THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS
ON CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS
OF PARENTS

by

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Ronald L. Mullis
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ABSTRACT

The Influence of Social Class on Children's Perceptions of Parents

by

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Utah State University, 1973

Major Professor: Dr. Don C. Carter
Department: Child Development

The purpose of this thesis was to examine children's perceptions of parents as these are related to the child's social class background.

Four pictures from the Tasks of Emotional Development Test were administered individually to a sample of 60 fourth grade children from two Ogden, Utah, public schools. These picture tasks were intended to encourage subjects to project their perceptions toward parents specific to the pictorial situation.

The findings of this study seemed to indicate a tendency toward differences between middle and lower class children in their perceptions of parents. Middle class children were shown to obtain higher maturity scores in their perceptions of three pictorial tasks plus higher total maturity scores than children of the lower class. Lower class children obtained higher maturity scores for one picture task (Acceptance of limits from adults).

Differences between boys and girls in their perceptions toward parents were not found to be supported by the statistical data. Only one picture
(Separation from mother) showed a significant difference between boys and girls at the .05 level.

(80 pages)
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Much research is centered around the influence of social class on the socialization of children in America. Child behavior which is encouraged and rewarded by one social class may be disapproved and punished by another (Mussen, Conger and Kagan, 1963). Research findings show that parent-child relationships in the middle class are consistently reported as more acceptant and equalitarian, while those in the lower class are oriented toward maintaining order and obedience (Bronfenbrenner, 1958). In disciplining the child, middle class parents more often use reasoning and appeals to guilt and are somewhat less likely to employ physical punishment than parents in the lower class (Mussen, Conger and Kagan, 1963).

Many child development specialists maintain that a child's perception of adult roles is an essential factor in the normal patterns of growth and development of children (Biller, 1969; Payne and Mussen, 1956). The most important adults in a child's social world are his parents. They have a marked influence on how the child will perceive himself and others (Cox, 1962).

Research findings indicate that there are differences in the way children perceive their parents (Kagan, 1956; Hoffman, 1963). Mothers are perceived as friendlier, less dominant and less threatening than fathers. Fathers are viewed as a major source of authority and the mother as a major source of affection.
Kohn and Carroll (1960) observe social class differences in a way parents view their roles in child-rearing. They found that lower class fathers tend to be less involved in activities with their children than are middle class fathers. According to Kohn and Carroll "... lower class fathers appear to conceive of their own responsibilities more completely in terms of meeting the family's financial needs; raising children is the mother's job." Rosen (1964) compared lower class boys' perceptions of their parents with those of middle class boys. The differences correspond with what is known about behavior of lower and middle class parents. Middle class boys tended to evaluate their parents' abilities, performances and drives more positively than did boys in the lower class.

Zehnpfenning (1970) found that middle class children perceive their social environment more positively than do lower class children. She suggests that children's attitudes toward parents need to be explored more fully.

The research by Rosen and Zehnpfenning would indicate social class differences in children's perceptions of parents. However, these differences may or may not hold true for another geographical area and sampling. There is need for further research in the area of social class influences on children's perceptions of parents.

**Purpose**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of social class on children's perceptions of parents.
Hypothesis

The hypothesis to be investigated in this study is that there are significant differences between children from middle class families and children of lower class families in their perceptions of parents.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this review is to present research findings from literature on children's perceptions and attitudes, the parents' role and the effects of social class on children's perceptions and attitudes.

Self perception

A review of related literature suggests that man is the only creature who can look at himself as an object. It is a viewpoint which begins as the infant distinguishes between that which is within and that which is beyond the boarders of his body. Ausubel (1958, p. 283) states, "In the case of the self percept, the boundaries of the self must be delimited from the wider environment of objects and persons with which it is initially fused."

Brown (1956) notes the early ages at which children's perceptions can be expressed. He found significant differences occurring between five-year-old boys and girls, suggesting the existence of definite, relatively dichotomous sex role patterns in young children.

A study by Davitz (1955) reports that preferred persons are perceived as being similar to self, even when objectively such presumed similarities are not visible. This suggests that the self image of the child is at least in part his own creation which he reinforces by projecting onto others, what he sees in himself.
Jourard and Remy (1955) maintain that a child's self image tends very strongly to maintain the direction and characteristics given to it in childhood by parents and significant others and that this self image will effect his subsequent behavior.

Emmerich (1959a) also suggests behavioral grounds for the way children view themselves and others. He notes that children assign more facilitating behavior to themselves and like-sex peers and interfering behavior more to their opposite-sex peers.

Ausubel (1954) states that the child's self perception of extrinsic valuation by parents would be related to a more omnipotently conceived self-concept, to higher levels of ego aspiration and goal frustration tolerance, to greater ideational independence from parents and to less advanced levels of personality maturity.

Results from Cava (1952) would support findings by Ausubel and suggest effects on identification. Individuals who show greater conflict in areas of personality related to the identification process will indirectly perceive themselves as less similar to their like-sex parent than will those who show less conflict in those areas.

Yarrow and Campbell (1963) hypothesized that differences in boy and girl perception would be related to the different experiences they have had. These individual differences in perceptions, he suggests, are fashioned from expectations, past experiences and personal needs.
Klausner (1953) and Sochet (1964) found that there are modally different self-concepts between members of different socioeconomic groups. This suggests that different experiences we have in interacting socially provides for differing self-concepts.

Brandt's (1958) findings would support the idea that self-concept is an organized and organizing dynamic within personality structure. Whether an individual is accurate or inaccurate seems to depend more on self structure than on the specific nature of the perceived characteristic. There was evidence indicating that self rating accuracy may be developmental and tend to increase with age.

Age and sex differences in perceptions

Research findings have pointed out that, with increasing age, children's perceptions of adults become more realistic and correspond more accurately with objective characteristics of persons (Finch, 1955; Yarrow and Campbell, 1963; Bowerman and Elder, 1964; Dubin and Dubin, 1965).

In comparing four- and five-year-olds with five- through ten-year-olds, Emmerich (1959a) concluded that older children ascribed power as a characterizing distinction between sex roles more than did younger children.

Through plotting attitudes of children over years from early childhood to high school, Harris and Tseng (1959) discovered that children's favorable attitudes toward their parents increased with age. He also found that boys showing negative attitudes toward mother or father decreased steadily through
childhood and adolescence. Girls, however, showing negative attitudes toward parents in early childhood increased steadily through childhood and adolescence.

Yarrow and Campbell (1963) note that older children were somewhat more likely to give complex person perceptions than younger children. He also found differences in boy and girl perceptions suggesting the different experiences they have had. In line with these findings, Kohn and Fiedler (1961) reported that younger persons tend to differentiate less among adults than do older persons. Females were found to perceive significant persons in their environment in a less differentiated and in a more favorable manner than did males.

