

ARE CROSS-CULTURAL CODES FOR PATERNAL PROXIMITY AND PATERNAL WARMTH MEASURING SIMILAR PHENOMENA?

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Recent tests of the relationships between paternal proximity, paternal warmth, and offspring behavior suggest that codes for paternal warmth more than codes for paternal proximity are salient for understanding parent-child relations in comparative research. However, the strong correlation between the proximity and warmth codes raises the possibility that the codes may reflect similar phenomena. To address this possibility, the author examined the warmth and proximity codes and recoded a random subsample drawn from the SCCS. Implications for comparative research are discussed.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this analysis is to evaluate the validity and reliability of the two main sets of father codes: Rohner and Rohner's (1981) paternal warmth codes and Barry and Paxson's (1971) "the role of the father" or paternal proximity. This analysis of the codes was undertaken to address two concerns. The first concern, raised by Carol Ember (personal communication, February, 1998), emerged following my demonstration here that the two sets of codes are significantly correlated with one another. That is, the correlation between fathers' warmth and affection and fathers' proximity during infancy is $r=0.37$ ($N=61$, $p<0.001$), and during early childhood it is $r=0.40$ ($N=62$, $p<0.001$).

Ember suggested that the significant correlations might reflect the fact that coders were actually coding similar phenomena, rather than reflecting a relationship between two conceptually different measures of paternal behavior. That possibility is plausible, given the fact that ideas about the nature of paternal behavior in US research are often conceptually blurred. "Proximity" (or the frequency of time that fathers are physically present vis a vis children) is often confused with paternal warmth or nurturance (i.e., the more proximate fathers are, the warmer they are; an idea that has little, if any support in the empirical literature; see Veneziano 2000 and Veneziano and Rohner 1998). Indeed, Katz and Konner (1981), as discussed below treated proximity as a proxy for warmth.

Consequently, if the codes themselves are conceptually blurred, or if coders, because of their own preconceived notions about paternal behavior, coded warm behaviors as proximity or proximity as warmth, then attempts at determining which codes are the most salient predictors of children's functioning, becomes a questionable venture.

Another concern, raised by Ember, Ross, Burton, and Bradley (1991), is the potential for

significant measurement error when one is using "high inference" variables. High inference variables are those that focus on general attitudes or global concepts such as evaluation of children, world view, or status of women. Moreover, high inference codes, such as warmth and proximity, are those that ethnographers are unlikely to study and coders are more likely to disagree on than coders coding low inference variables. Low inference variables are "standard cultural observables," likely to be gathered by ethnographers (variables such as marital residence, political organization, and type of subsistence). Thus, the high inferential potential of these father codes raises concerns about the validity of the codes. Consequently, if the codes lack validity and reliability then any conclusions about paternal behavior discovered using holocultural research becomes problematic. I illustrate two cases in point.

I have showed previously (Veneziano 1998) that both socialization for aggression and fathers' warmth were significant related to interpersonal violence, whereas neither maternal warmth nor fathers' proximity remained in the regression model. This finding contrasts with Ember and Embers' (1994) finding that neither parents' warmth, parents' hostility, nor fathers' proximity significantly influenced interpersonal violence when entered into a multiple regression model. That is, different findings emerged regarding the importance of warmth when controlling for paternal and maternal behavior rather than for parental behavior.

Another example: paternal warmth and paternal proximity are significantly and negatively related to corporal punishment. That is, in societies high in corporal punishment, fathers appear to be both warm and proximate. However, when entered into a regression equation, only paternal warmth was significantly related to corporal punishment. However, when mother's warmth was added to the model, only maternal warmth was significantly related to corporal punishment. That is, the key predictor of corporal punishment using these parenting behaviors is mothers' degree of warmth.

Findings such as these have led me to conclude that:

1. Paternal warmth is a more salient representation of the importance of fathering in holocultural research than is paternal proximity.
2. Concurrent analysis of both fathers and mothers helps to better explain variations in offspring behavior than does analysis of "parents" or "caretakers."
3. Paternal warmth (or lack thereof) is sometimes at least as important as maternal warmth in investigations of the antecedents, correlates, and outcomes associated with children's development.

