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SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS DIFFERENCES IN THE PRESCHOOL SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES OF NEGRO MOTHERS

Constance Kazuko Kamii

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of the requirements for the degree of
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This investigation concerns an aspect of personality which presents difficult problems to school personnel--the origin and development of an internal control system which enables pupils to conform to the demands of social situations without the aid of constant, external control. Various sociologists[1, 2, 3] have established that schools are operated by middle-class teachers and that students from the middle class whose values and standards are similar to those of teachers generally get along well in school. Although not all middle-class students behave adequately in school, and not all lower-class students are discipline problems, behavior problems appear to be socioeconomic-class-related phenomena[4, 5, 6] and raise two fundamental questions: (1) Are lower-class values and standards at such variance with those of

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[1]W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944).

[2]August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949).

[3]Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1957).

[4]Hollingshead, op. cit, 178-180.

[5]Robert J. Havighurst, Paul H. Bowman, Gordon P. Liddle, Charles V. Matthews, and James V. Pierce, Growing Up in River City (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962).

[6]Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949).

the middle class as to account for behavior problems, or (2) are lower-class values and standards fundamentally similar to those of the middle class, but socialization practices are such that lower-class mothers hinder the internalization of these values, while middle-class mothers facilitate the process of internalization? Answering these questions involves the investigation of two major variables in the middle and lower classes: (1) Values and (2) socialization practices.

General Theoretical Orientation

Parsons'[7] four interpenetrating subsystems of the social world--the behavioral organism, the personality, the social system, and the cultural system--place personality in a socio-cultural context. According to this perspective, personality originates in the socio-cultural milieu and is largely the product of internalized social forces. How these external forces gradually become incorporated into an internal organization called personality is not clearly understood, and the psychoanalytic concepts of "identification", "internalization", and "object cathexis" merit further exploration.

The psychoanalytic literature states that the ego and superego are built out of a complex series of interactions between the growing child and his environment, particularly the forces of parental handling. Both overindulgence at one extreme and overstrictness at the other have been found to produce young children with poor ego control.[8] One common factor in the relative absence of ego control, whether this is

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[7]Talcott Parsons, "Social Structure and the Development of Personality: Freud's Contribution to the Integration of Psychology and Sociology," Psychiatry, XXI (November, 1958), 321-340.

[8]David M. Levy, Maternal Overprotection (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 101-111.

traced to parental overindulgence or overstrictness, is believed to be the child's inability to identify with his parent. In the case of overindulgence, the boundaries around the "self" of the child cannot solidify as long as the child's every whim is satisfied,[9, 10] and identification cannot take place without a clearer separation of the "self" and "non-self". In the case of overstrictness, the child is given incentive not to identify but rather either to conform out of fear or to reject external standards and rebel against them. One aspect of the problem of building ego control, then, may be re-stated as the clarification of conditions which foster or hinder identification and internalization.

Two types of identification are discussed in the literature. One, identification with the aggressor, occurs when the child is treated punitively by his parent and is fearful of further punishment and accompanying loss of self-esteem. In order to avoid the conflict between gratification from the forbidden behavior and the consequent punishment, the child takes on the characteristics and point of view of the punishing parent. In other words, the motivation for identification with the aggressor is primarily the child's desire to avoid the loss of self-esteem.

In the other, anaclitic identification, the motivation for identification is primarily the child's anxiety over the loss of his parents' love. To get rid of this anxiety and make sure of his parents'

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[9]Otto Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1945), 33-53.

[10]Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, and Rudolph Loewenstein, "Comments on the Formation of Psychic Structure," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child (New York: International Universities Press, 1946), II, 11-38.

continued love, the child strives to become like his parents and gradually internalizes parents who reward him even in their absence.

Swanson[11] clarifies the difference between the two types of identification in the following chart, showing that anaclitic identification is more effective in inhibiting the impulse than identification with the aggressor because the former has a unit of reward:

	Strength of Forces on Motive toward Expression or Inhibition			
	Reward from Expressing Motive	Deprivation from Expressing Motive	Reward from Inhibiting Motive	Resultant Forces for Inhibition
Anaclitic Identification	+ 1	- 1	+ 1	+ 1
Identification with the Aggressor	+ 1	- 1	0	0

Swanson believes that in the world of nature, there are both reward and punishment and the ratio of one to another may be important in determining the location of an individual's type of identification on a continuum with the two types of identification at opposite extremes.

Freud considered identification with the aggressor to be central to the development of the superego, but most present-day psychoanalytic writers say that anaclitic identification is more important and more effective. Fraiberg,[12] for example, says that the potential

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[11]Guy E. Swanson, "Determinants of the Individual's Defenses against Inner Conflict: Review and Reformulation," Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior, ed. John C. Glidewell (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1961), 5-41.

[12]Selma H. Fraiberg, The Magic Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959).

loss of self-esteem resulting from the loss of parental love is at the root of self-control. Punishment leaves little residue of guilt feeling, often leads to calculation of risks, and sometimes results in a feeling that once punished, the child is free to commit the same act because he has balanced, or overbalanced, the "accounting system".

Hoffman[13] speculates that identification with the aggressor may be prevalent in the lower class because of its harsh enforcement of obedience, and anaclitic identification may be prevalent in the middle class. He also points out that knowing the antecedents of identification would still not completely explain the dynamics of internal control. For one thing, identification is probably not total, i.e., the child may identify with his parents' achievement standards but not with their desire for social prestige. Second, parents' moral standards themselves vary in strength and content. Third, a child has other people with whom to identify, such as teachers, ministers, and older siblings. A paradoxical finding by McCord[14] is that boys whose fathers are criminals are less likely to become criminals if accepted by their fathers than if rejected by them.

The above problems associated with the complex nature of identification led to the conclusion that a fruitful way to study internalization processes may be not to study identification per se but to be more empirical and examine the socialization practices among different socioeconomic classes. Members of the lower-lower class are widely

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[13]Martin L. Hoffman, "Childrearing Practices and Moral Development: Generalizations from Empirical Research," Child Development, XXXIV (June, 1963), 295-318.

[14]Joan McCord and William McCord, "The Effect of Parental Role Model on Criminality," Journal of Social Issues, XIV (1958), 66-75.

known to lack internal control in a variety of situations, such as holding a job, controlling emotions, school conduct and achievement, and meeting social responsibilities. In order to determine those variables of socialization which merit empirical investigation, the literature on socioeconomic-class differences in child rearing will be reviewed.

Review of the Literature

This review will begin with a focus on specific parental practices within the psychodynamic framework (e.g., feeding, toilet training, support, pressure, learning to please others, and cognitive structuring) and progress toward a broader, sociological context encompassing "roles", "conditions of life", and "values". Among the investigators who have worked within the psychodynamic framework are Davis and Havighurst,[15] Sears, Maccoby, and Levin,[16] Bronfenbrenner,[17] Fraiberg,[18] and Aronfreed.[19] More sociologically oriented are Parsons,[20] who discussed the internalization of reciprocal patterns of

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[15]Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing," American Sociological Review, XI (December, 1946), 698-710.

[16]Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1957).

[17]Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Toward a Theoretical Model for the Analysis of Parent-Child Relationships in a Social Context," Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior, ed. John C. Glidewell (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1961), 90-109.

[18]Fraiberg, op. cit.

[19]Justin Aronfreed, "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms upon Two Moral Responses to Transgression," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXVI (May, 1963), 437-448.

[20]Parsons, op. cit.

role relationships, Green,[21] who compared Polish, working-class boys with middle-class boys, and Spiegel,[22] who classified various types of conflict resolution. The author who most strongly argued that the study of socialization should be placed in a sociological context was Kohn.[23] His emphasis on the concept of values will be reviewed in some detail. Finally, an article on methodology by Yarrow[24] will be summarized as a most important frontier of research in socialization practices.

Davis and Havighurst[25] studied (1) feeding and weaning, (2) toilet training, (3) the strictness of the regime around demands for naps and coming home early in the evening, etc., (4) the age of assuming responsibility for one's safety and for household chores, (5) discipline by the father and the amount of time he spends with the child, and (6) educational and occupational expectations for the child. Their general conclusions were

1. There are significant differences in child-rearing practices between the middle and lower social classes in a large city. The same type of differences exist between middle- and lower-class Negroes as between middle- and lower-class whites.

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[21]Arnold W. Green, "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis," American Sociological Review, XI (February, 1946), 31-41.

[22]John P. Spiegel, "The Resolution of the Role Conflict within the Family," The Patient and the Mental Hospital, ed. Milton Greenblatt, Daniel J. Levinson, and Richard H. Williams (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), 545-564.

[23]Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (January, 1963), 471-480.

[24]Marian Radke Yarrow, "Problems of Methods in Parent-Child Research," Child Development, XXXIV (March, 1963), 215-226.

[25]Davis and Havighurst, op. cit.

