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CHILD REARING PRACTICES IN GREECE

BY

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## INTRODUCTION

Child rearing, in general, refers to all interactions between parents and their children including "the parents' expressions of attitudes, values, interests and beliefs as well as their caretaking and training behavior".<sup>(1)</sup> These parent-child interactions constitute some of the most important variables impinging upon the personality development and socialization of the child.

The purpose of studying child rearing practices is to relate the effects of early training experiences to the child's behavior and development. Since the child's earliest interpersonal experiences are with his family, and especially with his mother, the mother's behavior becomes the focal point for study.

Theologians, educators, and philosophers have speculated considerably about the influences that early childhood experiences might have on later personality, but empirical investigation of the issue did not begin until the twentieth century.<sup>(2)</sup>

Child care practices in the West have tended to fluctuate cyclically from permissiveness, to extreme non-permissiveness, and back to permissiveness: At the turn of the century a highly sentimental approach to child rearing was predominant and emphasis fell on character formation.

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(1) Sears, R.R., Maccoby, E.E., and Levin, H. Patterns of child rearing. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1957, p. 457.

(2) Ibid., p. 2.

Between 1910 and 1930 a rigid and restrictive disciplinary approach was followed. By 1940 the emphasis was on parental understanding of the child and self-regulation by the child. Since then there has been a swing toward permissiveness, the emphasis shifting from character development to personality development.<sup>(3)</sup>

The changes that have occurred regarding acceptable practices of child care have paralleled rather closely developmental, psychological and educational theory. Up to 1950 information was derived mostly from books, pamphlets, periodicals, all popularized accounts, rather than from observation of practice and empirical research.<sup>(4)</sup>

From then on, organized research was carried on in the field of child rearing practices. Although a number of studies have been done, none of them provide the systematic, normative information which are to be found in those of Sears and Prothro.

Sears and his colleagues<sup>(5)</sup> interviewed 379 mothers of five-year-old children from two Boston suburbs. Prothro<sup>(6)</sup> interviewed 468 Lebanese mothers from urban and rural communities. Detailed information on selected

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(3) Stendler, C.R. Sixty years of child training practices. J. Pediatrics, 1950, 36, 122-134.

See also Miller, D.R., and Swanson, G.E. The changing American parent. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958, pp. 5-29.

(4) Miller and Swanson, op.cit., p. 14.

(5) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit.

(6) Prothro, E.T. Child rearing in the Lebanon. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.

aspects of child rearing, their interrelation and effects on five-year-olds was obtained from both projects.

The recent attitude can best be summed up in a statement by Sears: "Personality is a product of many things. Child rearing experience is but one of them."<sup>(7)</sup>

✓ The stress has been on the cumulative effect of child rearing practices on personality development, rather than the direct, one-to-one relationship between a specific training practice and a later personality trait. It has also been emphasized that on the basis of available data, generalizations about personality development as related to early experiences can be made about children rather than adults. It is recognized, however, that some degree of lawful continuity prevails between successive stages of growth. Early experiences are not so important because of their immediate impact but because of the residual they leave, "the residual may be a structural modification or simply a greater probability of responding in one way or another."<sup>(8)</sup>

Sewell further reinforces the modern approach: "Early treatment and care must be somehow influential in determining the course of the child's later personality development, although the relationship between the specific techniques of child training and particular personality traits may not be as direct or as great as many psychoanalytically-oriented writers believe."<sup>(9)</sup>

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(7) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., p. 453.

(8) Watson, R.I. Psychology of the child. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959, p. 86.

(9) Sewell, W.H., Mussen, P.H., Harris, C.W. Relationships among child training practice. Amer. sociol. Rev., 1955, 20, 137-148.

Thus, there is a need to identify and isolate for study some significant variables, keeping in mind that it is the total pattern or "configuration of early experiences",<sup>(10)</sup> resulting from specific practices as well as certain dimensions of the mother's personality (i.e. warmth, permissiveness, punitiveness, etc.), which affects personality.

Before broad generalizations in the area of child rearing can be made more empirical data must be collected. The Prothro study provides the first available normative data in Lebanon, and by the use of the Harvard schedule enables cross-cultural comparison with an American sample. The need for cross-cultural research has been repeatedly pointed out: "If children are studied within the confines of a single culture, many events are taken as natural, obvious, or part of human nature and are therefore not reported and not considered as variables. It is only when it is discovered that other peoples do not follow these practices that have been attributed to human nature that they are adopted as legitimate variables."<sup>(11)</sup>

This thesis reports a descriptive study of child rearing practices in certain localities of Greece, namely the urban center of Athens, and a rural area in the South of Greece. The purpose is to ascertain the effects of demographic variables, such as locality and class, on the way mothers raise their children. The major emphasis is on the urban-rural comparison, with some discussion of class differences within Athens.

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(10) Honigsmann, J.J. Culture and personality. New York: Harper and Bros., 1954, p. 236.

(11) Whiting, J.W.M., and Whiting, B.B. "Contributions of anthropology to the methods of studying child rearing." In P.H. Mussen (ed.), Handbook of research methods in child development. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960, p. 933.

Data were collected through interviews with 294 mothers of pre-school children. The interview was designed to gather detailed information about the child's early experiences, his response to certain situations, and his training. The study has focused on a few selected aspects of child rearing: feeding and weaning, toilet training, sex, aggression and dependency training; the mother's restrictions and demands, methods of discipline, as well as her attitude toward the child also received special attention.

## CHAPTER I

### Review of related literature

In this chapter studies relevant to the present one will be reviewed and discussed in terms of selected areas of infant care and child training, as they relate in practice and theory to social and personality development.

Feeding: According to psychoanalytic theory, aspects of the infant's early feeding experiences such as prolonged nursing, self-demand rather than scheduled feeding, and gradual weaning, contribute to the formation of a well-adjusted, confident and secure personality. Adult personality characteristics are attributed to fixation of the libido at the "oral stage" of development. Fixation might be the result of either excessive indulgence or excessive frustration of infantile feeding experiences. Oral indulgence is linked to later feelings of optimism and dependence, whereas oral frustration is related to characteristics such as general dissatisfaction, suspiciousness, impatience, etc. (12)

However, "the argument from child to adult personality is frequently by verbal analogy and metaphor rather than by demonstrations of functional relationships in individual cases". (13) None of the early feeding studies reviewed by Orlansky (14) has demonstrated any important or consistent

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(12) Mussen, P.H., and Conger, J.J. Child development and personality. New York: Harper and Bros., 1956, p. 143.

(13) Keehn, J.D. The prediction and control of behavior. Beirut: Khayat's, 1962, p. 113.

(14) Orlansky, H. Infant care and personality. Psychol. Bull., 1949, 46, 1-48.

relationship between type of feeding and any definable personality characteristic.

More recent evidence shows no significant differences between breast fed and artificially fed infants in behaviors such as aggression, dependency, conscience, feeding problems, bed-wetting or emotional upset over weaning. In general, it was found that neither type of feeding, nor type of scheduling or weaning had any important effect on the personality of five-year-old children. Thus, although feeding experiences might have some influence on behavior, this influence is thought to be specific to each child.<sup>(15)</sup>

Thumb-sucking has often been associated with weaning problems; early writers thought it to result either from inadequate opportunities for sucking or from excessive sucking.<sup>(16)</sup> Contrary to these hypotheses, Prothro<sup>(17)</sup> in a recent study in Lebanon found that neither early weaning nor greater upset at weaning was related to greater likelihood of thumb-sucking.

Toilet training: It has been claimed by psychoanalytic theorists that the handling of elimination training is of critical importance and has many ramifications for later personality development. Early and severe training might fixate the libido at the "anal stage" resulting in negativism and defiance on the part of the child. The adult "anal

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(15) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp. 77-100.

(16) Sears, R.R., and Wise, G.W. Relation of cup-feeding in infancy to thumb-sucking and the oral drive. In Martin, W.E., and Stendler, C.B. (eds.) Readings in child development. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954, p. 250.

(17) Prothro, op.cit., p. 79.

character<sup>18</sup> is described as obstinate, rebellious, compulsive, meticulous, etc.<sup>(18)</sup> Psychoanalytic claims, however, are not based on facts about toilet training.

Factual information indicates that the age at which toilet training is begun and the degree of severity or permissiveness with which it is handled differ greatly from one culture to another.<sup>(19)</sup>

In the Harvard study the average age for beginning toilet training was 11 months and for completion about 18 months, whereas for the Lebanon the ages were 9 and 21 months respectively. In general, the earlier toilet training was started, the longer it took to complete.<sup>(20)</sup>

Concerning severity of training, Lebanese mothers were more severe than American mothers, the former using frequent physical punishment, the latter practically none at all.<sup>(21)</sup>

So far as emotional upset over toilet training is concerned, a relatively late start is likely to produce as much disturbance as a very early one.<sup>(22)</sup> However, age at beginning the training is not the only factor associated with emotional upset. "The most important general finding that upset at toilet training is related to the way the mother

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(18) Mussen and Conger, op.cit., pp. 195-196.

(19) Whiting, J.W.M., and Child, J.L. Child training and personality: a cross-cultural study. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953, pp. 74.

(20) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp. 109-111.  
See also Prothro, op.cit., pp. 86-87.

(21) Ibid., p. 120, p. 86.

(22) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., p. 124.



treats the child, is borne out in both studies."<sup>(23)</sup>

Sears<sup>(24)</sup> suggests that toilet training is not an isolated factor and that the severity of toilet training is associated with a number of other child rearing practices reflecting the personality of the mother.

Severe mothers made high demands for conformity, used strict punishment, showed intolerance of disobedience and of aggression toward parents, were non-permissive about the child's sex behavior and lacked warmth and self-esteem.<sup>(25)</sup>

Sex training: The existence of sexual behavior in early childhood, pointed out by Freud, is now generally recognized. But this does not prove that the psychoanalytic interpretation of infantile sexuality is correct.<sup>(26)</sup>

Anthropological studies have challenged the validity of many psychoanalytic concepts. The universality of the Oedipus complex, for example, has not been proved. Its occurrence depends upon the nature of the family structure as defined by the society and culture.<sup>(27)</sup>

The parents' reaction to the child's early manifestations of sex behavior is considered very important. Severe punishment of genital handling might eliminate the habit, but it might also have adverse effects on subsequent sexual adjustment (i.e., impotence, frigidity, etc.).<sup>(28)</sup>

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(23) Prothro, op.cit., p. 91.

(24) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp. 120-126.

(25) Ibid., pp. 120-121.

(26) Watson, op.cit., p. 446.

(27) Honigmann, op.cit., pp. 66-68.

(28) Mussen and Conger, op.cit., pp. 236-237.

Empirical findings on the incidence of infantile sexuality and the mothers' reaction to it are reported in the two recent studies, that of Sears and his associates<sup>(29)</sup> in America, and the study of Prothro<sup>(30)</sup> in Lebanon. The majority of the mothers in the Sears study reported incidents of genital handling in their children and about half of them reported incidents of sex play with other children.<sup>(31)</sup>

In general, the mothers' attitude toward sex behavior was non-permissive. However, they did not use severe punishment and avoided to make an issue of it. A major method of control used was the avoidance of self-stimulation. The mothers tried to minimize chances of stimulation by supervising children carefully, dress them in loose clothing and observe strict rules of modesty in the home.<sup>(32)</sup>

The mothers who were non-permissive with respect to sex tended to discourage aggression. They were more likely to toilet-train their children severely, check frequently on their whereabouts, use physical punishment fairly often and be strict about noise, table manners, and care of household property. In addition, they tended to be relatively cold emotionally toward their children, to respond negatively to dependency and to emphasize that their daughters should be feminine, their sons masculine.<sup>(33)</sup>

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(29) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit.

(30) Prothro, op.cit.

(31) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp. 200-202.

(32) Ibid., p. 199-214.

(33) Ibid., p. 212.

The findings on Lebanon are summarized as follows: "The attitude toward sex is generally repressive. Nudity is tabooed from infancy. Children receive no sex instruction. Masturbation in children is denied by most mothers, and any occurrence punished promptly on discovery".<sup>(34)</sup>

Sex-typing and identification: Sex-typing is the fore-runner of identification and results from a pattern of rewards and punishments administered to the child by parents, older siblings, peers, teachers and other significant individuals with whom he comes into contact.

Identification is a learning process considered fundamental to the socialization of the child. "It is because the child attempts to duplicate his parents' behavior and that of other adults that socialization is possible."<sup>(35)</sup> It is through identification with the like-sexed parent that the child learns the behavior appropriate to his sex in a particular culture. Since the child's earliest social contacts are restricted to the home, the members of his family serve as his earliest identification models. Later, peers and classmates, teachers and other people he associates with, provide models for further identification.

Parents begin selective reinforcement of sex-appropriate behavior very early. In their survey of certain aspects of socialization in 110 cultures, Barry, Bacon, and Child<sup>(36)</sup> found that although differentiation of the sexes was unimportant in infancy, in childhood there was a general tendency toward higher demands for nurturance, obedience and responsibility in girls, and toward self-reliance and achievement in boys.

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(34) Prothro, op.cit., p.154.

(35) Watson, op.cit., p.458.

(36) Barry, H., Bacon, M.K., and Child, I.C. A cross-cultural survey of some sex differences in socialization. J. Abn. soc. Psych., 1957, 55, 327-332.

The reports of Lebanese mothers also reveal differential treatment of boys and girls. In general, boys were breast-fed for a longer period, received warmer treatment, were allowed more aggression, were expected to go farther in school, less was demanded of them with regard to modesty, but they received more frequent physical punishment than girls.<sup>(37)</sup>

The Harvard study shows that it was in the area of aggression that the greatest sex distinctions were made by parents. Boys were allowed more aggression toward children other than their siblings and were more frequently encouraged to fight in self-defense than girls. More boys were expected to pursue higher education than girls. Other sex distinctions were observed in the nature of house-hold tasks and chores assigned to boys and girls. For example, bed-making was assigned to girls and emptying trash cans to boys. On the other hand, girls were more often praised for "good" behavior and more frequently discipline by love-oriented techniques than boys.<sup>(38)</sup>

By the age of six, Lebanese boys and girls were more or less equally identified with the like-sexed parent, whereas American boys were less fully identified with their fathers than girls with their mothers.<sup>(39)</sup>

Aggression: Aggression "develops because the child discovers that he can secure compliance with his wishes, i.e., rewards from the social environment, by hurting..... The devices he learns are a function of what parents and others respond to, and the extent or degree to which he develops such a motive is a function of their rewarding responsiveness when

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(37) Prothro, op.cit., p. 121.

(38) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp. 403-405.

(39) Ibid., p. 384.

See also Prothro, op.cit., p. 154.

he behaves injuriously - i.e., aggressively".<sup>(40)</sup>

Child rearing studies report a considerable amount of aggressive behavior in young children. Aggression might take the form of fights, quarrels, or angry outbursts and is directed toward parents, siblings or other children in the neighborhood.

Although there are wide variations among cultures and individual mothers with respect to toleration or encouragement of aggression, the general trend seems to be toward non-permissiveness with rigorous sanctions. In fact, in most cultures parents tend to show less indulgence toward aggressive behavior than any other type of undesirable behavior.<sup>(41)</sup>

Lebanese mothers are reported to object to any expression of aggressive behavior, especially towards parents, and discourage fighting even in self-defense.<sup>(42)</sup>

In their study of child rearing practices in the United States, Sears and his colleagues<sup>(43)</sup> found that the mothers were very intolerant of aggression directed toward parents, but not so in instances of aggression against neighbors' children. With respect to encouragement of aggression the pattern was the reverse of that observed in Lebanon, that is, the majority

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(40) Sears, R.R., Whiting J.W.M., Nowlis, V., and Sears, P.S. Some child-rearing antecedents of aggression and dependency in young children. Genet. Psychol. Monogr., 1953, 47, 135-236. p. 179.

(41) Whiting and Child, op. cit., p. 114

(42) Prothro, op.cit., p. 154.

(43) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp.244-246.

of the American mothers tended not only to permit some fighting with other children, but to "require" it.

In their attempt to cope with aggressive behavior more mothers, both in Lebanon and in America, used severe rather than mild punishment. The kinds of punishment ranged from "beating", spanking and scolding, to isolation or the deprivation of privileges.<sup>(44)</sup>

Manifestation of aggression was found to be related to severe punishment of aggressive behavior, especially in boys.<sup>(45)</sup> Sears<sup>(46)</sup> reports that a combination of punishment and permissiveness regarding aggression was associated with aggressive behavior. The mothers who were most permissive but also most severely punitive had the most aggressive children; those who were most non-permissive but least punitive had the least aggressive children.

It was pointed out that although punishment may work for the moment-arrest a specific form of aggression - it appears to generate more hostility on the part of the child, which eventually bursts out. Moreover, parents who use physical punishment provide for the child a living example of aggressive behavior that the child is very likely to copy.<sup>(47)</sup>

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(44) Ibid., p. 250.

See also Prothro, op.cit., pp. 94-96.

(45) Sears, Whiting, Nowlis, and Sears, op.cit.

(46) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., p. 260.

(47) Ibid., p. 266.

Discipline: In their attempt to cope with undesirable behavior on the part of their children, mothers often resort to the use of punishment. The frequency and severity of punishment as well as its form varies considerably among different cultures and among individual mothers.

Physical punishment seems to be the chief technique of disciplining children in Lebanon. It is used frequently by the mothers although they do not seem to believe much in its effectiveness.<sup>(48)</sup>

The majority of the mothers in the Harvard study used infrequent and mild physical punishment. The effectiveness of physical punishment was reported to be greater in the case of warm mothers whose punishment was associated with reasoning.<sup>(49)</sup>

The same study shows quite clearly the general inadequacy of punishment as a means of controlling behavior. Punishment, according to the mothers' reports, simply did not work. Although punishment had been a successful means for eliminating some specific act momentarily, in the long run it was ineffective - did not eliminate the kinds of behavior for which it was employed.<sup>(50)</sup>

Instances of positive and immediate reinforcement of desirable behavior were rather infrequent in both studies.

Conscience: Conscience, or superego in Freudian terms, is the internalization of social ideals, attitudes, values, morals, demands and prohibitions; it develops in response to rewards and punishments given to the child by his parents. The superego is a product of identification. Once it has developed, self-control is substituted for parental control.<sup>(51)</sup>

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(48) Prothro, op.cit., p. 108.

(49) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp. 328-334.

(50) Ibid., p. 318.

(51) Mussen and Conger, op.cit., pp. 241-242.