Similar sex differences were uncovered by Hess and Torney (1962) in their study of children's perceptions of family authority. Boys were more inclined to see the father in the position of authority. Girls were more likely than boys to report an equalitarian pattern in parental authority.

McDonald (1972) examined the influence of social class on children's perception of teacher. She found differences between boys and girls in their perceptions toward teacher for middle class children but not for lower class children.

Sex role identification

The concepts of sex role identification and parental identification have been given considerable attention in the literature. The research findings concerning these concepts carry important implications with regard to
socialization of the child. A major theme emerging from related research findings is the importance of warm, satisfying family relationships as a factor affecting parental identification (Davis, 1941; Emmerich, 1959b).

It was found by Elder (1963) that adolescents more often model their roles after parents who are democratic than after parents who are either permissive or authoritarian.

Cava (1952) hypothesized that those individuals who show greater conflict in areas of personality related to the identification process will indirectly perceive themselves as less similar to their like-sex parent than will those who show less conflict in these areas. Studies by Payne and Mussen (1956) and Mussen and Distler (1959) would agree with Cava. They concluded that boys who feel comfortable in their relationships with their parents adopt more of their fathers behavior and attitudes than boys who experience less favorable parent-child relationships. It appears that the child identifies with the same sex parent when that parent is perceived as strong, competent and nurturant.

Sears (1953) reported that during doll play sessions with kindergarten children, girls would choose the mother doll as agent significantly more frequently than the father doll. Boys did not make this differential choice. It might be inferred from this that girls would experience less conflict in terms of role identification since boys would have to transfer identification to the father later on in their development. Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) would support this inference:
... the identification theory calls for certain differences between the sexes in the development of conscience. The girl retains her initial identification with the mother, while the boys must under most circumstances shift his to the father. Although both these identifications are with adults, we are inclined to believe that the boy's shift retards the smooth development of the process. His gradual adoption of a new model is doubtless somewhat frustrating to him, and puts him in a state of conflict as to whom he should act like. Thus, we might expect not only that boys in their sixth year would be less fully identified with their fathers than girls are with their mothers, but that they would have a less complete identification with the adult role in general than girls would have. (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957, p. 384)

There are findings from other studies that would suggest the opposite point of view (Brown, 1956; Emmerich, 1959b). According to Emmerich, boys were found to make stronger sex typed identifications than girls. He concludes that appropriate sex typing is of much greater importance in boys than in girls as a basis for model choice. Boys were also found to make extremely sensitive discrimination between the parental roles.

Studies have stressed the importance of the father's presence in the home for appropriate sex role identification for both male and female children (Lynn, 1961; Biller, 1968; Biller, 1969; Biller and Weiss, 1970). The salience of the father in the family has been shown to have a vital effect on the boy's assumption of his sex role (Mussen and Distler, 1959). The more the son interacts with a powerful father, a man who does both punishing and rewarding, the more masculine the boy will be. Girls sex role learning has been found to be enhanced by fathers who encourage their daughters to take part in feminine activities (Biller, 1970) and by mothers who were warm and self-confident and
with whom the daughters had satisfying relationships (Mussen and Rutherford, 1963).

The area of father absence research indicates importance of fathers to sex role identification. Biller (1969) examined the effects of father absence and the degree of maternal encouragement of masculine behavior upon the sex role development of boys. The results of the study indicate that the father-present boys had a much more masculine sex role preference.

In examining the relationships between father-absence and masculine development in lower class Negro and white boys, Biller (1968) found that:

a) the father-present boys had a more masculine score than did the father-absent boys; b) the white boys, had more masculine scores than did Negro boys; and c) it was found that the underlying sexual orientation is more influenced by father-absence that are the more manifest aspects of masculinity.

Aldous (1972) would disagree somewhat with Biller. She suggests that father absence in lower class does not affect sex role learning as much as we think or that father-absence or father-presence and middle class or lower class families are not enough to significantly inhibit a young child from learning appropriate sex roles.

Effects of social class on perceptions

The literature reviewed has indicated that basic differences exist in parent-child relationships according to social class which reflect different living conditions. The studies generally indicate that middle class parents
tend to be more supportive and controlling of their children, and that they are more likely to discipline their children by utilizing reason and appeals to guilt and are less likely to use physical punishment than are lower class parents. Differential treatment of male and female children seems to occur primarily among lower class families.

In describing differences in the cultural training of children whose families are of different social and cultural status, Davis and Havighurst (1946) noted that middle class families are more rigorous than lower class families in their training of children for feeding and cleanliness habits. Middle class families also place more emphasis on the child's responsibility for self and are less permissive than lower class families.

Rosen (1964) concluded that the socialization process of a child is influenced by his parents position in the social class structure. Zehnpfenning (1970) examined children's perceptions of social situations as related to their social class studies. She found middle class children to be more positive in their general outlook towards life, and lower class children to have tendencies toward a more negative perception of life.

A study concerned with children's self-concepts and how they are affected by social class position was conducted by Klausner (1953) who found that there is a difference in self-concepts between members of different socio-economic groups. A similar conclusion was made by Hawk (1967). Sochet (1964) discovered that children, by five-years of age were aware of social class differences. He notes that lower class children have defensive and
negative reactions when they are made to learn early in life that they are not members of the favored class. Also of interest, was the finding that Negro and female lower class children perceived all three authority figures—parent, teachers, and policemen—to favor the middle class.

After extensive study of middle class and lower class behavior, Bronfenbrenner (1958) concluded that lower class families were more punishing than middle class families. Lefkowitz (1963) would question these results. His finding suggests that physical punishment is not a class bound phenomenon.

Different types of discipline were examined according to social class by Kohn and Carroll (1960) who found that middle class parents regard it as of primary importance that a child be able to decide for himself how to act on his decisions. To working class parents, however, it is most important that a child act reputable and that he not break proper rules. Rosen (1964) reports that middle class parents are more likely to discipline the child by using reason and appeals to guilt, and tend to use physical punishment less than lower class parents.

If the findings of these studies are valid, lower class children would be expected to perceive their parents in a less positive manner than do middle class children. A study by Rosen (1964) would indicate that this is so. He found that middle class boys were more likely than lower class boys to evaluate their parents as successful, smart, ambitious, and secure. The results also indicated that middle class boys perceived a greater degree of parental acceptance, interest, and support than did lower class boys.
As stated earlier by Bowerman and Elder (1964), it is the father rather than the mother who is more often perceived by the child as autocratic, especially in the middle class. The mother is perceived to have more power in the lower class. Hess and Torney (1962) found that social class was not a factor in assigning power to the father.

A more recent study by Strauss (1967) examined the influences of sex of a child and social class on instrumental and expressive family roles in a laboratory setting. The results of the study indicated that fathers tend to exercise more control over their sons than daughters, however, mothers were more controlling of daughters. Middle class parents were both more controlling and supportive than were the working class parents.

