is the reasonableness and usefulness of the values presented in the method of reasoning used by the mother of the delinquent that leads to relatively high congruence. The reason why this defensive identification should occur only with the mother of the delinquent boy remains unclear. For the

non-delinquent, there seems to be no relation between the method of punishment and either congruence or attraction to the mother.

However, there is substantial basis for the theory of affectional identification in the relationship of the father and the non-delinquent boy. Here, the use of reasoning is associated with both higher attraction and higher congruence than is the case where physical punishment is used.

Parental agreement and authority structure in relation to congruence

Hypothesis 5. The greater the dominance of the father in the authority structure, the greater the degree of agreement between the parents on how to handle the child.

Hypothesis 6. The greater the agreement between parents on how to handle the child, the greater the congruence.

Hypothesis 7. When there is low agreement between parents on how to handle the child, there will be a stronger relationship between father dominance and high congruence than for those cases where there is high agreement between parents.

Before proceeding to the results, it should be noted that both parental agreement and authority structure scores were obtained from each parent separately. The responses of the mother to both questions were found to be more highly related to each other and to the other relevant variables in this study than were the responses of the father. This may be a reflection of an increased sensitivity of the female in this culture to interpersonal relationships and the greater involvement of the woman in the home. In comparison, the male generally has less time to spend in the home, a greater concern with "getting the task done," and more outside contacts which

might tend to decrease his sensitivity to the subtle aspects of his relationship with his wife. In any case, the data presented here are based on the mother's responses. Some caution must be used in interpreting these results due to the lack of consistency with those obtained from the father.

As mentioned in Chapter III, the authority structure scores have been broken into two groups representing equalitarian and father-dominant family structure.

In Table 8, father dominance is clearly associated with parental agreement for both the delinquent and non-delinquent groups. However, there is no support for the proposition that greater parental agreement will lead to higher congruence. The breakdown of this particular linking of parental authority to congruence is confirmed by the lack of any direct significant relationship between these two variables.

Hypothesis 7, on the other hand, is supported by the significant interaction of family authority and parental agreement in the determination of congruence. An interaction chi-square test was done by partitioning the chi-square table. The resulting interaction indicates that authority structure has a significantly different influence on congruence depending upon the degree of parental agreement.

However, the basis for our expecting the interaction was somewhat different than that reflected in the results. It was thought that family structure would be related to congruence when parental agreement was low but not when there was high parental agreement. Nevertheless, the findings show that the family structure is influential when there is high agreement between parents on how to handle the child. For both delinquents and non-delinquents, where there is high parental agreement, the equalitarian family structure

TABLE 8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF THE AUTHORITY STRUCTURE, MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN PARENTS, AND CONGRUENCE, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY

Authority Structure and Agreement between Parents	Delinquents		Non-Delinquents	
	Congruence		Congruence	
	High	Low	High	Low
Father dominant–low agreement	5	6	12	6
Equalitarian–low agreement	8	9	6	12
Father dominant–high agreement	5	12	10	11
Equalitarian–high agreement	5	1	7	2

Chi-Square Analyses	χ^2	df	p	χ^2	df	p
Total (unpartitioned)	5.54	3	.20 (2t)	6.82	3	.10 (2t)
Authority x congruence	2.20	1	.20 (2t)	.43	1	.60 (2t)
Agreement x congruence	.04	1	.90 (2t)	.29	1	.70 (2t)
Interaction of authority and agreement x congruence	3.30	1	.05 (1t)	6.10	1	.01 (1t)
Authority x agreement	6.11	1	.01 (1t)	2.71	1	.05 (1t)

is associated with high congruence, and father dominance is a correlate of low congruence. It is only in the case of the non-delinquent group that we find that father dominance produces higher congruence than the equalitarian structure when there is low parental agreement. The lack of any such finding among the delinquents is interpreted as further evidence of the weak relationship between the boy and the father. If the father is dominant, this only removes authority from the significant socialization agent, the mother, and does not add any weight to the father's influence on the boy.

Among those families where there is high parental agreement, the results are interpreted to mean that a consistent pattern of child-rearing occurs in a family where both parents are in a position to influence the child by virtue of an equalitarian authority relationship.

The data do not reveal what the relationship is between mother dominance and congruence when there is high or low parental agreement. It would be necessary to know this before any complete statement can be made of the interrelationship between authority, parental agreement, and congruence. The present line of thought would predict that a high degree of mother dominance would have a deleterious influence on congruence for those families where there is high parental agreement, paralleling the findings for the dominant father. Among families where there is low parental agreement, it is not expected that mother dominance would be a strong factor in leading to high congruence, due to the conflict between such a family structure and the cultural expectations for the father to be the dominant figure.

A brief résumé of the findings thus far

In this section, the relationship between two aspects of parental control, the method of punishment and parental agreement on handling the child, have been related to the measure of congruence. The findings are not always clear, nor are they completely consistent. Nevertheless, the following generalizations seem warranted on the basis of the data that have been presented.

1. Reasoning as a method of discipline and control tends to produce a higher level of congruence than does physical punishment. Withdrawal of love tends to show effects more similar to physical methods of discipline than to reasoning. However, the lack of significant differences between withdrawal of love and the other methods makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions.

2. The data on discipline provide support for the general proposition that delinquent boys are characterized by having more disturbed relations with their fathers than are the non-delinquents. Among delinquent boys, the use of a comparatively less severe method of discipline by the mother is associated with high congruence; among the non-delinquents it is the use of a comparatively less severe method of discipline by the father that is associated with the higher congruence.

3. A process such as a defensive identification with the mother seems to have occurred among the delinquents. The non-delinquents are better characterized by supposing that a process such as affectional identification with the father has occurred. This is based on the relationship between punishment, attraction, and congruence.

4. The causal sequence in which father dominance was seen as producing high agreement between parents, leading to high congruence, is not tenable on the basis of the data. This causal sequence breaks down in the link between parental agreement and congruence.

5. The authority structure and parental agreement have a significant interaction as they relate to congruence. For both delinquents and non-delinquents, an equalitarian authority structure, rather than father dominance, is associated with congruence where there is high parental agreement. However, it is only for the non-delinquents that father dominance is the more effective authority structure in producing congruence when there is low parental agreement. Interestingly enough, a positive relation is found between father dominance and parental agreement for both groups; yet this pattern tends to lead to comparatively low congruence.

Parental Attraction and Congruence

This section deals with some of the supposed antecedents of a child's attraction to the parent and the consequences of parental attraction for the development of congruence. The presentation and discussion are centered around three major areas dealing with the relations of (1) attraction to congruence, (2) rewards to attraction and congruence, and (3) parental evaluation to attraction and congruence.

Parental attraction and congruence

Hypothesis 8. The greater the attraction to a parent or to both parents, the greater the congruence.

Hypothesis 9. High attraction of the boy to the father in combination with low attraction to the mother will lead to greater congruence than the opposite pattern of high attraction to the mother and low attraction to the father.

The relationship between attraction to each parent and congruence is shown in Table 9. For both the delinquents and non-delinquents, the differences for the mother are not significant. It is therefore concluded that attraction to the mother, as measured by whether or not the boy mentions her as someone he would take personal problems to, is not associated with the measure of congruence.