> 2. Middle-class parents are more rigorous than lower-class parents in their training of children for feeding and cleanliness habits. They also expect their children to take responsibility for themselves earlier than lower-class parents do. Middle-class parents place their children under a stricter regimen, with more frustration of their impulses, than do lower-class parent . . .[26]

Davis and Havighurst interpreted their data in terms of the rigor with which parents train their children and concluded

> . . . middle-class children are subjected earlier and more consistently to the influences which make a child an orderly, conscientious, responsible and tame person. In the course of this training middle-class children probably suffer more frustration of their impulses.[27]

Sears, Maccoby, and Levin[28] studied (1) infant feeding, (2) toilet training, (3) dependency, (4) sex training, (5) aggression, (6) restrictions and demands, (7) achievement pressures and standards, (8) techniques of discipline, and (9) warmth and family adjustment. In contrast to Davis and Havighurst's findings, Sears, et al., found that, by and large, middle-class mothers were warmer, gentler, more permissive, and less punitive than working-class mothers. When they did punish, middle-class mothers used withdrawal of love as contrasted with the working-class mothers' physical punishment and deprivation of privileges. Middle-class mothers were less restrictive about activities in the home and free exploration outside the home. Also, middle-class mothers were more comfortable with themselves and had more harmonious relationships with their husbands.

To explain the highly developed conscience of some 6-year-old children, Sears, Maccoby, and Levin used the concept of identification.

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[26] Ibid., 710.

[27] Ibid., 707.

[28] Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, op. cit.

Since identification is a form of learning, it requires motivation like every other form of learning. Identification, according to their view, is motivated by (1) the child's emotional and physical dependence on his mother, whose very existence near him is in itself a source of pleasure, (2) his desire to reproduce, in fantasy, the pleasant experiences which are associated with supportive, nurturant parents, and (3) his worry about whether or not he has his parents' affection and approval. This worry can be alleviated by fantasies of supportive parents. "The child wants his mother near him, and when she is not there, he brings her closer by imagining her soothing words and actions."[29]

The above theory indicates that certain parental qualities are necessary to motivate identification. Among these qualities are the mother's warmth and love-oriented discipline techniques. Although few of their tests came out statistically significant, the consistency with which the tendencies came out in the predicted direction supported their theory of identification. The authors concluded, "Warmth alone did not seem to have more than a minimal relation tc our measure of conscience. Neither did withdrawal of love."[30] However, the two together were clearly associated with conscience development.

In a speculative section, Sears, et al., make interesting comments on the effect of identification on the continuation of the social order.

> In the long run, then, if our theory of identification is correct, the process itself places limits on the range within which human morals and values can fall. If there must be

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[29]Ibid., 372.

[30]Ibid., 389.

> some parental warmth in order for a child to identify with his parents, then the very same warmth will be an identified-with quality and will become a property in the personality of the child. The same will hold true of the choice of withdrawal of love as a means of discipline. Thus, mainly within the range of parental qualities required to insure identification in the child will there be a continuation of the social and personality qualities that constitute those parents. And equally, the more identification there is in any one generation, the greater will be the absorption of those qualities-that-induce-identification in the next.[31]

and

> We call attention to the role of reasoning with the child as an influence on our measure of conscience. If reasoning conduces to identification, then the use of reasoning . . . becomes a major quality of the parents that, simply because it exists in the parents, will be absorbed by the children. The greater the use of reasoning, the greater will be the probability that reasoning as a form of human behavior will be passed from generation to generation. And it is in the very use of reasoning that man has been developing so rapidly.[32]

In an exploratory, retrospective investigation without benefit of significance tests, Bronfenbrenner[33] advanced the notion of optimal levels of affection and authority. By studying the relationships between indices of internalization and (1) supportive parental techniques, (2) negative parental techniques, (3) parental power to decide what the child can or cannot do, and (4) sex and socioeconomic differences, he found curvilinear relationships which supported his hypothesis of optimal levels. These relationships indicated that internalization is hindered by both too much and too little parental support, discipline, and authority, and an optimal level is found in the intermediate range.

Upon observing that the ratio of support to control is higher

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[31]Ibid., 392.

[32]Ibid., 393.

[33]Bronfenbrenner, op. cit.

among middle- than among lower-class families, Bronfenbrenner theorized, "it should follow that the optimal level of authority or discipline for the middle class should occur at lower levels of parental power than for the lower class."[34] As Figure 1 indicates, the data lent support to Bronfenbrenner's theory. He concluded that upper-middle-class girls receive so much affection and support that a little parental power appears to produce high levels of responsibility and aspiration. This emphasis on positive aspects of socialization (i.e., affection, companionship, and reward) is similar to Sears, Maccoby, and Levin's argument that parental warmth is essential for the development of inner control.[35]

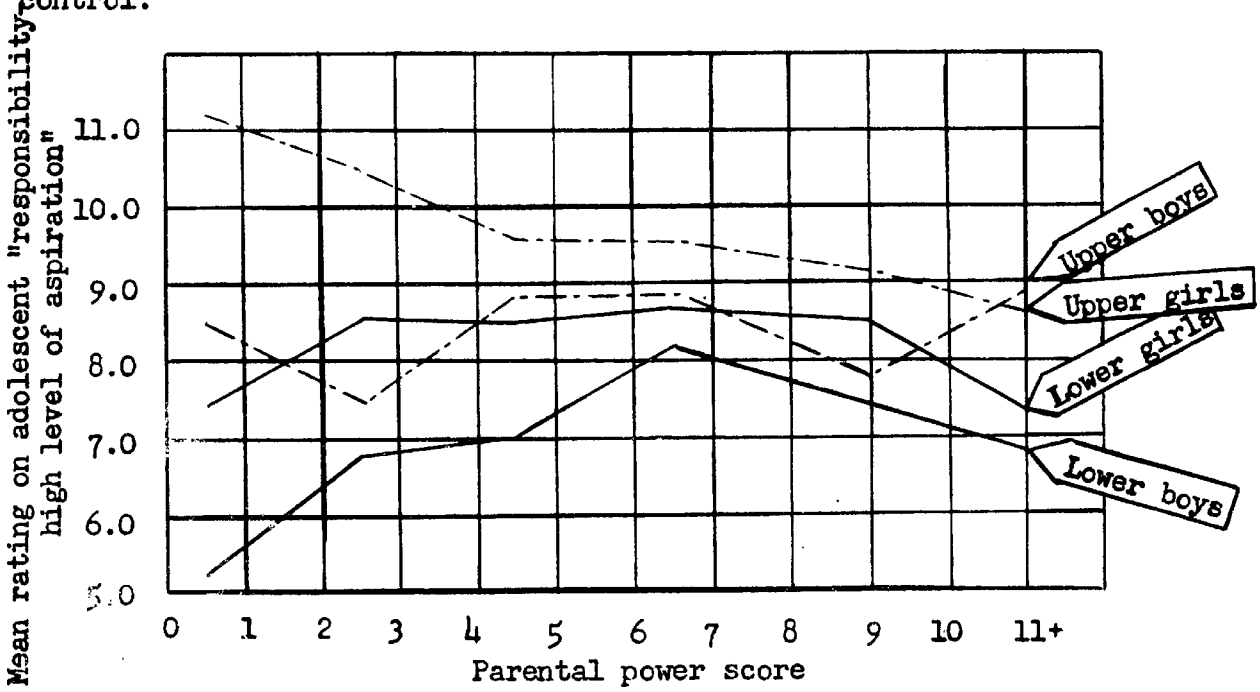


Figure 1. Differences between mean ratings of lower-middle-class and upper-middle-class adolescents on "responsibility-high level of aspiration" as a function of perceived power[36]

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[34] Ibid., 100.

[35] Sear, Maccoby, and Levin, op. cit., 389.

[36] Bronfenbrenner, op. cit., 101.

Underscoring the tentative nature of his findings, Bronfenbrenner referred to his theory as "nothing more than an untested array of means for one or two variables as evidence in support of nothing less than a general theory of socialization in the family,"[37] and stated, "we . . . have yet to descend again to the firm ground of empirical fact."[38]

Parsons,[39] Green,[40] and Hoffman[41] emphasized the importance of the child's learning to please others. Parsons theorized that when the infant is learning to suckle, he must learn not simply to gratify his instinctual need but also to "please" his mother. Like any other social interaction, feeding requires the mutual regulation of behavior, and in order for feeding to be truly gratifying, the infant must learn how hard to suck while the mother learns how to hold and fondle him during the feeding. After the child has learned that the pleasantness of his mother's reactions is contingent on his own behavior, he can generalize specific interactions into an organized pattern which eventually leads to the learning of a complementary pattern of responses.

Parsons is unique in taking the position that what is internalized through identification with a socialization agent is a reciprocal pattern of role-relationships. His sociological interpretation of identification is as

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[37] Ibid., 109.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Parsons, op. cit.

[40] Green, op. cit.

[41] Hoffman, op. cit.