**Perceptions of parents**

As far back as Stagner (1935), the importance of accurately measuring children's attitudes toward their parents was stressed.

Dubin and Dubin (1965) assert that the one to one relation between parental behavior and child personality has yet to be demonstrated. The missing element in this question seems to be the child himself—his perception of and consequent response to parental behavior.

Finch (1955) examined the differences in child and parent perceptions. Young children were asked to respond to pictures showing parents in some child care routine. Before knowing the children's replies, the mothers had been asked what they expected them to reply. It was found that children attributed different roles to parents than the mothers had expected.
Serot and Teevan (1961) studied the perceptions of the parent-child relationship and its association to child adjustment among 102 youths and their parents. The results obtained provide support for the hypothesis that the well-adjusted child perceives his parent-child relationship as relatively happy while the maladjusted child’s perception of his parent-child relationship is far from ideal. There was very little agreement between parents' perceptions of the parent-child relationship and the child’s perception of their relationship nor was there evidence found that children’s adjustment is significantly related to the parent’s perception of the parent-child relationship.

A review of related literature has suggested that by age three children are able to draw distinctions between the social functions performed by males and those performed by females. This corresponds to the age at which the child is able to identify his own sex leading to the presumption that the child's readiness for identification with a male or female is achieved as early as three years (Dubin and Dubin, 1965).

Children's conceptions of parental roles were investigated by Finch (1955). It was found with three to seven-year-old children that male-female distinctions were made between the ways children ascribed functions to mother and father. Mothers were described as functioning in homemaking and child-care while fathers were seen as economic providers.

Results of research on children from preschool age to preadolescence agree that the mother is perceived as more nurturant than the father (Gardner, 1947; Kagan, 1956; Droppleman, 1963).
Kagan (1956) and Kagan and Lenkin (1960) examined children's perceptions of parents and found that fathers were perceived as more fear arousing, more confident and more punitive than were mothers. Mothers were perceived as being "nicer" and more likely to give presents. Of further interest in this study were the sex differences in children's perceptions of their parents. Both boys and girls tended to perceive the mother as more nurturant. However, the girls, in comparison with boys, perceived the father as being both more punitive and more affectionate. Girls indicated a desire to be like the mother, but at the same time perceived the father as wiser and stronger. Kagan points out that the children's comments seemed to indicate that they were reporting what they felt should be the case rather than what actually was. He also suggests that the perceptions of the same-sex parent as more threatening is consistent with other data based on interviews with mothers.

Children who feel comfortable in their relationships with their parents adopt more of their parents behavior and attitudes than children who experience less favorable parent-child relationships (Mussen and Distler, 1959; Payne and Mussen, 1956).

Harris and Tseng (1957) found that children tend to exhibit relatively desirable social attitudes toward parents. According to the study, in which were used such methods as incomplete sentences, picture-story, and direct questions about the child's parent preference, it was found that children between the ages of five and nine show a decrease in preference for the father
and an increase in a favorable attitude toward the mother. During their adolescent years, however, boys seem to have a more positive attitude toward each parent, whereas girls seem to have a more positive attitude toward their fathers than toward their mothers.

Cox (1962) showed that attitudes a child has toward his parents will generalize to many other individuals. The findings suggest a need for warm and positive attitudes toward parents as a necessary condition for warm and positive relationships with peers.

There seems to be differences in the way boys and girls view parental control (Johnson, 1952; Hawkes and Gardner, 1947). Droppleman (1963) conducted research on differences found between boys and girls and their descriptions of each parent. He found that the same-sex parent is more controlling than the opposite-sex parent. Data suggest that the same-sex parent tends to use more direct methods of control than the opposite-sex parent, but that mothers use more indirect methods of control than fathers with boys and girls.

Hess and Torney (1962) and Grinder (1965) report that adolescent girls are more likely to view their mothers as holding parental control and boys their father. The opinion that control was shared equally was held more often by older children than younger ones and more often by girls than by boys. The children's reports suggest a decline in the father's power as the family gets older.
Kell and Aldous (1960) examined the relation between mother's child-rearing ideologies and their children's perceptions of maternal control. Girls perceived their mother, more than boys, as over circumscribing their freedom. They suggest that mothers controlled girls more than boys and they behaved accordingly.

Cass (1952) looked at parent-child interaction variables of parental awareness and parental control. He found delinquent children who display social maladjustment to report higher maternal control and whose mothers are less aware of their needs than is the case with children who are better adjusted socially. Mussen, Conger and Kagan (1964) would agree with Cass and suggest that an overly restrictive mother frustrates the child's desire for autonomous actions and, for that reason, is apt to generate hostility in her child. It may be generalized from this that a child would be more likely to accept restriction from parents if parents are aware of his needs.

Bowerman and Elder (1964) add an interesting dimension of social class to the way children perceive parental control. He found that father rather than the mother is perceived as autocratic by boy and girl adolescents in the middle class. The mother is perceived by adolescents to have more power in the lower class, especially by the girls.
CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Pilot study

The pilot study was administered to eight fourth grade children at the Wilson Elementary School in Logan, Utah.

The classroom teacher selected four children she felt were from lower socio-economic backgrounds and four children from middle socio-economic backgrounds.

The researcher interviewed each child individually in a separate room provided by school personnel. All responses from the eight children were tape recorded for later scoring and analysis. The children were told about the use of the tape recorder and were allowed to speak into the tape recorder and hear their voices played back before the interview began. Four photographs from the Tasks of Emotional Development (T.E.D.) Test (Cohen and Weil, 1971b) made up the projective pictorial test used in this study. Each child was asked by the researcher to respond to the following directions:

I am going to show you some pictures about things that happen every day. What I want you to do for each picture is to tell me what is going on in the picture, what the people might be doing, feeling, and thinking and how the story ends. Do you know what I mean by feeling? Most children don't, so shall I tell you? It means feeling sad, mad, happy, scared, or something like that. Listen carefully, and I'll tell you the directions once more. What I want you to do for each picture is to tell me what is going on, what the people are doing, feeling, and thinking, and how the story ends. When you have finished, let me know by saying "Finished."
The researcher used selected probes from the T.E.D. Test Manual if the child failed to respond to all dimensions of the picture task. The pictures depicted four situations involving parents and children. Since some children remained anxious throughout the first picture task, it was decided to use a "warm-up" picture in final data collection. This "warm-up" picture was not used for scoring purposes.

The purpose of the T.E.D. test was to determine if the picture tasks would elicit different responses in children and to allow the researcher to refine test administration procedures. Tape recorded responses from the children were scored using the T.E.D. Test Manual scoring procedures. It was found that differences in scores did exist among the subjects to warrant further study.