None of these conclusions is possible if the codes are error-filled. Thus, my task was twofold: 1) Recode a representative sample to discern whether I could code for paternal warmth and paternal proximity independent of one another; 2) simultaneously, evaluate the validity of the codes (i.e., are the codes measuring what they are supposed to? Are they accurately tapping the theoretical concept they intended to?).

As noted earlier, paternal warmth codes and paternal proximity codes are significantly correlated with one another. This could simply mean, of course, that fathers are warmer in societies where they are more likely to interact with offspring. Indeed, Katz and Konner who conducted holocultural research concerning the socioecological antecedents of paternal involvement using Barry and Paxson's (1971) scales for father proximity noted the following regarding Barry and Paxson's scales: "A review of the [ethnographic] sources used suggests that this scale is a global measure of the father-child relationship in terms of both emotional warmth and physical proximity."(1981:172).

They gave several examples of ethnographic accounts to support this assertion:

The Lesu, SCCS #97, "He will sit in the compound in front of the house, or on the beach, with the infant, playing with him, fondling and petting him....The father and mother are equally tender towards their child....A man plays with his child for hours at a time, talking pure foolishness to the baby...they may croon one of the dance songs to the baby....At all rites, and in social life, the boys are with men and the girls are with their mothers."

The Lesu were rated very high in both warmth and in proximity by coders according to the two sets of codes.

The Rwala Bedouin, SCCS #46, In early years, children are physically separated from their fathers; until age 7, it is said they "go to their father only for an occasional talk." A boy is circumcised with a knife by his own father between the ages of 3-7....Young children are punished with a stick by father...older boys are punished for disobedience by their father with a saber or dagger....'By cutting or stabbing them the father not merely punishes the boys but hardens them for their future life'."

The Rwala were rated high in hostility (little or no warmth) and somewhat low in proximity in infancy and childhood.

Despite these demonstrations, I took up Ember's challenge to revisit the father codes, to examine for myself the validity of the codes, and see if I could repeat the codes as accomplished previously by Rohner and Rohner (1981) and by Barry and Paxson (1971). Please note that I coded without knowledge of the actual Barry and Paxson or Rohner and Rohner codes.

2. ANALYSIS OF FATHER CODES

Nineteen of the approximately 60 societies that contained codes for both paternal proximity and warmth were randomly selected from the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (see tables 2 and 3 for coding information). I used HRAF files, examining fathers' warmth and proximity behavior using the following subject categories from the *Outline of Cultural Materials* (Murdock et al. 1982):

85. Infancy and Childhood (ceremonials during infancy and childhood; infant feeding; infant care; child care; development and maturation; childhood activities).

86. Socialization (techniques of inculcation; weaning and food training; cleanliness training; sex training; aggression training; independence training; transmission of cultural norms; transmission of skills; transmissions of beliefs).

59. Family relationships (family relationships; nuclear family; extended families).

Of the nineteen societies, six were high confidence proximity codes, three were highly doubtful, six had doubtful infancy scores and eight had doubtful childhood scores. Because confidence scores for the warmth codes are not available, I decided to focus the analysis on the societies that were proximity coded with confidence. The societies in my sample and the Barry and Paxson (1971) confidence ratings are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Confidence ratings

SCCS Number	Society	Infancy Code	Childhood Code
4	Lozi	Highly doubtful	Highly doubtful
5	Mbundu	Confident	Somewhat doubtful
23	Tallensi	Somewhat doubtful	Confident
26	Hausa	Somewhat doubtful	Somewhat doubtful
43	Egyptians	Confident	Confident
63	Uttar Pradesh	Confident	Somewhat doubtful
69	Garo	Confident	Confident
80	Vedda	Highly doubtful	Highly doubtful
83	Javanese	Confident	Confident
92	Orokaiva	Confident	Confident
115	Manchu	Highly doubtful	Highly doubtful
123	Aleut	Somewhat doubtful	No data
138	Klamath	Confident	Confident
150	Havasupai	Confident	Confident
151	Papago	Confident	Somewhat doubtful
158	Cuna	Somewhat doubtful	Somewhat doubtful
159	Goajiro	Confident	Somewhat doubtful
173	Siriono	Somewhat doubtful	Somewhat doubtful
185	Tehuelche	Highly doubtful	Highly doubtful