Two important characteristics by which conscience control may be recognized have been suggested by Sears:<sup>(52)</sup> control in face of temptation when no one is present and guilt feelings when temptation is not overcome. On the basis of these criteria most of the six-year-old children were found to be well into the process of developing a conscience. More girls than boys showed signs of conscience development. However, it was pointed out that individual children differed considerably.

Maternal warmth coupled with love-oriented techniques of discipline were conducive to the development of high conscience in children.<sup>(53)</sup>

With the exception of sex differences in conscience development the same general findings were borne out in the study carried in Lebanon.<sup>(54)</sup>

Dependency: One of the objectives that parents often set forth in the socialization of their children is the goal of independence or self-reliance. Training and demands for independence, however, differ from one culture to another.

For example, "standing on one's feet" with respect to defending one's rights and possessions is encouraged by American parents,<sup>(55)</sup> but is not by French parents who themselves take care of their children's toys or intervene in their quarrels with other children.<sup>(56)</sup>

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(52) Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, op.cit., pp. 366-381.

(53) Ibid., pp. 388-389.

(54) Prothro, op.cit., p. 115.

(55) Martin, W.E., and Stendler, C.B. Child behavior and development. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1959, p. 181.

(56) Wolfenstein, M. "French parents take their children to the park." In Mead, M., and Wolfenstein, M. (eds.) Childhood in contemporary cultures. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 100-105.



Frequency of dependent behavior in preschool children was positively related to parental approval of such behavior in one study;<sup>(57)</sup> parental frustration - in the form of rigidity of feeding schedule and severity of weaning - in another;<sup>(58)</sup> and oral indulgence in a third study.<sup>(59)</sup>

In the Sears study dependency at the age of five was related in no consistent way to infant feeding experiences or maternal warmth. Punishment for dependency, however, was found to make children more dependent than ever. Most dependency in children was reported by mothers who were irritated by dependency, but who ultimately gave in to the child's demands.<sup>(60)</sup>

In the same study indulgence of dependency was associated with general permissiveness of the mother. It was found that mothers who had an accepting and tolerant attitude toward the child's dependency were more likely to be affectionately warm toward him, gentle in toilet-training, high in sex permissiveness, and low in the use of physical punishment or punishment for aggression toward parents.<sup>(61)</sup>

Warmth of the mother: Maternal warmth has been shown to have widespread influences on children's behavior. Warm mothers use reasoning and explanation as means of controlling behavior rather than relying solely on physical punishment. They are also more likely to reward and

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(57) Prothro, op.cit., p. 160.

(58) Sears, Whiting, Nowlis, and Sears, op.cit.

(59) Whiting and Child, op.cit., p. 117.

(60) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp.155-173.

(61) Ibid., p. 166.

praise their children for desirable behavior than are cold mothers.<sup>(62)</sup>

Insufficient maternal warmth is often associated with the development of feeding problems and persistent bed-wetting. It contributes to strong aggressive behavior.<sup>(63)</sup> It has also been associated with emotional upset during severe toilet training and is thought to slow down rather than enhance conscience development.<sup>(64)</sup>

Social Class: Several studies of child rearing attitudes and practices have revealed significant differences in the nature of these practices between social classes.<sup>(65)</sup>

With the exception of the study of Davis and Havighurst,<sup>(66)</sup> the bulk of evidence on class differences in the rearing of children points to a greater permissiveness of the middle-class mothers. This study carried out in Chicago in the early 1940's, found the middle-class parents to be generally more severe in their training of children for feeding and cleanliness habits, and to put more restrictions and demands upon their children.

Later studies, such as those reported by Maccoby and Gibbs,<sup>(67)</sup>

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(62) Prothro, op.cit., pp. 111-112.

(63) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., p. 483.

(64) Ibid.  
See also Prothro, op.cit., p. 159.

(65) Ericson, M. Child-rearing and social status.  
Amer. J. Sociol., 1946, 52, 190-192.

(66) Davis, A., and Havighurst, R.J. Social class and color differences in child-rearing. Amer. Sociol. Rev., 1946, 11, 698-710.

(67) Maccoby, E.E., Gibbs, P.K., and the Staff of the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University. "Methods of child-rearing in two social classes." In Martin, W.E. and Stendler, C.B. (eds.) Readings in child development, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1954, p. 395.

White,<sup>(68)</sup> and Sears,<sup>(69)</sup> all emphasize the greater permissiveness and warmth in the treatment of the child shown by the middle-class mothers.

Observations of maternal behavior with respect to socio-economic class confirm the findings based on interviews about child rearing practices. Mothers of higher socio-economic status are described as more warm, accepting and understanding, whereas those of lower status as more controlling, irritable, and punitive.<sup>(70)</sup>

The middle-class Lebanese mothers are also described as more warm and less punitive than the lower-class mothers.<sup>(71)</sup>

In discussing the differences in the direction of permissiveness between the two social classes found in the early Chicago study and the later Boston study, Havighurst and Davis<sup>(72)</sup> point that, among other things, changes in child rearing ideology between the early 1940's and the early 1950's might be responsible for these differences.

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(68) White, M.S. Social class, child rearing practices, and child behavior. Amer. Sociol. Rev., 1957, 22, 704-712.

(69) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp. 427-433.

(70) Bayley, N., and Schaefer, E.S. Relationships between socio-economic variables and the behavior of mothers toward young children. J. Genet. Psych., 1960, 96, 61-77.

(71) Prothro, op.cit., p. 156.

(72) Havighurst, R.J. and Davis, A. A comparison of the Chicago and Harvard studies of social class differences in child rearing. Amer. Sociol. Rev., 1955, 20, 438-442.

Urban-rural comparisons: The literature is not greatly endowed with studies of urban-rural differences in child rearing practices. Prothro<sup>(73)</sup> found no sharp differences between the practices of city and village mothers in Lebanon, but he did find differences between "modern" and "traditional" mothers.

"Modern" mothers tended to be warmer in their treatment of the child, to breast feed for a shorter period with more scheduling of feeding, and to use love-oriented techniques of discipline. They also believed in encouraging fighting for self-defence, assumed considerable responsibility in decisions concerning domestic affairs and reported more dependency in their children. Such characteristics were less likely to be found among the "traditional" Lebanese mothers.

It would appear from the foregoing discussion that the significance of early childhood experiences in social and personality development is generally accepted. The deterministic one-to-one relation between specific child rearing practices and later manifestations in behavior, however, is not borne out by research. As indicated by the studies of Sears and Prothro, variation in practice occurs both within a single social group and shows marked cultural divergence. The

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(73) Prothro, op.cit., pp. 155-157.

complex "atmospheric" variable of the home, rather than any specific practice appears to be the major contributor to the presence or absence of developmental problems.

## CHAPTER II

### Sampling, Method and Procedure

The sample consisted of 294 mothers. Of these, 189 were selected from Athens, and 105 from three villages in Southern Peloponnese. The subjects were drawn from these localities for purposes of urban-rural comparison. Athens is the major urban center of Greece; the villages can be considered as representative of the "typical" Greek village. The following is a brief description of the areas from which the sample was drawn.

Athens:\* Athens, the capital of Greece, is the largest city of the country with a population of about a million in the city proper and over 1.5 million in the metropolitan area which includes the port of Piraeus and the suburbs. The metropolitan area - 401 sq. klm. - is located in the Attic plain. The city proper lies among a number of hills, prominent among which is the "sacred rock" of the Acropolis.

Athens is the educational, cultural, intellectual, artistic, financial, commercial and industrial center of Greece.

Large avenues, up-to-date means of transportation, buildings, parks and public gardens make Athens a modern Western city. Yet, Athens has kept its local color which is evidenced by the striking contrasts in the city streets. Modern "snack-bars", "tea-rooms", and "night-clubs" are side by side with the traditional coffee-houses and taverns.

Urban life is filled with great activity, by university life, by numerous voluntary organizations, clubs, football teams, unions, and

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\*Statistics on population and literacy in Athens are approximations.

societies. It is complex in structure and attitude being influenced by modern technology in every aspect and by constant interaction with the outside world. The urban style predominates in Athens; it is characterized by social and economic mobility for individuals (i.e. the system is neither ascriptive nor rigid), mass media communication, impersonal relationships, formalized interpersonal contacts, tolerance of diverse social habits.

Education is growing rapidly through private and government efforts. Illiteracy in the metropolitan area has dropped to about 12 per cent.

People in Athens work in banks, public and professional services, transport and trade, armed forces, manufacture and construction. Women in Athens compete with men in almost every sphere of activity.

Women were first admitted to the University of Athens in 1890. (74) They follow all courses but Theology and the number of women attending university is rapidly increasing. They have also gained a predominant place in fields usually reserved for men. A case in point is that of the Polytechnic school of Athens which recently accepted for admission a class comprised slightly more than half of women.

Women are employed as teachers, secretaries, doctors, nurses, social workers, and workers in factories. They have a voice in the parliament. And, a number of organizations and clubs continuously promote the status of Greek women.

The villages: \* Elos, Leimona, and Asterion are three small

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(74) Forster, E.S. A short history of modern Greece.  
London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1958, p. 252.

\*Physical and cultural proximity of the villages allows us to assume that they can be referred to - for the purpose of this paper - as one unit, "the village". Specific information of statistical nature and descriptive data were obtained from the secretary of each community.

villages in the Southern edge of Peloponnese. The villages are about 300 klm. from Athens and 3 to 4 klm. from one another. The population of the three is about 2,000 people and the total area slightly more than 7.5 sq. klm.

Approximately 95 per cent of the population depend directly on agriculture for a livelihood. The main crops are cotton, cereals, rice and vegetables. The fields are divided into narrow strips and each family owns several patches of land scattered around the village. The system dates from feudal times when a farmer would be given several pieces of land of different quality so that each villager would have land approximately of the same productive capacity. Since then, inheritance and dowries have redistributed the strips of land not in accordance with the original intention.

The plain of Elos, as the whole area is referred to, is one of the most fertile lowlands of Southern Greece. The river Evrotas - where the Spartans used to bathe in ancient times - still flows through the plain. Evrotas which is often choked with water during periods of heavy rain in the autumn and winter, becomes almost a trickle in the drought of mid-summer. Thus, lack of water is one of the major problems of the peasants.

Moreover, high cost of fertilizers, primitive tools of agriculture, and low prices of their products are among the perennial problems of the villagers in spite of the attempts of the agricultural cooperatives to improve the economic status of each village. Agricultural cooperatives founded as early as 1927 have performed the essential services of marketing of produce, price fixing and obtaining credit for their members from the Agricultural bank.



Emigration seems to constitute another problem. During the past decade around 200 people emigrated to Australia or Canada and about 150 moved to Sparta or Athens in quest of a better life. Local farm labor supply is inadequate.

The rate of illiteracy is 5 per cent in Elos, 15 per cent in Leimona, and 8 percent in Asterion.

Each of the villages has its own public elementary school. At present the enrollment in these schools is a total of 246 pupils. Also, there are 56 students from the three villages attending high school and 16 in universities. There is no discrimination according to sex with respect to primary and secondary education. However, at the university level students are primarily young men.

When a person enters the village he is first struck by the cluster of houses at irregular intervals. The majority of the houses are stone. Some are mud-walled. The average house has three or four rooms furnished only with necessities. There is neither electricity, nor running water, nor toilet facilities.

Life in the village is simple. It consists mainly of hard work in the fields with a few pleasures such as visiting back and forth among families, strolling up and down the main road on Sundays or folk dancing in the village square on holidays.

The village women do their full share of work in the fields. Late in the afternoon they take care of cooking, cleaning, repairing of clothes, washing, sewing etc., whereas the men can have a rest over a cup of coffee at the village coffee-house and engage in their favorite discussion - politics.

Early marriages, which are primarily a matter of arrangement, are popular in the village. Dowries are given to daughters in the form of

a piece of the family's land.

The father is still the authority in the household and is respected and sometimes feared by both wife and children.

Sampling: The first step in the study was selecting the sample. In Athens, files of four nursery schools - three private and one public - located in different areas of the city were consulted. Children of four, five and six years were selected and the mothers interviewed.

The village mayors made available birth records from which the sample was drawn.

The 294 mothers were all of Greek nationality, and of the Greek Orthodox faith. The home situation was also considered, i.e. cases of divorce, separation, twin births, or any other unnatural circumstances, were excluded.

The mothers from Athens represented both the middle and lower classes, numbering 124 and 65 respectively. The 105 village mothers were all lower class.

Classification of the families with respect to socio-economic status was made on the basis of data about occupation, education and general quality of the home environment. Information concerning occupation and education was given by the mothers in the process of the interview. Housing and general home environment were evaluated by the writer: location and construction of the house, number and size of rooms, availability of running water, bathroom facilities, amount and kind of furniture, household appliances, books and art works, and servants, were noted.

The level of education of parents as reported by the mothers is presented in Table 1, the age range is in Table 2.

Table 1 - Education of parents in each area

<u>Area</u>	<u>Middle Class</u>				<u>Lower Class</u>			
	<u>No. of years of school</u>				<u>No. of years of school</u>			
	<u>0</u>	<u>1-6</u>	<u>7-12</u>	<u>Above 12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1-6</u>	<u>7-12</u>	<u>Above 12</u>
Athens								
Fathers	0	0	36	88	2	38	25	0
Mothers	0	0	98	26	7	45	13	0
Village								
Fathers					7	75	22	1
Mothers					8	91	5	1

Table 2 - Age of parents in each area

<u>Age range (yrs.)</u>	<u>20-25</u>	<u>26-30</u>	<u>31-35</u>	<u>36-40</u>	<u>41-45</u>	<u>46-50</u>
Athens Middle Class						
Fathers		1	9	53	28	33
Mothers	2	29	52	37	4	
Athens Lower Class						
Fathers		3	18	27	6	11
Mothers	6	19	25	12	3	
Village						
Fathers		20	11	44	11	19
Mothers	12	34	34	16	9	

To the extent that the reports concerning the age of the parents were accurate, the median age of the middle-class father was 40.5 years and the mother, 34.1; for the lower class and village father it was 36.3 years and the mother ranging from 31.7 to 31.9.

Of the 124 middle-class mothers interviewed, 33 had no occupation outside the home; 72 were employed as either accountants or secretary-typists in banks or offices, 11 as teachers, 5 doctors, 2 lawyers and 1 as a pharmacist.

Among the middle-class families the fathers followed clerical, legal, medical, educational, military, industrial, technical and business professions.

Of the 65 lower-class mothers, 35 had no occupation, 12 were employed in factories, 6 were dressmakers, 6 nurses, 4 saleswomen and 2 maids. The fathers were street vendors, skilled and semi-skilled laborers, bus drivers, postment etc.

In the village, both the women and men were engaged in farming with the exception of one man and one woman who were in teaching.

The average number of children was 2.5 for both lower-class city and village mothers, and 1.7 for the middle-class city families.

The "nuclear family" pattern, i.e. family comprised of father, mother, and children, characterized 55 per cent of the middle-class families of our sample, 66 per cent of the lower-class and 58 per cent of the village families. In the rest of the cases one or more grandparents, aunts or other relatives lived under the same roof. In Athens, both middle and lower classes, maternal relatives usually lived with the family, whereas in the village paternal relatives were the usual case.

The children in our sample ranged in age from 4 to 6 years, with a median age of 5.12 years. Of the 294 children, 155 were boys and 139 were girls. With respect to ordinal position, 97 of the children were the oldest in the family, 30 were in the middle group, while 102 were youngest family members.

Method and procedure: The method was a questionnaire of the directed-interview type, consisting of 57 items concerning child rearing practices. The interviewing schedule (see Appendix ) was a revision of the Harvard schedule originally constructed by Sears and his colleagues. (75) It was translated into Greek and each item was carefully pretested, with a few mothers, to make sure it expressed the precise meaning desired in as simple manner as possible.

The interview was conducted in the house of each mother and lasted from one to one and a half hours on the average. No other member of the family was present during the interview session. In Athens, appointments with the mothers were arranged in advance. In the village we could interview the mothers after they had come back from their work in the fields, that is, any time late in the afternoon.

Attempts were made to establish rapport and put the mother at her ease. The confidential nature of the interview was emphasized and the mother was encouraged to talk freely in response to the questions. Moreover, the mother was assured that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions, and that her answers might not necessarily be better or worse than somebody else's. It was emphasized that all we were interested in, was how she thinks and feels about being a mother and how she brought up her child.

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(75) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit. pp. 491-501.

The questions were presented without variation in language or sequence. The replies of the mothers were taken down as nearly verbatim as possible.

Cooperation from the mothers was excellent. In fact, the refusal rate was less than 1 per cent. It seemed that almost all of the mothers were flattered to have been singled out for an interview. The city mothers were willing to respond to the interview because they found it "extremely interesting", and the village mothers talked at length because they found "someone who was interested in them and their children".

### CHAPTER III - Findings

#### A. Results from Athens

##### 1. Feeding.

Breast feeding. One of the first decisions a mother has to make about her infant is whether she will breast feed him or use some artificial method. Some of the factors that might influence the mother's choice of feeding practices are cultural factors, education about child care, the mother's attitude and her health.

The majority of the mothers from Athens, regardless of their social class, reported that they had breast fed their children. Of the 189 mothers, 83 per cent had breast fed the child who was the subject of this study. However, the length of the time the children were nursed differed significantly (.05% confidence level)\* with the social class. The large majority of the middle-class mothers had breast fed their children for a shorter time than the lower-class mothers. The median length of time was around 4 months for the middle and 8 months for the lower-class.

A number of factors might be responsible for this difference. In the first place, employment of the mother made early introduction of the bottle a necessity. Twenty-five per cent of the middle-class mothers from our sample had a job outside the home, whereas only five per cent of the lower-class mothers worked and they worked mainly indoors. The availability of servants might be another factor which facilitated artificial feeding among the middle-class mothers. On the other hand, the lower-class mothers

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\*Significance of differences wherever reported is determined by the use of chi-square in each case with 1 df, applying the Yates' correction.

overtaxed with household duties found breast feeding more convenient than bottle feeding. But what was even more important than convenience, according to the lower-class mothers' reports, was the fact that they could not afford artificial feeding, at least for the long period of time that the middle-class mothers could.

Nursing schedule. Another choice that a mother must make early in the infant's life concerns his feeding schedule.

The overwhelming majority of our middle-class mothers adhered to a rigid schedule of feeding. Of the 124 middle-class mothers only 2 fed their child whenever he appeared to be hungry; 2 used a partial schedule and the remaining 120 claimed to have followed a rigid schedule with a feeding every three or four hours.

Scheduled-feeding, however, was not the prevalent practice among the lower-class mothers. The trend among middle-class mothers to use scheduled instead of self-demand feeding was significant at the .01% level.