**Selection of schools.**

The Ogden City School Personnel provided two schools for this study. These two schools were the Jefferson Elementary School and Bonneville Elementary School. They were chosen to represent the social class of the neighborhood in which they are located. The geographic distribution of lower and middle class groups in Ogden makes this distinction possible. The Bonneville Elementary School represents the middle socio-economic class and the Jefferson Elementary School represents the lower socio-economic class.

**Instrument**

Four photographs from the Tasks of Emotional Development Test (Cohen and Weil, 1971b) make up the projective pictorial test to be used in this study.
The Tasks of Emotional Development (T.E.D.) Test is a projective test designed to assess the emotional and social adjustment of children between the ages of six and eighteen. Four pictures from the test were selected by the author and Dr. Don C. Carter, Chairman of the Department of Family and Child Development. These pictures were selected as representative of tasks measuring children's perceptions of parents. Glossy reproductions of the original T.E.D. test pictures were used in the testing situation. They lacked clarity in order to insure maximum projection of the child's feelings.

The four picture tasks are identified as follows:

1. **Separation from the mother figure.**
   The task is included because the ability to solve the task of separation reveals a child's feelings of safety and competence in the environment (Cohen and Weil, 1971a).

2. **Identification with the same-sex parent.**
   The task is included to serve as a key to understanding the synthesis of biology and emotions in the growing child and his sense of who he is and what he will become (Cohen and Weil, 1971a).

3. **Acceptance of limits from adults.**
   The task is included to give useful information about how well a child can deal with his own narcissistic demands and his own inner needs as they are challenged by the limitations imposed by adults (Cohen and Weil, 1971a).
4. **Acceptance of affection between parents.**

The value of the task is that stories children tell about this picture have important direct meaning in the sexual adjustment and the accompanying object relationships (Cohen and Weil, 1971a).

The Tasks of Emotional Development Test was administered to a normal sample of almost twelve hundred children and a clinic sample of five hundred and ninety-nine children. The data obtained from both samples were used to assess the reliability of the scoring system and subsequently the validity of the test (Cohen and Weil, 1971a).

The pictures used are in Appendix B of this thesis in the order in which they were used.

**Sample**

The available sample for this study included thirty fourth grade school children from Bonneville Elementary School and thirty fourth grade school children from the Jefferson Elementary School in Ogden, Utah.

The study was explained to the principal and fourth grade teachers in each school. Letters were then mailed to parents of all fourth grade children in each school explaining the purpose of the study and asking permission to use their children as subjects. The first thirty permission slips to be returned constituted the sample for each school (see Appendix A).

Twenty-nine of the thirty subjects from the Bonneville Elementary School were Caucasian, middle class children with the remaining child being
Japanese-American. The thirty subjects from the Jefferson Elementary School included twelve Mexican-American children, nine Afro-American and nine Caucasian children. The majority of these children come from blue collar or lower class families.

**Test administration**

Interviews of children selected for this study were scheduled during February, March and April of 1973 at the Jefferson Elementary School and Bonneville Elementary School.

The Tasks of Emotional Development test consisting of four pictures was administered to each of sixty subjects participating in the study. The children were interviewed individually by the investigator in a separate room made available for testing by school personnel.

At the beginning of each interview, the researcher introduced himself as a university student working on an assignment and asked the child to help him by answering questions about some pictures.

A tape recorder was used to record the complete responses of each child. In order to lessen any fear a child might have about having his responses taped, the researcher allowed the child the opportunity to record his voice and play it back. Children were also given a "warm-up" picture task to lessen any anxiety they might have about the interview situation.

The investigator followed the same questioning procedure for all four photographs. Each subject was given the following instructions:
I am going to show you some pictures about things that happen every day. What I want you to do for each picture is to tell me what is going on in the picture, what the people might be doing, feeling, and thinking and how the story ends. Do you know what I mean by feeling? Most children don't so shall I tell you? It means feeling sad, mad, happy, scared, or something like that. Listen carefully, and I'll tell you the directions once more. What I want you to do for each picture is to tell me what is going on, what the people are doing, feeling and thinking, and how the story ends. When you have finished, let me know by saying "Finished."

If after the child told his story for each picture, he failed to respond to each of the five dimensions, the researcher gave probing questions to get scoreable responses. Two probes for each dimension were allowed. An example of a probing question for Affect is "How does the child feel there?" (See Appendix C for sample of children's stories)

Scoring

Objective rating scales have been constructed for each task of emotional development that make it possible to rate the stories children tell in response to the pictures along a continuum from most to least mature. The responses are rated in terms of five dimensions: Perception, Outcome, Affect, Motivation, and Spontaneity. The rating scales are located in the Tasks of Emotional Development Test Manual (Cohen and Weil, 1971b). To insure scorer reliability all scoring was checked for accuracy by a graduate student in the department of Family Life and Child Development.
Data analysis

The children's responses were analyzed in terms of social class backgrounds to determine if a relationship exists. Significance was tested by use of the Chi square test for independence to determine if any differences that exist are due to chance. The level of significance used was .05. Scores were assigned high and low maturity ratings for statistical analysis. The mean was calculated for the total sample of sixty subjects for each picture. Those scores falling above the mean were assigned high maturity ratings and those falling below the mean were assigned low maturity ratings.
CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS

Introduction

This study investigated the relationship of socioeconomic background and children's perceptions of parents. The hypothesis of this study was that there would be significant differences between children from middle class families and children of lower class families in their perceptions of parents. The findings of this study tend to support this hypothesis, although the support is not complete in some aspects.

Picture Number One (Separation from mother)

No significant difference was found between the Jefferson Elementary School representing the lower socioeconomic class and Bonneville Elementary School representing the middle socioeconomic class, in their response to Picture Number One. The level of statistical difference was .1205 as presented in Table 1. However, the totals shown in Table 1 for children at Jefferson and Bonneville Elementary Schools do show some observable differences in high and low maturity scores. There is a trend toward higher maturity scores for Bonneville School (middle class) children and lower maturity scores for Jefferson School (lower class) children.

Seventeen children from Jefferson School did not perceive this picture as depicting a child leaving his mother, whereas eleven children from
Bonneville School were unable to perceive the child as separating from the mother. High maturity scores were assigned children who perceived the picture task as a child separating from his mother.

Table 1. Ratings of children's responses to Picture Number One (Separation from mother), categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores by social class as designated by school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Bonneville School</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Degrees of freedom = 1 Chi square = 2.4107 \( (P < .1205) \)

Picture Number Two (Sex-role identification)

The computed level of significance of .0631 approaches the .05 level of significance and reflects the differences in scores skewed for Bonneville children toward the high maturity range. Jefferson children were equally divided in high and low maturity scores (Table 2).

