5.5 DIANA BAUMRIND

Child Care Practices Anteceding Three Patterns of Preschool Behavior

Diana Baumrind (b. 1927) studied at Hunter College and at the University of California, Berkeley, where she earned her Ph.D. in 1951. Although certified and licensed to practice psychology, she has spent most of her career as a researcher of human development. She has held various project directorships at Berkeley, mostly concentrating on contextual issues in family socialization. She is best known for her work on describing parental styles of child care and discipline and how those styles differentially influence child behavior.

It is universally agreed that parents (primary caregivers) have the biggest influence on the development of their children. One of the most frequently asked questions in courses on developmental psychology and human development is, What is the best way to raise my (current or future) son or daughter? To answer this question as a social scientist, one must reliably identify several forms or styles of parenting, observe the behavior of children subjected to those parenting styles, and compare the results. This is just what Baumrind did. Her research is discussed in the following selection, taken from "Child Care Practices Anteceding Three Patterns of Preschool Behavior," *Genetic Psychology Monographs* (1967).

Key Concept: parenting styles

INTRODUCTION

The major objective of the present investigation is to study systematically childrearing practices associated with competence in the young child. In

order to do this a group of preschool children were identified who were self-reliant, self-controlled, explorative, and content (Pattern I in this investigation). The childrearing practices of their parents were contrasted with those of parents whose children were discontent, withdrawn, and distrustful (Pattern II), and those of parents whose children had little self-control or self-reliance and tended to retreat from novel experiences (Pattern III). Multiple assessment procedures were used to measure parental control, maturity demands, clarity of communication, and warmth. Observations were made in natural and structured settings and data obtained on parents and children independently.

The conceptual approach to parent-child relations from which the study proceeds starts with the assumption that the physical, cognitive, and social development of middle-class preschool children in America is largely a function of parental childrearing practices. With varying degrees of consciousness and conscientiousness, parents create their children psychologically as well as physically. The child's energy level, his willingness to explore and will to master his environment, and his self-control, sociability, and buoyancy are set not only by genetic structure but by the regimen, stimulation, and kind of contact provided by his parents. The child's inherent cognitive potential can be fully developed by a rich, complex environment or inhibited by inadequate and poorly timed stimulation. The young child learns from his parents how to think as well as how to talk, how to interpret and use his experience, how to control his reactions, and how to influence other people. Children learn from their parents how to relate to others, whom to like and emulate, whom to avoid and derogate, how to express affiliation and animosity, and when to withhold response. The parents' use of reinforcement, whether punishment or reward, alters the child's behavior and affects his future likes and dislikes. Parents differ in the degree to which they wish to influence their children, and they differ in their effectiveness as teachers and models. Some parents attempt to maximize and others to minimize the direct influence that they have upon their children. Some parents enjoy prolonged and intense contact and others are discomforted by such contact. Parents differ in their ability to communicate clearly with their children and in their desire to reason with and listen to the ideas and objections of their offspring. They vary in the frequency and kinds of demands that they make of their children. Some parents require of their preschool children that they participate in household chores, or that they care for themselves and their rooms, or that they control their feelings, while others seek to prolong the early period of dependency, immaturity, and spontaneous expression of feelings.

The parent variables assess the childrearing practices described above, and were selected for their theoretical importance as predictors of competence in preschool children. A great deal of attention has been given in the past to the negative effects on children of too much control. The disciplinary variables selected for study reflected this particular bias. An effort was made in this investigation to define the control variables separately from the restrictive variables and then to study the interaction of control with nurturance rather than restrictiveness with nurturance.

SUBJECTS

Selection of Subjects

Subjects were 32 three- and four-year-olds chosen from among children enrolled at the Child Study Center, Institute of Human Development, University of California, Berkeley during the Fall semester of 1961.