The Rohner and Rohner codes for fathers' and mothers' overall warmth and affection (for children 3-6) are:

1. (2)* Parent rarely warm and affectionate
 2. (4)* Parent sometimes warm and affectionate
 3. (6)* Parent frequently warm and affectionate
 4. (8)* Parent almost always warm and affectionate
- (*sums of corrected codes)

Warmth and affection: "Warm and accepting parents generally like their child, they approve of his personality, and take an interest in his activities and well-being. Warmth and affection may be manifested: a) verbally: praising the child, singing lullabies to him, telling him stories, approving of his behavior, verbally comforting or consoling him, and demonstrating love in

other words; b) physically: fondling the child, cuddling him, physically comforting or consoling him, caressing and hugging him, attempting to please the child, playing with him . . . *Routine caretaking . . . do(es) not automatically indicate emotional warmth* (my emphasis).

In their description of coding rules and procedures Rohner and Rohner note: "The scales were designed to be summarizing measures of the *frequency of occurrence* (my emphasis) of each variable." They also stated "Coders first assessed high or low warmth and then reached decision about the relative frequency of the behavior." Rohner and Rohner delineated doubtful or highly doubtful codes, but this information was not available at the time of my study.

Barry and Paxson's (1971) code for the role of the father in infancy and early childhood excluded other adult males unless they were classified by the society as equivalents of the father in their relationship to the child. Barry and Paxson identified codes that were somewhat doubtful (i.e., requiring strong inference) and highly doubtful or uncertain codes that were based on single instance or a weak inference. The scale contained five values:

1. No close proximity
2. Rare instances of close proximity
3. Occasional or irregular close proximity
4. Frequent close proximity
5. Regular, close proximity

The same ethnographies were used in both the Barry and Paxson (1971) and Rohner and Rohner (1981) studies, and with several exceptions those same ethnographies were included in the review of HRAF files used here. Missing from the analysis undertaken here are the ethnographies by Holub (SCCS# 4, Lozi), M. G. Smith (SCCS # 26, Huasa -although the HRAF files contained many other works by M. G. Smith regarding the Hausa), and two by Opler (1952, 1956; SCCS #63, Uttar Pradesh - although the HRAF files contained many other works by Opler regarding the Uttar Pradesh). References for the above ethnographies as well as all those referenced from the SCCS can be found in Barry and Paxson (1971). Moreover, seven of the nineteen societies evaluated here included ethnographies by authors not contained in the SCCS: Society # 26, Hausa (author: Faulkingham), #63, Uttar Pradesh (authors: Wiser and Wiser), #83, Javenese (author: Jay), #138, Klamath (authors: Clifton and Levine), #150, Havasupai (author: Smithson), & #158, Cuna (author: Wafer; author: Marshall). References for these authors are shown in the reference section.

When I attempted to code strictly according to the authors' codes and instructions, I was almost always unable to code due to difficulty in determining the *frequency* of warmth and proximity. I looked for any suggestion of frequency in the ethnographic sources including evidence of repeated occurrences, the number of times the behaviors occurred within a particular extent of time, in a particular group, etc, or the number of times a given behavior occurred in relation to the total number of classified behaviors (as in a distribution of behaviors). This was difficult, if not impossible.

A rare example of ethnographic material that provided clues to frequency is the following

description of the Javanese:

Much affection usually develops between father and child during [early childhood]. Children . . . tag along with their fathers around the neighborhood and out to the fields, and he treats them with untiring patience and permissiveness." [Overlap with proximity]. One often sees fathers playing with their young children, feeding them, bathing them, cuddling them to sleep, taking to visit adult friends. (Jay 1969)

Until the age of 2, father has relatively little to do with the child. He may have taken a turn, once in a while, at carrying a child . . . However, when child weans and learns to walk, a bond of warmth and affection develops [Overlap with warmth]. "He plays with the baby at great length and sometimes baby-sits for the mother, but he is given no responsibility for the baby's care and feeding." "At 5-6 years of age, a boy begins to hold different relations with his father. Father ceases to be a figure of intimate and permissive companionship . . . easy conversation ceases between them, and they stop doing things together." (Jay 1969; referenced below).