The relationship between attraction to the father and congruence is in the expected direction and is statistically significant. Further evidence of support for hypothesis 8 is found in Table 10 which indicates that the differences are somewhat larger when one takes into account the attraction level of both parents.

The different effects of attraction to one parent rather than the other are highlighted in the data presented in Table 11. Here, the hypothesis that the father will be a more significant figure receives moderate support from both the delinquent and non-delinquent groups. This would support the notion that alienation from the father is a critical factor in delinquency. One component of this alientation is the attraction of the boy to the father. Of course, this does not have to be the only condition for a lack of significant influence of the father on the boy.

Another implication of these results is that the basis for the impact of the mother on the delinquent child may not be a result of strong attraction of the boy to the mother. This was also suggested by the relationship between type of punishment and attraction to the mother. It is possible only to speculate on what the sources of influence are for the mother of the delinquent child. They may be

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS WITH HIGH AND LOW ATTRACTION TO THE MOTHER AND TO THE FATHER, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Attraction to Parent		t	p
	High	Low		
	Mean	Mean		
	Mother			
Delinquents	4.72	4.53	.65	.30
	(25)	(53)		
Non-delinquents . .	5.53	5.40	.62	.30
	(51)	(38)		
	Father			
Delinquents	5.08	4.34	2.69	.005
	(27)	(51)		
Non-delinquents . .	5.76	5.27	2.44	.01
	(37)	(52)		

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS WITH HIGH AND LOW ATTRACTION TO BOTH PARENTS, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Attraction to Both Parents		t	p
	High	Low		
	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	5.25	4.26	6.39	.001
	(8)	(34)		
Non-delinquents . . .	5.78	5.05	2.21	.03
	(18)	(19)		

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS WITH DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF ATTRACTION TO THE PARENTS, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Pattern of Attraction to the Parents		t	p
	Low Mother High Father	High Mother Low Father		
	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	5.00 (19)	4.47 (17)	1.49	.08
Non-delinquents . .	5.74 (19)	5.39 (33)	1.34	.10

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

such factors as respect, based on her increased power over the husband, control over the material possessions of the family, or the fact that the mother is likely to provide income for the family by virtue of employment.

Relation of rewards to attraction and congruence

Hypothesis 10. Love-oriented rewards will lead to higher attraction than will non-love-oriented rewards.

Hypothesis 11. Love-oriented rewards will lead to higher congruence than will non-love-oriented rewards.

Hypothesis 12. The use of love-oriented rewards by the father and non-love-oriented rewards by the mother will be associated with greater congruence than the use of love-oriented rewards by the mother and non-love-oriented rewards by the father.

It is important to keep in mind the results between attraction and congruence in testing these hypotheses, because one way in which the use of love-oriented rewards is seen as related to congruence is through the concept of attraction. For both groups of boys, attraction to the father is significantly related to congruence. For both groups, attraction to the mother is not related to congruence.

The data shown in Table 12 indicate that the use of a particular kind of reward by the mother is not associated with the attraction of the boy to the mother; for the father, the relationship is significant in the expected direction for the non-delinquents, and there is no relationship for the delinquents. It is thus quite clear that the link from rewards to attraction to congruence is not supported for the boy's relationship to his mother. Examination of the data for the father show a somewhat different pattern. The proposed link is supported for the non-delinquent boys, but breaks down between rewards and attraction for the delinquent.

Table 13 contains data on the relationship between rewards and congruence ignoring the concept of attraction. Here a rather strong interaction between delinquency status and sex of parent is observed. Love-oriented rewards of the mother are associated with low congruence among the non-delinquents ($p < .05$) and with high congruence among the delinquents (this latter represents a trend only—$p < .15$). For the father, the patterns are exactly the reverse. There is a slight trend for love-oriented rewards to be associated with low congruence among the delinquents ($p < .60$), while

TABLE 12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF REWARD USED BY THE MOTHER AND BY THE FATHER AND THE ATTRACTION OF THE BOY TO THE MOTHER AND TO THE FATHER, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY

Reward	Delinquents		χ^2	p	Non-Delinquents		χ^2	p
	Attraction				Attraction			
	High	Low			High	Low		
				Mother				
Love oriented[a]	20	41			40	28		
			.41	.60 (2t)			.05	.45 (1t)
Other[b]	4	7			8	8		
				Father				
Love oriented	19	34			29	31		
			.01	.95 (2t)			2.85	.05 (1t)
Other	7	12			5	14		

[a]Love oriented includes: Kiss him or hug him to show how pleased you are;
Praise him for being good.

[b]Other includes: Give him a special treat or privilege;
Show him that you expected it of him;
Show him that he could have done better.

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS REWARDED DIFFERENTLY BY THE MOTHER AND BY THE FATHER, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Type of Reward: Love Oriented[b] Mean	Type of Reward: Other[c] Mean	t	p
Mother				
Delinquents	4.67 (60)	4.28 (11)	1.00	.16
Non-delinquents	5.38 (68)	5.94 (16)	2.04	.05 (2t)
Father				
Delinquents	4.57 (53)	4.74 (19)	.52	.60 (2t)
Non-delinquents	5.62 (60)	5.16 (19)	1.77	.05

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]Love oriented includes: Kiss him or hug him to show how pleased you are;
Praise him for being good.

[c]Other includes: Give him a special treat or privilege;
Show him that you expected it of him;
Show him that he could have done better.

being significantly related to high congruence among the non-delinquents ($p < .05$).

This pattern is further supported when the combinations of parental rewards are examined in Table 14. The hypothesis concerning the relative importance of the father is supported among the non-delinquents, but not among the delinquents, where the trend is slight in the opposite direction.

The results suggest that neither parent of the delinquent boy has a strong influence on congruence by the use of a particular kind of reward. What influence there is seems to be found in the use of love-oriented rewards by the mother, while for the father, the same kind of reward produces a negative effect, although this is still less certain. For the non-delinquent boy, congruence is affected by the kind of rewards used by both parents. Here, it is the father's use of love-oriented rewards and the use of other means by the mother that are associated with high congruence.

Relation of parental evaluation to attraction and congruence

Hypothesis 13. The more positive the perceived evaluation from the parent, the greater the attraction to that parent.

Hypothesis 14. The more positive the perceived evaluation from the parent, the greater the congruence.

Hypothesis 15. A positive evaluation of the boy by the father in combination with a negative evaluation by the mother will lead to greater congruence than the opposite pattern of a positive evaluation by the mother and a negative evaluation by the father.

The analysis of data related to these hypotheses is somewhat similar to that of the reward material. The data bearing on the

TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS REWARDED DIFFERENTLY BY THE PARENTS, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Pattern of Rewards[b]		t	p
	Mother-Other Father-Love	Mother-Love Father-Other		
	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	4.40 (10)	4.84 (18)	1.13	.30 (2t)
Non-delinquents	6.07 (14)	5.17 (18)	2.75	.005 (1t)

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]Love oriented includes: Kiss him or hug him to show how pleased you are;
Praise him for being good.