The 110 children enrolled at the Child Study Center were assessed along five dimensions: namely, self-control, approach-avoidance tendency, self-reliance, subjective mood, and peer affiliation. In conferences attended by nursery school teachers and the observer staff, each dimension of child behavior was given concrete meaning by reference to relevant time sample categories and illustrated by instances of actual observed behavior. After 14 weeks of observation, the children in the four participating nursery school groups were ranked on each dimension by their nursery school teacher and the observing psychologist. Where the nursery school teacher and psychologist disagreed about the placement of a child, the disagreement was resolved by conference or the child was disqualified. A respectful relationship existed between nursery school staff and the team of psychologists, each group of whom had the opportunity to observe the children from a different perspective and thus contribute to the discussion in important ways and on an equal footing. Fifty-two children, who received among the five highest or among the five lowest rankings on two or more dimensions, after conference, composed the first pool of potential subjects. These children were further observed in a laboratory setting where they were exposed to standardized stimuli. For example, the children were presented by a psychologist with three puzzles graded in difficulty so that each child experienced easy success, probable success, and certain failure. Their responses to success and failure were observed and rated by the testing psychologist and another psychologist who in each case had also observed and ranked the children in the nursery school setting. The psychologist responsible for initial selection of the child had the opportunity then to see the child function in a second and entirely different type of setting. In order for the child to remain in the study, the observing psychologist's ratings of the child in the two settings had to concur and to be confirmed by the psychologist who presented the children with the structured stimuli. By using multiple assessment procedures, groups of children with clear-cut, stable patterns of interpersonal attributes were obtained.

All children who were reliably rated over settings and had one of the patterns of high and low scores designated... were used as subjects. A total of 32 subjects met these criteria. The three patterns of children were selected in order that a set of hypotheses concerning the interacting effects of parental control, parental maturity demands, parent child communication, and parental nurturance could be tested. Children who were ranked high on mood, self-reliance, and approach or self-control were designated as Pattern I ($N = 13$). Children who were ranked low on the peer affiliation and mood dimensions and were not ranked high on the approach dimension were designated as Pattern II ($N =$

11). Children who were ranked low on self-reliance and low on self-control or approach were designated as Pattern III ($N = 8$)....

CHILD BEHAVIOR DIMENSIONS

The five dimensions of child behavior used in establishing pattern membership were chosen to assess aspects both of socialized behavior and independent behavior.

Self-Control

Self-control is defined as the tendency, in a consistent and reliable fashion, to suppress, redirect, inhibit, or in other ways control the impulse to act, in those situations where self-restraint is appropriate. In order for an instance of self-restraint to be treated as an index of self-control, the child must be motivated to engage in an act and there must be adaptive reasons for restraint in the form of an adult prohibition or a safety rule.

Aspects of self-control assessed were (*a*) obedience to school rules that conflict with an action that the child is motivated to perform, under circumstances where such prohibitions are known to the child; (*b*) ability to sustain a work effort; (*c*) capacity to wait his turn in play with other children or in use of washroom facilities; (*d*) ability to restrain those expressions of excitement or anger that would be disruptive or destructive to the peer group; and (*e*) low variability of self-control as shown by absence of explosive emotional expression or swings between high and low control.

Approach-Avoidance Tendency

Approach-Avoidance tendency measures the extent to which the child reacts to stimuli that are novel, stressful, exciting, or unexpected, by approaching these stimuli in an explorative and curious fashion (contrasted to avoiding these stimuli or becoming increasingly anxious when challenged to approach them).

Aspects of approach assessed were (*a*) vigor and involvement with which child reacts to his normal environment; (*b*) preference for stimulating activities, such as rough and tumble games or climbing and balancing; (*c*) interest in exploring the potentialities of a new environment (noted in particular when the child is invited to come to the laboratory to participate in the structured observation); (*d*) tendency to seek out experiences with challenge (e.g., tasks which are new for him, or cognitive problems at the upper limits of his ability); and (*e*) tendency to attack an obstacle to a goal rather than retreat from the goal.

Subjective Mood (Buoyant-Dysphoric)

This dimension refers to the predominant affect expressed by the child with regard to the degree of pleasure and zest shown. A buoyant mood is

demonstrated behaviorally by happy involvement in nursery school activities. If the child is outgoing, he may appear lively and perhaps aggressively good-humored. If less outgoing, the child may appear contemplative and privately engrossed, in a contented, secure manner. A dysphoric mood is expressed by anxious, hostile, and unhappy peer relations and low involvement in nursery school activities. If the child is outgoing he may appear angry, punishing, and obstructive, when dysphoric. If less outgoing, the child may appear fearful, bored, or subdued.