This class difference might be explained in terms of the following factors. More middle than lower-class mothers, in our sample, were mothers of only or oldest children. Inexperienced mothers are more likely to have followed the pediatrician's advice in bringing up their first child. Some of the mothers who had more than one children and had used a rigid schedule with the child who was the subject of this study, reported that they had not kept this rigid schedule with their other children and admitted that in either case the children thrived equally well!

Education about child care, however, might be a better determiner of the difference in the use of scheduled feeding found in the two classes. The middle-class mother seemed more responsive to advice given by "experts" and information about child care transmitted through mass media, pediatricians,



child care manuals, magazines, and radio broadcasts in Greece all recommend scheduled feeding. Most of the middle-class mothers reported that they had read articles on child care and they had followed their pediatrician's advice.

Weaning. A third decision for a mother is when and how to wean her child. The term weaning in our interview meant weaning from breast or bottle. The median age at which weaning "began", according to the mothers' statements, was around 12 months for both middle and lower-class children.

When the mothers were asked how weaning affected the child and how long it took to wean, the majority from both classes answered that their children had no trouble whatever with weaning and that the children virtually weaned themselves "spontaneously" when they were around one year old. Of the 4 children who had much difficulty with weaning 2 belonged to the middle and 2 to the lower-class. Of the 19 children who were slightly upset over weaning 11 were middle and 8 were lower-class children. For the children who were upset, weaning was completed within 10 days on the average.

Emotional upset over weaning was not related to the sex of the child, early or late weaning, breast or bottle feeding. Boys and girls, were equally affected. Weaning at 6 months was as likely to produce emotional upset as weaning at 18 months. Children who were breast fed were as often emotionally upset over weaning as those who were bottle fed.

From the mothers' statements concerning the weaning of their children the time of starting the process can hardly be specified. There was no clear-cut transition for the child from sucking either from breast or bottle to feeding by cup or spoon. Most of the mothers used what they described as a "mixed" feeding from the first two months of the infant's life. Likewise milk by cup, fruit juices and strained vegetable soups given

by spoon were gradually introduced by many mothers in the infant's menu while he was still either breast or bottle fed.

Our data suggest that weaning per se had not been practiced. This might account for the finding that the majority of the children were not upset when either breast or bottle feeding was completely stopped.

The most common method of weaning, whenever it was used, was that of leaving the child with a relative, usually the grandmother for a day or two.

Thumb-sucking. One of the questions in the interview dealt with the habit of thumb-sucking. Of the 189 Athenian mothers, 68 reported that their children - boys and girls equally - had sucked their thumbs at one time or another and for varying lengths of time. The lower-class mothers reported less thumb-sucking than the middle-class, and the difference is significant at the .05% level. The answers of the lower-class mothers, however, might be questionable. Thumb-sucking was considered one of the "bad" things for a child to do and most of the lower-class mothers hurried to answer that their child had "none of these bad qualities". Therefore, the attitude of the lower-class mothers toward thumb-sucking might have influenced the validity of their answers.

To the extent that the reports of the mothers from both classes are accurate, the excessive use of pacifiers and the severe punishment of any attempt at thumb-sucking reported by the lower-class mothers might account for the observed difference.

Neither age at weaning, nor weaning upset seemed to have been determiners of thumb-sucking. The large majority of the thumb-suckers had started thumb-sucking before weaning. Thumb-suckers were about equally distributed among those children who had been weaned before 12 months and those weaned at 12 months or later. Of the 68 thumb-suckers only 7 had been slightly upset over weaning.

New foods. When we asked the mothers whether they had had any difficulty in getting their child to eat the amount or kind of food they considered appropriate for his diet when he was three or four years old, 116 of the 189 mothers answered in the negative, while 73 reported some difficulty at one time or another. Neither sex, nor class differences were found on that score.

Our next step was to find out why some children had "feeding problems" and some had not. Did the practices of infant feeding have any bearing upon later feeding ~~problems~~ with the children of our sample? In general, our answer to this question must be negative. Frequency of occurrence of feeding problems in late childhood was related neither to bottle or breast feeding, early or late weaning, nor amount of emotional upset over weaning.

Since no relation was found between feeding problems and early feeding practices we then searched for a possible relation between the warmth of the mother and the difficulty she encountered in feeding her three - or four-year-old child. The relation of maternal warmth to feeding problems is shown in Table 3. From the mothers' statements it appears that warmth was not related in any consistent or significant way to feeding problems. Of those mothers whose children had feeding problems, 51 per cent were rated high in warmth and 4 per cent were rated low in warmth. Of the mothers whose children had no difficulties, 52 per cent were high and 5 per cent wer low in warmth.

Table 3 - Relation of feeding problems to maternal warmth

<u>Warmth Rating of Mothers</u>	<u>No. Children with Feeding Problems</u>	<u>No. Children with No Feeding Problems</u>	<u>Total</u>
High warmth	37	60	97
Average warmth	33	50	83
Low warmth	3	6	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
All mothers	73	116	189

## 2. Toilet training.

Young children in all cultures must meet the inevitable requirement that elimination be brought under conscious control and that it be accomplished under prescribed conditions of time and place. However, the age at which toilet training begins and the method by which it is accomplished varies from one culture to another.

The mothers we interviewed in Athens gave a variety of answers concerning the age at which they began toilet training. Some "impatient" mothers reported that they started at the age of 3 months; others did not start until the child was one and a half years old. In spite of such variations the majority of the mothers had begun the training at 10 or 11 months.

A variety of methods with greater or lesser degrees of success were used by the mothers for successful completion of the training once it was started. The median age at completion, according to our respondents, was around 16 months.

From the mothers' statements concerning emotional upset over toilet training we gathered that the children on the whole were easily trained since only 22 per cent of them - boys and girls equally - were reported to have

had some or much difficulty in getting trained. The frequency of occurrence of emotional upset differed significantly (.05% level) with the social class. More middle than lower-class mothers said that their children had had difficulty with toilet training. However, the answers of the lower-class mothers are doubtful. Most probably this was one of the instances in which the mother tried to put herself and her child in a favorable light in the eyes of the interviewer. Lower-class mothers promptly answered that their children were "clean" and they had had no difficulties during training since the mothers had attended to the matter very carefully.

A next step in dealing with emotional upset was to find out whether age at beginning of toilet training was a determiner of the amount of upset shown by the different children. The relationship between emotional upset and age at start of toilet training is shown in Table 4.

Table 4 - Relationship between age at beginning toilet training and number of children showing emotional upset.

<u>Age at start of training (months)</u>	<u>Number of Children</u>
Before 5	1
5 - 9	12
10 - 14	21
15 - 19	8
	<hr/> 42

The majority of the children who were emotionally upset were trained rather late. For about two-thirds of these children toilet training was begun between ten and nineteen months. In view of the limited number of cases no definite statements can be made about the relationship between early or late toilet training and emotional upset.

Another attempt was made to show to what extent difficulty in toilet training was related to difficulties in feeding practices. A check of the

interviews revealed no relationship between upset over toilet training and weaning upset or feeding problems in late childhood.

Also, no relationship was found between toilet training difficulties and the warmth of the mother. Of the 42 mothers whose children were emotionally upset, 24 were rated as high in warmth, 16 as medium and 3 were rated as low in warmth.

### 3. Other infancy experiences.

Swaddling. Swaddling was not widely practiced among the Athenian mothers since only one-fourth of them reported that they had swaddled their infants. Moreover, the practice differed significantly (.05% level) with the social class. Swaddling was more common among the lower than among the middle-class mothers. In addition, the duration of the swaddling period was longer for the lower class infants. The majority of those infants were swaddled for a period of 8 months, while the majority of the middle-class mothers had swaddled their infants for 4 or 5 months.

A number of reasons for swaddling the infant were given by the mothers. Most of them said it was the custom. Some claimed that swaddling keeps the infant warm and comfortable and makes him strong. Ease of carrying, and keeping the legs straight were also mentioned by some of the mothers.

The more traditional outlook of the lower-class mother might account for the difference in the use of swaddling observed among the two classes. Although both middle and lower-class mothers were instructed by their doctors not to swaddle their infants, the lower-class mothers reported that they followed the traditional pattern of swaddling the infant rather than the doctors' advice.

Infant care and indulgence. Mothers usually differ in the way they carry out the daily routine treatment of their infants. Some are affectionate

others reserved; some are highly responsive to the baby's crying, others do not respond unless they believe there is something wrong; some devote much of their time in playing with and fondling their infants, others believe that much attention and overt affection will "spoil" the infant. In general, infant indulgence varies from one mother to another to a lesser or greater extent.

The degree of infant indulgence was explored in this study by a set of questions. We first asked about the mothers' responsiveness to the infant's crying: "Some mothers believe it is necessary to pick up a baby when he cries, while other mothers let the baby cry lest he get used to being picked up. What is your opinion about this? What did you do when X was an infant? What was your attitude at night?"

About 27 per cent of the mothers said the infant should always be picked up immediately. Some 13 per cent answered that they should pick up an infant in case there was something wrong and the remaining 60 per cent of the mothers believed the infant must not be "spoiled" and that they would let him cry.

In actual behavior toward their children when they were infants, 30 per cent of the mothers reported that they had always picked up their infant as soon as he cried. About 18 per cent reported that they had picked him up occasionally, and 52 per cent said they did not respond to his crying.

When asked about the infant's crying at night, 60 per cent of the mothers answered that they had not picked him up and added that "there was no much crying at night anyway". The remaining mothers said that they had picked up the baby most of the time and one-third of these mothers said that they used to nurse him at night.



No significant class differences were observed in responsiveness to crying although there was a slight tendency for the middle-class mothers to be less responsive than the lower-class mothers. There was also a slight tendency for boys to be picked up more often than girls. Mothers of boys volunteered to explain that crying boys must be picked up immediately because excessive crying in boys often "causes umbilical hernia".

Despite slight variations in the answers of some mothers, there was no gap between the "ideal" behavior in response to crying and the mothers' actual behavior. On the whole the mothers who believed that the infant should not be picked up, had not picked up their own infants. Likewise, those who reported that the infant should be picked up, had done so.

According to their statements, slightly over half of the Athenian mothers would be classified as rather unresponsive to the infant's crying. Some 30 per cent would be classified as over-indulgent and the remaining as relatively indulgent with regard to the infant's crying.

The time a mother spends with her infant and the amount of affectionate attention she shows to him give us additional information about the degree of infant indulgence in our sample. We asked the mothers: "Did you have time to spend with X other than the time spent taking care of him, such as nursing him and bathing him? (If yes) Tell me, what did you do during that time? Did you fondle him or sing for him, or something like that?"

According to the mothers' answers, approximately 12 per cent had no time, 15 per cent had only a little, about 22 per cent had some time and 43 per cent had much time to play with their infants. More middle than lower-class mothers reported much time spent with the infant and the difference is significant at the .05% level. This difference in the



mothers' answers reflects the difference in their attitudes and beliefs in the treatment of infants. Our middle-class mothers, on the whole, believed that a mother should always find some time to play with her infant. On the other hand, the general opinion among the lower-class mothers was that fondling, hugging or any other sign of overt affection "will spoil the infant".

Although more than half of the mothers reported that children are more pleasing in infancy there was no apparent "cultural discontinuity" in the indulgence of the growing child. That is, the mothers who had spent much time playing with their child in infancy, reported later in the interview, that they also had much time to play with their five- or six-year-old child. The same was true for mothers who had little or no time to play with their infants.

#### 4. Sex training and sex roles.

The sex training of the children in our sample was another area of interest in this study. Sex behavior, in western culture, is perhaps more thoroughly surrounded by taboos, superstitions, shame, guilt and anxiety than any other kind of behavior. In addition, although infantile sexuality is almost generally accepted by behavioral scientists, it is too difficult for mothers to admit and report it, even if they have observed it in their children. Thus the discussion of such a "touchy" subject was rather difficult especially with the lower-class mothers.

The first question we asked the mothers had to do with modesty training: "You know how children sometimes like to go around without their clothes on. How do you feel about this"? There were only 14 middle and 2 lower-class mothers who approved of nudity, and surprisingly enough half of them were mothers of boys and half of girls. The remaining opposed nudity

strongly since they considered it inappropriate and shameful.

Taboos on nakedness were instituted rather early in the child's life. About half of the mothers reported that their children had never walked around naked since the mothers themselves were very careful, from the beginning, not to leave the child without his clothes on. According to the statements of the other half of the mothers modesty training had begun, in most of the cases, when the child was 2 or 3 years old. The main technique of training, whenever it was used, was explanation and advice.

We found no significant class differences with respect to modesty training. Also there was no significant difference in the age at which boys and girls were trained. We may note in passing that there was a slight tendency among mothers of girls to report nudity more often than mothers of boys.

Young children are known to have a good deal of curiosity about sex and very often ask questions about the origin of babies. We asked the mothers whether their children had any idea about how babies are born and from where they had heard about it. According to our respondents the large majority of children from both classes had some kind of knowledge about the origin of babies and in almost all cases the information was given by the mother. The most common answer given to the child's question was that "the mother brings the baby from the hospital". In cases where children had seen their mothers pregnant with one of their siblings the answer was that "the baby is in the mother's belly and the doctor takes it out by an operation".

Perhaps one of the most difficult moments in our interview was when we asked the mothers: "What did you do when you found X masturbating"? The fact that we used the most appropriate Greek translation of the word as

referred to young children's behavior, did not help to offset the mothers' embarrassment and uneasiness.

All mothers reported strong disapproval and dislike for such a practice. Of the 189 mothers interviewed in Athens, 41 reported that they had observed genital handling in their sons and only one mother "admitted" genital play by her daughter. The most common technique used by mothers from both classes to inhibit the practice was explanation and advice. Only in two cases middle-class mothers used threats, and in five instances lower-class mothers used punishment in addition to advice to stop such behavior.

Sex roles and discipline. We next asked the mothers who disciplines the child when both parents are present. Of the 189 mothers, 128 answered that they were usually the main disciplinarians. Only 39 mothers said that it was the father who did the disciplining. The remaining mothers reported that either parent might discipline the child.

According to our data the sex of the child did not seem to determine whether the father or the mother carries out the discipline, although there was a slight tendency for the middle-class fathers to discipline their boys when they were the disciplinarians.

Another question dealt with the severity of the fathers' punishment and the mothers' feelings about it. About half of the mothers reported that their husbands were not severe in their treatment of the child while the other half described their husbands as very or somewhat severe. There were no significant class differences on that score. The relation between the mothers' approval and the severity of the fathers' discipline is shown in Table 5.

Table 5 - Relation between mothers' approval and  
the severity of fathers' discipline.

	<u>No. Mothers Approve</u>	<u>No. Mothers Disapprove</u>	<u>Total</u>
Father Severe	62	22	84
Father not Severe	36	69	105
	<hr/> 98	<hr/> 91	<hr/> 189

Application of the chi-square test to the data shown in Table 5 revealed that the relation between approval and severity was significant at the .001% level. This finding together with the mothers' additional descriptions of their husbands' treatment of the child, allows us to state with a high degree of certainty that, on the whole, the mothers definitely preferred a severe father for their children than a lenient father.

How do the fathers feel about their wives' treatment of the child? We tried to infer the fathers' attitudes from the answers given by the mothers. In 25 cases the fathers believed that their wives were not severe enough, while in 41 cases the mothers were thought to be too severe. A check of the interviews showed that it was usually the non-severe fathers who believed that their wives were severe and vice versa. The majority of the fathers, according to the mothers' statements, believed that their wives' way of disciplining the child was the right way.

Identification. Through the process of identification with the like-sexed parent the child learns the behavior appropriate to his own sex in his particular culture. In other words it is through identification that children learn their sex roles.

How far had the children in our sample identified with the parent of the same sex? Two questions in the interview dealt with the process of

identification. We first asked the mothers whether the child imitated the father in such matters as talking, gestures, or way of walking. About half of the mothers of boys said that their sons did, and the other half answered in the negative. Of the 91 mothers of girls, 53 reported that their daughters imitated their fathers and the remaining said that their daughters imitated either the mother, or both parents, or in some cases neither parent. There was a tendency among the children, especially among girls, to imitate more the parent of the opposite sex, but, this tendency was not statistically significant.

The second question asked whether the child behaved better with his father or with his mother. The answers of the mothers are given in Table 6. About half of the children behaved equally well with both parents. Of the other half, twice as many children behaved better with their father than with their mother. Three mothers, whose answers are not included in the Table, reported that their children behaved well with neither parent.

Table 6 - Relation between behavior of  
child and sex of parent.

	<u>No. Boys</u>	<u>No. Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Behaves Better with Father	38	28	66
Behaves Better with Mother	17	13	30
Behaves Well with Both	42	48	90

The mothers' answers to the questions of imitation and behavior of their children with the like-sexed parent do not reveal any clear-cut identification of the children with the parent of the same sex.

The ideal boy and girl. While interviewing the mothers we tried several times, directly or indirectly, to find out their ideals for their children. One of the questions was: "People differ in their meaning of "good boy" (or "good girl"). In your opinion what is a good boy (or girl) who is five or six years of age?" The large majority of the mothers from both classes answered that a "good" child was an obedient child. Despite considerable variations in the answers, characteristics such as "polite", "respects others" and "good character" were very often reported in addition to "obedient" to describe a good boy or girl.

Obedience to parents and elders was the most highly valued quality in a five- or six-year-old child. But what were the qualities or characteristics that the mothers would like to see in their children when they became adults?

The mothers were asked: "In general what type of person would you like X to be when he becomes a young man (or a young lady)?" "The most common answer from mothers of both social classes was "educated". Mothers of boys and girls equally wanted their children to be "well educated". The term educated as used by the Greek mothers refers to a person who holds a University diploma or its equivalent and who at the same time is polite, good mannered and sociable. With respect to the level of education all the middle-class mothers hoped their children, boys and girls equally, would secure a university education. The lower-class mothers were about equally distributed into those who hoped their children would achieve a university education and those who said their children would not be able to go beyond the high school level as they could not afford the expenses. No sex discrimination was found with respect to level of education. Whenever parents could afford it, boys and girls were equally encouraged to pursue higher studies.

The next most frequent response was "good character" with special emphasis on sincerity and honesty. Cleverness was another desirable characteristic frequently mentioned by both middle and lower-class mothers.

Mothers of girls often reported that they wanted their daughters to become good wives and mothers in addition to having the above mentioned characteristics.

Characteristics such as independence, initiative, and success in one's career reported by the middle-class mothers were hardly mentioned by the lower-class mothers.