Other includes: Give him a special treat or privilege;
Show him that you expected it of him;
Show him that he could have done better.

relationship between the perceived evaluation of each parent and the attraction to that parent are presented in Table 15. For the mother, the findings are not significant in the delinquent group. Among the non-delinquents, the results support the hypothesis. The corresponding data for the father show the same results, although the trend for the delinquents is in the predicted direction this time. The data for the non-delinquents are significant in the expected direction.

Table 16 contains the data on the direct relationship between perceived evaluations and congruence. Here, small to moderate correlations are found which are statistically significant from congruence and the perceived evaluations of the mother and the father. This is true for both the delinquent and non-delinquent groups.

An evaluation of the linking of the three variables is now possible. There is a reliable relationship between perceived evaluations and congruence for both groups and for both parents. For delinquents and non-delinquents, this relationship of perceived evaluation of the mother to congruence is not mediated by attraction. This is also true for the delinquents in relation to their fathers. Only among the non-delinquents and their fathers is there support for the process in which the perceived evaluation affects the attraction of the boy to the father which in turn is associated with congruence. The warning on causation made in Chapter III is repeated here. The data only indicate that these three variables are reliably interrelated and say nothing about the direction of causation. The particular interpretation here stems from the orientation that parents' behavior and attitudes affect the behavior of the child through the child's perception of the parent.

As with our previous analyses, it is possible to look at the relative importance of the father by looking at patterns of perceived

TABLE 15

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE PERCEIVED EVALUATION OF A PARENT FOR GROUPS WITH HIGH AND LOW ATTRACTION TO THAT PARENT, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Attraction to the Parent		t	p
	High	Low		
	Mean	Mean		
Mother				
Delinquents	5.16 (25)	5.24 (52)	.21	.90 (2t)
Non-delinquents	5.92 (49)	5.41 (37)	1.79	.05
Father				
Delinquents	4.89 (26)	4.40 (51)	1.24	.15
Non-delinquents	5.70 (37)	5.25 (49)	1.91	.05

[a]Evaluation scores range from 0–8:
0 = negative evaluation
8 = positive evaluation.

TABLE 16

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARENT'S EVALUATIONS OF THE BOY AS PERCEIVED BY THE BOY AND CONGRUENCE, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Correlation Variables	Delinquents			Non-Delinquents		
	n	r	p	n	r	p
Mother's evaluation and congruence	77	.32	.01	86	.21	.03
Father's evaluation and congruence	77	.25	.03	86	.20	.05

[a]A positive correlation indicates that a positive evaluation is associated with high congruence.

evaluations in relation to congruence. These results are shown in Table 17. The differences are not significant for either group. The only interest in these data is that they show a slight trend for the father's evaluation to carry more weight for the non-delinquents, while the perceived evaluation of the mother is slightly more important in the determination of congruence for the delinquent. This is similar to the patterns found in the punishment and reward material. These results are extremely tenuous, and not much weight is given to them.

In summary, it is possible to say that perceived evaluations from both parents are reliably related to congruence for all boys. For the fathers of non-delinquents, this relationship may be mediated by the boy's attraction to the father. For the mothers in both

TABLE 17

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS WITH DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF PERCEIVED EVALUATIONS OF THE PARENTS, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Pattern of Perceived Evaluation of Parents		t	p
	High Father Low Mother	Low Father High Mother		
	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	4.40 (5)	4.72 (18)	.60	.60 (2t)
Non-delinquents	5.17 (6)	4.90 (10)	.53	.30 (1t)

[a]Evaluation scores range from 0–8:
0–5 = low evaluation, negative
6–8 = high evaluation, positive.

groups and the fathers of the delinquents, the relationship is either a direct one, or there is some other basis for the relationship than attraction.

Parental Inclusion and Congruence

Hypothesis 17. The greater the inclusion of the boy in activities with the parents, the greater the congruence.

Hypothesis 18. High inclusion of the boy with the father in combination with low inclusion with the mother will lead to

greater congruence than the opposite pattern of high inclusion with the mother and low inclusion with the father.

These data are based on the responses of the boy to questions about what kind of things he did with each of his parents. The boy could respond with as many things as he liked, and it is the number of items he mentions for each parent that is taken as the measure of inclusion. These are placed in three categories in the tables: 0, 1, and 2 or more.

The relationship between the number of activities with each parent and congruence is shown in Table 18. For both parents, among the delinquents and the non-delinquents, the results are significant in the expected direction—the greater the number of activities, the greater the congruence. The differences for the mother are slightly stronger than for the father. In all four groups the middle category of activities (1) falls in the expected order on the measure of congruence.

One explanation for the association of inclusion and congruence is that the measure of inclusion is really a reflection of the attraction of the boy to the parent. To clarify this, an analysis was made examining the relationship between inclusion and congruence with groups having high and low attraction to each parent. Once again, the measure of attraction used is the boy's indication of whom he would take his personal problems to for assistance.

These results are presented in Table 19. The relationships are significant in all cases, in both high and low attraction groups. The level of significance is somewhat reduced for each group due to the smaller size of the sample in each comparison. It is concluded that inclusion is related to congruence independent of the effects of attraction.

TABLE 18

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS REPORTING DIFFERENT NUMBERS OF ACTIVITIES WITH THE MOTHER AND WITH THE FATHER, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Number of Activities with Parent			t^b	p
	(2)	(1)	(0)		
	Mean	Mean	Mean		
Mother					
Delinquents	5.32 (19)	4.72 (28)	4.00 (30)	4.29	.001
Non-delinquents .	5.75 (32)	5.49 (39)	4.82 (16)	3.90	.001
Father					
Delinquents	4.89 (28)	4.68 (31)	4.00 (19)	2.66	.01
Non-delinquents .	5.65 (46)	5.40 (35)	4.75 (8)	2.54	.01

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]t-test based on differences between groups (0) and (2).

TABLE 19

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS REPORTING DIFFERENT NUMBERS OF ACTIVITIES WITH THE MOTHER AND THE FATHER, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY AND ATTRACTION[a]

Subject Category and Attraction to Parent	Number of Activities with Parent			t[b]	p
	(2)	(1)	(0)		
	Mean	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents:					
High attraction to mother	5.60 (5)	4.92 (12)	3.88 (8)	2.67	.03
Low attraction to mother	5.21 (14)	4.56 (16)	4.05 (22)	3.23	.005
Non-delinquents:					
High attraction to mother	5.77 (17)	5.62 (21)	4.92 (12)	2.49	.01
Low attraction to mother	5.73 (15)	5.33 (18)	4.50 (4)	2.60	.01
Delinquents:					
High attraction to father	5.23 (13)	5.22 (9)	4.40 (5)	1.60	.07
Low attraction to father	4.60 (15)	4.45 (22)	3.86 (14)	1.65	.06
Non-delinquents:					
High attraction to father	6.06 (16)	5.61 (18)	5.00 (3)	2.10	.03
Low attraction to father	5.43 (30)	5.18 (17)	4.60 (5)	1.78	.05

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]t-test based on differences between groups (0) and (2).