Self-Reliance

Self-reliance refers to the ability of the child to handle his affairs in an independent fashion relative to other children his age. As this variable is defined, realistic help-seeking may be regarded as an aspect of self-reliance rather than dependency when the child actively searches for help in order to perform a task too difficult for him to accomplish alone. The child rated high in self-reliance, however, does not seek help as a way of relating to others or of avoiding effort, but as a means of achieving a goal or learning a new technique.

Aspects of self-reliance assessed were (*a*) ease of separation from parents; (*b*) matter-of-fact rather than dependent manner of relating to nursery school teachers, especially when seeking help; (*c*) willingness to be alone at times; (*d*) pleasure expressed in learning how to master new tasks; (*e*) resistance to encroachment of other children; (*f*) leadership interest and ability; and (*g*) interest expressed in making decisions and choices which affect him.

Peer Affiliation

This dimension refers to the child's ability and desire to express warmth toward others of his own age.

Aspects assessed were (*a*) expressions of trust in peers and expectation of being treated by them in an affiliative manner; (*b*) expressions of affection congruent with the particular peer relationship; (*c*) cooperative engagement in group activities; and (*d*) absence of sadistic, hostile, or unprovoked aggressive behavior toward playmates.

PARENT BEHAVIOR DIMENSIONS

... The dimensions studied are parental control, parental maturity demands, parent-child communication, and parental nurturance. The dimensions of parent-child interaction were assessed during home visits, structured observation, and interviews. The individual variables that defined the dimensions operationally are described. The operational definitions of each dimension appear beneath the conceptual definition and consist of the component variables listed under Home Visit Sequence Analysis (HVSA) and Summary Ratings for the Structured Observation (SRSO)....

Parental Control

The term parental control refers to the socializing functions of the parent: that is, to those parental acts that are intended to shape the child's goal-oriented activity, modify his expression of dependent, aggressive, and playful behavior, and promote internalization of parental standards. Parental control as defined here is not a measure of restrictiveness, punitive attitudes, or intrusiveness. Parental control included such variables as consistency in enforcing directives, ability to resist pressure from the child, and willingness to exert influence upon the child....

Parental Maturity Demands

Maturity demands refer both to the pressures put upon the child to perform at least up to ability in intellectual, social, and emotional spheres (independence-training) and leeway given the child to make his own decisions (independence-granting)....

Parent-Child Communication

By clarity of parent-child communication is meant the extent to which the parent uses reason to obtain compliance, solicits the child's opinions and feelings, and uses open rather than manipulative techniques of control....

Parental Nurturance

The term nurturance is used to refer to the caretaking functions of the parent: that is, to those parent acts and attitudes that express love and are directed at guaranteeing the child's physical and emotional well-being. Nurturance is expressed by warmth and involvement. By warmth is meant the parent's personal love and compassion for the child expressed by means of sensory stimulation, verbal approval, and tenderness of expression and touch. By involvement is meant pride and pleasure in the child's accomplishments, manifested by words of praise and interest, and conscientious protection of the child's welfare. (We speak of the child's welfare from the parent's perspective.)...

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

The propositions upon which the study hypotheses are based will be presented in this section. A general statement of the expected related effects of parental control, parental maturity demands, parent-child communication, and parental nurturance is as follows: parents who are both controlling and demanding (referred to as nonpermissive), but also nurturant and communicative, should generate in their children self-reliant, self-assertive, and self-controlled (Pattern I) behavior; parents who are nonpermissive and non-nurturant should generate

moderately self-reliant and self-controlled, but also dysphoric and disaffiliative (Pattern II), behavior; and parents who are noncontrolling and nondemanding (permissive) should promote dependence, avoidance of stress, and low self-control (Pattern III) behavior....

Proposition A: Nonpermissive, nurturant parents are more effective reinforcing agents for their children than are nonpermissive, nonnurturant or permissive, nurturant parents....

Proposition B: Nonpermissive, nurturant parents will effectively model behavior that is self-assertive (approach-oriented and self-reliant) and affiliative....

Proposition C: Low maturity demands will result in low self-reliance, especially if the parent is nurturant....

Proposition D: High maturity demands will result in higher aspirations, greater self-reliance, and a more buoyant attitude when the parents are nurturant than when they are nonnurturant....

Proposition E: Clarity of communication accompanying high parental control will promote the development of conformity without loss of self-assertiveness....