In responding to this picture, six lower class children did not perceive the child in a position to help either parent. Three middle class children had similar difficulty in perception. High maturity scores were given to children who perceived the picture task as a child helping the same-sex parent.
Table 2. Ratings of children's responses to Picture Number Two (Sex-role identification), categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores by social class as designated by school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Bonneville School</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity scores</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Degrees of freedom = 1 Chi square = 3.4548 (P < .0631)

Table 3 illustrates a difference in the maturity scores for both schools. A total of 24 of the scores for Bonneville children were low maturity scores and 11 of the total scores were low maturity scores for Jefferson school children.

Seven children, all boys, from Jefferson school did not perceive the picture as an indication that the child accepted limits from the adult. Only two children from Bonneville School manifested similar difficulty in discriminating the picture task. Perception of the child accepting limits from adults constituted high maturity.
Table 3. Ratings of children's responses to Picture Number Three (Acceptance of limits from adults), categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores by social class as designated by school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Bonneville School</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chi square = 11.587</td>
<td>(P &lt; .0007)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Picture Number Four (Acceptance of affection between parents)

Forty-two children from the combined social class groups perceived the picture as parents positively interacting while a child looks on. The level of significance at .0910 does not imply a statistical difference between the two social class groups. Three children from each social class group did not perceive the picture as portraying parents affirmatively interacting (Table 4).

Table 4. Ratings of children's responses to Picture Number Four (Acceptance of affection between parents), categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores by social class as designated by school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Bonneville School</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chi square = 2.8571</td>
<td>(P&lt; .0910)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of social class findings

Findings of this study tend to support the hypothesis that there are differences between middle and lower class children in their perception of parents. Children in the middle class tend to record higher maturity scores on three pictorial tasks than do lower class children. Statistical analysis of response to Picture Number Three (Acceptance of limits) showed Jefferson School children to obtain higher maturity scores than Bonneville School children. There was only one picture task that showed a significant difference at the .05 level (Tables 3 and 5). However, the remaining three pictures show a definite tendency toward differences which is further supported by comparison of ratings of children's total maturity scores for all four pictures. It was found that the differences between lower and middle classes for total maturity scores was significant at the .0384 level (Table 6).

Table 5. Summary of Chi square scores for all four pictures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pictures</th>
<th>Chi square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4107</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.1205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.4548</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.5890</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.8571</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Comparison of ratings of children's total maturity scores for all four pictures, categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores by social class as designated by school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Jefferson School</th>
<th>Bonneville School</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Degrees of freedom = 1  
Chi square = 4.2857  
(P < .0384)

Influence of sex

Studies from Emmerich (1959) and Kohn and Fiedler (1961) would suggest that girls tend to be more favorably oriented than boys toward significant persons, especially with parents. However, more recent findings by Zehnpfenning (1970) and MacDonald (1972) did not support any significant difference between boys and girls in their perceptions of adults.

Results of the Chi square for Picture Number One (Separation from mother), however, demonstrate that the probability of difference of perceptions between boys and girls is extremely high and it is most unlikely that these differences would occur by chance alone (Table 7).

Twenty-two girls from both social class groups did not perceive the child in the picture task as separating from mother. There were six boys from the two social class groups who perceived the picture task in a like manner.
Table 7. Ratings of boys and girls from Jefferson and Bonneville Schools to Picture Number One (Separation from mother), categorized into high maturity and low maturity scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Degrees of freedom = 1

Chi square = 19.223 (P < .0000)

There was no statistical difference between boys and girls perceptions of Picture Number Two (Sex-role identification), Picture Number Three (Acceptance of limits from adults), and Picture Number Four (Acceptance of affection between parents) (Tables 8, 9, 10). Comparison of ratings of boys and girls for all four pictures, categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores, showed that girls exceed boys in low maturity scores, but the difference between the scores is not statistically significant at the .0673 level (Table 11).

Summary of findings

The findings of this study indicate a tendency toward differences between middle and lower class children in their perceptions of parents. Middle class children were shown to obtain higher maturity scores in their perceptions of three pictorial tasks plus higher total maturity scores than
Table 8. Ratings of boys and girls from Jefferson and Bonneville Schools to Picture Number Two (Sex-role identification), categorized into high maturity and low maturity scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom = 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi square = 2.346</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(P &lt; .1230)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Ratings of boys and girls from Jefferson and Bonneville Schools to Picture Number Three (Acceptance of limits from adults), categorized into low and high maturity scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi square = .01534</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(P &lt; 0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10. Ratings of boys and girls from Jefferson and Bonneville Schools to Picture Number Four (Acceptance of affection between parents), categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi square = 0.02860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(P &lt; 0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11. Comparison of ratings of boys and girls for all four pictures, categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low maturity score</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High maturity score</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi square = 3.3478</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(P &lt; 0.0673)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
children of the lower class. Lower class children obtained higher maturity scores for one picture task (Picture Number Three).

Differences between boys and girls in their perceptions toward parents were not found to be supported by the statistical data. Only one picture (Picture Number One) showed a significant difference between boys and girls at the .05 level.

Additional findings

After examining children's stories it was found that their initial perceptions of the pictorial tasks would often yield additional information about the child's perception of parents to that derived through statistical analysis. Original responses to each of the four pictures were analyzed for differences in content by the author.

Initial perceptions of Picture Number One task (Separation from mother) varied by school. Twelve Jefferson School children viewed the child as remaining in the house to help his mother or do some kind of work in the house. Six children from Bonneville School saw the child staying with the mother but they also showed a greater tendency to eventually leave the mother figure after certain work assignments were completed.

Of particular interest was the overall affective responses of children to Picture Number One, which involves the task of separation from mother, lower class children demonstrated a greater proclivity toward unhappy, sad, or mad feelings (21 responses) than did middle class children (13 responses).
Analysis of children's stories for Picture Number Two (Sex-role identification) indicated that there appears to be some distinct differences in the range of responses. There were nineteen cases among Bonneville children where the child was perceived as helping the same sex parent and eleven such cases among Jefferson School children. It seems that children from the Jefferson School tended to perceive the child as observing both parents working without the child subsequently helping (11 responses) more often than children from Bonneville School (2 responses).

Jefferson children attributed a greater number of unhappy or mad feelings to the child in the picture involving the task of sex-role identification than did Bonneville children. Twenty-three Bonneville children perceived the situation as representing a more positive mode and only nine children of Jefferson School perceived it in a similar manner.

From the standpoint of sex differences between the two social class groups, a larger number of girls than boys from both social class groups perceived Picture Number Two as a child helping the same sex parent. Twenty-four girls saw the child as helping the mother do dishes and eleven boys saw the child as helping the father figure to repair the cupboard.

Responses of children from both social class groups to Picture Number Three or the task of acceptance of limits from adults, also suggest substantial differences between the two experimental groups. Seventeen lower class children of the Jefferson School did not primarily demark the adult as being in a position to restrict the child's satisfying activity. A majority of Bonneville
children allowed the child in the picture to accept the restrictions while eight children did not accept the restrictions when imposed by adults. This contradicts statistical findings obtained from Picture Number Three (Table 3). Lower class children said the child was mad or angry (14 responses) more often than middle class children (7 responses). Middle class children used the word "sad" to characterize the child's feeling most often.