The comparisons of different patterns of activities with the parents are shown in Table 20. Neither pattern of differences is statistically significant. For the delinquents, we find the trend is for high congruence to be associated with greater inclusion with the mother rather than with the father. Once again, the relationship is not strong enough to stand by itself, but when taken in the context of the other results which have been presented, it provides another point of evidence that the mother is the more significant agent of socialization for the delinquent boy.

TABLE 20

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS REPORTING DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF ACTIVITIES WITH THE PARENTS, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Pattern of Activities with Parents		t	p
	More Activities with the Mother	More Activities with the Father		
	Mean	Mean		
Delinquents	4.93 (14)	4.42 (33)	1.37	.20 (2t)
Non-delinquents . .	5.43 (14)	5.35 (31)	.22	.90 (2t)

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

An Overview of the Results

This section is an attempt to survey the data that have been presented in this chapter. Returning to the framwork of Chapter II, which dealt with the theory, we can now make an appraisal of the implications of these data for the development of conscience in adolescent boys.

Conscience development in the delinquent boy

The delinquent boy is characterized by a lower degree of congruence than his non-delinquent counterpart. However, even with the delinquent group there are variations in the degrees of congruence, and these variations are reflected in the behavior of the boy in the school situation, indicated by the teacher ratings of citizenship. These findings are taken as evidence that conscience development is reflected in deviant behavior in the community.

The fact that congruence is related to citizenship within the delinquent group is also taken as an indication that parental values for the behavior of the boy do, in general, support the dominant standards of the community. If many of the parents of delinquent boys had been "recruiters" for a criminal way of life, we would have expected our measure of conscience to be negatively related to the citizenship score instead of the positive relationship that is found.

One thread runs through much of the data on the development of conscience in the delinquent boy. This is the influence of the mother. It is the mother's use of reasoning rather than physical punishment, the mother's use of love-oriented rewards rather than

other means, and inclusion in activities with the mother that stand out as correlates of a high degree of conscience. Conspicuous by its absence in the list is the attraction of the boy to the mother. An examination of the patterns of parental variables shows this same general picture; it is when the mother, rather than the father, establishes relations with the child which we would theoretically expect to lead to a strong conscience, that we find the greatest degree of congruence. Again, attraction is an exception.

Much of the evidence points to the conclusion that the delinquent boy has established a relationship with the mother in which he perceives her as a reliable source of standards. When identification with the mother does occur, it probably takes place in a context of rejection of the father as a model. However, there are restraints against the formation of a strong dependency of the adolescent boy upon his mother. Masculinity is the desired trait, and the taking over of too many traits of the mother is a costly procedure for the maintenance of an adequate male self-concept, and for being accepted by one's peers. Thus, there is undoubtedly some ambivalence created toward the mother which may account for the weak relation between attraction to the mother and congruence.

The finding that delinquent boys indicate that they are attracted more to the mothers who use physical punishment is also relevant here. The interpretation has been made that this is a function of guilt in the boy which is relieved by his receiving harsh punishment. Here, the identification process works in the opposite direction in relation to delinquency. Identification with an aggressive model leads to the adoption of this same mode of behavior outside of the home. This is likely to manifest itself in deviant behavior in the community.

It is of note that attraction to the father is a significant correlate of conscience development in the delinquent boy. This is taken as evidence that the father is the more important parent for the boy to identify with. Although this occurs less often among delinquent boys, where it does occur, it results in a stronger conscience.

This pattern is in line with the thinking of Miller (1958) who talks of the female-based household that is predominant in the lower class. It is also descriptive of the Negro lower class family. Fathers tend to be unstable, unreliable, and irresponsible males who serve mainly to bring offspring into the world. The mother is the main source of support for the home, both financially and emotionally. The mother's contempt for the father is passed on to the child. The use of the word mother, particularly in vulgar slang, among lower class persons is seen as a reflection of the centrality of the mother in the boy's life and of the ambivalence of the boy toward the mother. The gang on the corner is one way that the boy can learn appropriate masculine ways of behaving, a situation which leads to greater influence of the peer group than is the case where there is a father who serves as a model.

Conscience development in the non-delinquent boy

The findings are somewhat different for the non-delinquent boys. Here it is found that many of the factors which were important in the mother-son relationship of the delinquent are major influences of the father-son relationship of the non-delinquent in the development of a strong conscience. The father's use of reasoning, the use of love-oriented rewards by the father, and father dominance when there is low parental agreement are significant

correlates of strong conscience. Like the delinquents, attraction to the father and inclusion with either the mother or father are also determinants of conscience.

The picture that emerges here is one of identification with the father as a loved object. The relationship between the father's use of reasoning as a method of discipline and high attraction of the boy to the father is quite in contrast to the delinquent boy where the trend is in the opposite direction. The defensive identification of the boy with the father, which was postulated as the basis for the relative importance of the father, seems to have quite a different basis than the defensive identification of the delinquent boy with the mother. The first is seen as based on the desire to enjoy vicariously the father's love relationship with the mother and occurs at an early age. The latter appears to be more of an attempt to incorporate the punishing agent to prevent further physical punishment.

Comments on the relative importance of the father

The hypotheses concerning the relative importance of the father in the control of deviant behavior through the development of conscience, are supported. There is direct evidence in the relative importance of attraction to the father for both the delinquent and non-delinquent boys, but the main piece of evidence is an indirect form which was not anticipated at the outset of this study. It is by assuming the greater importance of the father that we are able to integrate the findings of the delinquents and the non-delinquents. The relative importance of the mother of the delinquent is seen as supporting the notion that if the father had taken on the "normal" role of the male parent, a greater degree of control over deviant

behavior would have resulted. Although the mother's behavior is associated with conscience development, it is still inadequate to establish strong enough controls to prevent delinquency. The results show that the delinquent does tend to have a weaker conscience.

The results of this study do not give complete support to the theory of Fromm that it is the unconditional love of the mother and the conditional love of the father which are the most effective patterns in the development of conscience. Our findings among the non-delinquents on the use of love-oriented rewards indicate the importance of the father using this technique, but not the mother. The strongest conscience develops when the father uses love-oriented techniques and the mother employs other means of rewarding the boy, such as the granting of special treats and privileges. While the use of love-oriented rewards by the father is not necessarily contrary to Fromm's theory, the negative effect of the mother's use of this technique does seem to be different from the notion of unconditional love. This is a matter which deserves more attention, for our findings are also not entirely in agreement with those from other research in the area. Warmth of the mother has consistently been shown to be a factor which is a characteristic of non-delinquents as well as a factor in the development of conscience. But this requires more data than we have at our disposal, and we are once again at the point of suggesting further research.

The results on inclusion

The importance of inclusion as a basis for strong conscience stands out in the results for both groups in relation to both parents. This probably is an indication that no activity with a parent is an indication of a disturbed relationship, which would prevent modeling based upon identification or internalization. It also may be a sign

that other agents than the parents have assumed major importance in the life of the child. While the development of a mature and strong conscience probably results from an integration of the influences of the family and the peer group (White and Lippitt, 1960), the lack of adequate opportunities for communication in the family may leave its mark by too much peer influence ruling the boy's life. Although there is no reason to assume that all peer standards are counter to adult standards, such a situation would be likely to result in deviant behavior than a more balanced set of forces directing the content of the conscience.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

Research has consistently shown that the lower classes account for a disporportionate amount of the delinquency problem. Although some observers assert that the amount of middle class delinquency has been growing in recent years, there is still general agreement that the lower class child is more likely to become delinquent than the middle class child. This fact suggests two closely related questions. First, what are the factors that operate to produce different delinquency rates in the social class structure? Second, do the same factors which produce delinquency in one social class also lead to delinquency in other social classes or are the patterns of causation qualitatively different?