The role of the father. The role of the father in the socialization of the child has usually received little attention in contrast to the great emphasis placed upon the role of the mother. In the present study information about the fathers' role was obtained indirectly through the mothers' reports about the amount of responsibility assumed by either parent in decisions concerning the children as well as other important family decisions.

About half of the mothers from both classes reported that they exercised greater responsibility than their husbands in matters concerning the child such as deciding about the places the child was allowed to go to, calling a doctor when the child was sick, or determining the amount of help the child should give the parents at home. Only in 8 of the 189 cases these matters were the responsibility of the father. The remaining mothers reported that in their families decisions affecting the children were the joint responsibility of both parents.

Although the mothers, as the whole, assumed greater responsibility than the fathers in matters concerning the child, the pattern is reversed in the case of decisions about accounts, expenditures and the like. The tendency of the fathers to be more responsible about matters not directly related to the children was much more pronounced among the lower-class



families of our sample.

The fact that the fathers were primarily responsible for matters outside the home can be also seen from the mothers' answers to the question dealing with household tasks. Of the 189 mothers, 186 said that household tasks were exclusively their own responsibility.

From the above discussion we gather that child care and training was more of the mothers' special function and responsibility in our sample, just as decisions on financial matters and economic support was more characteristic of the fathers' role.

Another question in the interview dealt with the fathers' affection for the child. Only 34 of the 189 mothers reported that their husbands showed little or no affection at all to their children. The majority of the mothers said that their husbands often played, kissed, embraced and expressed their affection to the child in many ways. No sex discrimination was found in the amount of fathers' affection toward children. However, middle-class fathers were described as much more affectionate than lower-class fathers and the difference is significant at the .001% level. Lower-class mothers reported that their husbands loved their children very much but they were reserved because they believed that overt affection might "spoil" the child.

While discussing parental roles we also asked the mothers the following question: "If we compare the method your mother used in rearing you and the method you use in rearing X, how much are they alike? (If differ) which method is better?" Only 15 per cent of the mothers reported that their own method and that of their mothers were very much alike. The remaining believed that their own method was different and they also claimed that it was better than their mothers' method. A different way of rearing



the child was mentioned more often by the lower than by the middle-class mothers. This trend was significant at the .01% level.

5. Aggression, discipline, and conscience.

Aggression. All human societies have rules to limit the expression of aggression and at the same time train their members in the handling of aggression. The training of the child in the handling of his aggressive impulses is considered one of the important aspects of his socialization.

In the process of the interview we asked the mothers several questions dealing with aggressive behavior in their children. We first tried to obtain information about the relations of the child who was the subject of our study with brothers and sisters. Of the 138 Athenian mothers, who had more than one children, 39 per cent answered that the child got along very well with his siblings; 21 per cent reported frequent fights, squabbles, disagreements and the like; and about 38 per cent of the mothers described sibling relations as "mixed", i.e. sometimes good and sometimes bad.

The next question was about our subjects' relations with other children in the neighborhood. From the mothers' statements it appears that the children on the whole, got along better with the neighbors' children than with their siblings. Slightly more than half of the mothers answered that their children were on very good terms with other children. One-sixth of the mothers reported frequent fighting between their own children and neighbor children, and about one-fourth of them reported both fighting and peaceful play.

Sibling aggression was handled very nicely by the majority of the mothers by a good spanking of the "aggressor"! Very often, however, both parties were equally scolded, reprimanded or spanked especially when the mother was not sure about who attacked whom. The mothers reported that they

always punished the child who initiated the quarrel irrespective of his ordinal position. Younger children were punished because "they must learn to respect their elders"; older children were punished because "they are expected to love and protect their younger siblings".

In cases of fighting with the neighbors' children the mothers put an end to the fight, as soon as they noticed it, by reprimanding their children and taking them back home.

In our attempt to find out the mothers' permissiveness for aggression the following question was asked: "Some people feel it important that the child not to learn to fight with other children, while others feel that it is important for them to learn how to do this. What is your opinion?"

The answer of the mothers to this question was a definite "no". Not a single mother said that a child should learn to fight. However, when we asked them whether children should be encouraged to fight in self defense 74 of the 189 mothers answered that they should, and added that they had instructed their children to defend themselves when attacked by other children.

The attitude of the mothers toward aggression differed significantly (.05% level) with the social class. About half of the middle-class mothers wanted and had instructed their children to defend themselves. As these mothers put it they did not want their child "to sit back and be beaten like a fool". On the other hand, only 6 out of the 65 lower-class mothers reported that children should be encouraged to fight in their own defense. This difference, however, is not surprising when we examine who started the fight in the first place. The large majority of the lower-class mothers said they did not have to encourage self-defense since in most of the cases it was, "unfortunately", their own child who started the fight despite the mothers' instructions that children should not fight.

From the statistical analysis of the mothers' answers about aggressive behavior in their children the following statements can be made:

- a) There were neither class, nor sex differences with respect to frequency of occurrence of aggression toward siblings or other children.
- b) No sex difference in encouragement of self-defense.
- c) Maternal warmth could not have been a determiner of children's fighting in self-defense. Warm mothers were equally distributed into those who favored self-defense and those who did not.
- d) The children in our sample did not seem to be consistently aggressive or non-aggressive. That is, the children who used to fight with the neighbors' children were about equally distributed into those who got along well with siblings and those who had difficulties.

#### Discipline.

Mothers' expectations and demands. According to the mothers' statements, discussed earlier, obedience was a highly valued quality and was expected from all children. However, it might be interesting to note that "obedience" had a somewhat different meaning for mothers of different social class. Lower-class mothers who stressed obedience as an ideal expected their children to be quiet and obey parental orders instantly. On the other hand, middle-class mothers were talking about "relative" obedience, that is, they expected the child to be physically active, relatively noisy, relatively mischievous perhaps, but at the same time they required respect of parental commands.

This difference in the meaning of the term is clearly reflected in the answers the mothers gave to the following question: "Some parents require a child to obey immediately (when told to stop making noise, for

example). Others do not attach much importance to how quickly a child obeys. What is your opinion on this?" The majority of the lower-class mothers, 88 per cent, said that they wanted their child to obey "immediately", whereas only half of the middle-class mothers required prompt obedience and in most of the cases these mothers regretted that their "nervousness" or "fatigue" had made them intolerant of any kind of disobedience on the part of their children.

We next asked the mothers whether they believed that five or six-year-old children should be requested to perform certain duties at home. There was only one mother in our sample who answered in the negative. The remaining 188 mothers from both classes believed that children must get used to perform certain duties and assume some sort of responsibility from an early age. The large majority of the mothers, 95 per cent, reported that their child was assigned certain duties at home such as taking care of his toys and personal belongings, keeping his room tidy, helping the mother with household tasks, etc. The mothers were really proud to enumerate the things that their young children could do.

The demand for responsibility and the belief in introducing the child to certain tasks from an early age is shown in the answers of the mothers to the question about cleanliness and tidiness. Most of the mothers, 91 per cent, from both classes reported that their children tried to keep themselves clean as was expected of them. In middle-class homes where bathrooms were available the children themselves tried to take baths regularly. Where bathroom facilities were lacking, the children tried to keep at least their faces and hands clean.

Young children were expected to take care not only of their personal belongings, but also of the furniture and other household appliances.

According to our respondents "they must learn to respect and value property from an early age".

The following question called for the mothers' restrictions on the care of house and furnishings: "Do you let him play in the house sometimes by jumping over furniture or writing on the wall or anything like that?" Most of the mothers, from both classes, disapproved of such behavior and reported that they had never allowed anything of the sort. Of those who were permissive, the majority were middle-class mothers. The tendency of the middle-class mothers to be more permissive than the lower-class mothers on that score, was significant at the .05% level.

Another class difference was also found in the mothers' attempt to stop such behavior. Reasoning was used by the majority of the middle-class mothers, while beating was the prevalent technique among the lower-class mothers.

The greater permissiveness of the middle-class mothers is in agreement with their attitude toward obedience, discussed earlier. These mothers believed that restrictions should be as few as possible and the child should be free to move around. They also reported that they had removed fragile and valuable objects during the period the child was very young. The attitude of the middle-class mothers, coupled with availability of servants, spacious homes, and facility in replacing a piece of furniture or a broken object, might account for the observed class difference with respect to restrictions or the care of house.

Techniques of control. From the mothers' statements it is apparent that a number of restrictions and demands are placed on the child from an early age. He is expected to suppress any aggressive impulses, acquire approved forms of conduct, exercise some personal responsibility, and meet the parental standards of conformity. In the process of socialization his

behavior is continually formed and modified by the social influences around him, especially the influence of his family. The question then arises: What were the techniques used by our mothers to "shape" the behavior of their youngsters along desired lines? In other words what were their techniques of control?

We first asked the mothers: "Some parents praise their children so as to encourage them to behave well. Others consider that good behavior is simply to be expected. What is your opinion on this point?" All of them, with no exception whatever, answered that the child should always be praised and encouraged in order to learn to behave well.

The fact that the mothers believed in the encouragement of good behavior is further shown in their answers to the following question: "Suppose you asked X to do a certain job and he did it immediately. What would you do? Would you say anything to him?" The mothers unanimously answered that they never failed to reward good behavior. The most frequently used reinforcers were praise and affection. Other positive reinforcers like candies, toys, taking the child for a walk etc., were also mentioned by many mothers in addition to praise or affection.

From their statements, it appears that the mothers believed in the effectiveness of positive reinforcement. Appropriate behavior was not expected to be acquired overnight. It was only by reinforcing specific instances of good behavior that the mothers hoped their children would learn to behave well.

As much as "good" behavior was rewarded, "bad" behavior was punished. Perhaps one of the most severely punished kinds of behavior was "intentional disobedience". All mothers from both classes reported that they had always punished such behavior. However, there was a significant

class difference with respect to the techniques of punishment. Beating was the chief technique among lower-class mothers. Even though most of the middle-class mothers reported frequent beating, scolding and threatening, reasoning and withholding of privileges were also mentioned by one fourth of the middle-class mothers. It should be noted that "beating" for the middle-class mothers mostly meant spanking, whilst for the lower-class mothers usually meant rather rigorous corporal punishment.

Since beating was almost the only means of punishment among the lower-class mothers, we asked some more specific questions about the amount of physical punishment and its usefulness.

In response to the question: "Do you beat him sometimes?" 185 of the 189 mothers reported that they had beaten their children at one time or another. From the mothers' statements it also appears that they were the chief disciplinarians, since only 108 fathers were reported to have beaten their children. In most of the cases, beating by the father was very rare, perhaps once in the child's life time. Boys were more likely to have been beaten by the father than girls. The difference, however, was not statistically significant.

When we asked the mothers "how many times was he beaten by either of you in the last two weeks", of these whose children had been beaten in that period, the majority said from one to four times. In about 31 per cent of the cases the child had been beaten from 5 to 15 times.

In response to the question of the usefulness of beating, only one-fourth of the mothers answered in the negative. These were mostly mothers who had previously reported that they had rarely beaten their children. Most of the mothers reported that beating "does work" very often, depending on the "circumstances" and on the "particular child". Lower-



class mother tended to report usefulness of beating more often than middle-class mothers. This tendency was significant at the .01% level.

The use of physical punishment was not related to maternal warmth. Beating was used by warm and cold mothers alike.

It should be noted that most of the mothers admitted that physical punishment is not the ideal technique of controlling "bad" behavior and they were not happy for using it. But they had to resort to beating after trying all other means without success! They also recognized that they were "irritable" and "nervous" and beating a misbehaving child often served as an outlet.

#### Conscience.

Conscience - the internalized moral arbiter of conduct - develops in response to the rewards and punishments meted out by the parents. Parents cannot control the child's behavior directly throughout his life. Eventually, the child must learn to control himself. With the development of conscience, self-control is substituted for parental control.

While interviewing the mothers we attempted to find out whether the children in our sample had internalized their parents' notions of good and bad, or whether they were controlled primarily by the direct supervision of others. We asked the mothers: "If in your absence he intentionally does something wrong, what does he do when you return? Does he tell you about it without questioning? Does he confess when you question him? When he does not confess what he has done, and you are sure of it, what do you do?"

From the mothers' answers to this set of questions and from other relevant answers throughout the interview, the children were classified into three groups - high, intermediate, low - with regard to development of conscience. The criteria for this classification were as follows:



High conscience. The child admits what he has done when he does wrong in the absence of the mother, is sorry for it, promises he will not do it again, and in general seems to accept within himself the "moral" judgments of the mother.

Intermediate or indeterminate conscience. This category includes not only children who seem to have an intermediate amount of conscience but also those children about whom we can't be sure.

Low conscience. The child tries to escape without punishment when he has done wrong, by blaming someone else, by pretending that he did not do the bad act, by trying to conceal it from his mother. He regrets being caught, and is unhappy at being punished, but he does not regret the act itself. In general he treats "moral" judgments of his mother as simply a source of punishment, and something to be evaded. He has not internalized her beliefs.

On the basis of these criteria, 26 per cent of the children were classified as "high", 53 per cent as "intermediate" and 21 per cent as "low" in the development of conscience. More middle- than lower-class children gave evidence of a high degree of conscience and the difference is significant at the .01% level.

No significant relation was found between degree of conscience and sex of the children. Also, conscience was related neither to the kind of disciplinary techniques - physical punishment or explaining - used by the mothers, nor to maternal warmth. The relation between maternal warmth and development of conscience in children is shown in Table 7.

Table 7 - Relation between warmth ratings of mothers and conscience ratings of their children.

	<u>Low Warmth</u>	<u>Medium Warmth</u>	<u>High Warmth</u>	<u>Total</u>
High Conscience	2	15	31	48
Low Conscience	<u>0</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>39</u>
	2	24	51	87

#### 6. Dependency.

The amount of dependency shown by the children of our sample, their mothers' feelings toward dependent behavior and their expectations of independence were also explored in this study by the following set of questions:

"Does he seem to want much attention from you? How about following you around and staying close to you? Did he pass through a period in which he did this?"

"How do you feel when he follows you around and stays close to you?"

"What does he usually do when you go out of the house and leave him with another person?"

The amount of dependency of children as estimated from the mothers' responses to these questions and their additional descriptions of the children's behavior is shown in Table 8.

Table 8 - Dependency in city children

<u>Degree Reported by Mother</u>	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Lower Class</u>
Much Dependency	29	17
Some Dependency	8	2
Formerly (Not Now)	31	21
No Dependency	56	25

As can be seen from Table 8 the majority of the children, 70 per cent, at the age of five or six showed no dependency, although about half of these children had shown some or much dependency at an earlier age.

Neither class, nor sex differences were found with respect to amount of dependent behavior shown by the children.

Concerning the child's behavior when left at home, the majority of the mothers reported that their children showed no objection to their going out. Only 27 of the 108 mothers said that their children invariably objected strongly to being left at home.

The mothers reacted differently to the dependent behavior of their children as can be seen from Table 9.

Table 9 - Mothers' reactions toward dependency

<u>Mothers' Reaction</u>	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Lower Class</u>
Annoyed	23	16
Mixed	22	16
Neutral	1	2
Pleased	22	6

One-fourth of the mothers whose children had shown dependency in the past or were still dependent at the age of five or six, said they were pleased to have the child around them. The remaining mothers were about equally distributed into those who said that they were always annoyed by their children's dependency and those who reported mixed feelings. There was no significant class difference with regard to feelings toward dependency as reported by the mothers. However, from the mothers' additional comments to our questions we gathered that middle- and lower-class mothers were annoyed by the child's dependency for quite different reasons. The

middle-class mothers stated clearly that they did not want the child to "cling" to the mother for help, they wanted him to learn to be independent and "stand on his feet". On the other hand, the lower-class mothers simply said that the child's dependency was annoying because it interfered with their household duties.

Our next attempt was to find out whether dependency at the age of five or six was related to the way these children were treated in infancy, or to certain characteristics of their mothers' behavior.

Statistical analysis of our data revealed no relation between emotional upset over weaning and dependency. Furthermore, neither the mothers' feelings about dependency, nor maternal warmth were significant determiners of dependent behavior in children. Children of warm mothers were about equally distributed among those who had shown much or some dependency and those who had shown none. The same was true of children whose mothers were rated as average in warmth and those rated low.

However, a significant relation (.05% level) was found between dependency and ordinal position of the child in the family. Younger children showed greater dependency than the others. In addition there was a definite relation between dependency and the mothers' responsiveness to the infant's crying. The children who were picked up in infancy while crying, were significantly (.05% level) more dependent, at the age of five, than those who were not.

Expectations of independence. At what age did the mothers in our sample expect their children to be independent? We asked them: "Would you want X to try new things without the help of his mother? At what age should a child start this?"

"Would you want X to compete successfully with other children and

try to be first in games, lessons and sports?"

All the mothers interviewed, irrespective of their social class, reported that they wanted their children - boys and girls equally - to become independent early in life. The median age at which the mothers expected the child to do new things unassisted was about five years. The median age for the second item was about six years. The mothers were unanimous in their wish that their child be the first in lessons, sports and other activities from the first year of school.

7. Motherhood and maternal warmth.

Motherhood brings happiness but it also brings new duties and responsibilities; it involves both satisfactions and burdens for most mothers.

One of our major concerns was to find out the mothers' feelings about motherhood, their perception of the maternal role, and their attitudes toward child rearing, in addition to securing information about the specific practices used by the mothers in bringing up their children.

We first asked about the mothers' feelings when they realized they were pregnant with the child who was the subject of the study. Their answers to a set of questions related to pregnancy (See appendix) are given in Table 10.

Table 10 - Class differences in mothers' feelings about pregnancy.

	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Lower Class</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pleased at Pregnancy	114	50	164
Mixed Feelings at Pregnancy	10	15	25
Pregnancy Wholly Suitable	117	50	167
Pregnancy Somewhat Unsuitable	7	15	22
Pregnancy Well Timed	118	53	171
Delay Somewhat Better	6	12	18

According to their statements, the majority of the mothers had been delighted at discovering themselves pregnant. Nevertheless, about 13 per cent reported that they had mixed feelings or had been unhappy at pregnancy. In response to the question of suitability of pregnancy some 12 per cent of the mothers said that it was not suitable. On the question about delay approximately 11 per cent believed that a delay would have been better.

Significant differences (.05% level) were found in the answers of middle and lower-class mothers to all of the questions about pregnancy. More lower than middle-class mothers were displeased at pregnancy and preferred a delay.

The reasons given by the mothers who did not welcome the pregnancy were: financial problems, close spacing of children, or a large number of children already in the family. Personal observations of the general home atmosphere allow us to state that these reasons were indeed responsible for the observable difference.

Happiness at pregnancy was not related in any significant way to the mother's current employment, or her happiness at leaving work after marriage.