The range of original responses to Picture Number Four, which depicted the task of acceptance of affection between parents, by social class groups indicate numerical differences in perception. More lower class children found it difficult to accept the demonstrative actions of the adults. It was expected that middle class children would be much more positive about the situation depicted in Picture Number Four. This, however, was not the case. Fourteen lower class children viewed the pictorial situations as happy and sixteen middle class children perceived the episode in a similar manner. Differences between the two groups, then are found in the comparative frequency of uneasiness. Responding lower class children reported an uneasiness with regard to the pictorial situation, or resentfulness of one or both of the adults depicted in the picture task (14 responses). Seven middle class children responded in a like manner.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

The data of this thesis gives partial support to the hypothesis that a difference exists between children from middle class families and children from lower class families in their perceptions of parents. This relationship between social class groups has been obtained from subjects of different ages in different kinds of social environments, and using different measures of social perception (Rosen, 1964; Zehnpfenning, 1970; MacDonald, 1972). No doubt many kinds of experiences shape the child's perception of his parents, other than the child-rearing practices described in the opening paragraphs of this thesis. Nevertheless, the data show that the children's perceptions of parents are congruent with differences in socialization practices employed by different social class groups. Generally, lower class children achieved lower emotional maturity scores on the picture tasks than did middle class children. As brought out in the research, life experiences of the lower class child are less likely to produce feelings of trust and the expectations of positive relationships with parents than those of the middle class child.

Discussion of pictorial tasks

The computed level of significance of .0631 approached the .05 level of significance and reflects the differences in scores skewed for middle class children toward the high maturity range for Picture Number Two (Sex-role
identification). A major theme emerging from related research findings is the importance of warm, satisfying family relations as a factor affecting parental identification (Davis, 1941; Emmerich, 1959b). If indeed this is the case, the data gathered from subjects responding to this picture task might indicate that lower class children are receiving less affirming and satisfying family relationships. Also, the lower maturity scores for lower class children may reflect family disorganization which the literature suggests is prevalent among lower class families. There were ten lower class subjects who reported father absence, whereas personal data of the middle class subjects indicated the presence of a father in each subject's home. This finding is in consensus with other studies (Lynn, 1961; Biller, 1968; Biller, 1969; Biller and Weis, 1970) which stress the importance of the father's presence in the home for appropriate sex role identification for both male and female children.

The data indicates a greater sex difference than a social class difference in children's perception of the separation of mother pictorial task. Note that the results of the pictorial task pointed out that girls from both social class groups tend to experience more difficulty in separating from the mother figure than boys. This finding supports the theory that girls manifest a tendency toward forming primary attachments to mother and continue to maintain these attachments through preadolescence.

The depiction of a parent in a position to limit a child's activity (Picture Number Three) produced a highly significant difference between the
two social class groups. The results from this picture did not produce the same
trend evidenced in maturity scores for the other three picture tasks and total
maturity scores. Lower class children received higher maturity scores than
middle class children.

While there are no data to explain why the lower class children scored
higher maturity scores than middle class children, a tentative interpretation can
be offered. Kohn and Carroll (1960) found that middle class parents were more
democratic in disciplining and regard it as of primary importance that a child
be able to decide for himself how to act on his decisions. On the otherhand,
lower class families stress the importance of the child acting reputable and that
he obey rules without question. Perhaps the higher maturity scores for lower
class children reflect the disciplining trend mentioned by Kohn and Carroll.
Lower class children are more accepting of limits and more able to perceive a
situation involving limits because they are more familiar with having to accept
control from adults. Middle class children may have been less inclined to see
the mother as establishing discipline because their experiences with parental
discipline is more democratic and more one of discussion or debate which
actually may or may not suggest higher emotional maturity as measured by the
test used in this study.

A review of children's responses to the picture task Number Three lend
support to this interpretation. The initial perceptions of the lower class children
indicated more reluctance to accept limits from the adult than did middle class
children. Once they accepted the limits, however, they completed the pictorial
tasks with higher maturity ratings. Lower class children more often mentioned angry or mad feeling associated with the imposed limits than did middle class children who generally expressed sad or unhappy feelings in the situation. Also, lower class children expressed more concerns about "getting into trouble if I don't do what the adult says" than did middle class children.

Nevertheless, at a more direct level of interpretation; it can only be said that the social class groups differ measurably for this task more than the other pictorial tasks presented in this study. The importance of this difference needs to be analyzed through additional research.

In spite of the lack of significant difference between the two social class groups for Picture Number Four (Acceptance of affection between parents), it seems important to note the varied responses in initial acceptance of affection by both groups. Twice as many middle class children as lower class children accepted the affection demonstrated between parents without equivocation. Also of special interest, is the frequency of uneasiness expressed by lower class children toward the pictorial situation. It is the author's opinion that greater differences in acceptance of affection between parents would exist for social class groups in perhaps another setting and with a more diverse sampling of social class groups.

**Discussion of other differences**

It is not within the scope of this study to analyze language differences of the two social class groups. However, notice should be taken of the results
of Hess and Shipman (1965) in which they delineated between the restricted speech patterns of the lower class families and the elaborated language code of the middle class. Perhaps analysis of the language styles represented in the children's stories of this study would yield support to the Hess and Shipman study.

Recurring in the stories of lower class children were the concerns they expressed for getting into trouble if they did not exhibit certain behaviors. Underlying these concerns were their often projected feelings of anger with regard to the picture situation.

Caucasian and non-Caucasian children from both social class groups showed no difference in maturity ratings obtained for the pictorial tasks. This finding supports the Klingel study (1971) in which she found fourth grade children from different ethnic and racial backgrounds do not differ in their perceptions of policemen. It is in the opinion of the author that the location from which the sample was drawn might not be supportive of ethnic and racial culture, and thereby narrow potential differences between the ethnic and racial groups.

An unexpected finding derived from the data was the variability in boys from different social class groups in their perceptions of parents. In examining maturity ratings for girls from the two social class groups, it was found that girls showed less difference in maturity ratings than boys for three of the pictorial tasks. Hence, it is possible that boys account for a larger difference between social class groups in their perceptions of parents than girls. (See Appendix D for the Chi square comparisons.) In this connection, however, the
data is unclear and unsupported statistically. Perhaps research emphasizing this area of study would yield more definitive results.

The difference between the two social class groups may have been minimized by selective response among the lower income parents to the permission letter (see Appendix A) mailed to them by school personnel. Perhaps those who responded to the letter were more oriented to middle class values by such an action.