Gold (1961) has shown how one other factor, the academic experience of the boy in school, acts as a link between social structure and delinquency. Lower status children are more likely to fail in school than are higher status children. Among boys, school failure is a particular disadvantage in achieving status by limiting future occupational possibilities. As such, it is likely to act as a provocation towards delinquency. However, when school failure does occur in the life of a middle class boy, delinquent behavior is likely to result just as in the case of the lower class boy.

The data provide the opportunity to test a similar kind of link between social class and delinquency. One may ask if differences

in child-rearing techniques are found in the social structure, and if, through their influence on conscience development, they may account for the higher proportion of delinquency in the lower class.

If such a link does exist, several results should be found in the data of this study. First, congruence should be related to delinquency within each of the social classes if the same factors lead to delinquency wherever they occur in the social structure. Second, low congruence should be associated with low social class position in both the delinquent and non-delinquent groups if the factors that provoke delinquency through their influence on conscience are associated with social class. Third, there should be an association between different parent-child relationships and social class; those relationships which are associated with low congruence should be characteristic of the lower class. Fourth, although the likelihood of a particular parent-child relationship may vary from class to class, we should find congruence to be related to the same antecedents regardless of the class in which they are found.

As shown in Table 21, the differences in congruence scores between matched delinquents and non-delinquents are consistent and statistically significant in the three social classes as well as for the total group. This supports the conclusion that conscience, as measured by congruence, is a common factor associated with delinquency, regardless of social class.

However, in order to account for the high proportion of delinquency in the lower class, it would be expected that there would be lower congruence in the unskilled group as compared with the white collar group. Data are presented for the delinquents and non-delinquents separately. The results in the non-delinquent group should be given special weight since they are more representative of the general population than are the delinquents.

TABLE 21

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS, CONTROLLING ON SOCIAL CLASS[a]

Subject Category	Matched Pairs n	Non-Delinquents Mean	Delinquents Mean	t[b]	p
Total group	74	5.48	4.55	5.07	.001
White collar	16	5.63	4.69	2.53	.02
Skilled	22	5.50	4.19	4.55	.001
Unskilled	36	5.39	4.70	2.40	.02

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]t-tests computed using the method for correlated means.

Table 22 contains the data on the relationships between congruence and social class.[1] Among the non-delinquents, there are no significant differences in congruence scores between any of the social class groups. For the delinquents, the difference in congruence scores between the white collar and unskilled groups is not significant. The skilled group has a lower mean score than either of the

[1]Although the same variables form the basis for Tables 21 and 22, the unmatched cases have been added to Table 22 since the comparisons being made are within the delinquent and non-delinquent groups. Thus, there are slight differences in the frequencies and the means presented in the two tables. For a further discussion of the matched and unmatched samples, see Chapter III.

TABLE 22

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR GROUPS IN DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY[a]

Subject Category	Social Class			t^b	p
	White Collar	Skilled	Unskilled		
Delinquents	4.90 (19)	4.19 (22)	4.68 (37)	.64	.60
Non-delinquents . . .	5.59 (17)	5.43 (26)	5.47 (46)	.41	.70

[a]Congruence scores range from 2–10:
2 = low congruence
10 = high congruence.

[b]t-test based on differences between white collar and unskilled groups.

other two groups, both differences being reliable at the .10 level of significance. However, these differences are negligible for our purposes because of the lack of a linear relationship between social class and congruence.

It must be concluded, on the basis of the data available, that the relatively high incidence of delinquency in the lower class cannot be accounted for by the class distribution of factors which influence congruence, since the congruence scores do not vary in a systematic and significant way with social class. The data shown in Table 23 support this conclusion. Only two of the parent-child

TABLE 23

FREQUENCIES OF DIFFERENT PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIPS BY SOCIAL CLASS, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY

Parent-Child Relationship	Delinquents					Non-Delinquents				
	Social Class[a]			χ^2	p	Social Class[a]			χ^2	p
	WC	SK	Un-SK			WC	SK	Un-SK		
Punishment-Mother										
Reasoning . . .	8	7	5	7.37	.05	9	13	19	.71	.70
Physical	4	10	19			5	10	18		
Punishment-Father										
Reasoning . . .	6	6	8	.30	.90	5	11	13	1.66	.50
Physical	8	10	18			7	9	22		
Attraction-Mother										
High	8	4	13	3.15	.25	10	15	26	.02	.95
Low	11	18	24			7	11	20		
Attraction-Father										
High	10	7	10	3.63	.20	8	11	18	.32	.90
Low	9	15	27			9	15	28		
Reward-Mother										
Love-oriented .	16	18	26	3.51	.20	12	19	37	.68	.70
Other	1	2	8			4	5	7		

[a]Social class key: WC—white collar; SK—skilled; UnSK—unskilled.

TABLE 23 (Continued)

Parent-Child Relationship	Delinquents					Non-Delinquents				
	Social Class[a]			χ^2	p	Social Class[a]			χ^2	p
	WC	SK	Un-SK			WC	SK	Un-SK		
Reward-Father										
Love-oriented .	16	12	25	4.32	.15	13	19	28	1.59	.50
Other	2	8	9			3	4	12		
Evaluation-Mother										
Positive	12	11	16	2.70	.30	9	15	26	.29	.90
Negative	6	11	21			8	11	17		
Evaluation-Father										
Positive	9	6	9	3.75	.20	9	13	24	.22	.90
Negative	9	16	28			8	13	19		
Inclusion-Mother										
High	4	6	9	4.31	.50	6	8	18	9.23	.10
Medium	10	6	12			10	13	16		
Low	4	10	16			0	5	11		
Inclusion-Father										
High	6	7	15	2.52	.70	10	15	21	2.09	.80
Medium	10	8	13			6	8	21		
Low	3	7	9			1	3	4		

relationships which have been related to congruence are significantly related to social class. Among the delinquents, physical punishment by the mother is associated with lower class membership ($p < .05$). For the non-delinquents, low inclusion with the mother is associated with lower class membership ($p < .10$). The lack of association between parent-child relationships and social class among the non-delinquents is particularly striking in light of the previous research on this question.

Based on studies of child-rearing over the past twenty-five years, Bronfenbrenner (1958) has concluded that physical discipline, less affectionate relations between the parents and the child, and less acceptance of the child characterize the practices of the parents in the lower class. It is not possible to know whether the lack of consistency between the results in the present study and past research is due to problems of sampling or whether these represent real differences in the relationships between parents and their children at different times and in different places. Thus, caution should be used in interpreting the data on social class obtained in this study. In any case, it still remains to be shown that class differences in child-rearing practices, if they exist, affect the development of conscience in such a way that it is possible to account for the high delinquency rates in the lower class.