PROCEDURES

To permit internal validation of results, multiple measures were used. Each measure was devised to perform a slightly different function. The structured observation was devised to maximize the crucial group differences by presenting, to each mother-child pair, standard stimuli designed to elicit influence attempts by the parent and resistance from the child. A rating instrument, the Parent Behavior Rating Scales (PBRS), was devised to provide the latitude needed for clinical inference, and as a convenient way of summarizing information gathered during the home visit. The Home Visit Sequence Analysis (HVSA) measured parent-child interactions directly and discretely. Data obtained from this source are minimally affected by halo, since each variable from the HVSA is associated with a theoretical dimension of parent-child interaction via an inferential chain unknowable to the coder. Additional information about childrearing practices and attributes was obtained by interviewing each parent separately.

Although the data obtained on child training practices from the several sources were not collected independently, the data obtained from these sources were defined so differently that they could reasonably be used as corroborative.... In no case did results obtained by the different methods contradict one another.

All parents and children selected for study agreed to participate. They were promised feedback about results which they received in the form of a report, describing the hypotheses and general results. In approaching the family to participate, we acknowledged gratefully the extent of our debt to the subjects and the initial discomfort that subjects and observers alike might be expected to experience during the home visit....

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION....

Summary of Results

In order that the reader might have a visual picture of the total results the variables measuring each dimension were composited for the HVSA and SRSO and are presented in Figure 1.... The two measures, very different in unit and setting, give nearly identical pictures of between-group differences. Parents of Pattern I children are uniformly high on all dimensions by comparison with other parents. Pattern II and Pattern III show reverse relationships on the control and nurturance scores. Parents of the disaffiliated and dysphoric children were more controlling and less nurturant, while the opposite is true for parents of immature children. This relationship between the control and nurturance composites is more striking than the between-group difference on either dimension. Of particular interest is the similarity of parents of both contrast groups on communication scores, when compared to the parents of Pattern I children whose scores are very much higher....