Discussion of instrument

In examining children's stories for each of the pictorial tasks, it was found that some differences in children's initial perceptions did not coincide with maturity ratings. Picture Number Three (Acceptance of limits from adults) produced the greatest discrepancy in initial perceptions and final maturity rating scores for children. For this particular picture the test administrator is allowed one redirecting probe "Could this be a picture about a mother turning off the TV set?" to allow the subject, before completing his story, an additional opportunity to accept the task as intended by the authors of the Tasks of Emotional Development Test. Initial perceptions, in this case, were not considered for maturity ratings. Scoring procedures outlined for the Tasks of Emotional Development Test takes a total numerical rating for all five dimensions (see page 27) in defining maturity ratings. As mentioned earlier in the discussion, initial perceptions may suggest critical nuances in social class groups not immediately observable in maturity ratings.
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

Examining the influence of social class on children's perceptions of parents has been the focus of this thesis.

The Tasks of Emotional Development Test was administered individually to a sample of sixty fourth grade children from two Ogden, Utah public schools. Four picture tasks were selected from the Tasks of Emotional Development Test depicting social situations. These tasks were intended to encourage subjects to project their perceptions toward parents specific to the pictorial situation. A numerical rating was obtained through scoring procedures outlined in the Tasks of Emotional Development Test manual (Cohen and Weil, 1971b).

The conclusions for this study are:

The life experiences which serve as the basis for projection of feelings into a pictorial test situation do vary between social class groups, but the variability is greater in some aspects of living than in others.

Suggestions for further research

1. A study of similar design and purpose needs to be carried out using subjects of different ages than the subjects used for this research.

2. Additional studies need to be designed to replicate this study using a different sample. Examining the results obtained from the different sample for concurrence of the reported results.
3. Father presence and absence as influencing a child's perception could be explored as another variable.

4. A more careful study of sex differences needs to be examined further.

5. The results of the present study imply a need for a more concentrated study of racial and ethnic variations in perceptions of parents.

6. The author suggests additional studies be conducted to analyze language difference between lower and middle class children.

7. It is recommended that the four picture tasks be presented in a different sequence from that used in this thesis.
LITERATURE CITED


Hawk, T. L. 1967. Self-concept of the socially disadvantaged child. Elementary School Journal 4:


APPENDIXES
Dear Parent:

I am a graduate student at Utah State University majoring in Child Development. As part of my degree program, the Ogden City Schools administration has given me permission to conduct a research study at the Jefferson and Bonneville schools during February and March.

Sixty fourth grade school children are needed for testing. The test consists of four pictures depicting children and adults in normal household situations. The children will be asked to tell stories about what they see in these pictures. We hope to learn more about how children interpret the behavior of adults.

The children's names will not be used in the test results. Before any testing can be done, your permission is needed. If you are willing for your child to participate in this study, please sign the permission form at the bottom of this letter and return it with your child to his school. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Ronald L. Mullis

I give permission for my child, ____________________________, to participate in the above mentioned research study to be conducted by Ronald L. Mullis.

_______________________
Parent's Signature
Appendix B
Appendix C
The boy in the picture asked his mom if he could go outside. His mom said yes, so he's going outside, and his mom is going to turn around. Go over to kitchen to fix supper. That boy is going to go outside. He is going to play for about 15 minutes or so and then when it is time to come in, his mom will call him in to eat supper. Probably watch TV and go to bed. When he wakes up in the morning, probably go to school.

Res: How does the child feel there?
Sub: Feels sorta happy. He hopes he doesn't have to do hard work in school.
Res: Why does the child go out?
Sub: If he didn't go out, he would be sad. He'd be bored. When he goes out he either rides bikes with his friends or plays games in the yard.

The mother is washing dishes and the father just came in with hammer and a thing to put on cupboard so it will shut and the son is coming in to help dry the dishes so to get rid of dishes out of way of father so he can work. So he finish drying dishes and his mom is finished washing them. If his father is still working on it and he says, "Son go get me some more nails." So his son goes get some more nails. He comes back and hands father nails. He finishes it and his mother says, "It's time to go to bed." So he go gets on his p.j.'s. His mom comes and tucks him in. And the father goes in front room after he finishes the cupboard. And he is going to read the newspaper until he wants to go to bed. And the mom, if she is a school teacher, will stay up and study what she has to teach the kids the next day.

Res: How does the child feel there?
Sub: Feels normal--sorta happy.
Res: Why does he help his father?
Sub: He wants to. His father is glad he wants to. So he is going to help him.

Well, the mother is in there and says, "It's time to go to bed, son." So she turns off TV and son says, "Mom, can't I stay up and watch TV for a few more hours?" She says, "No, it's time to go to bed. You go to
bed and you wake up tomorrow morning and feel all refreshed." So she is turning off the TV and he gets up to go get ready for bed.

Res: How does he feel there?
Sub: He feels sorta sad because his mom turned off the TV.
Res: Why does he let her turn off the set?
Sub: Because it's his parents and until he is 21, he can't do nothing. His parents got to control him.

Picture 4

Sub: The mother comes in to greet this father. The son comes in. Then they all go in to eat supper. After supper, they go to the piano and all sing for a little while. And then they'll invite neighbors over and they all will sing songs together. And then, when it's time for neighbors to go home, they will go home and the son will go to bed. And then the father and mother will set in the family room. The father is going to read the newspaper and the mom will read the other half of newspaper.

Res: How does the child feel there?
Sub: He feels happy when he sings songs, and that his dad has come home.
Res: Why does he like them to be happy?
Sub: Because if they weren't happy, then he wouldn't be happy.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bonneville</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Railroad</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Picture 1

Sub: The girl has a sad look on her face and the mother is surprised like and the girl is walking through her mother and I think she's done something wrong, and she already told her mother what she'd done wrong and her mother is listening to her say it.

Res: What happens in the end?
Sub: They both go to the park.
Res: They both go to the park?
Sub: (No response.)
Res: Why is she sad?
Sub: Because she hurt herself--fell down.
Res: Why doesn't the child leave her mother?
Sub: Because it's probably raining outside.
Sub: The father, the father he is fixing the cabinet. The little girl is coming probably to help her mother. Her mother is washing dishes. And she wants to tell her mom and dad something that she's going to be in school. So they stop and try to listen to her while they work. And she's walking very slow and quiet so she doesn't bother either her mom or her dad. Her dad was hitting the hammer on the cabinet and her mother said to stop it to listen to her. And she told them and they went back to work. And so, that's all.

Res: What happens in the end?
Sub: Then they eat supper and watch TV.
Res: How does she feel there?
Sub: Happy because she can help her mother.
Res: Why does she help her mother?
Sub: She likes to help her mother because she is probably tired of working all day.

Picture 3

Sub: The little girl is watching TV and the grandmother comes in and says, "You can't watch this." Her grandmother is angry with her cause she is watching TV in her school clothes and her grandmother won't let her watch TV in her school clothes. Her grandmother turned off the TV and said, "Go change your school clothes and then you can watch the TV."