According to their answers, the mothers tended to be more enthusiastic about their first pregnancy than about the others. This tendency was significant at the .01% level.

Happiness at pregnancy was the prevalent feeling among the mothers we interviewed. Moreover, the advent of the child was greeted with delight not only by the mothers but by the fathers as well, in the majority of the cases. According to the mothers' statements, 91 per cent of the fathers were very happy at the news of the wife's pregnancy.

Maternal warmth. "Warmth is a pervasive quality. It involves love, acceptance, enthusiasm, an outgoingness of affection. It is not a dimension that a mother can discuss easily, nor is it one on which she can be measured by her answer to a single question."<sup>(76)</sup>

This dimension we attempted to estimate from the mothers' responses to the interview. Some of the questions likely to elicit descriptions of warm behavior were:

"Do you show your affection for him or are you reserved?"

"Could you tell me more about your life with X? What are the things about him which please you? What are the things about him which annoy you?"

"Do you have time to spend with X for mere amusement?"

"How do you feel about being a mother?"

Maternal warmth was inferred from the mothers' responses to these questions, their answers to questions about pregnancy and infant indulgence, and their additional descriptions of their behavior toward the child given in the process of the entire interview.

The mothers were rated as "high", "medium" or "low" in warmth according to the following criteria:

"Warm" mother. Mother plays with child, fondles him when an infant, enjoys being with him. Is generally pleased with him, whatever his faults. Shows her affection openly. Happy at being a mother. May be strict or not; may be efficient or not. But expresses affection and love for him in what she does for or with him.

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(76) Ibid., p. 30.

Mother "intermediate in warmth". Mother has little time to play with child. Is pleased with him whatever his faults, but does not show affection openly.

"Cool" mother. Mother does what is necessary, but does not express much affection, or passion, in doing it. May be efficient and cool, may be inefficient and cool. Does not fondle the child, croon over him, spend time with him just for the fun of it. Is pleased with the child when he manages without contact with her, because she is too busy or wants to be free. Perhaps she is very fond of the child, but thinks it better not to indulge him with affection. Is reserved, distant, unexpressive in relations with X.

On the basis of these criteria, approximately 52 per cent of the mothers were rated high in warmth, about 43 per cent were rated intermediate and 5 per cent were rated low in warmth.

Maternal warmth was found to be significantly (.05% level) greater among middle-class mothers than among lower-class mothers. But there was no significant relation between maternal warmth and sex or ordinal position of the child.

The fact that in some of the middle-class families servants had taken care of the infant very often, does not indicate lack of maternal warmth. Of the 58 mothers who reported that their servants had helped them in caring for the infant, only one was rated low in warmth. Of the remaining, twice as many were rated high in warmth than intermediate.

#### Summary.

In Athens children were breast fed according to schedule. Middle-class mothers nursed their children for a shorter period and used more scheduling than lower-class. Children practically weaned themselves "sponta-



neously" and showed no emotional upset. Thumb-sucking was reported by about one-third of the mothers, more of whom were middle-class. Feeding problems were reported by about two-fifths of the mothers.

Swaddling was not common. Whenever used, it was primarily by lower-class mothers. Toilet training began at 10 or 11 months on the average, was completed at about 16 months and in most cases created no problems. Emotional upset over training was more frequent among middle-class children.

Slightly over half of the mothers were rather unresponsive to the infant's crying. In general, however, mothers were warm in their treatment of the child and had enough time to play with him. More middle than lower-class mothers were rated high in warmth; also, more had plenty of time to spend with their children. Fathers, especially those from the middle class, were very affectionate toward their children.

Nudity was discouraged, and modesty training for boys and girls was begun at about three years. Mothers disapproved strongly of masturbation. The practice was reported by less than one-fourth of the mothers, all of whom but one, were mothers of boys. The most common technique used to inhibit such behavior was explanation and advice. Children had some knowledge about the way babies are born. In most cases information was provided by the mother.

Mothers were the chief disciplinarians of the child, and definitely approved of a severe father. They were primarily responsible for child care and household tasks. Decisions about matters outside the home were the responsibility of the father. Most mothers believed that their way of raising the child was different and better than that used by their mothers. This was mentioned more often by lower-class mothers.

There was no clear-cut identification with the like-sexed parent.

Aggressive behavior was severely punished. Fighting only in self-

defense was encouraged by slightly more than two-sixths of the mothers, most of these mothers were middle-class.

Obedience and "education" were the major ideals the mothers had held for their children in childhood and adulthood. More middle-class mothers hoped for a university education for their children.

By the age of five children were expected to be fairly independent. Also, they were expected to obey parental commands, keep themselves clean, be careful about household property and perform certain tasks and chores at home. More lower than middle-class mothers required prompt obedience. They had also put more restrictions on the child's playing or moving around in the home.

Good behavior was encouraged and praised, misbehavior was severely punished. Praise and affection were the most common rewards, beating was the chief technique of punishment. Physical punishment was used more often by lower-class mothers.

With regard to conscience development about half of the children were rated as "intermediate"; the rest were about equally distributed among those rated "high" and those rated "low". More middle-class children showed signs of conscience development.

Most children at the age of five showed no dependency. Younger children were more dependent than middle or older children. Children who were picked up in infancy were more dependent than those who were not.

The large majority of the mothers were very happy about pregnancy, especially if it was their first. One-seventh of the mothers had ambivalent feelings, thought that the pregnancy was unsuited and preferred a delay. Generally, fathers shared their wives' feelings.

B. Results from the village

1. Feeding.

The general feeding practice in the village is obviously breast feeding since only 7 per cent of the mothers had not breast fed their children. The median length of time the infants were breast fed was 8 months.

Surprisingly enough, about half of the mothers reported that they had fed their infants "by the clock", while the remainder admitted that they used to nurse them whenever they appeared to be hungry. In this case the mothers' reports should not be taken at face value. Obviously, the mothers gave what they thought to be the correct answer. But in a place where clocks are scarce, where, for example, 4 o'clock may mean any time in the afternoon, and where the majority of the mothers go to the fields at sunrise and return at sunset, feeding by the clock is definitely out of question. Even in the cases when mothers carry their infants along to the fields, the infant's crying is more likely to dictate feeding than the clock which the mothers simply never had.

The median age at which the infants were weaned was around 12 months. However, nursing was prolonged in the case of boys. The tendency among mothers of boys to nurse their infants for a longer period than mothers of girls, was significant at the .05% level. For village children, as in the case of city children, there was no clear cut transition from sucking to taking milk and soft foods by spoon. According to the mothers' statements, milk by bottle or cup was given supplementary to breast feeding at various times in the infant's life, in about 64 per cent of the cases. Moreover, a spoonful of the family's meal was often given to the infant while he was still breast fed. Also, the sight of an infant chewing a piece of bread is not unusual in the village.

The majority of the infants, 80 per cent, had had no difficulty with weaning and were weaned in one day. In the case of infants who were somewhat upset, weaning was completed within 15 days. Emotional upset over weaning was not related to the sex of the child. Nor was it related to breast or bottle feeding, early or late weaning.

Leaving the infant with a relative or smearing the breast with a bitter substance were the most common techniques of weaning reported by the mothers.

Thumb-sucking was reported in only 15 per cent of the cases and was related neither to the sex of the child, nor to the age at weaning, or weaning upset.

In response to the question about "feeding problems" at the age of three or four, 22 of the 105 village mothers said that they had much difficulty in getting the child to eat new foods, 17 had some difficulty and 66 mothers reported no difficulty at all. The mothers who reported feeding problems were about equally distributed among mothers of boys and mothers of girls.

Feeding problems were not related in any consistent or significant way to practices of infant feeding. Likewise, maternal warmth, as can be seen from Table 11, was not a determiner of feeding problems.

Table 11 - Relation of feeding problems to maternal warmth

<u>Warmth Ratings of Mothers</u>	<u>No. Children with Feeding Problems</u>	<u>No. Children with No Feeding Problems</u>	<u>Total</u>
High Warmth	9	7	16
Average Warmth	21	40	61
Low Warmth	9	19	28
All Mothers	39	66	105

Application of the chi-square test to the data shown in Table 11, revealed no significant relationship between maternal warmth and feeding problems.

## 2. Toilet training.

Toilet training, in general, was begun rather late in the village, but was completed within a fairly short period of time. According to the mothers' statements, the median age at starting the training was around 12 months, and the median age at completion was around 14 months. There were, of course, individual differences among the mothers with respect to age at beginning the training. Some mothers had started at the age of 7 or 8 months, but others had not until the child was 18 months of age. Likewise, there were individual differences among the children with respect to time required for completion of training. Some children were completely trained, according to the mothers' answers, before the age of 14 months, while others were not until the age of 2 years.

Only a small minority, 17 per cent, of the mothers interviewed in the village reported that their children were emotionally upset over toilet training. For the majority of the children the training had created no difficulties.

Emotional upset was related neither to the sex of the child nor to age at start of training. In fact, for the majority of the children who had difficulty, the training was begun at the age of 12 months, which is the median age for the whole group. Moreover, no significant relation was found between difficulty with toilet training and difficulty with weaning or occurrence of feeding problems. Nor was there any consistent relation between maternal warmth and upset at toilet training.

### 3. Other infancy experiences.

Swaddling is one of the earliest experiences of the infant in the village. In most of the cases, about 86 per cent, the infant was tightly swaddled until he was a "stiff bundle". The majority of the infants were swaddled for a period of 5 to 8 months. Only in about one-sixth of the cases, swaddling was prolonged till 12 months.

When we asked the mothers why they had swaddled their infant, they answered that they had followed the traditional pattern of swaddling the infant since "swaddling makes a child strong and healthy."

The majority of the village mothers were rather responsive to the infant's crying. According to their answers, 49 per cent of the mothers believed that a baby should be picked up as soon as he starts crying; 12 per cent were of the opinion that he should not be picked up unless "there is something wrong" and about 34 per cent believed that a mother should let the baby cry, lest he gets used to being picked up.

Their actual behavior with their infants did not deviate much from their opinions about the "ideal" behavior of a mother toward her crying baby. About 48 per cent of the mothers reported that they had always picked up their baby, at least when they were at home; 20 per cent had picked him sometimes and about 32 per cent had let him cry.

When the baby was crying during the night, only 26 per cent of the mothers said they did not respond to his crying, while the remaining reported that they had picked him up most of the time and approximately one-fifth of them had nursed the baby at night.

The sex of the child did not seem to be a determiner of the mother's responsiveness to crying. Although boys were reported to have been picked up during the night more often than girls, the difference was so small that

that could have occurred by chance.

When we asked how much time the mothers had spent playing with their baby, about 47 per cent replied that they had little or no time other than the time spent in taking care of him; 42 per cent of the mothers had spent some time playing with their baby and only 11 per cent reported that they had much time to spend with their baby just for the fun of it.

The majority of the mothers interviewed in the village reported that children are more pleasing in infancy than in late childhood. In spite of this statement, however, the mothers had not spent more time playing with their infants than with their five-year-olds as it was shown in their answers to another question later in the interview. Those who had much time to spend with their infant, had also much time to spend with him at the age of five or six years. Likewise, the mothers who had little or no time to play with their infants, had little or no time to play with them in their childhood.

#### 4. Sex training and sex roles.

Modesty training was begun by the village mothers rather early, in most of the cases when the child was around 2 years of age. The majority of the mothers objected strongly to nakedness even at such an early age and reported that they tried not to let the child walk around without his clothes on from the very beginning, or attempted to "explain" to him that this was not proper. Only 12 of the 105 mothers interviewed in the village did not object to the child's nakedness. The sex of the child was not related in any consistent or significant way to the age at beginning modesty training.

Genital handling, whenever observed in children, was severely punished, according to the mothers' statements. The 24 village mothers who reported genital play in their children were all mothers of boys. Of these, only 8



said that they had used "advice" or "explanation", while the remaining had resorted to beating in their attempt to stop this behavior. The mothers of our sample were unanimous in their disapproval and dislike of such practice.

When we asked the mothers whether their five-year-old children had any idea about how babies are born, in 97 per cent of the cases children were reported to have some knowledge about the matter. The information was given almost always by the mother. The most common answer to the child's curiosity was that "babies are sent by God".

In response to the question of disciplining the child when both parents were present, 88 per cent of the mothers said they were the chief disciplinarians, while the remaining said that it is usually the father who does the disciplining. A check of the interviews showed that whenever the father was the disciplinarian, he was more likely to discipline a son than a daughter.

In their treatment of the child, about half of the fathers were described as very or somewhat severe. Severity of the father's discipline was more often approved than leniency, as can be seen from the mothers' answers given in Table 12.

Table 12 - Relation between mothers' approval  
and the severity of fathers' discipline.

	<u>No. Mothers Approved</u>	<u>No. Mothers Disapproved</u>	<u>Total</u>
Father Severe	45	11	56
Father not Severe	13	36	49
	<hr/> 58	<hr/> 47	<hr/> 105



The tendency of the mothers to approve of a strict father and disapprove of a rather lenient father was significant at the .001% level.

When asked what the husbands believed about their wives' way of disciplining the child, the mothers' responses were as follows: "too strict", reported by 19 per cent of the mothers; "not strict", reported by about 2 per cent of the mothers; and "about right", reported by 79 per cent of the mothers.

In response to questions related to the process of identification, slightly less than half of the village mothers - mothers of boys and girls equally - answered that their child imitated the father in talking, gestures or way of walking. Approximately 32 per cent of the children imitated the mother, 14 per cent imitated both parents, and about 10 per cent imitated neither parent.

The mothers' answers to the question of the children's behavior with their parents are given in Table 13. Approximately half of the children behaved well with both parents. Of the remaining children, the majority behaved well with the father rather than with the mother. In only one instance the child behaved well with neither parent!

Table 13 - Relation between behavior of child and sex of parent

	<u>No. Boys</u>	<u>No. Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Behaves Better with Father	27	19	46
Behaves Better with Mother	5	5	10
Behaves Well with Both	25	23	48

When we asked the village mothers what they meant by a "good boy" or a "good girl" at the age of five or six years, the large majority answered that a good child is one who obeys and respects his parents and elders. "Good character", "polite", "does not fight", "does not use bad words" and "clean" were additional descriptions of a good child given by a number of mothers.

As adults, the mothers hoped that their sons and daughters would be, first of all, "well educated", referring to the broad meaning of the word discussed earlier. With regard to the specific level of education, 20 mothers were sad to admit that education beyond the elementary level was out of the question; 68 mothers hoped that they would be able to provide a high school education for their children, and 17 mothers hoped their children would reach the university level. We must admit that high school education is a real feat for the villagers, if we take into consideration the prevailing conditions in the village, such as lack of schools, inadequacy of transportation means and perennial financial problems.

Other characteristics mentioned very often by the mothers were "honesty" and "good character". In addition to these qualities the mothers hoped that their children "would find a good job" and "be able to lead a better life". This hope for a better life for their children was explicitly stated by 24 mothers, and was also implicit in the answers given by most of the mothers.

The role of either parent in the family was rather clearly depicted in some of the answers of the village mothers. According to their statements, the mother was primarily responsible for the care of the child and also for deciding about matters concerning the child. Moreover, the mother was exclusively responsible for household tasks. When asked whether their method of bringing up their children was similar to that of their mother, only 4 of

the mothers answered in the affirmative. The remaining 101 mothers reported that their method was different and better, in their opinion, than the method by which they were brought up.

Although decisions about matters concerning the child were the responsibility of the father in 35 families, the father, in general, was responsible for taking decisions about matters outside the home. In 104 families, accounts, expenditures and the like were the exclusive responsibility of the father.

When asked about the amount of affection shown to the child by the father, 34 per cent of the mothers reported little or no affection, 25 per cent reported some affection, and 41 per cent described the father as very affectionate. Fathers of girls tended to be more affectionate than fathers of boys, and the tendency was significant at the .01% level.

5. Aggression, discipline, and conscience.

The mothers interviewed in the village reported frequent quarreling among siblings. Only in 16 per cent of the cases, sibling relations were described as "very good". About 42 per cent of the mothers reported much fighting, quarreling, teasing, etc., and the remainder were about equally distributed into those reporting "fair" relations and those who described sibling relations as sometimes good and sometimes bad.

The pattern was reversed when the mothers were describing their children's relations with the neighbors' children. Now in 50 per cent of the cases the children were reported to get along very well with other children, and only in 19 per cent of the cases there was much fighting. The remaining mothers reported "fair" or "mixed" relations.

Aggression directed against a sibling or against another child was always punished, according to the mothers' reports, by beating the child.

The mothers in our sample objected strongly to the idea that a child should learn how to fight, and discouraged fighting even for self-defense. Only 3 of the 105 mothers reported that they had encouraged their children to fight in self-defense. The rest of the mothers reported that as soon as they noticed a quarrel they used to call their own child home and give him a good beating so that "he learns he should not fight".

Frequency of occurrence of aggression was not related to the sex of the child. Moreover, the children were not consistently aggressive or non-aggressive in their behavior with their siblings and other children.

Obedience was a highly valued quality in children. The mothers interviewed in the village expected not simple obedience, but prompt obedience from their children. They were unanimous in their answer that the child must obey "immediately", when told to stop making noise, for example.

The mothers' non-permissive attitude can also be seen from their answers to the question about the child's jumping over furniture, writing on the walls and the like. Of the 105 village mothers, 102 disapproved strongly of such behavior and reported having used physical punishment in their attempt to stop it. The remaining 3 mothers said that they had let the child jump over the furniture occasionally.

All the mothers were in agreement that a five- or six-year-old child should be assigned certain tasks to do at home and reported that they had assigned their children various tasks from "making his bed" to "taking care of a younger sibling".

Regarding cleanliness and tidiness, in 16 per cent of the cases the mothers had to take care of the matter, while in the remaining cases the children were reported to have the responsibility for keeping themselves clean.

When we asked the mothers whether children should be praised so that

they will be encouraged to behave well, all of them answered with an unqualified "yes". They also stated, that they had always rewarded good behavior. The most common reward was "praise", mentioned in 102 of the cases. "Affection" as a reward was mentioned by 3 mothers in the village.

From their statements, it appears that the mothers rewarded good behavior, but they punished misbehavior. "Intentional disobedience", for instance, was severely punished by beating in 104 of the 105 cases.

Physical punishment was the chief technique of controlling misbehavior in the village. Mothers of boys and girls equally, reported that they had beaten their children at one time or another. The father was reported to have beaten the child occasionally, by about half of the mothers. The median number of times the children were beaten "in the last two weeks" was about 4 times.