> a process by which a person comes to be induced into membership in a collectivity through learning to play a role complementary to those of other members in accordance with the pattern of values governing the collectivity . . . By internalizing the reciprocal role-interaction pattern, the child lays the foundation of capacity to assume alter's role as well as his own.[42]

While both sides of the relationship are usually internalized, the child tends to identify more with one side than the other. For example, says Parsons, an "independent" child identifies more with his parent than with himself, whereas a "dependent" child identifies more with himself than with his parent.

If a child internalizes a reciprocal relationship with a mother to whom he is strongly attached, the mother acquires powerful leverage for motivating new achievements, not only with the specific rewards and punishments she can use but also with the symbolic meanings of her behavior. Parsons goes on to say that these motivational aspects of socialization come from the child's dependency which consists of (1) the power differential between the mother and the child, (2) the child's attachment to the mother, and (3) frustrations which children inevitably encounter. As contrasted with the earlier frustrations which are primarily negative (e.g., being deprived of food), the later frustrations are more positive in the sense that they stem from demands for conformity. In meeting these demands, the child of a loving mother has an advantage over the child of a rejecting or indifferent mother because of the unconditional floor of support he has internalized.

Parsons maintains that the personality structure of the normal adult is the result of a binary-fission-like process of differentiation from the very simple mother-child relationship into progressively more

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[42]Parsons, op. cit., 329.

complex systems of relationships. Therefore, a child who had no incentive to learn how to please his mother at an early age is not likely to have much desire later on to please the rest of society.

Green's concept of "personality absorption"[43] is closely related to Parsons' idea that we internalize relationships--not just the socialization agents. In explaining why neuroses are more prevalent among middle-class boys than among lower-class Polish boys, Green says that middle-class parents create slavish emotional dependence on parents, and they repeatedly threaten to withdraw the love which they made of paramount importance. In contrast, lower-class Polish parents do not "absorb" the personality of their children, and their brutal whippings leave the core of children's personality untouched. Their punishment finds support neither in a cohesive community behind them nor in the ambitions and hopes of their children. Children are contemptuous of their parents, avoid or circumvent them whenever possible, present a united front with other siblings, and cultivate various parent-avoiding techniques in English. Their lack of identification with parents saves them from guilt feelings and repressed hostility, and they certainly do not learn how to please parents.

Various theorists have stressed the importance of establishing causal connections in the development of internal control. Fraiberg[44] stated that when the child develops the ability to control his urges, he is no longer at the mercy of primitive discharge and can therefore channel his energy toward the development of higher mental processes

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[43] Green, op. cit.

[44] Fraiberg, op. cit.

to reason, displace, sublimate, and control his behavior. Adults can use language to reason in ways that maximize children's motivation for self-control. For example, "You will have to go to your room until you can behave reasonably," is a more effective use of language than saying, "If you don't quiet down, you'll have to go to your room and stay there until dinner time." The first example is likely to create guilt feelings, which Fraiberg emphasizes as an essential part of conscience. The second example is a form of coercion which produces a hostile child--not a repentant one.

Aronfreed[45] studied the effects of cognitive structuring on super-ego functions. He argued that "Self-criticism, viewed in its bare essentials, is the use of a verbal-symbolic referent to one's own behavior, thoughts, or feelings."[46] Therefore, the incorporation of explicitly verbalized standards enhances the child's resources to provide his own evaluative labeling which provides cues for self-criticism and reparative responses. His experimental demonstration of the importance of cognitive structuring as an antecedent of self-criticism and reparation confirms the importance of reasoning, which characterizes middle-class discipline. Aronfreed demonstrated that self-critical responses are more likely to occur when explicit standards of evaluation are repeatedly verbalized than when cognitive structuring is minimal.

A second aspect of Aronfreed's research concerned whether or not a sense of responsibility was produced when the subject was encouraged to evaluate his own performance. He hypothesized that children who are

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[45] Aronfreed, op. cit.

[46] Ibid., 438-439.

given an opportunity to evaluate their own transgressions and decide on the severity of their own punishment would resolve transgressions in more reparative ways (i.e., ways that tend toward restitution) than children who are evaluated and punished solely by someone else over whom they have no control. His experiment confirmed this hypothesis.

Ellis's[47] elucidation of superego demands is relevant to a discussion of the cognitive aspects of superego building and superego functions. He enumerated the extreme superego demands of many middle-class patients which may be verbalized as follows: ". . . it is a dire necessity for an adult human being to be loved or approved by virtually every significant other person in his community,"[48] or ". . . one should be thoroughly competent, adequate, and achieving in all possible respects if one is to consider oneself worthwhile."[49] Ellis went on to explain that these self-demands are the result of child-rearing practices which are internalized and perpetuated because of the human capacity to use language to repeat expectations to oneself.

Spiegel[50] discussed various types of conflict resolution along a continuum between the two extremes of unilateral decisions, which are not likely to be internalized, and bilateral decisions, which tend to be internalized. Among unilateral approaches, he listed in descending order of one-sidedness (1) coercing, (2) coaxing, (3) evaluating, (4) masking, and (5) postponing. These unilateral approaches are not likely to lead to permanent internalization, and the first item,

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[47]Albert Ellis, Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1962).

[48]Ibid., 61.

[49]Ibid., 63.

[50]Spiegel, op. cit.

coercing, often leads to defying or retaliation. Among bilateral procedures, he listed (1) role reversal, (2) joking, (3) referral to a third party, (4) exploring, (5) compromising, and (6) consolidating. It is the last item, consolidating, which is the most permanent resolution, for it represents the internalization of a compromise which rewards both parties in a mutually satisfying relationship. Spiegel's theory does not refer to social class differences in the resolution of family-role conflict, but it seemed reasonable to view discipline as a particular form of conflict resolution and use his frame of reference to analyze socioeconomic-class differences in discipline techniques.

Fraiberg's[51] psychoanalytic frame of reference is relevant to Spiegel's scheme. She says that in order to build internal control, parents must, whenever possible, teach substitution, i.e., the partial gratification of impulse by re-directing the object for gratification. In restricting children's behavior, adults ask them to oppose their own wishes. Meeting them half way in the process of impulse modification gives partial satisfaction to the thwarted wishes and makes internalization easier. This partial satisfaction can be viewed in Spiegel's frame of conceptualization as a type of compromise.

The next concept to be considered is that of "attitudes". Various investigators[52, 53, 54, 55] have repeatedly found that lower-

[51] Fraiberg, op. cit.

[52] Earl S. Schaefer and Richard Q. Bell, "Development of a Parental Attitude Research Instrument," Child Development, XXIX (September, 1958), 339-361.

[53] Sol L. Garfield and Malcolm M. Helper, "Parental Attitudes and Socioeconomic Status," Journal of Clinical Psychology, XVIII (April, 1962), 171-175.

[54] Marvin Zuckerman, Mary Oltean, and Irwon Monashkin, "The Parental Attitudes of Mothers of Schizophrenics," Journal of Consulting Psychology, XXII (August, 1958), 307-310.

[55] Marvin Zuckerman, Beatrice H. Barrett, and Raymond M. Bragiel,

class mothers express more controlling attitudes toward children than do middle-class mothers. Radin and Glasser[56] factor-analyzed the Parental Attitude Research Instrument which was administered to a sample of the same population as the one investigated in the present study, and found that lower-class mothers reported very controlling attitudes towards children. For example, lower-class mothers tended to agree with statements like "It's best for the child if he never gets started wondering whether his mother's views are right."[57] Middle-class mothers tended to disagree with this type of statement.

While Radin and Glasser explained the controlling maternal attitudes of lower-class mothers chiefly in terms of their milieu, Loevinger and Sweet[58] explained them in psychological terms. Loevinger and Sweet argued that because mothers project themselves into their children, the mothers who have inner control project a capacity for inner control and increasingly entrust impulses to inner control. On the other hand, mothers who have little self-control project their need for external control and are blind to the child's potential for developing inner control. "An authoritarian child-rearing ideology appears to be an expression of anxiety over instinctual impulses and particularly a characteristic mode of handling such anxiety."[59] This

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"The Parental Attitudes of Parents of Child Guidance Cases," Child Development, XXXI (September, 1960), 401-417.

[56]Norma Radin and Paul H. Glasser, "Blue-Collar Attitudes toward Child Rearing," unpublished paper, 1963.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Jane Loevinger and Blanche Sweet, "Construction of a Test of Mothers' Attitudes," Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior, ed. John C. Glidewell (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1961), 110-123.

[59]Ibid., 121-122.

psychological interpretation is not necessarily incompatible with Radin and Glasser's interpretation in terms of milieu, for both factors can simultaneously contribute to controlling maternal attitudes.

Stringer and Pittman[60] explained controlling maternal attitudes by using the concept of one's "capacity to be a good parent to oneself". By this capacity, they meant a person's ability adequately to fulfill parental functions for oneself, such as enforcing standards of behavior and providing emotional support when necessary. They argued that the hallmark of maturity is whether or not one is an adequate parent to oneself, and when parents reach this maturity, they are ready to be adequate parents to their children. Many lower-class mothers are not capable of being adequate parents to themselves, and their inability for self-reassurance and inner control probably results in anxiety and authoritarian, controlling attitudes.