Rohner and Rohner awarded the Javanese an 8 for warmth, as did I. Barry and Paxson coded proximity during infancy as a 3 and proximity during early childhood as 5. I agreed with both these codes, although I judged the infancy proximity code to be doubtful. Coding the Javanese required less inference than next two examples:

The Tehuelche scores for the frequency of warmth and father proximity are based on the following passages:

"Their (men and fathers) finest traits, perhaps, in their character is their love for their wives and children. . . They evince great affection for their children . . . Both the men and women are very loving and devoted to their children." (Musters 1873; referenced in Barry and Paxson 1971).

The boys rarely accompany the father to the chase before 10-12. (Musters 1873; referenced in Barry and Paxson 1971)

Rohner and Rohner awarded the Tehuelche a score of 8 for warmth, as did I. Barry and Paxson scored proximity in both infancy and early childhood as a highly doubtful 3, while I assigned a doubtful 2 for both stages.

The Tallensi case shows some degree of difficulty in coding frequency or amount of proximity even though the terms frequency and intensity are used:

“During these first 3-4 years a child's father, though he sees less of it than its mother does, is a loving and indulgent parent” [father soothes baby]; Man gives and eats food with children [overlap with proximity?]; “A few minutes after an infant has been treated roughly it will be lovingly suckled, fondled, and caressed by mother or sister, or affectionately dangled by its father.” (Fortes 1949; referenced in Barry and Paxson 1971)

Infant.: “It has effective social relationships with its mother, sometimes its grandmother or a co-wife of its mother, or an older sibling or half-sibling, and its father . . . in this order of frequency and intensity.” “The care of the father falls on the ritual side.” (Fortes 1949, referenced in Barry and Paxson 1971)

I awarded the Tallensi a doubtful 8 for warmth, one value above Rohner and Rohner’s score of 7. Barry and Paxson gave a doubtful 3 for proximity in infancy, while I scored a 2. I rated early childhood proximity as a doubtful 3, and Barry and Paxson rated it as a 4.

However, when I coded based on “gut impressions,” or “intuition,” or on the “high inference” position that, “these fathers are more proximate than those fathers and those fathers are warmer than these fathers,” my codes tended to fall in the same direction as previous coders, but this was based on a degree of inference more suitable to a “high/low” dichotomy rather than to codes represented on an ordinal scale.

Interestingly, when I did rely on my gut impressions (that is, high inference), the correlations between my codes and Barry and Paxson's and Rohner and Rohner's were stronger than I would have expected. The correlation between my codes and Rohner and Rohner’s warmth codes was $r=0.64$, ($p=0.006$, $N=17$). The association between my coding and Barry and Paxson’s proximity in infancy was $r=0.47$, ($p=0.057$, $N=18$), which fell to $r=0.41$, ($p=0.17$, $N=13$) for proximity in early childhood. None of these correlations reached a minimally acceptable level of 0.70, but this may be an effect of the low sample sizes.

Differences and/or errors in coding also could be attributed to my reliance only on published directions for coding. I did not consult with the original coders vis a vis any unpublished directions or guidelines. For example, it is possible that coders of proximity evaluated information on sleeping arrangements, material I did not use. It is noteworthy that, according to my calculations, when fathers are coded as sleeping in same room as mother and infant, they are significantly more likely to be coded as proximate than if they sleep in a different room than mother and infant. This fact may very well have been an important aspect of coding on proximity and therefore would need to be included in subsequent analysis after clarifying this point with the original coders. In addition, because of my familiarity with the warmth codes, it is possible that my inferences matched Rohner and Rohner's more robustly than did mine and Barry and Paxson's.