Data related to the second question raised at the beginning of this chapter, whether patterns of delinquency causation are qualitatively different in different social classes, are found in Table 24. This table shows the association between parent-child relationships and congruence, controlling on social class and delinquency. Although the small number of cases involved in the separate social classes makes it somewhat difficult to check to see whether the

TABLE 24

SIGNIFICANCE AND DIRECTION OF DIFFERENCES IN CONGRUENCE SCORES FOR SELECTED VARIABLES, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY AND SOCIAL CLASS[a]

Variable	Delinquents	
	Total Group p	White Collar p
Punishment-mother: reasoning-physical	.01 +	.35 -
Punishment-father: reasoning-physical	.16 +	.25 +
Attraction-mother: high-low	.30 +	.95 -
Attraction-father: high-low	.005 +	.01 +
Reward-mother: love-other	.15 +	— +
Reward-father: love-other	.60 -	— -
Evaluation-mother: positive-negative	.01 +	.35 +
Evaluation-father: positive-negative	.03 +	.40 +
Inclusion-mother: high-low	.001 +	.05 +
Inclusion-father: high-low	.01 +	.35 +

[a]The p-values represent the significance of the differences in congruence scores for the two groups listed under each variable, e.g., reasoning-physical. The first group in each case, e.g., reasoning, was predicted to have higher congruence. Where the differences are in the predicted direction, the p-value is followed by a (+), while if it is in the opposite direction, the p-value is followed by a (-). A dash indicates that there were too few (less than three) cases to compare with a statistical test of significance. All tests of significance are based on a t-test with the exception of the evaluation scores which are based on a Pearson correlation coefficient.

TABLE 24 (Continued)

Delinquents		Non-Delinquents			
Skilled p	Un-skilled p	Total Group p	White Collar p	Skilled p	Un-skilled p
.001 +	.05 +	.95 -	.10 +	.20 -	.40 +
.10 +	.60 –	.10 +	.40 +	.70 -	.02 +
.80 -	.10 +	.30 +	.15 +	.05 +	.50 -
.25 +	.25 +	.01 +	.25 +	.15 +	.05 +
— +	.30 +	.05 -	— -	.70 -	.10 -
.25 -	.35 +	.05 +	.005 +	.95 -	.30 +
.05 +	.03 +	.03 +	.25 +	.03 +	.25 +
.45 +	.005 +	.05 +	.03 +	.25 +	.20 +
.01 +	.10 +	.001 +	— +	.15 +	.005 +
.25 +	.005 +	.01 +	— +	.005 +	.20 +

trends in the social class groups are consistent or inconsistent with the results found for the total group.

There is some evidence that a few of the parent-child relationships could lead to delinquency through their effect on conscience, regardless of the social class context in which they are found. Attraction to the father, perceived parental evaluations, and inclusion with both the mother and the father are related to congruence in the three social classes in the same direction as that reported for the total groups, among both delinquents and non-delinquents. To complete the process, it will be recalled that congruence is related to delinquency in the different social classes (Table 21). However, any conclusion must also take into account two facts: (1) the low significance levels in some of these groups where the results are consistent, and (2) the failure to find consistency in the three social classes for the relationships of congruence to the methods of punishment and reward of both parents and the boy's attraction to the mother. The exceptions do not seem to be characteristic of any one social class, but appear with about equal frequency in the three groups. Further, the inconsistencies do not appear in the same social class for the delinquent and non-delinquent groups for any given variable. For example, the relation between the method of punishment used by the mother and congruence is reversed for the white collar group among the delinquents, while the same reversal is found among the skilled group for the non-delinquents. For this reason, it is not possible to point to qualitative differences in the factors that lead to congruence in the three social class groups. Rather, it can only be stated that certain parent-child relationships do not show consistent relationships to congruence across social class and delinquency groups.

In summary, the data presented in this chapter have led to the following conclusions:

1. There are no systematic differences in either congruence or parent-child relationships as they relate to social class. Because of this, it is not possible to account for the high delinquency rates in the lower class on the basis of the distribution in the various social classes of parent-child relationships associated with the degree of congruence.

2. Congruence does relate to delinquency in a consistent and statistically significant way for the different social class groups.

3. Some parent-child relationships have similar influences on congruence regardless of the social class context in which they occur. Those variables which show a consistent relationship to high congruence include high attraction of the boy to the father, the perception of the boy that he is positively evaluated by the mother and the father, and high inclusion of the boy with the mother and the father.

4. The effects of different methods of punishment and reward of both parents and the boy's degree of attraction to the mother do not relate to congruence in a consistent pattern for both the delinquent and non-delinquent groups in the different social classes.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This was a study of conscience among adolescent boys. One sign of conscience was examined in detail, the degree of congruence between the boy's internal standards of behavior and the standards of behavior which the parents held for him. Selected parent-child relationships were examined to determine their association with congruence, which, in turn, was related to the boy's deviant behavior in the community.

The Sample

Eighty-nine non-delinquent boys and seventy-eight delinquent boys were included in the sample of the study. Within this sample there were seventy-four pairs of delinquents and non-delinquents matched on the basis of I.Q., age, and father's occupation. Where hypotheses were tested which relate to delinquency, the matched sample was used. The major body of hypotheses in this study, relating parent-child relationships to congruence, was tested separately for delinquents and non-delinquents using the total number of boys available in each of these groups. Only Caucasian boys between the ages of 12 and 16, with I.Q.'s of 80 or above, who attended the Flint, Michigan public schools were selected for the sample. All boys came from families where both the mother and father, or stepmother or stepfather, were present in the home. All

delinquents had had two or more serious violations of the law in the three years prior to the selection of the sample. The non-delinquents had had no record with the police during the same period of time.

Predictions

The degree of congruence was predicted to relate to the amount of deviant behavior the boy exhibited in the community. Thus, it was thought that delinquents would have lower congruence than non-delinquents. Within each of these two groups, it was predicted that congruence would be positively related to the boy's citizenship grades in school.

The development and maintenance of congruent standards was seen as a function of two closely related processes, identification and internalization. Identification was used to refer to the process in which the child adopts behaviors and attitudes of a parent based upon his love for the parent, his respect for the parent's power, or both. The child links his self-image with the image of the parent and in the process adopts the values of the parent. Internalization was used to refer to the process in which the boy adopts those standards of behavior of the parent which he judges to be reasonable and useful in reaching his goals. It is supposed that identification facilitates the process of internalization so that the two processes may occur together. However, identification was assumed to take place fairly early in the child's life, largely as an unconscious process which involved the taking over of a parent's standards of behavior because the child wanted to be like the parent. Internalization, in contrast, is largely a conscious process based upon the child's judgment of the appropriateness of a particular

standard of behavior and was thought to occur later than identification.