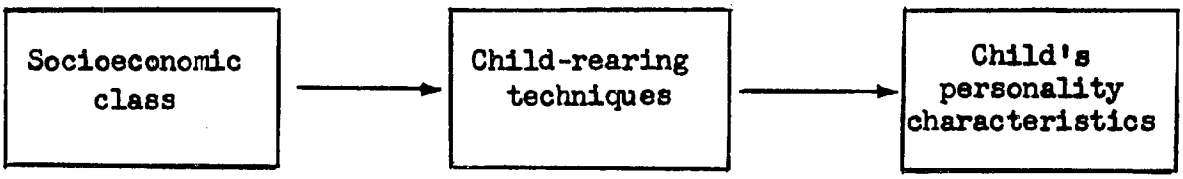
Brim[61] surveyed the available literature on child rearing and observed that research in the past has concentrated on child-rearing techniques, such as toilet training and punishment, and has almost completely overlooked the investigation of the goals parents try to achieve in child rearing. He emphasized the urgent need to study child-rearing goals because techniques are but means to achieve ends, and in the absence of information on goals, it is impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of techniques.

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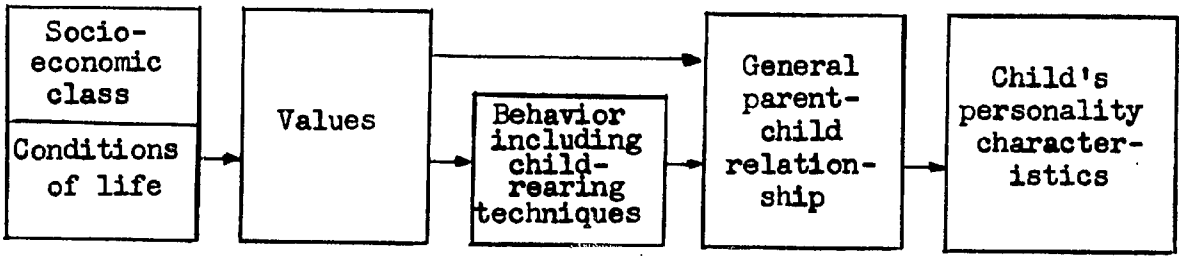
[60]Lorene A. Stringer and David J. Pittman, "The Unmeasured Residual in Current Research on Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior," Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior, ed. John C. Glidewell (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1961), 167-173.

[61]Orville G. Brim, Jr., Education for Child Rearing (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959).

Kohn[62] gives a much broader, sociological perspective than the usual psychodynamic perspective sketched below.



Kohn urged investigators to place the above psychodynamic model into the following sociological context:



In the above sociological context, child rearing is regarded as a very limited aspect of the more general effects of social structure on the behavior of the individual. To quote Kohn, "Members of different social classes, by virtue of enjoying (or suffering) different conditions of life, come to see the world differently--to develop different conceptions of social reality, different aspirations and hopes and fears, different conceptions of the desirable."[63] It is the last item, different conceptions of the desirable, which Kohn emphasizes, for "from people's conceptions of the desirable--and particularly from their conceptions of what characteristics are desirable in children--

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[62]Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (January, 1963), 471-480.

[63]Ibid., 471.

one can discern their objectives in child rearing."[64]

Kohn also points out that researchers of socioeconomic-class differences in child rearing have limited themselves to certain techniques. The psychodynamic model which limits itself to child-rearing techniques would lead to the expectation that because middle-class techniques have changed considerably over the past 25 years from strict to more permissive methods, the modal middle-class personality must also have changed. Instead, Kohn points out, the modal personality of each class has remained essentially the same because "In all probability, parents have changed techniques in service of much the same values ..."[65]

Kohn believes that the concept of values bridges the gap between socioeconomic-class position and parental behavior, and traces the origin of values to the different "conditions of life". In his investigation, he found that lower- and middle-class mothers share broadly common child-rearing values, but that socioeconomic-class differences in relative emphases exist. He found working-class parents to value obedience, neatness, and cleanliness and middle-class parents to value curiosity, happiness, considerateness, and, above all, self-control. In other words, he concluded, working-class parents stress overt conformity to external proscriptions, while middle-class parents value self-direction.

Kohn stresses the importance of occupational conditions of life in explaining why different socioeconomic classes have different values. Above and beyond the obvious differences in education, stability of income, and prestige, the two classes differ in three major ways.

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., 473.

First, middle-class occupations require the manipulation of interpersonal relationships, ideas, and symbols, whereas working-class occupations deal with the manipulation of things. Second, middle-class occupations require self-direction, whereas working-class occupations involve direct supervision. Third, getting ahead in middle-class occupations depends on one's own achievement, while in the working class the individual is heavily dependent on collective action, especially in unionized industries. These different occupational experiences probably affect the parents' worldview and their conceptions of what is desirable behavior, on or off the job, for adults and for children. Middle-class parents therefore value self-direction, while working-class parents value obeying explicit rules set down by someone in authority. Also, the economic security and level of income of the middle class permit focusing one's attention on the child's internal dynamics. This supposition, of course, does not assume that parents consciously train their children to meet the requirements of their future life.

In addition to values, Kohn adds another link between child-rearing techniques and the child's basic personality. He calls this link "general parent-child relationships". Because of their sensitivity to children's internal dynamics, middle-class parents feel an obligation to be supportive of their children and therefore have closer over-all relationships with them. On the other hand, the emphasis of the working class on conformity to external rules leads parents to feel the necessity for imposing constraints without feeling an obligation to be supportive. It can thus be seen that the general parent-child relationships of the working class are not conducive to mutual feelings of

closeness, hence the relative absence of anaclitic identification.

Finally, Kohn feels that much of the research on discipline answers the wrong questions. For example, to say, "In matters of discipline, working parents are consistently more likely to employ physical punishment, while the middle-class families rely more on reasoning, isolation, appeals to guilt, and other methods involving the threat of loss of love"[66] does not answer the crucial question. The crucial question is not which techniques parents prefer but when and why certain techniques are used. Kohn[67] found that punishment is used by the two classes under different conditions. Working-class parents are likely to punish when the direct and immediate consequences of children's acts are intolerable. In contrast, middle-class parents tend to punish or refrain from punishing on the basis of their interpretation of the child's intent. Middle- and working-class values thus direct parents to see children's misbehavior in quite different ways.

Miller and Swanson[68] studied variables similar to the ones investigated by Davis and Havighurst, some of which were considered indices of self-control. Since their findings were essentially negative, they will not be reviewed in further detail.

There are many methodological problems in the investigation of

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[66]Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class through Time and Space," Readings in Social Psychology, ed. Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958), 424.

[67]Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," American Sociological Review, XXIV (June, 1959), 352-66.

[68]Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957).

child-rearing practices. Particularly cogent in the area of methodology is an article by Yarrow[69] criticizing the interview and questionnaire method as being "extremely shaky sources of evidence" on which to base the literature on socialization. According to her, "there is probably no other area in psychology in which we have placed such heavy reliance upon self-report without exercising extreme caution in the interpretation of the data."[70] Her reasons are as follows:

1. Interviewers have focused on the same, limited variables in study after study, and this limitation has seriously restricted the data and theories on mother-child interactions. Research has been directed mainly to how parents handle the child when certain behavior occurs, and there has been little attention to the parents' manipulation of the child's environment to create, encourage, or discourage certain behavior in the child.
2. Verbal reports introduce too many sources of possible error. Interviewers ask mothers in an hour or two to formulate the principles governing their child-rearing behavior extending over a span of several years and often dipping into highly emotional areas. The needs and defenses of ego-involved informants and the nature of recall in retrospective studies are obvious sources of error. In addition, when mothers are asked to rate their children and themselves on relative scales, the dangerous assumption is made that mothers have the same frame of reference.

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[69] Yarrow, op. cit.

[70] Ibid., 217.

3. Available data are not in a form which permits inferences of causal relations. There are built-in correlations in data obtained from mothers, e.g., readers of women's magazines can be expected to answer all the questions in ways that are considered desirable by these magazines. Also, asking for the mother's modal behavior results in the loss of information about the variability of her behavior which may well be more important than the modal behavior when inferences of causal relationships are made.

The above weaknesses of the existing research methodology led Yarrow to advocate direct observation as the most defensible method because it meets the following criteria:

1. Deal with the actual behavior of mother and child (or better yet, of parents and child).
2. Search for a broader substantive base of child-rearing variables by considering additional variables.
3. Study the genotypic similarities and differences in parental behavior.
4. Deal with interactions.
5. Design research to permit more defensible causative inferences.

Yarrow is aware that observations do not necessarily yield valid data, but she feels that it is time more judiciously to begin selecting the categories and framework for observing and studying the situational representativeness of actual behavior. The kinds of data to be collected should be neither at the extreme of every minute movement recorded in nonpsychological terms nor at the other extreme of psychodynamic interpretations which lose the details of the interactions. In the

present investigation, efforts were made to use the method of direct observation according to a system of classifying mother-child interactions.