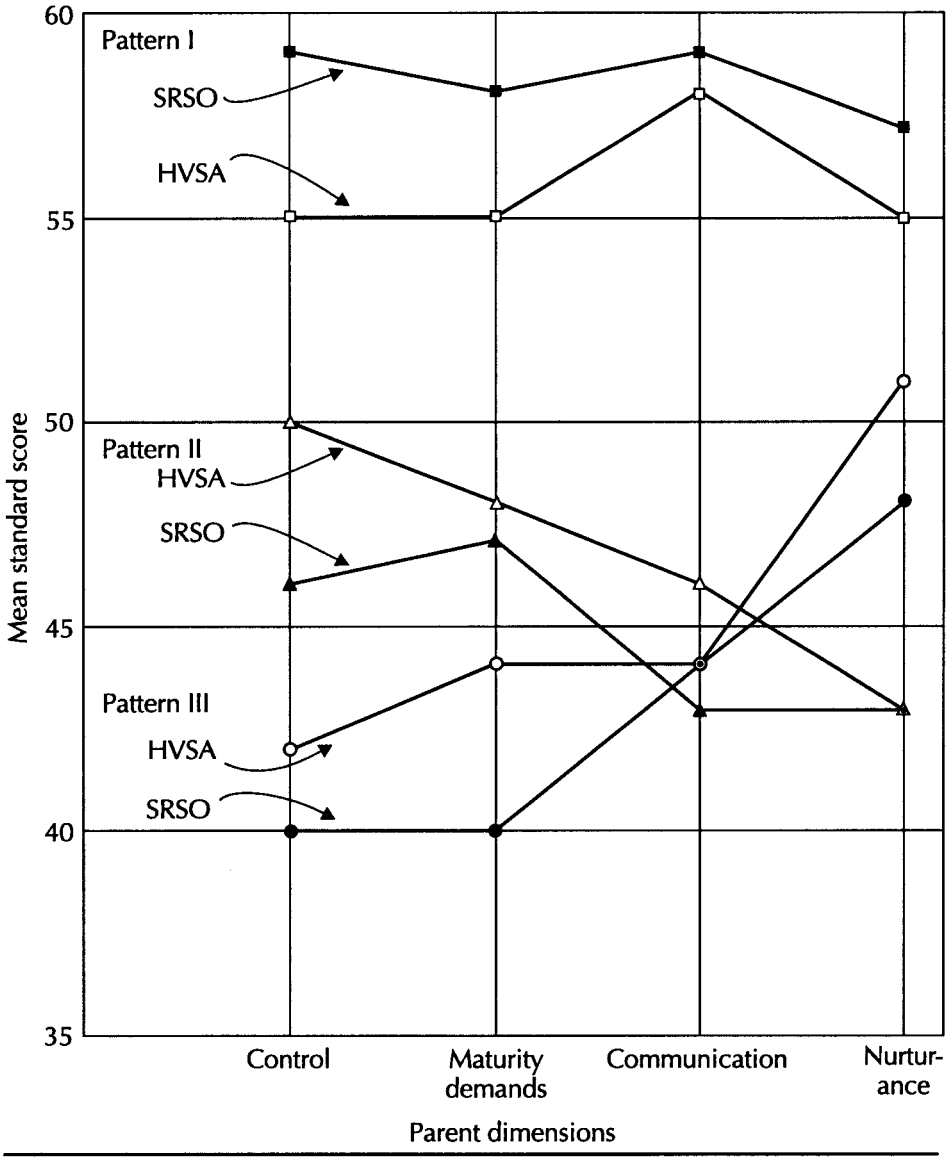
Discussion

Childrearing Practices Associated With Pattern I Child Behavior. Pattern I children were both socialized and independent. They were self-controlled and affiliative on the one hand and self-reliant, explorative, and self assertive on the other hand. They were realistic, competent, and content by comparison with Pattern II and Pattern III children. Boys and girls were equally represented, as were children of different birth orders. The differences between Pattern I children and children in the other patterns were far more pronounced than were the differences between children in Patterns II and III.

The magnitudes of group differences for their parents were similarly discrepant. In the home setting, parents of Pattern I children were markedly consistent, loving, conscientious, and secure in handling their children. They respected the child's independent decisions but demonstrated remarkable ability to hold to a position once they took a stand. They tended to accompany a directive with a reason. On the SRSO, mothers of Pattern I children demon-

FIGURE 1

Profile of Composited Parent Dimension Scores from the Summary Ratings for the Structured Observation (SRSO) and the Home Visit Sequence Analysis (HVSA) for Each Pattern



strated firm control and demanded a good deal of their children. They also were more supportive and communicated more clearly with their children than did parents of children in Patterns II and III. Despite vigorous and at times conflictful interactions, their homes were not marked by discord or dissensions. The above findings were true when parents of Pattern I children were compared with parents of children in either Pattern II or Pattern III. Parents of Pattern I children balanced high nurturance with high control and high demands with clear communication about what was required of the child. Under the conditions pertaining in their homes, Pattern I children were not adversely affected by their parents' socialization and maturity demands and, indeed, seemed to thrive under the pressure imposed. We are inclined to think that by using reason to accompany a directive and by encouraging verbal give and take, these parents were able to maintain control without stimulating rebellion or passivity.

By comparison with parents of Pattern III children in the home setting, parents of Pattern I children had firmer control over the actions of their children, engaged in more independence training and did not baby their children. It is clear from the PBRS that the Pattern I household by comparison with the Pattern III household was better coordinated, that there were fewer instances of disciplinary friction, and the policy of regulations was clearer and more effectively enforced. Power was used in an open and nonmanipulative fashion by parents of Pattern I children, and yet the child was more satisfied by interactions with his parents than was the Pattern III child. According to interview data, by comparison with fathers of Pattern III children, fathers of Pattern I children accepted a more important role in the disciplining of their children. Both parents of Pattern I children expressed greater feeling of control over the behavior of their children and less internal conflict about disciplinary procedures than did parents of Pattern III children.

Childrearing Practices Associated With Pattern II Child Behavior. Pattern II children were significantly less content, more insecure and apprehensive, less affiliative toward peers, and more likely to become hostile or regressive under stress than Pattern I children. They were more inclined to do careful work and functioned at a higher cognitive level than Pattern III children. The group was composed, by comparison with Pattern III, of (significantly) more first-born and only children of one- and two-child families, and (nonsignificantly) more girls.