Nevertheless, even if the codes were deemed to be reliable by virtue of reliability coefficients,

the validity of the codes are questionable with regard to making clear inferences about the relative frequency of the behaviors. Specifying frequency via analysis of the ethnographic sources is potentially problematic because: 1) documentation of paternal behavior is often quite limited, if documented at all; and 2) assessment of frequency requires detailed specification of repeated occurrences, the number of times something occurs within a time period, or a particular group, etc, or the number of times a given behavior occurs in relation to the total number of classified behaviors (as in a distribution of behaviors).

Examples of other codes are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2. Societies with codes more confidently coded by Barry and Paxson

05. MBUNDU	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: CNC R&R: 6	NOTES AND QUOTATIONS: No specific mention of fathers; respect & love for <u>parents</u> ; <u>parents</u> love/little rejection; <u>parents</u> are not hostile but warm
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (4) B&P: 3 Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: CNC B&P: (3)	Info. on childhood only after age 8. Children trained early by fathers - sleep with mother & father Indirect - parents/family life important - much <u>parental</u> contact with children <u>After</u> age 8: father is responsible for boy; may work in field with father; eat w/ father; or learn trade from father
23. TALLENSI	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (8) R&R: 7	"During these first 3-4 years a child's father, though he sees less of it than its mother does, is a loving and indulgent parent" (father soothes baby); Man gives and eats food with children (overlap with proximity?); "A few minutes after an infant has been treated roughly it will be lovingly suckled, fondled, and caressed by mother or sister, or affectionately dangled by its father."
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: 2 B&P: (3) Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: 4	Infancy.: "It has effective social relationships with its mother, sometimes its grandmother or a co-wife of its mother, or an older sibling or half-sibling, and its father . . . in this order of frequency & intensity ." "The care of the father falls on the ritual side."
43. EGYPTIANS	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (2) (depends on source used) R&R: 2	Varies with ethnography: "The father avoids excessive intimacy in order to be respected and obeyed." But, "love for their children is a marked trait in the character of the modern Egyptian. I have often seen the roughest Fellah handle his sick child with remarkable tenderness when he has brought it to me."
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: 2 B&P: 2 Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: 2	Fathers involved in circumcision ritual; not involved in early infancy--post-partum taboos. "The husbands' contact with the house are few." From 3-7, boys go to field with older sibling or father.

63. UTTAR PRADESH	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (4.5) R&R: 5	Father's tears flow with the child as he cures him/her
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: 4	Infancy: Father is there to heal the sick child; Child: Boys with fathers in the fields.
Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: (4)	
69. GARO	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (4) R&R: 8	"The mother, father, or older sibling who carries a baby on his or her back starts to bounce & jiggle it at the slightest peep, urging it to be quiet and sleep." Father gives all his children "soothing words."
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: 4 B&P: 4	After birth, "The husband must stay near the home, and if there are no older daughters to help, he may even do the cooking and care for his wife and other children . . . Garo children spend most of their first year in direct physical contact with an older relative. They sleep with their mother, or sometimes when a little older, with their father."
Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3) Minimal data B&P: 4	
83. JAVANESE	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: 8 R&R: 8	"Much affection usually develops between father and child during [early childhood]. Children . . . tag along with their fathers around the neighborhood & out to the fields, & he treats them with untiring patience & permissiveness." (Overlap with proximity). One often sees fathers playing with their young children, feeding them, bathing them, cuddling them to sleep, taking to visit adult friends A "GOOD" CODING OPPORTUNITY
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: 3	Until the age of 2, father has relatively little to do with the child. He may have taken a turn, once in a while, at carrying a child . . . However, when child weans and learns to walk, a bond of warmth and affection develops (Overlap with warmth).
Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: 5 B&P: 5	"He plays with the baby at great length and sometimes baby-sits for the mother, but he is given no responsibility for the baby's care & feeding." "At 5-6 years of age, a boy begins to hold different relations with his father. Father ceases to be a figure of intimate and permissive companionship . . . easy conversation ceases between them, and they stop doing things together.
92. OROKAIVA	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (7) R&R: 7	Small child held affectionately by fathers, "It is <u>always</u> (overlap w/ proximity) to the father that the child, especially the male child, runs for comfort [in presence of other men]"; man content to fondle, hold child.
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (4) Sparse data B&P: 4	(varies with ethnography) Very involved in family life as authority; Kids hang around with father Men often work away when kids are small.
Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: 5	
138. KLAMATH	
Father Warmth:	"The father especially is disconnected from significant relationships, and