When we asked the mothers' opinion about the usefulness of beating, about 70 per cent answered in the affirmative, 11 per cent believed it is not useful, and about 18 per cent reported that sometimes it is useful and sometimes not, depending on the child.

According to our criteria of "conscience", discussed earlier, 50 per cent of the children were rated as "intermediate" in conscience. The remaining children were about equally divided into those rated "high" and those rated "low" in conscience. Degree of conscience was not related in any significant way to the sex of the child. Nor was it related to maternal warmth as can be seen from Table 14.

Table 14 - Relation between warmth ratings of mothers and conscience ratings of their children.

	<u>Low Warmth</u>	<u>Medium Warmth</u>	<u>High Warmth</u>	<u>Total</u>
High Conscience	8	14	4	26
Low Conscience	12	12	4	28
	<hr/> 20	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 8	<hr/> 54

#### 6. Dependency

The degree of children's dependency, as reported by the village mothers, was as follows: some or much dependency was shown by 34 children; in 14 cases children had shown dependent behavior earlier in their life, but were not dependent at present; 57 children had shown no dependency at all. The mothers also reported that when children were left in the house with an older sibling or another relative, only 10 of them cried and objected to their mother's going out.

Of the 23 mothers reporting dependency in their children, 13 were always or most of the time "annoyed" by such behavior, and 10 were "neutral" or rather "pleased" when the child followed them around or stayed close to them.

Degree of dependency was related neither to the ordinal position, nor to the sex of the child. Likewise, no significant relation was found between dependency and emotional upset at weaning. Furthermore, maternal warmth did not seem to be a determiner of dependency. Children of warm mothers were about equally distributed among those who had shown much dependency and those who had shown none.

The median age at which the children were expected to try new things without the mother's help was 5 years. By the age of six years, the village

mothers expected their children to compete successfully with others in lessons, games, and other school activities.

7. Motherhood and maternal warmth.

When we asked about their feelings at pregnancy, 95 mothers reported that they were "delighted" and 10 said they were "sad". The mothers who were unhappy to find themselves pregnant, also reported that this particular pregnancy was unsuitable and a delay would have been better. The reasons given by the mothers for their unhappiness at pregnancy were: close spacing of children, a large number of children already in the family and financial problems. It should be noted that none of the mothers expressing sad feelings referred to on first pregnancy.

The fathers, according to the mothers' reports, seemed to share their wives' delight or unhappiness at the news of pregnancy.

On the basis of our criteria of maternal warmth, discussed earlier, 16 of the village mothers were rated "high", 60 were rated "average", and 29 were rated "low" in warmth.

Maternal warmth was not related in any significant or consistent way to the sex or ordinal position of the child.

Summary

Village children were usually breast fed on demand for 8 months. Boys were nursed longer than girls. Children were weaned gradually and showed no emotional upset. Neither thumb-sucking nor feeding problems were common.

Usually children were swaddled for a period from 5 to 8 months. For most children toilet training was begun at around 12 months, was completed at 14 months and created no problems.

Ordinarily mothers were not very warm in their treatment of the

child. Nevertheless, most of them picked up their infant whenever he cried, and half of the mothers had enough time to play with him. Village fathers showed affection to their children in most of the cases. Fathers of girls were more affectionate than fathers of boys.

Mothers objected strongly to nakedness. Modesty training for boys and girls was begun at the age of two. There was also strong disapproval and severe punishment of masturbation. The practice was reported by one-fourth of the village mothers, all of whom were mothers of boys. Mothers had given some sort of explanation to most children about the way babies are born.

Mothers usually disciplined the child, and they definitely approved of a severe father. The mothers were primarily responsible for child care and household tasks while decisions about matters outside the home were the responsibility of the father. Most mothers believed that their way of raising their children was different and better from that used by their mothers.

No clear-cut identification with the like-sexed parent was found. There was a tendency for children to behave well with and imitate the father rather than the mother.

All manifestations of aggression were immediately punished. Fighting was discouraged even in self-defense.

Obedience was the mothers' ideal for a child during childhood and "education" for him as an adult. At the age of five or six children were expected to be fairly independent. They were also expected to obey immediately, keep themselves clean, be careful about household property and perform certain simple tasks at home.

Good behavior was encouraged and rewarded, whereas misbehavior was punished. The most common rewards were praise and affection. The chief



technique of punishment was beating.

Most of the children showed no dependent behavior at the age of five or six. With respect to conscience development half of them were rated as "intermediate"; the remaining were about equally distributed among those who were rated "high" and those rated "low" in conscience.

The large majority of the mothers were very happy about pregnancy, especially if it was their first. About one-tenth of the mothers were rather sad at the news of a particular pregnancy and would have preferred a delay. Fathers, generally, shared their wives' feelings.

### C. Urban-rural Comparisons

The comparisons of city and village mothers on feeding practices are presented in Table 15.

Table 15 - Urban-rural comparisons in feeding practices

	<u>City</u> <u>N = 65</u>	<u>Village</u> <u>N = 105</u>
Breast Feeding	89%	93%
Self-demand Feeding	34%	52%
Upset over Weaning	15%	20%
Thumb-sucking	25%	15%
Feeding Problems	37%	35%

On the whole there are few city-village differences. These are not significant regarding breast feeding, age when weaning was begun - the median being around 12 months in both cases - upset over weaning, incidence of thumb-sucking or feeding problems. There is a significant difference (.05% level) regarding the extent to which demand feeding was practiced. More village than city mothers used self-demand feeding. The village mothers, also, breast fed boys for a longer period than girls. This discrimination was not found in the city.

In both areas: (a) emotional upset over weaning was not related to sex of child, early or late weaning, breast or bottle feeding. (b) Thumb-sucking was related neither to weaning upset, nor age at weaning, or sex of child. (c) Feeding problems were not related to sex of child, practices of infant feeding, or maternal warmth.

In toilet training no significant differences were found in age at beginning and completing the training, or in amount of upset shown by children. For both city and village children the median ages at start and comple-

tion of training were 12 and 15 months respectively. Also, the great majority of children, in both areas, had had no difficulties in training.

Both in the case of city and village, upset over toilet training was not related to sex, age at beginning of training, or difficulties in feeding practices. And, it was not related to maternal warmth.

Swaddling was a more common practice in the village than in the city. This trend was significant at the .01% level.

A significant difference (.05% level) was found between the city and village mothers in their responsiveness to the infant's crying. More city mothers believed that a baby should not be picked up when he cries. However, these mothers did not seem to follow their "ideal". When we examine their actual behavior toward their own infant the city-village difference does not hold. In both instances less than half of the mothers reported that they had not responded to their infant's crying.

The difference in the mothers' responsiveness to a crying infant during the night becomes again significant (.001% level of significance). 68 per cent of the city mothers had not responded, whereas only 26 per cent of the village mothers had not.

No difference was found with respect to time spent in playing with the infant. In each case - city or village - the mothers were about equally distributed among those having much or some time and those having little or none. Although in both cases most of the mothers found infants more pleasing, no apparent discontinuity was found in the indulgence of the growing child. That is, the mothers who had much time to play with their infants also had much time to play with their five-year-old children. The same was true for those who had little or no time.

There was no significant difference in incidence of genital handling

reported by city and village mothers, the figures being 18 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. All mothers disapproved strongly of such practice. More village mothers had used physical punishment rather than explanation or advice, in instances of genital handling. Yet, the difference was not significant.

More village mothers approved of nakedness but not significantly so. In both areas the large majority of mothers disapproved of the practice. Modesty training was begun early - at approximately 2 years of age. Sex of child was not significantly related to age at beginning of training.

Some information about the way babies are born was given, in response to the child's curiosity, by mothers in both areas. More village children were reported to have some knowledge of the matter. The trend was significant at the .01% level.

The mother was the chief disciplinarian of the child at preschool age in the majority of the cases in both city and village. In the village it was found that whenever the father was the disciplinarian, he was more likely to discipline a son than a daughter, but the difference was not significant.

In his treatment of the child the father was reported as not severe in fewer than half of the cases in both city and village. However, the mothers definitely approved of a severe father. The relation between mothers' approval and severity of fathers' discipline was significant at the .001% level in both cases.

More village than city mothers reported that their husbands thought their way of disciplining the child was the right one. The trend was significant at the .001% level.

No clear-cut identification of the children with the parent of the

same sex was revealed by the answers of city or village mothers. It was found that at the age of five, about half of the children behaved well with both parents. Significantly (.05% level) more children, irrespective of sex, were found to behave better with the father and imitate his behavior.

The ideal for both city and village children was obedience to and respect for parents and elders.

"Education" was the major goal which the mothers hoped their children would achieve later in life. Significantly more city mothers looked towards a university education for their children.

With regard to parental role at home, mothers were found to be exclusively responsible for household tasks, and primarily responsible for decisions concerning the child in both city and village. Decision about matters outside the home was the responsibility of the father in both cases, but was significantly greater (.05% level) in the case of the village. Only 1 per cent of the village mothers was reported to be responsible for matters outside the home, whereas about 18 per cent of the city mothers assumed responsibility. Also, in 34 per cent of the cases such decisions were a joint responsibility of parents only in the case of the city.

More than half of the mothers in the city and village described the father as affectionate toward the child. Fathers of girls were significantly (.01% level) more affectionate than fathers of boys in the case of the village. This difference was not found among city fathers.

The overwhelming majority of mothers from both village and city reported that their method of child rearing was different than that used by their mothers.

With respect to incidence of aggressive behavior, city and village children did not differ significantly in amount of aggression against the

neighbors' children, but they did (.05% level) in aggression against siblings. For more village than city children sibling relations were described as "poor" (i.e., fighting, quarreling, etc.). In both areas children were found to get along better with other children than with their brothers and sisters.

Aggression against a sibling or against another child was always punished by a good "beating" of the child, in both city and village. All mothers objected strongly to the idea that the child should learn how to fight. Encouragement of aggression only in self-defense was reported by 3 per cent and 8 per cent of village and city mothers respectively.

In both city and village: (a) frequency of occurrence of aggressive behavior was not related to sex of the child; (b) encouragement of self-defense was related neither to sex of child nor to maternal warmth. (c) Children were not consistently aggressive or non-aggressive in their behavior with their siblings and other children.

More village than city mothers required strict obedience on the part of their children. The trend was significant at the .001% level. The child's jumping over furniture, writing on the walls etc., was strongly disapproved by most of the mothers in both cases. The major technique used to stop such behavior was physical punishment.

All mothers believed that five-year-old children should be requested to perform certain tasks, and almost all of them had assigned their children various tasks at home.

Children were responsible for keeping themselves clean - at least wash their face and hands - in the large majority of the cases, both in city and village.

The mothers were unanimous in their answer that good behavior

should always be praised, and none of them, according to their answers, failed to reward good behavior in their child. On the other hand misbehavior, especially "intentional disobedience", was severely punished by all mothers. In both cases the chief technique of punishment was beating.

All mothers reported that they had used corporal punishment at one time or another. Beating by a father, however, was infrequent in both city and village. In a period of two weeks a child was beaten by either or both parents 4 or 2 times on the average in the village and city respectively. Usefulness of beating was reported by 70 per cent of the mothers from each area. The use of physical punishment was not significantly related to maternal warmth.

Comparisons of conscience development in city and village children is shown in Table 16.

Table 16 - Degree of conscience in city and village children.

	<u>City</u> <u>N= 65</u>	<u>Village</u> <u>N= 105</u>
High Conscience	8%	24%
Intermediate Conscience	69%	50%
Low Conscience	23%	26%

More village than city children were rated as high in conscience development. The difference was significant at the .05% level. In both cases degree of conscience was related neither to sex of child, nor to maternal warmth or the disciplinary technique used by the mother.

The degree of dependency shown by city and village children is presented in Table 17.

Table 17 - Degree of dependency of city and village children

	<u>City</u> <u>N= 65</u>	<u>Village</u> <u>N= 105</u>
Much Dependency	26%	21%
Some Dependency	3%	12%
Formerly (Not Now)	32%	12%
No Dependency	38%	54%

No significant difference was found in amount of dependency shown by city and village children. At the age of five the majority of the children were rather independent.

The majority of the mothers who reported dependency in their children were annoyed by such behavior.

In both cases degree of dependency was not related to sex of the child, upset at weaning, or maternal warmth. In the city, younger children were significantly (.05% level) more dependent than older or middle children. In addition, the children who were picked up while crying in infancy, were more dependent at the age of five, than those who were not picked up. These significant differences were not found in the village.

In both cases the median ages at which children were expected to do new things unassisted and to compete successfully with other children in lessons and games, were 5 and 6, respectively.

The feelings of city and village mothers about their pregnancy with the child who was the subject of this study are presented in Table 18.



Table 18 - Urban-rural differences in mothers' feelings about pregnancy

	<u>City</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pleased at Pregnancy	50	95	145
Mixed Feelings at Pregnancy	15	10	25
Pregnancy Wholly Suitable	50	96	146
Pregnancy Somewhat Unsuitable	15	9	24
Pregnancy Well Timed	53	96	149
Delay Somewhat Better	12	9	21

In both cases the large majority of the mothers were pleased at pregnancy. About 23 per cent of the city and 9.5 per cent of the village mothers, however, reported mixed feelings (i.e. "somewhat unhappy", "sad", "little sad", etc.). More city than village mothers reported mixed feelings. The trend was significant at the .05% level.

City and village mothers who were not pleased at pregnancy also believed that this particular pregnancy was somewhat unsuitable and that a delay would have been better. Common reasons for unhappiness at pregnancy were: financial problems, close spacing of children, or a large number of children already in the family. None of the mothers who reported mixed feelings was talking about a first pregnancy.

In both cases husbands were reported to share their wives' delight or unhappiness at the news of pregnancy.

The ratings of city and village mothers in terms of warmth shown to the child are presented in Table 19.

Table 19 - Warmth ratings of city and village mothers

	<u>City</u> <u>N=65</u>	<u>Village</u> <u>N=105</u>
High Warmth	29%	15%
Medium Warmth	60%	57%
Low Warmth	11%	28%

Slightly more than half of the mothers in each area were rated as "average" in warmth. More city than village mothers were rated as high in warmth, the difference being significant at the .05% level.

In both cases maternal warmth was related neither to the sex nor to the ordinal position of the child.

Summary.

No differences were found between city and village with respect to breast feeding, age at start of weaning, weaning upset, incidence of thumb-sucking or feeding problems. More village mothers, however, used feeding on demand and nursed boys longer than girls.

No differences were found in age at beginning and completing toilet training or in amount of upset shown by children. Swaddling was more common in the village.

City and village mothers did not differ in their responsiveness to their infant's crying during day time. However, more village mothers were responsive to his crying at night. City and village mothers were about equally distributed among those having much or some time to play with the child, and those having little or none. More city than village mothers were rated "high" in warmth. Fathers were described as affectionate toward their children in both areas. In the village, fathers of girls were more affectionate than fathers of boys.

In both areas, mothers discouraged nudity and had started modesty training for boys and girls at the age of two. Genital handling was strongly disapproved and severely punished upon discovery. More village children had some knowledge about the way babies are born.

In both areas the mothers were the chief disciplinarians, and they definitely approved of a severe father. More village mothers reported that their husbands approved of their way of disciplining the child.

No clear-cut identification of city or village children with the parent of the same sex was found.

Obedience during childhood and "education" in adulthood were the major ideals that both city and village mothers had for their children. More city than village mothers looked toward a university education for their children.

City and village mothers were primarily responsible for household tasks and child care, whereas fathers, especially in the village, were primarily responsible for matters outside the home. Most mothers from both areas believed that their method of child rearing was different, and better than that used by their mothers.

More village than city children showed aggression toward siblings. All manifestations of aggression were severely punished by mothers in both areas, and fighting was discouraged even in self-defense.

Both city and village mothers were non-permissive about the child's playing and moving around in the house. They expected their children to be rather independent, keep themselves clean, be careful about household property, and perform certain tasks at home. More village than city mothers required prompt obedience from their children.

Good behavior was rewarded, whereas misbehavior was severely punished by both city and village mothers. The most common reward was praise, the chief technique of punishment was beating.

Most of the city and village children were rated "intermediate" in conscience development. Village children were rated "high" in conscience more often than city children. The majority of city and village children showed no dependency at the age of five. In the city, younger children were more dependent than older or middle children. Also, the children who were picked up while crying in infancy, were more dependent than those who were not picked up.

The majority of city and village mothers were happy at pregnancy. Of those having ambivalent feelings more were city mothers. In both areas, husbands shared their wives' delight or unhappiness at the news of pregnancy.

#### Chapter IV - Discussion of findings

The findings about child rearing practices presented in the previous chapter were obtained from interviews with the city and village mothers. The verbal reports of the mothers may or may not be taken at face value. Factors such as memory distortion, selective forgetting or an attempt on the part of the mother to present the best picture of her child rearing practices are likely to influence the validity of the mothers' answers. Thus, an attempt will be made to interpret the mothers' reports in the light of some additional knowledge about her, obtained from observations during the interview, as well as from knowledge about the culture in general.

With respect to the sample of mothers drawn from the city, we cannot claim that it is a truly representative sample of Athens; however, in the case of the rural area the sample is definitely representative since practically every mother of a five- or six-year-old child was interviewed in that area.

First, the findings of the study will be discussed in terms of class and urban-rural differences. City and village child rearing practices are compared in terms of lower-class only, since all village mothers were classified as lower-class.

Secondly, we will discuss these findings as they relate to the Sears and Prothro studies, since their method was followed in the present study.

Breast feeding was the method of infant feeding common in both urban and rural areas. The few mothers who had not nursed their child-

ren expressed sorrow that physical disability had prevented them from doing so.

Middle-class mothers used more scheduling and nursed their infants for a shorter period than both lower-class city and village mothers. In turn, lower-class city mothers used more scheduling than village mothers. This was expected in view of the more modern outlook of the city dwellers. In the first place, city life is more regulated by the clock than village life. Secondly, city mothers have greater access to mass media, pediatricians' advice, publications about child care etc., all of which tend to emphasize scheduled rather than self-demand feeding. The fact that middle-class mothers nursed their infants for a shorter period can be accounted for in terms of more frequent employment of those mothers outside the home, availability of servants, and ability to purchase condensed milk.

Weaning was gradual; it started at the age of 12 months, and created no emotional upset in the majority of the cases, irrespective of class or location. Neither thumb-sucking, nor feeding problems were very common among lower-class city and village mothers. It is suspected that the fact that more middle than lower-class mothers reported thumb-sucking might indicate not a greater incidence of the habit in the former group, but a difference in attitude toward the habit. Thumb-sucking is considered as "bad" by the lower-class mothers and it might have been difficult for them to admit that their children had "bad" habits. To the extent that the reports of the mothers are accurate, excessive use of pacifiers and severe punishment by the lower-class mothers of any attempt at thumb-sucking might explain the difference.