CHAPTER II

HYPOTHESES

The present study investigated two broad areas of child rearing, values and socialization practices, in an attempt to explain the relative lack of internal control among lower-class children. Kohn[1] concluded that lower- and middle-class mothers share broadly common values in child rearing, and that the socioeconomic-class differences in child-rearing goals are differences in relative emphases. If the child-rearing goals of the two classes are basically similar, the relative lack of internal control among members of the lower class may be explained in terms of certain conditions existing in the lower class which prevent its members from internalizing these values into their motivational structure. The present investigation attempted to specify these conditions. A series of specific conditions of lower-class life was therefore delineated and compared with those of the middle class, whose members are known generally to be successful in internalizing social standards.

Swanson[2] theorized that anaclitic identification is more effective in internalizing social values than identification with the aggressor. He further theorized that the principal type of identification in the middle class is anaclitic identification, whereas identification with

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[1]Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," op. cit.

[2]Swanson, op. cit.

the aggressor tends to characterize the lower class. This theory suggested that a fruitful way to delineate the conditions conducive to internalization of social values may be to hypothesize the antecedents of anaclitic identification. In other words, the two types of identification became a theoretical link between the empirically observable behavior of the parent and the resultant presence or absence of inner control in the child. It thus became possible to hypothesize that the antecedents of anaclitic identification can be found mainly in the middle class, and that the antecedents of identification with the aggressor can be found mainly in the lower class.

On the basis of clues found from the preceding review of the literature, the following hypotheses were formulated for empirical investigation. The rationale of these hypotheses will be presented immediately after their enumeration.

I. Hypotheses related to child-rearing goals

A. Lower-class mothers' child-rearing values generally do not differ from those of middle-class mothers.

B. The socioeconomic-class differences in child-rearing values are differences in relative emphases.

II. Hypotheses related to mother-child interactions

A. Hypotheses related to children's socio-emotional needs

1. Explicit needs

Lower-class mothers are less responsive than middle-class mothers to the explicit socio-emotional needs children express.

2. Implicit needs

Lower-class mothers initiate fewer interactions with

children than do middle-class mothers in ways that meet children's implicit need for companionship and affection.

B. Hypotheses related to influence techniques

1. Unilateral and bilateral techniques

a. Middle-class mothers consult their children more frequently than do lower-class mothers.

b. Middle-class mothers make gentle requests more frequently than do lower-class mothers.

c. Middle-class mothers explain their requests more frequently than do lower-class mothers.

d. Middle-class mothers use psychological manipulations more frequently than do lower-class mothers.

e. Lower-class mothers resort to bribing more frequently than do middle-class mothers.

f. Lower-class mothers give orders more frequently than do middle-class mothers.

g. Lower-class mothers give orders with irritation more frequently than do middle-class mothers.

h. Lower-class mothers resort to physical enforcement[3] more frequently than do middle-class mothers.

i. Lower-class mothers resort to coercion more frequently than do middle-class mothers.

j. Middle-class mothers try more frequently than lower-class mothers to influence children by sensitizing them to mothers' feelings.

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[3]"Physical enforcement" refers, for example, to holding a child who refuses to stop hitting another child. It does not refer to physical punishment.

k. Middle-class mothers preventively remind children more frequently than do lower-class mothers.

2. "Retroactive" influence techniques

a. Lower-class mothers engage more frequently in limit-setting behaviors than do middle-class mothers.

b. Lower-class mothers use harsh methods of punishment more frequently than do middle-class mothers.

c. Middle-class mothers reward their children more frequently than do lower-class mothers for behaving in desirable ways.

The hypotheses related to child-rearing values were derived directly from Kohn's findings.[4] The present investigation differed from Kohn's in that its lower-class sample came from a more deprived population than Kohn's. Another difference was the inclusion of two school-related values, the importance of a good education and the desirability of obedience to teachers.

The hypotheses related to meeting children's socio-emotional needs were inspired by Bronfenbrenner[5] and Sears, Maccoby, and Levin's[6] emphasis on the positive, supportive context of effective discipline. These authors have argued that parental discipline is conducive to internalization if, and only if, the parent is a source of gratification. They found a tendency among middle-class parents to meet children's emotional needs, a tendency which they did not find among

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[4]Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An interpretation," op. cit.

[5]Bronfenbrenner, op. cit.

[6]Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, op. cit.

lower-class parents. Lower-class parents are not a source of emotional gratification, and displeasing them does not appear to result in the loss of a highly meaningful relationship. Children of gratifying parents, on the other hand, appear to form a dependent attachment to them, and this attachment is at the core of anaclitic identification. What Green[7] calls "personality absorption" appears to be equivalent to this dependent attachment which is found among middle-class children.

The division of socio-emotional needs into explicit and implicit ones was made because the former can be discerned more objectively than the latter. It was also felt that meeting children's implicit needs is indicative of more sensitivity to their emotional needs than merely responding to their explicit expression.

The principal source of the hypotheses related to influence techniques is Spiegel,[8] who classified various types of conflict resolution along a continuum between unilateral and bilateral extremes. According to him, only bilateral approaches are conducive to internalization. A decision was made to view discipline as a particular type of conflict resolution and to hypothesize generally that middle-class mothers use more bilateral approaches than lower-class mothers, and that lower-class mothers use more unilateral techniques than middle-class mothers. "Consulting" (Hypothesis a) is the most bilateral technique, and "coercing" (Hypothesis i) is the most unilateral technique according to Spiegel.

Psychological manipulations (Hypothesis d) are generally bilateral techniques because they represent attempts to cause the child

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[7]Green, op. cit.

[8]Spiegel, op. cit.

to want to behave in a desired way. Some psychological manipulations are more bilateral than others, however. For example, "humoring" and "distracting or offering a substitute gratification or an alternative"[9] are more bilateral than "coaxing" and "evaluating".

The hypothesis related to explaining (Hypothesis c) was derived from Fraiberg[10] and Aronfreed's[11] emphasis on the cognitive aspects involved in the development and functioning of inner control. Explaining can be viewed as a bilateral technique because its aim is to present to the child the reason for a request in order that he might make a decision based on the reason he is given.

Several sources can be cited for the hypothesis related to sensitizing children to the feelings of the mother (Hypothesis j). Hoffman[12] studied the teaching of "consideration for others". Green[13] used the concept of "personality absorption" to describe how the middle-class parent and child come to feel each other's love and loss of love as if the two people were the same person. Parsons[14] stressed the child's learning to play complementary roles by internalizing reciprocal relationships. Sensitivity to the feelings of the mother is necessary for anaclitic identification because the child can elicit rewarding behaviors from his mother only if he is sensitive to her pleasure and displeasure. As he becomes more and more sensitive to

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[9] See Appendix A for definitions of these categories.

[10] Fraiberg, op. cit.

[11] Aronfreed, op. cit.

[12] Hoffman, op. cit.

13 Green, op. cit.

[14] Parsons, op. cit.

her feelings, he will become better able to elicit reward from his mother, thereby increasing his chances for anaclitic identification.

"Preventive reminding"[15] (Hypothesis k) is not exactly an influence technique in the sense of getting the child to change his on-going behavior. It is nevertheless considered a kind of influence technique because it is executed before an event. It is a particular kind of psychological manipulation in that it lends support to the child's ego and attempts to get the child temporarily to "internalize" specific standards.

What is called "retroactive influence techniques" in the foregoing list of hypotheses is in a sense proactive because they are intended to influence the child's future behavior. They are called "retroactive" here because they occur after the occurrence of the child's behavior. The hypotheses concerning limit setting (Hypotheses II-B-2-a and b) were taken from Sears, Maccoby, and Levin,[16] who documented the punitiveness of lower-class mothers. The hypothesis pertaining to reward (Hypothesis c) was derived from Bronfenbrenner's[17] emphasis on the supportive context of discipline and Swanson's[18] theory concerning the indispensability of reward for anaclitic identification. This hypothesis is a major one in the present study because it focuses on the rewarding, positive aspects of discipline which have heretofore been overlooked.

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[15] An example of "preventive reminding" is saying, "Be careful."

[16] Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, op. cit.

[17] Bronfenbrenner, op. cit.

[18] Swanson, op. cit.

In summary, the hypotheses in this study are related to child-rearing values and the conditions which facilitate or hinder anaclitic identification and the internalization of social values. Confirming these hypotheses will not prove the existence or absence of anaclitic identification in a given socioeconomic group. However, the precise information obtained will help to clarify the conditions which are believed to facilitate anaclitic identification and, ultimately, the development of inner control.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

Samples

A total of 40 Negro mothers of four-year-old children were included in the study. Half of them were lower-class mothers receiving public, financial assistance. The other half were middle-class mothers, defined as those having husbands with middle-class occupations.