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Veneziano: <u>2</u> R&R: 7	both he and mother are frequently given to unpredictable & alternating fits of love & anger." "When parents are present [they are often minimally present or 'non-existent'] Klamath children are usually faced not only with minimal care and attention but with indifference and aloofness." EXAMPLE OF MARKED DISCREPANCY BETWEEN MINE AND THEIRS
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: 2 B&P: 3 Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: 3 B&P: 4	First 2-3 yrs., child's every want supplied by mother, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods.
150. HAVASUPAI	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: <u>(5)</u> R&R: 8	Men pay a little more attention to boy than girl infants; "parents" are very affectionate; father responsive to little girls play.
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: 4 B&P: 3 Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: 3-4 B&P: 4	Fathers usually assist at birth; pictures of fathers with families; a father, mother, and small children usually go to the stream each afternoon together for bathing. Fathers teach kids to ride, proudly; father as teacher (riding/hunting) at age 6; (hunting may happen later than 8 yrs.old, unclear).
151. PAPAGO	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (6) R&R: 8	Father protective/older sons; fathers love tots who reciprocate; both parents kind to kids (low voice of father); after age 5 father has no intimate relationships with children.
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (4) B&P: 3 Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: (3)	Infancy.: fathers help watch, supervise children; boys followed men, learn to hunt, field; Childhood: fathers teach discipline when they step-in, usually not often; father in room teaches moral code.
159. GOAJIRO	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: <u>(2-4)</u> R&R: 2	Varies with ethnography: Men praise, pick up, croon, play with; when sons return from uncles, fathers neglect them; parents show little affection.
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (2) B&P: 3 Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: (4)	Father scarcely accounted for in the family; as of age 2 may spend time with father at work; accompanies father early on; Child: works with/is companion of father; uncle is real guardian; teaches stuff,

CNC = Could not code; R & R = Rohner and Rohner codes, .B & P = Barry and Paxson codes

Table 3. Societies with codes not confidently coded by Barry and Paxson

04. LOZI	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: CNC R&R: 6 (boys)	NOTES AND QUOTATIONS: No father data
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (2) B&P: [2]	Patrilineal; boy lives with father
Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: CNC B&P: [3]	
26. HAUSA	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (2) R&R: 2	Fathers show respect and reserve to kids; kids greet dads politely, affection is with grandpa; child-mother affect is warm; father is stern and authoritarian
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: 1 B&P: (3)	Until age 7, boy still eats, associates with mother/women. Little mention of contact with father
Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: 1 B&P: (3)	
80. VEDDA	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (4-6) R&R: 8	Pictures of men holding baby & child; "men/fathers indulgent and understanding"
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: [4]	No in-text comments on father. Pictures of fathers with kids (unusual in many ethnographies)
Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: CNC B&P: [4]	
115. MANCHU	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (2) or CNC R&R: 6	Usually the Manchu are kind to their children (Much mention of mothers, not of fathers)
Infant Proximity: Veneziano: CNC B&P: [3]	No specific mention of fathers that would inform either set of codes. Time also factor-after political takeover, kids became property of state, taken away from home, institutionalized
Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: CNC B&P: [3]	
123. ALEUT	
Father Warmth: Veneziano: (8) R&R: 8	Late 1800s: "Despite all their cold-bloodedness & indifference, the Aleut give proof of their love of children . . . and not infrequently to a degree that is natural only to the tender-hearted, but you will never see any tenderness or caress . . ." (Father and mother will waste away to feed youngsters). "Father is a peaceful, affectionate, and undemonstrative parent."