The slight tendency among middle-class mothers to report feeding

problems is not surprising, since they were very "fussy" about the child's diet and insisted that the child eats the kind and amount of food prescribed by the pediatrician. Lower-class and village mothers were not very particular about "prescribed grams, and vitamins", the child usually shared the family's meals.

In general, toilet training began at around 12 months, was completed at about 15 months and created no problems in the majority of cases. The fact that upset at training was reported more often by middle than by lower-class mothers, might reflect the greater preoccupation of the former group with the training of the child and also their willingness to talk about "bad" habit. However, on the whole, the answers of both city and village mothers about age at completion of training are questionable since they do not take into account the factor of maturation. The average age for learning bladder and bowel control has been estimated as approximately 18 months.<sup>(76)</sup> The apparent achievement of early control reported by the mother may be a result of the mother's vigilance and anticipation rather than the child's having completed training.

In the village it was customary for infants to be swaddled in order to become "strong" and "healthy", but the custom was not followed in the city, especially in the case of middle-class mothers.

Athenian mothers, on the whole, were unresponsive to their infant's crying, whereas village mothers tended to pick up their infants whenever they cried, especially at night. The attitude toward responsiveness, as well as availability of space might account for this difference. City mothers believed that picking up the infant as soon as he cried, might "spoil" him. Also, in most of the city families, children did not

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(76) Mussen and Conger, op.cit. p. 195.

sleep in the same room with parents.

Lower-class and village mothers were about equally divided into those having much or some time to play with their children, and those having little or none. More middle than lower-class city and village mothers had much time to spend with their children. Actual time available does not seem to be a determiner of the difference. The belief of the middle-class mothers that they should devote some of their time to play with the child, take him for walks, be friendly with him, and in general be in close contact with him, might explain the difference. Lower-class city and village mothers believed that such attention and overt affection will "spoil" the child.

Although mothers, regardless of class or location, found children more pleasing in infancy than in childhood, there was no apparent discontinuity in the indulgence of the growing child.

Generally, taboos on nakedness were instituted rather early in the child's life. Mothers discourage nudity and had started modesty training at about two years of age. The reports of the village mothers, however, cannot be taken at face value after having observed many "immodest" children in the village!

The large majority of mothers denied instances of genital handling in their children. All mothers disapproved strongly of the practice. The village mothers tended to use physical punishment as a means of inhibiting the practice, whenever detected, whereas city mothers used mainly explanation and advice. The finding that more village than city children had some knowledge about the way babies are born can be explained by the fact that the majority of village mothers delivered at home.



In general, the mothers were the chief disciplinarians of the pre-school child. Fathers tended to be rather lenient in their treatment of the child. The mothers, however, definitely approved of a severe father.

The majority of the fathers, according to the mothers' answers, approved of their wives' way of disciplining the child. Approval on the part of the husband was more often mentioned by village mothers. It is suspected from the promptness of the answer that this was one of the instances in which the village mothers tried to put themselves in a favorable light in the eyes of the interviewer.

At the age of five or six the children in our sample did not seem to have identified clearly with the parent of the same sex. On the whole, children tended to behave well with and imitate the father rather than the mother. Thus the father seems to be the major model of identification for five- or six-year-old children. This might reflect a cultural norm, i.e., the father because of his role as family provider, is the central figure and mothers insist that children behave well and show respect to the father.

A good child at the age of five or six is mainly one who shows obedience and respect to parents and elders. The term obedience as used by the middle-class mothers means relative obedience which shades more toward respect than fear of parents, whereas in the case of the lower-class mothers means prompt, blind obedience. More lower-class and village mothers required prompt obedience which might show the more traditional outlook of lower-class mothers irrespective of location.

When the mothers talked about their hopes for their children's future they stressed education and a good job as ideals. Successful

marriage was often mentioned by mothers of girls. Characteristics such as independence and initiative often mentioned by middle-class mothers, were hardly mentioned by mothers from the lower-class. The village mothers very often implied or stated explicitly that they wanted a better life for their children. This is not surprising if one considers the hard life of a villager in a small, poor, remote village. The fact that almost all middle-class mothers hoped for a university education for their children is self-explanatory. When the lower-class city mothers are compared with the village mothers, the former mentioned a university education more often than the latter. Attitude toward education does not seem to be a determiner of the difference. The major factor in this case seems to be the economic factor coupled with educational facilities. A point in support of this explanation is that no sex discrimination with respect to higher education was found in the city. In the village, the few parents who could afford a university education, naturally reserved it for a son rather than a daughter.

Generally, parental roles were well defined, with the mother assuming greater responsibility for child care and household tasks and the father being primarily, or even exclusively responsible - as in the case of the village - for matters outside the home. More middle than lower-class city mothers showed responsibility in decisions about matters outside the home. In turn, more lower-class than village mothers had a voice in decisions about family matters not directly related with children.

Two factors may explain this differences namely, attitude of husbands toward their wives in the city and employment of the mother. City mothers - especially those from the middle-class - are considered as partners and advisors to their husbands. Moreover, since many women

in the city are employed outside the home, they contribute their share to the family's income and naturally share with their husbands the responsibility of family decisions. Here the factor of social change observed in the city life seems to be operative. In general, the woman's role is more active in the city than in the village.

The large majority of the mothers believed that their method of child rearing was different and better than that used by their own mothers. This was mentioned more often by lower-class city and village mothers, than by middle-class mothers. It is an evidence that the traditional way of raising children has started changing.

All manifestations of aggression were severely punished, and fighting was generally discouraged even in self-defense. Yet, about half of the middle-class mothers reported that they had encouraged their children to fight back in self-defense and in general had instructed them not "to let others take advantage of them". This is a case of an extreme contrast between the traditional pattern of handling aggression as shown by the lower-class and village mothers and the modern attitude of the middle-class mothers. Lower-class and village mothers ordinarily do not encourage fighting, and beat their child when they notice a fight even if their child is the "victim".

In general, five- or six-year-old children were expected to do new things unassisted and compete successfully with other children at school and in other activities. They were also expected to keep themselves clean, be careful about household property, and perform certain tasks at home. This emphasis upon responsibility about the household, assisting parents at home and performance of various tasks and chores may be considered as typical in a Greek family. Diligence is a highly

valued quality<sup>(77)</sup> and parents proudly enumerate the things that their young children can do.

Reward of good behavior was as common as punishment of misbehavior. Praise and affection were the most common rewards. Beating was the chief technique of punishment in the village, whereas scolding, reprimanding, or withholding of privileges were more often used by city mothers - especially those from the middle-class. Again city mothers on the whole seem not to adhere strictly to the traditional pattern of beating the child who misbehaves.

Development of conscience was well under way in the children of our sample. The majority of children were rated as "intermediate" in conscience development. More middle than lower-class and village children were rated "high". This may be accounted for by the fact that middle-class mothers emphasized confession of misdeeds on the part of the child rather than outright physical punishment on their own part.

The majority of children showed no dependency at the age of five or six. This might be explained in terms of the fact that the majority of mothers who had observed dependency in their children disapproved of the practice, and also by the fact that independence, and assumption of responsibility on the part of the child was encouraged and rewarded by parents. In the case of the middle-class mothers it was stated explicitly that they had instructed their children to "fight for their own rights" in the case of quarrels with other children. Lower-class mothers also wanted their children to assume responsibility early in order that they can help them. It is not unusual among lower-class families, especially in the village, that an older sibling takes care of a younger one.

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(77) Mead, M. Cultural patterns and technical change.  
Holland: The IJssel Press, Ltd., 1953, p. 89.

Younger children in the city showed more dependency than older or middle children. Also, children who were picked up often in infancy showed more dependency at the age of five or six. This is another instance in which reward of dependent behavior, in the form of greater indulgence usually shown to younger children and acquiescing to the children's demands leads to more dependency.

For the large majority of mothers, motherhood was a deeply satisfying experience. They were also happy at the news of pregnancy especially if it was their first. More lower-class city and village mothers were unhappy about the pregnancy and would have preferred a delay. In turn, more lower-class city than village mothers had ambivalent feelings about pregnancy.

The fact that mothers showed a warm welcome for motherhood is not surprising. Children are eagerly desired by almost all Greek parents. Childbirth is usually an occasion of great importance. Traditionally boys were generally preferred, since they are necessary to establish the continuity of descent. Moreover, children provide a form of old age assurance in the closely knit family system. The reasons given by the mothers who thought that the pregnancy was unsuitable (e.g. financial problems, close spacing of children, large number of children already in the family) seem to be the real reasons for the mothers dissatisfaction. The fact that more lower-class city than village mothers showed ambivalent feelings can be explained in terms of the attitude of the city dwellers. Conditions were not better in the village, but the peasant said that, after all, "God will provide for the child". The city mothers were more realistic and expressed their worries about the future of their children. This is why they would have preferred to delay the pregnancy, or not to

have had the child at all.

More middle than lower-class mothers were rated high in warmth and in turn, more lower-class city mothers were rated high than village mothers. The variable of location becomes important in this case. City mothers make an effort to find some time to play with their child, take him out to the park, buy him toys, hug and fondle him. These are considered rather "luxuries" in the village and are against the general traditional pattern which requires children to be obedient, submissive, almost non-entities as individuals, and the parents loving but distant.

In general, middle-class mothers are more permissive, rely less on physical punishment, and show greater warmth toward the child, than lower-class mothers. They are more preoccupied with the child's training and tend to follow rather closely the pediatrician's advice. They encourage fighting in self-defense and insist that children must "stand on their feet", show initiative and independence. They assume greater responsibility in family decisions than lower-class mothers.

Differences between the lower-class city mothers and the village mothers are found in more scheduling of feeding, warmer treatment of the child, greater responsibility for family decisions and a more active role of the mother in the family, all characteristic of the city mothers. It is apparent that these differences reflect the importance of the location variable and the general pattern of family life in the city. However, in terms of customs, values, ideals, and beliefs, lower-class city mothers on the whole were as traditional as the lower-class village mothers. The traditional practice of breast-feeding and swaddling was observed in both cases. Physical punishment was frequent in both city and village. Prompt and "blind" obedience on the part of the child was required;

restrictions on the child's jumping on furniture or running around in the house were common; and the traditional distance and aloofness of parents toward their children were found in both city and village.

When we turn to an examination of the relation between a specific practice and the child's behavior or personality, our findings confirm the general trend prevailing among recent studies of child rearing practices, namely, that there is no one-to-one relation between a specific practice and a certain behavior or personality characteristic of the child. It is rather the general family atmosphere as it is reflected in maternal attitudes toward the child which bear significant relation to his behavior and development.

In general, it was found that:

- a) Emotional upset over weaning was not related to early or late weaning, breast or bottle feeding.
- b) Incidence of thumb-sucking was not related to age at weaning or weaning upset.
- c) Feeding problems at the age of five or six were not related to practices of infant feeding. Nor was there any relation between incidence of feeding problems and amount of maternal warmth.
- d) Upset at toilet training was not related to age at beginning the training. Also, no relation was found between upset at training and weaning upset, occurrence of feeding problems, or maternal warmth.
- e) Degree of conscience development was not related to the kind of disciplinary technique (i.e. physical punishment or withholding of privileges), or the warmth of the mother. Nor was it related to the sex of the child.
- f) Amount of dependency, in the few cases that dependency in the five-year-old child was reported, was not related to weaning upset, mater-



nal warmth, the mother's feeling about dependency or the sex of the child. In the city, however, it was found that younger children were more dependent at the age of five than older or middle children. Also, children who were picked up in infancy were more dependent at the age of five than children who were not picked up.

It must be remembered that these statements are based on the statistical analysis of the data and describe groups of children rather than individuals. Wide variations in the behavior of individual children, as well as in the effect of a certain practice on a particular child, were noted.

Comparison of the present study with the studies of Sears<sup>(78)</sup> in America and Prothro<sup>(79)</sup> in Lebanon, shows that, in general, mothers are happy at the news of pregnancy, ambivalent feelings shown more often by lower than middle-class mothers. It must be noted that fewer mothers in this study than in Lebanon or in America were unhappy about pregnancy; ambivalent feelings were reported by 11 per cent of the mothers, 26 per cent Lebanese, and 31 per cent American mothers.

As in the case of Lebanon, breast feeding was the common practice among the mothers interviewed in Greece. Also, as in the case of Lebanese mothers, there is no embarrassment among Greek mothers about exposing the breast for suckling. The few mothers, in both studies, who had not breast fed their infants expressed sorrow that physical disability had prevented them from doing so.<sup>(80)</sup> These findings contrast with those of Sears<sup>(81)</sup> in that 60 per cent of the American mothers had not breast fed

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(78) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit. p. 32.

(79) Prothro, op.cit. p. 53.

(80) Ibid., pp. 71-72.

(81) Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit. p. 77.



their infants. Avoidance of breast feeding was explained by Sears and his colleagues as a result of a strong sense of modesty, or anxiety about sex in general, on the part of the American mothers.

Both in the Sears and Prothro studies "mothers rated low in warmth produced more emotional upset in their children in the process of toilet training than did mothers rated high in warmth, and this difference was particularly noticeable in both cultures when the mothers used severe training techniques. In both countries, too, the mothers rated higher in warmth had children rated higher in conscience".<sup>(82)</sup>

None of these relations were found in the present study. However, middle-class children were rated higher in conscience than lower-class children. If we take into account the fact that middle-class mothers were rated higher in warmth than lower-class mothers and also the fact that the former group relied more on reasoning, explanation and advice rather than on physical punishment we hypothesize a relation between warmth of the mother and conscience development in the child, although this relation was not found to be significant from the application of chi-square to these data.

"Lebanese mothers were more often rated warm in their treatment of boys than in their treatment of girls. Warmer mothers reported more feeding problems than did other mothers".<sup>(83)</sup> These relations obtained neither in the Sears, nor in the present study. Differential treatment of boys and girls was observed only in one instance in the present study and this was in the case of village parents. Boys were nursed for a

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(82) Prothro, op.cit. p. 159.

(83) Ibid.

longer period than were girls, but girls were shown more affection by fathers than boys.

In the Sears study "a slight correlation was found between feelings about becoming pregnant and warmth toward the child. In the same study it was also found that spanking by a warm mother was more likely to be reported as effective than was spanking administered by cold mothers".<sup>(84)</sup> These relationships were found neither in the Prothro nor in the present study.

"In Lebanon five-year-old children were more likely to be dependent on their mothers if their mothers were high in warmth. In America this relation did not hold for warmth generally, but only for overtly demonstrative warmth".<sup>(85)</sup> This relation was not found in the present study.

In the Sears study only children were found to be more dependent than other children. In the present study younger children were more dependent at the age of five or six than older or middle children. Also, children who were picked up in infancy were more dependent later.

American mothers "who had worked before marriage were more often delighted over pregnancy than were those who had never worked, but in Lebanon the opposite was true."<sup>(86)</sup> In the present study happiness at pregnancy was not related in any significant way to the mother's current employment, or her happiness at leaving work after marriage.

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(84) Ibid.

(85) Ibid.

(86) Ibid., p. 160.

The general trend toward more permissiveness, and warmer treatment of the child by middle than by lower-class mothers was borne out in the three studies.

Although it is not possible to make exact comparisons between the mothers from the rural areas in Greece and those from Lebanon, since the samples are not strictly comparable in terms of proximity and interaction with the city, it might be interesting to note that characteristics of Lebanese traditional mothers as described by Prothro<sup>(87)</sup> are also found among the Greek rural mothers. Higher education, warmer treatment of the child, shorter duration of breast feeding, with more scheduling of feeding, belief that a child should fight in self-defense, infrequent use of physical punishment, and greater emphasis on mother's decisions in domestic affairs are more likely to be found among modern than among traditional mothers both in Lebanon and in Greece.

It follows from the above discussion that certain similarities in the way mothers raise their children are found among the different cultures. The brief summary of the differences observed among the child rearing practices of the Greek, Lebanese, and American mothers also points out the importance of the cultural variable in determining the mother's beliefs, attitudes and practices.

It need not be emphasized that extensive factual data are needed before sound generalizations can be made concerning the relation of child rearing practices to behavior and personality development. The present study has provided certain information of a normative nature, which will be expanded by Prothro's continuing research in Greece, a project of which these data are a part.

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(87) Ibid., p. 157.

### Summary and Conclusions

This is a descriptive study of child rearing practices in Greece. Data were collected from interviews with 294 mothers from the urban center of Athens and a rural area in Peloponnesse. The city mothers represented both the middle and lower classes. The village mothers were all lower class. The interviewing schedule used - a questionnaire of the directed interview type - was a revision of the Harvard schedule. Information was obtained about certain aspects of child rearing practices such as feeding and weaning, toilet training, sex, aggression and dependency training, restrictions and demands, methods of discipline, and attitudes toward the child.

In general, class differences in child rearing were in the direction of greater permissiveness, warmer and more individualized treatment of the child, less punitiveness, and greater preoccupation with the child's training shown by the middle-class mothers.

Middle-class mothers nursed their infants for a shorter period of time and used more scheduling of feeding. Swaddling was not usually practiced. Thumb-sucking, feeding problems and upset at toilet training were mentioned more often by middle than by lower-class mothers. Greater amount of time spent with the child and more overt affection toward him from both parents were characteristic of the middle-class. Middle-class mothers assumed greater responsibility in family decisions not directly related with the child. They encouraged fighting in self-defense, independence and initiative, and hoped for a university education for their children more often than lower-class mothers. They required relative obedience, placed fewer restrictions on the child's running around the house, and relied more on explanation, reasoning, and withholding of

privileges rather than on physical punishment in their attempt to cope with "bad" behavior. More middle than lower-class mothers were happy at the news of pregnancy. More middle than lower-class children were rated high in conscience development.

In the following aspects both classes were similar: breast feeding was common, weaning was gradual, toilet training was started at about 11 months and completed at about 16 months. Nudity was discouraged and modesty training for boys and girls was begun at an early age. Masturbation was reported by a few mothers who generally used explanation and advice to inhibit the practice. All mothers disapproved strongly of the practice. Most mothers had given some explanation to their children about the way babies are born. Mothers were the chief disciplinarians of the preschool child and definitely approved of a severe father. In neither group was there a clear-cut identification of the child with the parent of the same sex. Obedience and education were the major ideals the mothers held for their children in childhood and adulthood. Children were assigned certain tasks and chores at home, and were expected to be fairly independent at the age of five or six. Good behavior was rewarded and misbehavior was punished in both groups although the degree and the type of punishment differed.