The lower-class sample was obtained from a list of AFDC-supported, four-year-old, Negro children living in Ypsilanti, Michigan. The middle-class sample was obtained through the Ann Arbor Community Center and other professional contacts. Random sampling was not possible for the middle class because middle-class, Negro mothers of four-year-old children are few in number and difficult to locate. While all the lower-class mothers in the sample lived in Ypsilanti, only four middle-class mothers of four-year-old children could be found in Ypsilanti, and it was necessary to locate the other 16 in neighboring Ann Arbor.

None of the lower-class mothers refused to be interviewed, although eight of them were contacted persistently because they "forgot" the appointment, sometimes more than once. One of the middle-class mothers on the original list refused to be interviewed perhaps because the initial approach was made by telephone. After this experience, the initial approach was made in a face-to-face situation either at the mothers' homes or at the Ann Arbor Community Center by its Director.

Other relevant characteristics of the two groups of mothers are shown in Table 1. It can be seen from this table that the two groups of mothers differed significantly in many class-related respects. The middle-class fathers included four teachers, three social workers, two physicians, two engineers, a lawyer, an Air Force officer, a chemical technician, a diagnostician, a postal carrier, an architect, a speech pathologist, an accountant, and a psychologist.

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS SAMPLES

	Lower Class (N=20)	Middle Class (N=20)	Signif. of Diff.
Average age of mother	25.7	30.5	.05
Average number of years of schooling completed by mother	10.1	14.2	.01
Average number of years of schooling completed by father	8.8	17.5	.01
Presence of father in home	25%	100%	.01
Average number of children in family	4.6	2.8	n.s.
Average number of children older than the four-year-old	2.6	0.95	.05
Average number of children younger than the four-year-old	1.0	0.85	n.s.
Number of boys in sample	9	8	n.s.

Procedure

The major focus of this investigation was on observation of how mothers coped with their preschool children while the investigator interviewed them in their homes. In order to insure the presence of the child in the same room, the investigator asked to have the child in the room, explaining that the child and the mother would be asked shortly to perform a color-sorting task. After this preliminary explanation, the investigator asked the mother one question after another, thereby holding the mother's attention, excluding the child from the conversation, and making the child restless. How the mother interacted with this restless child was the focus of this study.

In requesting an appointment, the investigator went to the mother's home introducing herself as a staff member of the Perry Preschool in Ypsilanti studying four-year-old children. Middle-class mothers were told that the study was for a Ph.D. thesis. As it was felt that lower-class mothers would not understand what is meant by a Ph.D. thesis, they were told that the information would go into a book. Anonymity was, of course, assured.

The research procedure was explained to the mother in a misleading way in order to magnity the importance of the child's participation in the proposed interview. Mothers were told that there would be three parts to the proposed visit: (1) Some questions about table manners, dressing oneself, and how mothers manage these problems, (2) some questions about the kinds of qualities the mother wants her four-year-old to develop, and (3) a color-sorting task to see how well the child knows his colors. This description led the mother to think that the three parts of the procedure would be equal in length and importance.

In actuality, the questionnaire took 30 to more than 60 minutes, the goals took 5 to 10 minutes, and the color sorting took 5 to 20 minutes. When this procedure was explained in person, or through a friend, the mother always agreed to an interview, and an appointment was arranged.

At the time of the appointment, the investigator appeared at the door with a tape recorder, a wooden box, and a clipboard with some paper. Upon entering the house, the investigator inquired whether or not the mother would mind the use of a tape recorder. The explanation given was that verbatim recording of mothers' answers would be too time consuming. Four lower-class mothers and two middle-class mothers objected to the use of a tape recorder, and their verbal responses as well as interactions had to be taken down mostly in shorthand. No systematic difference was found between the mothers who agreed to the use of the tape recorder and those who did not. The real reason for using a tape recorder was, of course, to record the interactions between the mother and the child.

The decision to observe mother-child interactions in the home was made so as to observe interactions in the natural environment of the child. Attempts were made to create an atmosphere in which the mother and the child would behave as naturally as possible. For example, asking them to help in setting up the tape recorder engaged everybody in an activity, thereby reducing the formality of the interactions. After setting up the recorder, the child was asked to test it by saying his name into the microphone. Playing the recording back always served to reduce the stiffness of the initial relationship.

The investigator then offered a duplicate, blank questionnaire form to the mother in order to let her see the form which was being

used.[1] Starting with "Could you give me the names and ages of your children," every question was asked orally even when the mother knew how to read. All the middle-class mothers read the questions as the investigator went along, but most lower-class mothers either struggled to read the questions or put the form completely aside. The information thus obtained about the mother's ability to read was useful later in presenting the 18 cards of child-rearing goals. When the mother struggled to read the questions or put the form completely aside, it was assumed that her ability to read was too limited to read the 18 child-rearing goals.

The first question of the series of problem situations was "Suppose your four-year-old child is happy and excited, and he comes running into the house slamming the door. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?" This question was presented in a good-humored way with the exuberant gestures of a happily excited child running into the house and slamming the door. After this first question, mothers' apprehension about the interview usually diminished visibly, and the rest of the 19 problem situations were presented with as much informality as was appropriate. The investigator continued asking one question after another and writing down only the main points of the replies in order to observe and record the interactions between the mother and the child. A modified shorthand was devised to note interactions. For example, the form for "arm" referred to a mother's putting her arm around the child, and the forms which read "nod approve" were used to indicate that the mother nodded approvingly. This note-

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[1] This questionnaire appears as Appendix B.

taking procedure was intended to appear as if the investigator was writing down only the mothers' verbal reports.

The second part of the procedure dealt with child-rearing goals. The mother was presented with 18 cards arranged in alphabetic order, each card stating a child-rearing goal.[2] The instructions to the mother were as follows: "I have 18 cards here which have goals, or values, or qualities, that many mothers want their children to develop. In fact, many mothers have said that they work quite hard to get children to have certain of these qualities. I would like you to sort these 18 cards into three piles of 6 cards each, with a pile for the most important 6 cards, another pile for the second most important 6, and a third pile for the least important 6 cards. I have to warn you that this is not an easy job, but at least you can change your mind as many times as you want. In sorting the cards, I'd like you to remember that the desired qualities are for the foreseeable future of your four-year-old, say, for his school years."

After these standard instructions, middle-class mothers went ahead on their own, sometimes asking for a clarification and sometimes complaining that the task was hard. As stated before, many lower-class mothers did not demonstrate enough reading skills to read the questionnaire. When a mother struggled to read the questionnaire or put the form completely aside, it was assumed that her reading skills were too limited to read the cards, and each card was read and placed in the pile she designated.

For all the mothers, the difficulty of this sorting task was in reducing the size of the first and second piles. Limiting the pile of

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[2]These goals can be found in the order given in Appendix C.

the most important qualities to 6 cards was invariably difficult for all mothers. They often had to be reminded, urged, and pushed into placing only 6 cards in each pile. One mother ended up with 8 cards in the first pile.

The third and final part of the procedure consisted of asking the mother to ask her four-year-old to sort 32 flat pieces of wood into four sections of a wooden box, and to teach him if any difficulty was encountered. (There were 8 different shades of red, blue, green, and yellow pieces.) The interactions around this task would have been analyzed if a pilot study had demonstrated it to be a standard task for all four-year-old children. In general, the color-sorting task turned out to be so easy for middle-class children that few interactions took place around it. For lower-class children, the task was moderately to considerably difficult, thereby causing more mother-child interactions than in the case of middle-class children. The color-sorting task was therefore used only as an excuse for keeping the child in the same room for as long a period of time as possible.

Assessment and statistical analysis

Three types of data were obtained in this study: (1) Data on child-rearing goals obtained from the sorting of 18 cards into three equal piles, (2) observation data based on a system of coding interactions, and (3) interview data.

1. Values

No truly satisfactory method of assessing child-rearing values could be found. The only available technique was the one devised by Kohn in which he asked mothers to select the three most important

qualities from a list of 17 values.[3]

The assessment technique used in the present investigation was a refinement of Kohn's technique. It used 16 of his 17 child-rearing values in addition to two school-related qualities ("That he has a good education" and "That he obeys his teachers well").[4] Each of these 18 items was typed on a 1-1/2" x 3" card and arranged alphabetically. The mother's task was to sort the 18 cards into three piles of 6 cards each--one pile for the most important 6 qualities, another pile for the next most important 6 qualities, and a third pile for the least important 6 qualities according to the instructions presented in p. 40.

A score of 3 was given to a card when a mother placed it among the "most important" values. A score of 2 was given to a card placed in the pile of the "next most important" values, and a score of 1 was given to a card placed among the "least important" values.[5] The scores of each group of 20 mothers were then added for each card, yielding a minimum possible total score of 20 and a maximum possible total score of 60. The total scores of the two groups could then be compared by means of a t test for each child-rearing goal.

The strengths and weaknesses of this assessment method are discussed in Chapter V.

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[3]Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (January, 1959), 337-51.