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<p>Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (3) depending on source (time differential) B&P: (2)</p> <p>Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3) depending of source (time differential) B&P: CNC</p>	<p>Varies with ethnography/time</p> <p>1840: Father spends time hunting/fishing with young sons. Father taught customs and religion.</p> <p>1970: Significant parental neglect</p>
158. CUNA	
<p>Father Warmth: Veneziano: (7) R&R: 8</p>	<p>Babies are sung to sleep with songs about their fathers' activities; fathers fond of their children; father sews clothes for boy.</p>
<p>Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (2) B&P: (3)</p> <p>Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (3-4) B&P: (3)</p>	<p>Overlap with warmth - when son is five, father sews (3); fathers train boys with bows and arrows and accompany mother & father on trips (4).</p>
173. SIRIONO	
<p>Father Warmth: Veneziano: (4-6) R&R: 8</p>	<p>Children are indulged by parents. "I have also seen men get partial erections while playing with the genitals of their infants." Fathers absorb/allow children to express anger verbally and physically (acceptance?).</p>
<p>Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (3) B&P: (3)</p> <p>Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: CNC no specific data for this age period B&P: (4)</p>	<p>The day after birth, father is involved in protective ritual, gets involved in household preparations. "When marching in the forest a man may sometimes relieve a woman in carrying the children, but he will never enter camp carrying a 'female possession.'" When child is 3 mos., father makes boy a miniature bow and girl a spindle (overlap with warmth?).</p>
185. TEHUELICHE	
<p>Father Warmth: Veneziano: (8) fathers are very warm, but frequently? R&R: 8</p>	<p>"Their (men & fathers) finest traits, perhaps, in their character is their love for their wives and children. . . They evince great affection for their children . . . Both the men & women are very loving and devoted to their children"</p>
<p>Infant Proximity: Veneziano: (2) sparse data B&P: [3]</p> <p>Childhood Proximity: Veneziano: (2) sparse data B&P: [3]</p>	<p>The boys rarely accompany the father to the chase before 10-12.</p>

CNC = Could not code; R & R = Rohner and Rohner codes, .B & P = Barry and Paxson codes

3. CONCLUSION

I suppose there are several directions one could go from here. First, researchers could take a more careful look at the relationships between warmth and proximity codes and antecedent and outcome variables using only codes that are not deemed doubtful by the original coders. That is, we can use the most reliable codes in future analyses.

Second, we could recode the current fathering codes using more fully specified attributes of the behaviors, and using clearer directions and details regarding the interpretation of the data.

Finally, the best option may be to content analyze the ethnographies using a grounded theory approach and then factor analyze the results, getting perhaps the most meaningful measures of fathering behaviors. It seems quite likely that two of those factors will be "warmth" and "proximity." That is, there is clearly ethnographic data indicating something about warmth and something about proximity. However, the nature and scope of the behaviors may not have much to do with frequency. Perhaps, some other indicator will emerge. We could then recode paternal behaviors using attributes associated with the major factors.

4 REFERENCES CITED

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World Cultures CD Data Disk

The CD with this issue of *World Cultures* contains the following subdirectories:

\Modernization

This subdirectory contains the files needed to add Divale and Seda's modernization codes to the MAPTAB data base. It also includes the SPSS data file STDS84.SAV.

\North

This subdirectory contains the files pertaining to the paper on regional identity by Caulkins, Painter and Hedges.

\SCCS Manuals

This subdirectory contains a codebook manual describing all the SCCS variables up to the present volume. The manual is in two WORD files (SCCS1.DOC and SCC2.DOC) and two RTF files (SCCS1.RTF and SCCS2.RTF). The WORD file SCCRbib.doc contains the focused ethnographic bibliography for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. Documents in this directory were prepared by William Divale.

\World Cultures Volumes 1 to 11#1

This subdirectory contains each of the past volumes of *World Cultures* from issue 1#1 through issue 11#1. Each past issue is in its own subdirectory. **A note of warning.** In the early issues of *World Cultures* some Standard Cross-Cultural Sample data files were published with errors. The reader should not use the data files for the Standard Sample or the *Ethnographic Atlas* from these early issues. Corrected versions of these files were published in later issues of *World Cultures*. Issue 10#1 contains corrected SPSS data file of all Standard Sample variables from STDS01.sav to STDS83.sav as well as corrected files for the *Ethnographic Atlas*.

WC11#2.DOC

This file is the current issue of the journal in Word 2000 format.

William Divale