Res: What happens in the end?
Sub: The girl was watching her favorite show and she goes and plays with the other girls and then she changes her clothes.
Res: How does she feel there?
Sub: The grandmother?
Res: The little girl.
Sub: Sad.
Res: Why did she let her grandmother turn off the television set?
Sub: Cause she knew that she wasn't supposed to watch TV in her school clothes.

Picture 4

Sub: The little girl is talking to her mother and her mother and the man are talking and she doesn't want to disturb them so she stays there. And her mother is taking lots of time and the little girl wants to tell her mother, but she went back to wait until her mother, would stop talking and her dad left. After that the mother asked what the little girl wanted and she didn't have nothing to do and so her mother gave her some dough to make something out of that so she went off and made something for her mother.
Res: Where does the picture fit in with the story?
Sub: Hmm?
Res: Where does the picture fit in with the story?
Sub: That is the little girl waiting to go and ask the mother what she wanted.
Res: How does the child feel there?
Sub: Sad.
Res: Why was she sad?
Sub: Because she doesn't have nothing to do.
Res: Why does she like them to talk?
Sub: Because she didn't want to disturb them and he's an important man and she didn't want to disturb them.

Subject | School | Sex | Race | Age | Father | Mother
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
18 | Jefferson | M | Mex-Amer. | 10 | United Steel Workers | Housewife

Picture 1
Sub: The little boy is going to leave his house and his mom asks him where he's going. He says "I don't know" Then his mom says, "Be back before 8:30." He goes and stays until 9:00 and gets in trouble when he comes back.
Res: What happens in the end?
Sub: Kinda sad--because he got hit and all that.
Res: How does the child feel there?
Sub: Feels miserable.
Res: Why does the child go out?
Sub: He goes out to play.
Res: Why does the child leave his mother?
Sub: He's bored from staying in the house.

Picture 2
Sub: A little boy and his family were living in this house and the door of the cupboard fell and his dad had to hammer it on. At the same time, his mom was doing dishes and he wanted to see if he could get something from the frig, but nobody would listen to him. So he went to ask his dad and his dad got kinda mad cause he was busy and didn't have time to listen.
Res: Could the picture be about a child helping?
Sub: Yes.
Make up a story about that.
The little boy is going to help his dad and his dad is going to see what he can do so he goes and gets the hammer and he asks his dad what else he wants. His dad says, "Some nails." The boy gets the nails and his dad says, "Thank you, you've been a big help to me today."

How does the child feel there?
Happy

Why does he help his father?
Cause his father can't do all that at one time, like get the nails and hammer at the same time.

This guy is trying to watch TV. His grandma don't know what to watch cause she don't know what is educational for him. So he goes and turns on the TV and he forgets to not sit on the table and his grandma keeps changing the channels. His grandma keeps telling him to get off the table, but he don't listen and just keeps watching TV.

Could this be a picture about a mother turning off a TV set?
It looks more like she's trying to find something educational.

How does he feel there?
Feels unhappy.

Why?
Cause he don't like to watch educational stuff.

Why does he let her turn off the set?
Because he don't care what she does.

A little boy walks in this house and he finds his mother trying to reason with his dad and they just had an argument and his mother's eyes are watery and his dad is kinda angry.

What is going on in the picture?
It looks like they are having an argument. The little boy tries to find out what is happening.

How does the child feel there?
Sad, because they are arguing.

Why doesn't he like them to argue?
Because they might get a divorce and he wouldn't know who he would go with.
Subject 8  School Jefferson  Sex F  Race Negro  Age 10  Father Disabled (Welfare)  Mother Housewife

Picture 1

Sub: This girl she don't suppose to go outside. Her mother don't want her to go outside, but she wants to go outside and she is getting ready to go downstairs or something. Probably her mother has the vacuum going and she don't want the little girl to go downstairs, because she might put mud on the floor or something, and so the mother looks like she's mad at the girl and the girl is mad at the mother. The girl don't go outside.

Res: What happens in the end?
Sub: They both feel bad.
Res: Why doesn't she go outside?
Sub: Because her mother don't want her to go out.

Picture 2

Sub: The mother is washing the dishes and the dad is fixing the cabinet and the little girl wants to help, but they're too busy to tell her what to do, so she just stands back and watches. She doesn't help.

Res: How does the child feel there?
Sub: Feels kinda bad, I guess.
Res: Why doesn't she help her mom?
Sub: She looks kinda busy.

Picture 3

Sub: Seems like this girl right here is watching the TV, but her mother don't like her to watch cowboy shows. Looks like cowboy shows and so she turns off the TV to another channel and the girl don't want to watch that so she just stares at her mother.

Res: Could this be a picture about a mother turning off a TV set?
Sub: Yes. There was a girl she had her own TV. So her mother thought it would blow up because they didn't have any fuse in the house.
Res: Where does the picture fit in with your story?
Sub: The girl is in her own room by the curtains, and so she is sitting there watching it and her mother comes along and tell her she can't watch TV because she's afraid she might blow a fuse.
Res: What happens in the end?
Sub: She turns off the TV
Res: What about the child?
Sub: She gets mad and just sits there.
Res: Why does the child let her turn the TV off?
Sub: Because she can't fight her back.

Picture 4

Sub: This picture seems like the dad came from work. The girl is mad at her dad, that's why she's standing back. So her mother is happy and tells her dad that they should get ready to eat dinner. But the girl don't want to eat dinner, so she just stands back by the door and her daddy comes and talks to her and she likes her dad now.
Res: How does the child feel then?
Sub: Right now she feels kind of terrible cause her dad don't come and kiss her or nothing. But after he come, she's kinda happy.
Res: Why does she like her dad and mom to talk?
Sub: So she'll know that they love each other.
Appendix D
Table 12. Comparison of ratings to Picture Number One (Separation from mother) of Jefferson School boys and Bonneville School boys with Jefferson School girls and Bonneville School girls, categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Jefferson School Boys</th>
<th>Bonneville School Boys</th>
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Table 13. Comparison of ratings to Picture Number Two (Sex-role identification) of Jefferson School boys and Bonneville School boys with Jefferson School girls and Bonneville School girls, categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores.

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Table 14. Comparison of ratings to Picture Number Three (Acceptance of limits from adults) of Jefferson School boys and Bonneville School boys with Jefferson School girls and Bonneville School girls, categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores.

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Table 15. Comparison of ratings to Picture Number Four (Acceptance of affection between parents) of Jefferson School boys and Bonneville School boys and Jefferson School girls and Bonneville School girls, categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores.

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Table 16. Comparison of ratings to all four pictures of Jefferson School boys and Bonneville School boys with Jefferson School girls and Bonneville School girls, categorized into low maturity and high maturity scores.

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