Comparison of lower-class village with lower-class city mothers revealed a few differences in the way they raise their children. City mothers used more scheduling of feeding, were warmer in their treatment of the child, assumed greater responsibility in family decisions, and hoped for a university education for their children more often than village mothers.

These differences were explained in terms of the location variable, or social change variable, i.e., the more active and mobile life of women

in the city. Lower-class city mothers seem to have benefited from the greater emancipation of women, availability of education, access to publications about child care, all characteristic of city life.

In terms of customs, ideals and beliefs, lower-class city mothers on the whole, have remained traditional as can be seen from the following similarities found among their practices and attitudes toward child rearing and those of the village mothers. The traditional practices of breast feeding and swaddling were observed in both cases. Genital handling was strongly disapproved of and punished upon discovery, although city mothers did not rely exclusively on physical punishment. In general, physical punishment was used frequently by both village and city mothers. Prompt obedience on the part of the child was commonly required, although it was emphasized more by the village mothers. Both required responsibility in the household on the part of the child. Restrictions on the child's jumping on furniture, or running around in the house were common. The traditional outlook according to which children should be obedient, quiet, submissive, and parents loving but distant and not overtly affectionate was common among both groups.

No relation between a specific practice and a certain personality characteristic was found in this study, in agreement with the findings of similar studies. Comparison of the present study with those of Sears in America and Prothro in Lebanon revealed certain similarities among the three cultures, as well as a number of differences which reflect the importance of the cultural variable in determining a mother's attitudes and practices. Middle-class mothers' tendencies toward greater permissiveness, more warmth, less punitiveness and more frequent use of love-oriented techniques of discipline rather than physical punishment was borne out in the three studies.

In conclusion, three points can be made:

1. Child rearing practices and maternal attitudes appear to vary widely within a culture both in terms of class level and urban-rural location. ✓

2. Maternal attitudes and the general atmosphere of the home are of greater significance in relation to behavior and personality development of the child than any specific practice used. ✓

3. The clarification of the relation between early childhood experiences and behavioral development is dependent upon further research in the areas of normative child rearing practices and cross-cultural comparisons.



## APPENDIX

### Interviewing Schedule\*

(First establish age, learn name and sex) Age \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_

1. To begin with, I would like to get a general picture of your family.
  - a. How many children do you have? (girls and boys) \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. How old are they (including girls and boys)?  
(X oldest, youngest, middle, or only child) \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Does any relative live with you in the house? FaMo FaFa MoMo  
MoFa FaBr FaSis MoBr MoSis \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Anyone else (Servant, etc.)? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Let us go back to the time when X was an infant. Who took care of him most of the time?
  - a. Did your husband help in taking care of him? No Little Some Much
  - b. Did anyone else help in taking care of him? (Who) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Did you swaddle X when he was a baby? For how long? (mo.) \_\_\_\_\_
  - a. Why? What are some of the advantages? (If not) Why not? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Some other mothers let the baby cry lest he get used to being picked up. What is your opinion about this? Pick up Leave Sometimes Feed
  - a. What did you do when X was an infant? P L S Feed
  - b. What was your attitude at night? P L S Feed (or nurse)

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\*This is a revision made by Professor E. Terry Prothro of the American University of Beirut, of the original schedule developed by Sears and his colleagues at Harvard. The question of the original interview schedule that were omitted in this revision are shown on pages 116-120 of this thesis.



5. Did you have time to spend with X other than the time spent taking care of him, such as nursing him and bathing him? (If yes) Tell me, what did you do during that time? Did you fondle him or sing for him, or something like that? None Little Some Much
6. Some people believe that children are more pleasing in infancy and others when they are older. What is your favorite age for a child? (yrs) \_\_\_\_\_
7. Now tell me something about your way of feeding him when he was an infant.
- a. Did you suckle him? For how long? (Age in mo.) \_\_\_\_\_ (if not) How did you decide to use the feeding bottle? \_\_\_\_\_  
Feeding bottle for how long? (Age in mo.) \_\_\_\_\_
- b. When did you begin to wean him (from breast or bottle)? (mo.) \_\_\_\_\_
- c. How did the weaning affect him? No upset Little Some Much
- d. How long did it take him to stop suckling completely? (days) \_\_\_\_\_
8. Could you tell me now something about his feeding schedule when he was a baby of about one year: Did you feed him by the clock or when he was hungry? None Partly Scheduled
- a. How many times a day was he fed (at one year)? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Have you had any difficulty in the last year or two in getting him to eat the quantity or types of food he needs? None Little Some Much
10. Suppose he does something which you do not like. What do you do?  
beat scold threaten explain withhold nothing never happens
11. Did you use diapers for him? At what age did you stop completely (even at night)? (mo.) \_\_\_\_\_
12. When did you start training him in bowel control? (mo.) \_\_\_\_\_
- a. Was he easily taught? Did he become upset? Easy Slight upset Difficult
- b. How long did it take to train him completely? (age when finished) (mo.) \_\_\_\_\_

13. You know how children sometimes like to go around without their clothes on. How do you feel about this? D Very Dislike D Little Neutral Like  
a. (If negative) What did you do to teach X that this is not approved of? \_\_\_\_\_  
b. When did you start teaching him this? (mo.) \_\_\_\_\_
14. What did you do when you found X masturbating? Punish Explain Stop him  
Never happens  
a. Is it advisable to prevent children from doing this?  
D Very Dislike D Little Neutral Like
15. Does he have any idea about how children are born? Yes No Don't know  
a. (if yes) Where did he get this information? Mo Fa Sib Child \_\_\_\_\_
16. Now let us discuss another topic: cleanliness and tidiness. What do you expect of X regarding cleanliness and taking baths? What would you do to have him keep to that? Self Mother Indifferent Hopeless \_\_\_\_\_
17. Do you let him play in the house sometimes by jumping over furniture or writing on the wall or anything like that? Usually Sometimes No  
a. What would you do to stop him from such behavior?  
Beat Scold Threaten Explain Withhold Nothing Never happens
18. Should children as old as X be requested to perform certain duties at home?  
a. Does X have certain duties at home? Yes No Sometimes \_\_\_\_\_
19. Some parents require a child to obey immediately (when told to stop making noise, for example). Others do not attach much importance to how quickly a child obeys. What is your opinion on this? Immediate  
Sometimes No important.
20. Suppose you asked X to do a certain job, and he did it immediately. What would you do? Would you say anything to him? Praise Affection  
Food Reward Sometimes Nothing

21. Do you usually have to watch him, or can you often leave him alone?  
Do you often check on him when he is playing? Watch Sometimes Leave
22. Does he seem to want much attention from you? How about following you around and staying close to you? Did he pass through a period in which he did this? Much Some Little Formerly (not now) None
- a. How do you feel when he follows you around and stays close to you?  
Annoyed Mixed Neutral Pleased \_\_\_\_\_
- b. What does he usually do when you go out of the house and leave him with another person? Unhappy Sometimes Not unhappy
23. Was X separated from you at any time of his life? (if yes) For how long? (days) \_\_\_\_\_
24. Has X been separated from the father at any time? For how long? (days) \_\_\_\_\_
25. Could you tell me more about your life with X? What are the things about him which please you? What are the things about him which annoy you? VLike Like Neutral Mix Dislike VDislike
- a. Do you show your affection for him or are you reserved?  
Very Aff. Affectionate Mixed Reserved Very Reserved
- b. Do you have time to spend with X for mere amusement? Tell me about that. Much Some Little None \_\_\_\_\_
26. What level of education do you want him to reach in school? \_\_\_\_\_
27. (In case mother has more than one child) Could you tell me something about X's relations with his brothers and sisters? Good Fair Mix Poor
28. In general could you tell me something about X's relations with the neighbors' children? Good Fair Mixed Poor
29. Some people feel it important that the child not learn to fight with other children, while others feel that it is important for them to

learn how to do this. What is your opinion?

a. Do you encourage X to fight back in self defense?

Fight      Defense      Never fight

30. What do you do when he is intentionally disobedient? \_\_\_\_\_

Beat   Scold   Threaten   Explain   Withhold   Nothing   Never happens

31. Now I would like to have an idea about X when he is naughty (I know we have spoken a lot about bad behavior, but this does not mean that X is always thus. Most children misbehave sometimes and we wish to get this information in detail).

a. For example, if in your absence he intentionally does something

wrong, what does he do when you return? \_\_\_\_\_

b. Does he tell you about it without questioning? Always Usually Rarely  
Never

c. Does he confess when you question him? \_\_\_\_\_

d. When he does not confess what he has done, and you are sure of it,  
what do you do? Never happens Explain \_\_\_\_\_

32. Some parents praise their children so as to encourage them to behave well. Others consider that good behavior is simply to be expected. what is your opinion on this point? Praise Sometimes Never praise

33. Do you beat him sometimes?

a. Does your husband beat him sometimes?

b. For example, how many times was he beaten by either of you in  
the last two weeks? \_\_\_\_\_

34. Do you think that beating is useful? Yes Sometimes No

35. Do you often threaten him, and then do nothing for some reason or  
another? Yes Sometimes No

a. What might make you fail to follow through? \_\_\_\_\_

36. When X was an infant did he suck his thumb sometimes? Much  
Sometimes Rare Never  
a. When did he start? (Age in mo.) \_\_\_\_\_  
b. When did he stop? (Age in years) \_\_\_\_\_
37. Now I would like to know your opinion about some activities, which you  
might or might not want to teach X to do. Would you want X to:  
a. Try new things without the help of his mother? At what age should  
a child start this? \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Compete successfully with other children and try to be first in  
games, lessons and sports? At what age should he start? \_\_\_\_\_
38. Now I would like to ask you about X and his father. What is your  
husband's attitude toward X? Does he often show his affection (kisses  
embraces him, for example), or is he reserved? Much Some Little None  
Varies.
39. Who disciplines X when he needs it and both you and your husband are  
present? Mother Father Either  
a. Is your husband very severe in his treatment of X?  
Very severe Somewhat severe Not severe  
b. Do you approve of the way your husband disciplines him?  
Approve Mix Disapprove
40. Does your husband believe that you are too severe in disciplining, or  
does he believe that you are not severe enough? Too severe  
Not severe About right
41. In some families the father decides matters concerning the children,  
but in other families the mother is responsible for everything  
concerning the children. Could you tell me who is responsible in  
your family? M F B

- a. For example, who is responsible for the places a child is allowed to go to?    Mother      Father      Both
- b. Regarding health: Who is responsible for calling a doctor? M F B
- c. Who determines the amount of help which X should give the parents at home?    Mother      Father      Both
42. Who makes family decisions which do not concern the children? M F B
- a. Regarding money?      Mother      Father      Both
- b. Who is responsible for expenditures and accounts? M F B
43. In some families you find that the household tasks are divided between the parents. The woman, for example, is responsible for cooking and the husband is responsible for repairing things. In some cases the couple work together on every task. What is the situation in your family?
- Divide    Sometimes together    Usually together    Mother only
44. Do you think that X resembles his father rather than you in such matters as talking, gestures, or way of walking? M F Both Neither
45. Does X behave better with you or with his father? M F Both Neither
46. People differ on the meaning of 'good boy' (of 'good girl'). In your opinion, what is a good boy (or girl) who is five or six years of age?
- \_\_\_\_\_
47. In general what type of person would you like X to be when he becomes a young man (or a young lady)? \_\_\_\_\_
48. We have just about come to the end of our discussion. One thing I would like to know: how do you feel about being a mother? Very happy    Happy    Little happy    Neutral    Mixed    Little sad    Sad
- a. How I wish you would tell me about your feeling when you discovered that you were pregnant (with X). Very happy    Happy    Little happy    Neutral    Mixed    Little sad    Sad.

- b. How did your husband feel about it? Very happy Happy Little  
happy Neutral Mixed Little sad Sad
49. From the viewpoint of expenses, ages of the children, etc., do you  
think X's coming was suitable? Yes No DK Little unsuited
50. If you think back on the matter, do you think if X had delayed a  
little it would have been better for you? Tell me about this.  
Delay Not DK
51. Did you have any job before you became a mother and a head of a family?  
Y N
- a. What type of job? \_\_\_\_\_
- b. (If yes) How did you feel when you quit your work? Happy  
Neutral Mix Sad
52. Now if we compare the method your mother used in rearing you and the  
method you use in rearing X, how much are they alike? Much alike  
Alike Mixed Differ Much differ DK
- a. (If differ) which method is better? Older Today Mix DK
53. What does your husband do for a living? (Is there another income?  
Does the mother work?) \_\_\_\_\_
54. Did your husband go to school?  
a. What level of education did he reach? \_\_\_\_\_
55. How old is your husband? \_\_\_\_\_
56. Did you go to school?  
a. What level of education did you reach? \_\_\_\_\_
57. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_
58. (Fill out as soon as possible after leaving, especially "k")  
a. House made of \_\_\_\_\_



- b. Number of rooms and size
- c. Running water?
- d. Bathroom
- e. Radio? Other appliances?
- f. Amount and kind of furniture
- g. Books? Magazines? Art works?
- h. General appearance of home (paint, repair)
- i. Servants?
- j. Location in town
- k. Overall impression of Socio-Economic Status (include occupation and education).    Upper    Middle    Lower, laborer    Lower, peasant



Questions omitted from the Harvard schedule\*

The questions from the Harvard interview schedule which were omitted from the revised schedule used in this study are as follows:

11. Does X eat at the table with the family for the evening meal?
12. What do you expect of X in the way of table manners?
  - 12a. Do you expect him to stay at the table through the meal or is he allowed to leave the table?
  - 12b. Is he allowed to use his fingers?
  - 12c. How about interrupting adult conversation - is that allowed?
  - 12d. What else do you think can be expected of a five-year-old in the way of table manners?
13. How have you gone about teaching him his table manners?
15. And suppose for several days he eats very nicely and doesn't give you any trouble at the table. What would you do?
17. Now would you tell me what you have done with X about bed-wetting?
  - 17a. How do you feel about it when he wets his bed?
  - 17b. How do you handle the situation when you find his bed is wet?  
(Or how did you the last time it happened?)
20. How about sex play with other children - has this come up yet?
  - 20a. What happened, and what did you do about it?
  - 20b. What about the children wanting to look at each other, or go to the toilet together, or giggling together - how do you feel about it when you notice this sort of thing going on among the children?
  - 20c. (If "never noticed it") Would you allow this or do you think you'd step in?

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\*Sears, Maccoby and Levin, op.cit., pp.491-501.

23. We'd like to get some idea of the sort of rules you have for X in general - the sort of things he is allowed to do and the sort of things he isn't allowed to do. What are some of the rules?
- 23a. How about bedtime?
- 23b. How about making noise in the house - how much of that do you allow?
- 23c. How about the amount of time he can spend listening to the radio or watching TV programs?
- 23d. How far away is he allowed to go by himself?
- 23e. Any other rules?
25. How much do you have to keep after X to get him to the things he is supposed to do?
28. If he doesn't do what you ask, do you ever just drop the subject, or do you always see to it that he does it?
32. Have you ever felt that X is growing up too fast in any way?
- 32a. How did you feel about his starting school?
- 32b. Have things been easier or pleasanter for you in any way since he's been in school?
34. Before X started kindergarten, did you teach him anything like reading words, or writing the alphabet, or drawing, or telling time - things like that?
- 34a. Anything else you taught him?
- 34b. How did you happen to teach him these things?
36. Now we want to talk about whether you think there are any differences in bringing up boys and bringing up girls. How important do you think it is for a boy of X's age to act like a real boy (for a girl to be ladylike)?
- 36a. (For boys) How about playing with dolls and that sort of things?

39. Have you ever encouraged him to go out and play with other children instead of playing by himself?
- 39a. (If yes) Tell me about that - how did the subject come up?
- 39b. How about other children coming in to play here?
- 39c. Does he play mostly with boys or girls? How do you feel about this?
40. Now how about when X is playing with one of the other children in the neighborhood and there is a quarrel or a fight - how do you handle this?
42. Sometimes a child will get angry at his parents and hit them or kick them or shout angry things at them. How much of this sort of thing do you think parents ought to allow in a child of X's age?
- 42a. How do you handle it when X acts like this? Give me an example.
- 42b. (If this doesn't happen) How did you teach him not to do this?
- 42c. How much of a problem have you had with X about shows of temper and angry shouting and that sort of thing around the house?
45. Do you have any system of rewarding him for good behavior?
- 45a. Do you have any ways that he can earn money?
- 45b. Can he earn points or gold stars or anything like that?
47. In training X, do you ever say: "Your daddy and mother do it this way"? Do you say that? Under what circumstances?
- 47a. Who else do you hold up as an example - his older brother (sister)? grandparents? other relatives? playmates?
- 47b. Is there anyone you mention as an example of what not to do? For instance - you're acting just like so-and-so - you wouldn't want to be like him, would you?
49. How about when he was younger - say two or three years old. How often did you spank him then?

50. How does he act when you spank him - does it seem to hurt his feelings, or make him angry, or what?
52. Do you ever deprive X of something he wants as a way of disciplining him? (Give examples, if necessary) (If yes) How often? (Frequently or rarely).
53. Would you imagine now that you are scolding X for something he has done that you don't want him to do. What would you say to him?
- 53a. What else might you say?
- 53b. Do you warn him about what you might do if he doesn't behave?
- 53c. Do you ever tell him what else might happen if he doesn't behave? (For instance, how about warning him that he might get hurt? How would you say it?)
54. Is there any other kind of remark you make fairly often to X?
56. Now we'd like to talk for awhile about X and his father. Will you tell me something about the way they act toward each other?
- 56a. For instance, when your husband comes home from work, when X is there, what happens?
- 56b. How about after dinner?
- 56c. What other kinds of things do they do together?
57. How much does your husband do these days in connection with taking care of X? What kinds of things does he do?
- 57a. How about helping him to get dressed? getting his meals? taking him to school?
- 57b. Does he ever stay with him when you are out?
66. How much alike would you say you and your husband are? That is, in terms of your temperament, and the things you think are important in life, and so on?
- 66a. In what ways are you different from each other? How about in little things?

66b. (With respect to traits in which different) Would you rather have X be like you or like your husband in this respect?

66c. (If no difference) In what ways would you like the child to be like the two of you and what ways different?

71. Some mothers feel that their main job is to stay home and take care of the children. At the same time they sometimes feel that they owe it to themselves to do some outside work or at least have quite a few interests. What is your point of view about this?

71a. How well do you feel you've been able to solve this problem in your own case?

71b. Have you ever felt you'd rather be doing something else than what you're doing now?

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