The parent-child relationships which were believed to contribute to the development of congruent standards through the processes of identification and internalization were grouped into three clusters: control, attraction, and inclusion. Variables in the control cluster included the method of punishment used by each parent, the amount of parental agreement on how to handle the child, and the authority structure of the parents. Specifically, it was predicted that reasoning would be the most effective method of punishment in producing congruence, withdrawal of love would be intermediate, and physical punishment would be least effective. Parental agreement, predicted to be higher in families where the father was dominant as compared to families in which there was an equalitarian relationship between the husband and wife, was thought to be positively related to congruence. However, where there were families in which there was low parental agreement and father dominance, it was predicted that there would be higher congruence than for those families in which there was low parental agreement and an equalitarian family structure.

The attraction cluster included the boy's attraction to each parent, the kinds of rewards used by each parent, and the boy's perception of how each parent evaluated him. It was predicted that high attraction to a parent would be a function of that parent's use of love-oriented rewards and of the boy's perception of being positively evaluated by that parent, and that high attraction would lead to high congruence.

The inclusion cluster consisted of the number of activities which the boy mentioned sharing with each parent. It was predicted

that there would be a positive relationship between the number of activities with each parent and congruence.

The same hypotheses were made between the mother-boy relationships and congruence as were made for the father-boy relationships and congruence. However, the father was predicted to be the more significant figure in the socialization of the child on the basis of (1) the Freudian theory of the Oedipal situation, and (2) the development and reinforcement of sex-appropriate ways of behaving in the male child. To test this last prediction, patterns of boys' relationship to the two parents on each of the variables of punishment, attraction, reward, evaluation, and inclusion were compared as they related to congruence. For example, congruence scores were compared for those cases in which the boy had high attraction to the father but low attraction to the mother and for those cases in which the boy had low attraction to the father and high attraction to the mother. It was predicted that the first group would have higher congruence scores than the second group.

In addition to these predictions, it was decided that data would be examined to determine if there were any social class differences in parent-child relationships which, through their influence on congruence, might account for the fact that the delinquency rates in the lower class are considerably higher than the rates in the middle class.

Results

The association between congruence and deviant behavior

The results showed that delinquents have lower congruence scores than non-delinquents. In addition, a positive relationship was

found between congruence and citizenship for the delinquent group while among the non-delinquents the results showed only a trend in the predicted direction.

Parent-child relationships and congruence in the delinquent group

There was considerable variation in the congruence scores for both the delinquent and non-delinquent groups, even though the mean scores were significantly different. However, it should be remembered that when the term high congruence is used in connection with the delinquent group, it is a relative rather than an absolute term and that, in general, the scores of the delinquents are lower than those of the non-delinquents.

Among the delinquents, the following results were found. The use of reasoning by the mother as opposed to physical punishment was associated with high congruence. The father's use of reasoning as compared to physical punishment was also found to be related to high congruence, but these results represent only a trend. For both parents, the influence on congruence of withdrawal of love tended to be more like the effects of physical punishment rather than reasoning, although these too were only trends. Parental agreement was not directly associated with congruence as had been expected, nor was family structure related to congruence for those cases where there was low parental agreement. However, among those cases where there was high parental agreement, an equalitarian rather than a father-dominant family structure was found to be related to high congruence. The boy's attraction to the mother was not associated with congruence, but a positive relationship does exist between the boy's attraction to the father and

congruence. Contrary to the predictions, the boy's attraction to either parent was not significantly related to the kind of reward used by the parent, nor was it related to the boy's perception of how positively the parent evaluated him. An unexpected result showed that the delinquent's attraction to the mother was greater for those cases where the mother reported using physical punishment as opposed to reasoning. There was a trend for the use of love-oriented rewards by the mother to be associated with high congruence, while significant positive relationships were found between congruence and the boy's perception of both the mother's and father's evaluations of him. As was predicted, inclusion with each of the parents was positively related to congruence.

The results relating to the hypothesis that the father would be a more significant figure than the mother in the socialization of the child were significant in the predicted direction for only one variable, attraction to the father. Here it was found that where there was high attraction to one parent and low attraction to the other, those cases where there was high attraction to the father have higher congruence than those cases where there was lower attraction to the father. For the comparable pattern analyses related to punishment, reward, and inclusion, the trends were in the opposite direction. For these variables, it was found that when the mother used the less severe method of punishment than the father, when the mother used love-oriented rewards and the father did not, and when the boy mentioned more activities with the mother than with the father, there was a trend to find higher congruence than in those cases where the boys had the opposite patterns of relationships to his parents.

Parent-child relationships and congruence in the non-delinquent group

Among the non-delinquents, the following results were found. The father's use of reasoning as compared to physical punishment was associated with high congruence, while there were no differences for the comparable comparison of the mother's methods of punishment. Once again, the influence of withdrawal of love on congruence was not significantly different from the effects of the other two methods of punishment. There was a significant interaction between the authority structure of the family and parental agreement as they affected congruence. High congruence was associated with either father dominance and low parental agreement or an equalitarian family structure and high parental agreement. As was true of the delinquent group, there was no association between the boy's attraction to his mother and congruence, nor was the attraction to the mother related to the method of reward the mother used or the boy's perception of how she evaluated him. However, the mother's method of reward was related to congruence directly. Love-oriented rewards were associated with lower congruence than other kinds of reward, contrary to the prediction. In addition, the boy's perception of how the mother evaluated him was positively related to congruence. In contrast, the father's use of love-oriented rewards and the boy's perception of how his father evaluated him, and the father's use of reasoning, were positively related to the boy's attraction to his father, which in turn was positively related to congruence. Consistent with this pattern, the father's use of love-oriented rewards and the boy's perception of how the father evaluated him were positively related to congruence. Furthermore, the degree of

inclusion of the boy in activities with each parent was positively related to congruence.

For the non-delinquent boys, there was evidence that the father was the more significant parent in influencing congruence. When the father used the less severe method of punishment, when the boy was attracted to the father more than the mother, and when the father used love-oriented rewards and the mother did not, there was higer congruence in comparison with groups in which the opposite pattern existed. There were no differences in congruence scores when the groups with different patterns on the variables of evaluation and inclusion were compared.

Social class

The results showed that congruence was related to delinquency in the white collar, skilled, and unskilled classes. The boy's attraction to the father, the boy's perception of each parent's evaluation of him, and the degree of inclusion with each parent showed consistent, though not always statistically significant relations to congruence in the three social class groups used in this study—white collar, skilled, and unskilled. The boy's attraction to the mother, and the methods of reward and punishment of each parent, were not consistently related to congruence in the different social class groups. There were also no social class differences in the congruence scores within either the delinquent and non-delinquent groups. Only two of the parent-child relationships were associated with social class. Among the delinquents, physical punishment was characteristic of mothers in the unskilled group, in comparison to reasoning, which was characteristic of mothers in the white collar group. Among the non-delinquents, low inclusion with the mother was associated with being in the unskilled group. No

significant relationships were found between social class and the other nine parent-child relationships in either the delinquent or non-delinquent groups.

Conclusions

In drawing conclusions from the results of this study, particular emphasis is given to the results of the non-delinquent group. This is done because the non-delinquents are more nearly representative of the general population of adolescent boys than are the delinquents.