Parents of Pattern II children were, by comparison with parents of the other two groups, less nurturant and involved with their children. They exerted firm control and used power freely, but offered little support of affection. They did not attempt to convince the child through use of reason to obey a directive, nor did they encourage the child to express himself when he disagreed. According to interview data, the mother was more inclined to give an absolute moral imperative as a reason for her demands than were Pattern I parents. Her expressed attitudes were less sympathetic and approving and she admitted more to frightening the child. Her expressed nonnurturant attitudes were reflected in her observed behavior on HVSA and SRSO measures.

Childrearing Practices Associated With Pattern III Child Behavior. Pattern III children were lacking in self-control and self-reliance by comparison with children in the other groups.

By comparison with parents of Pattern I children, the parents of Pattern III children behaved in a markedly less controlling manner and were not as well organized or effective in running their households. They were self-effacing and insecure about their ability to influence their children, lacking the qualities of a strong model. Neither parent demanded much of the child and fathers were lax reinforcing agents. They engaged in less independence training and babied their children more. There are some indications that by comparison with parents of Pattern I children these parents were less intensely involved with their children and used love manipulatively. Mothers used withdrawal of love and ridicule rather than power or reason as incentives.

The most significant difference between parents of Pattern II and Pattern III children was that the former were the more controlling. Since parents of Pattern III children were the warmer, the control-nurturance ratios are in opposite directions: parents of the dysphoric and disaffiliated children were controlling and not at all warm, while parents of the immature children were not at all controlling and comparatively warm.

The prototypic child-centered parent who is both permissive (noncontrolling and nondemanding) and warm did not appear. The most mature and competent children sampled certainly did not have child-centered parents. But neither did the least mature and self-reliant group of children.

The Interacting Effects of Control and Warmth. The interacting effects of control and warmth clearly differ from the interacting effects of restrictiveness and warmth. Becker (1, p. 198) summarized the interactions of restrictiveness *vs.* permissiveness with warmth *vs.* hostility. He reported that warm-restrictive parents tend to have dependent, well socialized, submissive children. In this study warm-controlling parents were not paired with submissive, dependent children, but rather with assertive, self-reliant children. Parents of Pattern I children enforced directives and resisted the child's demands, but they did not overprotect or overrestrict the child. The children were well socialized but not passive-dependent. Apparently early control, unlike restrictiveness, does not lead to "fearful, dependent, and submissive behaviors, a dulling of intellectual striving and inhibited hostility" (1, p. 197). Becker reports that children of warm-nonrestrictive parents were socially outgoing, successfully aggressive, independent, and friendly. In this study, children of warm-noncontrolling parents were immature and avoidant. They were not self-assertive and self-reliant, as were children of warm-nonrestrictive parents.

Restrictiveness and control, then, relate to quite different behaviors and have contrasting effects on self-assertiveness and self-reliance in young children. In order to understand the effects of either control or restrictiveness in child behavior, a configurational analysis that takes into account interactions with nurturance variables is necessary.

SUMMARY

Childrearing practices of parents with self-reliant, self-controlled, approach-oriented, buoyant children were contrasted with childrearing practices of other parents whose children were drawn from the same preschool population. There were two contrast groups of children. Members of one contrast group were dysphoric and disaffiliated, while members of the other group were immature. Parent dimensions measured were parental control, parental maturity demands, parent-child communication, and parental nurturance.

Parent-child interaction data were obtained by means of focussed interviews, home visits, and structured observations. The home visits offered the opportunity to observe the family in a natural setting, while the structured observation confronted the mother and child with a standard set of arousal stimuli designed to elicit responses of theoretical interest.

Certain hypotheses were tested about the effects of childrearing practices using data obtained from independent observations of parents and children in natural and contrived situations.

The following points should be kept in mind when generalizing from the findings. It does not follow from these results that either parental control or nurturance bears a positive linear relationship to competence in preschool children. The total range is not represented. Parents of subjects with scores in the middle range on the child attributes measured may have even more extreme scores on the parent dimensions measured. Also the directions of cause-effect relationships were inferred only from the successful predictions of these relationships.

The following are conclusions about the subgroups studied. Parents of the most competent and mature boys and girls (Pattern I children) were notably firm, loving, demanding, and understanding. Parents of dysphoric and disaffiliative children (Pattern II children) were firm, punitive, and unaffectionate. Mothers of dependent, immature children (Pattern III children) lacked control and were moderately loving. Fathers of these children were ambivalent and lax. The spontaneity, warmth, and zest of Pattern I children were not affected adversely by high parental control.

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