[4]These 18 values can be found in Appendix C.

[5]One lower-class mother placed 8 cards in the pile of "most important" values and, after three requests to move two cards downward, continued to insist that all of the 8 qualities were very important. A score of 2.7 was given to each of these 8 cards because if the other 10 cards had been ranked, the 11th card would have reached a scale value of 2.66.

2. Interactions--observation data

The observation categories listed below were based largely on Spiegel's[6] classification of types of conflict resolution. They were formulated after a pilot study to determine the range of observable behavior and the scorability of interactions during an interview. The guiding principle in selecting the observation categories was to conceptualize them in fairly behavioristic and yet psychodynamically meaningful terms. Another guiding principle was to place the focus of observation on the two salient aspects of interactions: (1) Interactions related to children's needs and (2) interactions related to influencing children's behavior.

Mothers' Interactive Behaviors[7]

I. Interactions related to the child's socio-emotional needs[8] (child-centered observations)

A. Reactions to the child's explicit needs

1. Meeting needs
   a. Simple responding or answering
   b. Complying
   c. Responding physically
   d. Verbalizing or acknowledging the child's feelings

2. Partially meeting needs
   a. Explaining reality
   b. Suggesting means of self-help
   c. Vaguely promising
   d. Others

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[6]Spiegel, op. cit.

[7]The rationale for this scheme of classification, the criteria for scoring, and the relationship between interactive categories and the hypotheses are presented as Appendix A.

[8]"Needs" refer to all types of socio-emotional needs. The child's asking a question, his saying, "I'm thirsty," and his snuggling up to the mother are examples of explicit expressions of socio-emotional needs.

3. Not meeting needs
   a. Ignoring
   b. Refusing

B. Mother-initiated interactions related to the child's implicit needs

1. Meeting implicit needs indirectly expressed

2. Meeting implicit needs not expressed by the child
   a. Mother-initiated interaction without specific intent to influence
   b. Continuing to interact with the child without specific intent to influence
   c. Communicating affection
      (1) Verbally
      (2) Non-verbally
   d. Sharing activities

3. Preventive manipulation of the environment

II. Influence techniques (mother-centered observations)

A. Verbal techniques

1. Requesting
   a. Gently
      (1) With explanation
      (2) Without explanation
   b. In an order-giving way
      (1) With explanation
      (2) Without explanation
   c. With irritation or harshness
      (1) With explanation
      (2) Without explanation

2. Consulting

3. Psychological manipulations
   a. Coaxing
   b. Humoring
   c. Evaluating
   d. Distracting or offering a substitute gratification or an alternative
   e. Offering an aid for self-control
   f. Ignoring

4. Bribing

5. Warning or threatening
   a. Withdarwal of love
   b. Withdrawal of things or privileges
   c. Physical punishment

d. "Exile"

6. Preventive reminding

7. Retroactive limit setting
   a. Reminding
   b. Scolding
   c. Correcting

8. Rewarding

B. Non-verbal techniques

1. Physical techniques
   a. Enforcement
   b. Punishment

2. "Exile"

3. Deprivation of things or privileges

C. Ignoring the child's behavior

1. Punishable behavior not discouraged

2. Rewardable behavior not encouraged

All the mother-child interactions related to children's psychological needs and mothers' influence techniques were typed from the tapes and the investigator's notes as soon after the interview as possible. Since the shortest interview lasted 30 minutes, all the interactions which took place after the first 30 minutes of each interview had to be discarded in order to equate the two samples in length of observation time. As there were 20 mothers in each sample, the data pertaining to mothers' interactive behaviors were based on a total of 600 minutes for each group.

The next procedure was to code each of the mothers' interactive behaviors according to the preceding system of classification. Since each interactive behavior was considered for inclusion in every observation category, some behaviors met the criteria for inclusion in

more than one category. For example, when the mother responded to a child's attention-seeking behavior by saying, "I can't talk to you now, honey, because I am busy," this behavior was coded both as "partially meeting needs - explaining reality" and as "communication of affection - verbal".

Inter-coder reliability was obtained by randomly spot-checking from the typed material, and 88% agreement was obtained when the coding was done independently. By discussing the coding on which there was disagreement, the inter-coder reliability was raised to 99%.

A master chart was prepared for each sample of mothers, so that the total frequency for each observation category could be obtained for each group. The statistical test used to confirm or reject the hypotheses was, for the most part, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test, which tests the agreement between two cumulative distributions.[9]

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[9]The reasons for selecting the Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test were as follows: Although the data were based on a ratio scale, the distributions tended to be extremely skewed in the positive direction, and the variances were far from homogeneous. The t-test could, therefore, not be used. The randomization test for two independent samples was not selected because the sample size was too large for this test. The Mann-Whitney test (for ordinal data) was inappropriate because of the many ties in the data. The most powerful test appropriate for the type of data obtained was, therefore, judged to be the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test.

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test is based on the following line of reasoning: "If the two samples have in fact been drawn from the same population distribution, then the cumulative distributions of both samples may be expected to be fairly close to each other, inasmuch as they both should show only random deviations from the population distribution. If the two sample cumulative distributions are 'too far apart' at any point, this suggests that the samples come from different populations. Thus a large enough deviation between the two sample cumulative distributions is evidence for rejecting H_o." (Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956, 127-8.)

3. Interactions--interview data

The questionnaire came into being because in order to observe mother-child interactions, it was necessary to have some topic which mothers would find absorbing. It was also necessary that the topic appear worthy of the interviewer's note-taking. The most useful topic appeared to be the same kind of mother-child interactions as those that were being observed, so that observed behavior could be compared with verbal reports.

In order to minimize the influence of response set,[10] it was decided that open-ended questions would be desirable. A series of concrete problem situations was, therefore, presented to the mother, and she was asked what she would do in such situations. Another consideration was to select problem situations which are common to middle- and lower-class homes. A third consideration was to cover a wide variety of problem situations--table manners, dressing, jumping on the furniture, scribbling, etc. Finally, each question was to concern mothers' behaviors in relation either to children's psychological needs or to influence techniques. The questionnaire underwent several revisions after a pilot study. The final form is shown as Appendix B.

All the questions were grouped around children's psychological needs and mothers' influence techniques for analysis. The responses of the two groups of mothers to each question were then scored to determine whether or not the response sought concerning psychological

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[10]The problem of the response set of acquiescence found among lower-class mothers has been discussed in a paper by Norma Radin and Paul Glasser, "The Use of Parental Attitude Questionnaires with Culturally Disadvantaged Families" (article in press to be published in The Journal of Marriage and the Family).

needs or influence techniques was present. The test used to determine whether or not the two groups of mothers gave the "correct" answer with equal frequency was the chi-square test.

In addition to the quantitative similarities and differences, qualitative differences were also observed in mothers' verbal reports. Since these qualitative nuances give insight into different modes of thinking, they are described after the presentation of the conclusion based on the chi-square test. This questionnaire is an admittedly "soft" measure, but it was used only as a means of enabling the observation of mother-child interactions. Its inclusion in Chapter IV is, therefore, incidental to the present investigation.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The presentation of the findings will proceed in the same order as that in which the hypotheses of this investigation were listed in Chapter II. The analysis of child-rearing goals will be presented first and will be followed by the findings regarding socioeconomic-class differences in mother-child interactions. The mother-child interactions will be divided into the two categories of those related to children's socio-emotional needs and those related to mothers' influence techniques.

Child-rearing values (Mothers' goals)

The first set of data concerns the following two hypotheses: "Lower-class mothers' child-rearing values generally do not differ from those of middle-class mothers," and "The socioeconomic-class differences in child-rearing values are differences in relative emphases."

Table 2 shows the child-rearing values of the two groups of mothers in descending order for the lower class, from the most important to the least important goals. The values of the two groups can be said to be quite similar. Both groups accorded high priority to honesty, happiness, obedience to parents, and a good education. Both groups de-emphasized being able to play by oneself, being affectionate, being able to defend oneself, and being popular. Both groups placed self-control and being a good student in the intermediate range.

TABLE 2

SOCIOECONOMIC-CLASS DIFFERENCES IN RELATIVE EMPHASES ON EIGHTEEN CHILD-REARING VALUES

Lower-Class Rank	Child-Rearing Value	Lower-Class Mean	Middle-Class Mean	Difference[1]	Signif.
1	That he is honest.	2.74	2.95	-0.21	n.s.
2	That he is happy.	2.60	2.65	-0.05	n.s.
3	That he obeys his parents well.	2.54	2.50	+0.04	n.s.
4	That he obeys his teachers well.	2.49	2.00	+0.49	n.s.
5	That he is neat and clean.	2.45	1.95	+0.50	.05
6	That he has good manners.	2.44	2.20	+0.24	n.s.
7	That he has a good education.	2.39	2.35	+0.04	n.s.
8	That he has self-control.	2.05	2.20	-0.15	n.s.
9.5	That he is dependable.	2.00	2.55	-0.55	.001
9.5	That he is considerate of others.	2.00	2.85	-0.85	.001
11.5	That he is a good student.	1.99	1.80	+0.19	n.s.
11.5	That he is liked by adults.	1.99	1.10	+0.89	.001
13	That he is ambitious.	1.54	1.80	-0.26	n.s.
14	That he is curious about things.	1.45	1.80	-0.35	n.s.
15	That he is able to play by himself.	1.40	1.30	+0.10	n.s.
16	That he is affectionate.	1.30	1.45	-0.15	n.s.
17	That he is able to defend himself.	1.25	1.35	-0.10	n.s.
18	That he is popular with other children.	1.20	1.20	0	

[1](Lower-class mean) - (Middle-class mean)

Some distinct differences between the two groups were observed. The card producing the greatest difference between the two groups was "That he is liked by adults" ($p < .001$). It yielded mean scores of 1.99 for the lower class and 1.10 for the middle class. For the middle class, this was the least important child-rearing goal.