The results concerned with the father-son relationships of the non-delinquent give strong support to the processes of identification and internalization. Where those conditions exist which were thought to promote these two processes, the boy is likely to develop a strong conscience. The same kind of processes do not seem to be operating, however, in the relationship of the mother and son. In particular, attraction to the mother seems neither to be based upon the kind of punishment or reward the mother uses nor to be a particularly strong factor in influencing the conscience of the boy. The mother seems to be more influential when the boy feels he is included with her and thought well of by her. It may be that the mother also plays a significant role in the development and maintenance of the boy's conscience by providing support to the father in his relationships to the boy or encouraging the boy to model himself after the father.

The finding, among the non-delinquents, that the mother's use of love-oriented rewards was associated with a weaker conscience than her use of other methods of reward is difficult to understand. It may be that the particular method of reward is not the significant

factor, but rather the correlates of the method. Bandura and Walters (1959) report that the use of material rewards by mothers of non-aggressive boys was associated with a tendency to show warmth for the boy and a tendency to be permissive of the boy's spending time in her company. Thus, the measure of rewards used in this research may be a poor index of the degree of parental affection shown to the boy. Further research would need to be done to clarify this problem.

The findings of both the delinquents and the non-delinquents support the theory that the relationship of the boy to the father is of critical importance in the boy's socialization. However, the relative importance of the father and mother is not restricted just to the influence they have on the boy's conscience. There are indications that the relative influence of the parents on the boy's conscience may be an important factor in relation to the boy being involved in deviant behavior. It is concluded that greater influence of the father than the mother in the development of the boy's conscience is less likely to lead to deviant behavior by the boy than is greater influence by the mother than the father in the development of the boy's conscience. If the mother takes over the main socialization functions of the boy due to disturbed relations between the father and son, it may not be possible for the boy to develop strong enough internal standards to control delinquent behavior.

The data also point to the conclusion that conscience does represent a force in controlling a boy's deviant behavior in the community. In addition, these findings support the validity of congruence as a measure of conscience.

The analysis of the data by social class indicates that there is almost no support for the idea that social class differences in parent-child relationships could account for the fact that there are

higher delinquency rates in the lower class than in the middle class. It is concluded, however, that some of the same parent-child relationships account for conscience development in the different social classes.

Suggestions for Future Research

As is the case with all research, a good many questions have been raised which deserve further exploration. The work that has been done in this research represents only the roughest approximation of the actual processes that lead to conscience. The measures that have been used, the non-representative nature of the sample, and the small size of the sample have limited the research.

It is necessary to obtain more direct and complete measures of the degree to which the boy identifies with either parent and also the degree to which he internalizes the parents' standards of behavior by critically evaluating the standards.

These data have left unanswered the question of the source of the mother's influence on the standards of the boy. It would appear that the boy's attraction to the mother is not a critical factor. Other bases of power such as the boy's perception of the mother as an expert, or as a source of emotional support, should be examined.

The data on the authority structure need to be extended to include more extreme cases of mother or father dominance. In this study, it was possible to examine only equalitarian or moderate father-dominant types of family structure. Whether or not the extremes follow the same pattern is yet to be seen.

Another intriguing area of research is to be found in the relationship of the delinquent boy to his mother and father. The

implications of the greater influence of the mother than the father in the life of the delinquent boy have not been explored in this research. Particular attention should be paid to the affects of strong attachments to the mother on peer group relations and the development of sex-appropriate patterns of behavior. The method of taking patterns of parental variables has yielded some significant results, and it is suggested that this approach be continued.

The fact that this research dealt only with boys has left many questions unanswered. Do girls, for example, have particular problems of adjustment when the father is the main socialization agent, as the boys seem to have when the mother is forced to play a dominant role in the family? To what degree do the same processes operate in the development of conscience among girls as have been found to influence the development of the boy's conscience?

Last, only one group has been examined in relation to the development of conscience—the family. The importance of the peer group as well as other significant figures in the life of the child must be studied before any total picture can be drawn of how a strong and mature conscience is formed and maintained.

APPENDIX

TABLE 25

VALUES OF t AND p FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS IN CONGRUENCE AND AGREEMENT SCORES FOR SELECTED VARIABLES RELATED TO CONGRUENCE IN THE TABLES OF THE TEXT, CONTROLLING ON DELINQUENCY

Variable	Table	Congruence		Agreement Mother		Agreement Father	
		t	p[a]	t	p[a]	t	p[a]
Punishment-mother	4						
Delinquents		2.43	.01	1.30	.10	2.81	.005
Non-delinquents		—	—	.69	.50 (2t)	.98	.20
Punishment-father	4						
Delinquents		1.02	.16	.86	.20	.76	.25
Non-delinquents		1.42	.10	.54	.30	1.56	.07
Punishment-parents	5						
Delinquents		1.60	.06	.65	.30	1.78	.05
Non-delinquents		.76	.25	.23	.80 (2t)	1.45	.10
Punishment patterns	6						
Delinquents		1.45	.20 (2t)	.92	.40 (2t)	1.27	.30 (2t)
Non-delinquents		1.75	.05	2.46	.01	.78	.25
Attraction-mother	9						
Delinquents		.65	.30	2.04	.03	1.03	.30 (2t)
Non-delinquents		.62	.30	1.67	.05	.41	.70 (2t)
Attraction-father	9						
Delinquents		2.69	.005	1.44	.10	2.76	.005
Non-delinquents		2.44	.01	1.43	.10	2.31	.03

[a]If the results are in the opposite direction from that predicted, a two-tailed test of significance was used and is indicated by (2t) next to the p-value. All other results are in the predicted direction.

TABLE 25 (Continued)

Variable	Table	Congruence		Agreement Mother		Agreement Father	
		t	p[a]	t	p[a]	t	p[a]
Attraction-parents	10						
Delinquents		6.39	.001	1.99	.03	1.26	.15
Non-delinquents		2.21	.03	2.32	.03	1.31	.10
Attraction patterns	11						
Delinquents		1.49	.08	.51	.35	2.78	.005
Non-delinquents		1.37	.10	—	—	1.92	.05
Rewards-mother	13						
Delinquents		1.00	.16	.84	.20	.73	.25
Non-delinquents		2.04	.05 (2t)	1.79	.10 (2t)	1.51	.15 (2t)
Rewards-father	13						
Delinquents		.52	.60 (2t)	1.29	.20 (2t)	.14	.45
Non-delinquents		1.77	.05	.73	.25	1.93	.03
Reward patterns	14						
Delinquents		1.13	.30 (2t)	1.93	.10 (2t)	—	—
Non-delinquents		2.75	.005	1.38	.10	2.60	.01
Evaluation patterns	17						
Delinquents		.60	.60 (2t)	.62	.60 (2t)	.27	.80 (2t)
Non-delinquents		.53	.30	—	—	.71	.25
Activities-mother	18						
Delinquents		4.29	.001	3.24	.005	3.27	.005
Non-delinquents		3.90	.001	1.05	.15	4.69	.001
Activities-father	18						
Delinquents		2.66	.01	—	—	4.45	.001
Non-delinquents		2.54	.01	—	—	4.38	.001
Activity patterns	20						
Delinquents		1.37	.20 (2t)	2.87	.01 (2t)	.74	.50 (2t)
Non-delinquents		.22	.90 (2t)	—	—	—	—

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