The card which produced the second largest difference ($p < .001$) between the two socioeconomic groups was "That he is considerate of others". It yielded mean scores of 2.0 for the lower class and 2.85 for the middle class. For the middle class, considerateness was the second most important child-rearing goal.

The card which was third in producing a socioeconomic-class difference was "That he is dependable" ($p < .001$). The mean score for the lower class was 2.0. The middle-class mean was 2.55, making dependability its fourth most important child-rearing goal.

The card which came out a close fourth in producing a socioeconomic-class difference was "That he is neat and clean" ($p < .05$). Lower-class mothers accorded the fifth highest priority to this child-rearing goal, with a mean score of 2.45. In contrast, the middle-class mean was 1.95, making neatness and cleanliness the tenth most important goal in the middle-class rank order.

Interestingly enough, <u>obedience</u> to teachers was emphasized considerably more by lower-class mothers than by middle-class mothers. For the lower class, obedience to teachers was the fourth most important value, being next only to honesty, happiness, and obedience to parents. Middle-class mothers, on the other hand, placed this child-rearing goal at the middle of its range, with a mean score of 2.0.

"That he is curious about things" yielded a mean score of 1.45

for the lower class, indicating that lower-class mothers consider curiosity to be fairly unimportant. Middle-class mothers, on the other hand, gave this value a mean score of 1.80.

The seventh card to produce different responses from the two groups was "That he is ambitious", with a lower-class mean of 1.54 and a middle-class mean of 1.80.

Finally, lower-class mothers emphasized good manners slightly more than did middle-class mothers. The lower-class mean for this child-rearing goal was 2.44, while the middle-class mean was 2.20.

In conclusion, the data can be said to have lent support to the two hypotheses stated earlier. The two groups of mothers generally accorded priority to the same child-rearing values--honesty, happiness, obedience to parents, and a good education. Statistically significant differences in relative emphasis were obtained only on four of the 18 child-rearing values investigated--considerateness and dependability, which were stressed by the middle class, and being liked by adults and neatness and cleanliness, which were stressed by the lower class.

The hypotheses pertaining to values were stated in general terms because a precise method of assessing child-rearing values could not be found. The limitations of the assessment technique, as well as the relevance of these similarities and differences to socioeconomic-class differences in internalization of standards, is discussed in Chapter V.

Mother-child interactions (socialization practices)

The preceding presentation concerning child-rearing values has clarified some similarities and differences in the goals which the two groups of mothers profess to consider desirable. The data pertaining to mother-child interactions are related to the means of achieving these

child-rearing goals. One aspect of mother-child interactions concerns children's emotional needs. Another aspect concerns the techniques used to influence children's behavior.

Interactions related to children's socio-emotional needs. During an interview, most children of both socioeconomic groups expressed needs for adult attention by initiating a conversation, showing something to the mother, or requesting water, milk, or food. It is with this kind of directly expressed needs that the following hypothesis is concerned: "Lower-class mothers are less responsive than middle-class mothers to the explicit socio-emotional needs children express."

TABLE 3

REACTIONS OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO CHILDREN'S DIRECTLY EXPRESSED NEEDS

		Lower Class		Middle Class		Signif. of Diff. between Prop.
		Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	
Child's Need-Expressing Behavior		101	100	233	100	
Mother's Reaction	Meeting Need	46	46	171	73	.05
	Partially meeting need	20	20	34	15	
	Not meeting need	35	35	28	12	

Table 3 shows the reactions of the two groups of mothers to children's directly expressed needs. It can be seen from this table that lower-class children expressed needs for adult attention 101 times, whereas the figure for the middle class was 233. Lower- and middle-

class mothers met these expressed needs 46 per cent and 73 per cent of the time respectively. To test the above hypothesis, the null hypothesis stating that the difference between these two proportions is zero was tested. A z of 1.74 permitted the rejection of the null hypothesis at the .05 level of confidence.

The socioeconomic-class differences in mothers' need-meeting responses is actually more dramatic than is indicated by the above analysis, since middle-class children were observed to express needs significantly more often than lower-class children ($p<.05$).[2] The mean frequency for middle-class children was 11.65 in 30 minutes, while the figure for the lower class was 5.05. It can thus be said that middle-class children not only receive gratifying responses significantly more frequently when they attempt to receive such responses, but also seek gratifying responses significantly more often than do lower-class children. The difference in frequency of gratifying responses per unit time yielded a ratio of almost 4 to 1.

The frequency with which each subcategory of need-meeting reactions occurred in 30 minutes can be seen in Table 4.[3] It is evident from this table that in every subcategory the middle-class mean is higher than that of the lower class, i.e., middle-class mothers responded more frequently in a need-meeting manner. However, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test yielded a statistically significant difference only in "responding simply". The difference in the total frequency of need-meeting responses

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[2]The rank-sums test was used.

[3]The total of all the subcategories of "need-meeting responses" is somewhat higher than that reported in Table 3 because in responding to the child, mothers sometimes did more than one thing at a time, e.g., answering and hugging the child. This kind of responses met the criteria for two subcategories and was scored for both.

TABLE 4

LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS' NEED-MEETING RESPONSES TO CHILDREN'S EXPLICIT NEEDS

Frequency in 30 Minutes	Responding Simply		Complying		Responding Physically		Verbalizing or Acknowledging Feelings		Total	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	10	3	13	12	10	11	18	12	2	0
1	2	4	3	4	7	4	2	5	5	1
2	5	2	4	1	1	1	0	2	4	4
3	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	4	1
4	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	2
5	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
> 5	0	5	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	11
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	1.1	5.6	0.55	1.05	1.0	1.4	0.1	0.65	2.8	9.4
Signif. of Diff.	.05		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		.05	

was significant at the .05 level of confidence, again confirming the hypothesis that middle-class mothers are more responsive than lower-class mothers to children's explicit needs.

Table 5 gives the frequency distributions for the three sub-categories and total of "partially meeting needs". It can be seen from this table that no significant difference was found in the way in which lower- and middle-class mothers partially meet children's explicit needs.

TABLE 5

LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS' RESPONSES
WHICH PARTIALLY MET CHILDREN'S EXPLICIT NEEDS

Frequency in 30 Minutes	Explaining Reality		Suggesting Self-Help		Vaguely Promising		Total	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	13	9	14	17	19	19	9	9
1	5	6	6	2	0	0	5	4
2	2	2	0	1	1	1	4	2
3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
4	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
> 4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	0.45	1.25	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	1.0	1.7
Signif. of Diff.	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	

Table 6 gives the frequency distributions for the two sub-categories and total of "not meeting needs". As can be seen from this table, no significant difference was found, but there was a tendency for lower-class mothers to refuse to meet children's expressed needs.

In summary, the data have generally confirmed the hypothesis concerning children's expressed needs which stated that "Lower-class mothers are less responsive than middle-class mothers to the explicit socio-emotional needs children express." This statement is particularly true of simple, casual responses to children's casual attempts at eliciting mothers' responses. Both middle- and lower-class mothers

TABLE 6

LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS' RESPONSES WHICH DID NOT MEET CHILDREN'S EXPLICIT NEEDS

Frequency in 30 Minutes	Ignoring		Refusing		Total	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	15	12	10	15	9	9
1	1	5	4	4	4	8
2	2	1	3	0	1	1
3	0	0	3	0	2	0
> 3	2	2	0	1	4	2
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	0.80	0.95	0.95	0.45	1.75	1.4
Signif. of Diff.	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	

refused to meet children's needs at times, but middle-class mothers tended to explain their refusal, whereas lower-class mothers tended to refuse without giving any explanation. An interpretation of these findings will be presented in Chapter V.

The preceding presentation of data dealt with mothers' reactions to children's attempts at eliciting need-gratifying reactions. The next topic concerns mother-initiated behaviors pertaining to the hypothesis stating that "Lower-class mothers initiate fewer interactions with children than do middle-class mothers in ways that meet children's implicit need for companionship and affection."

TABLE 7

LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS' MOTHER-INITIATED BEHAVIOR WHICH MET CHILDREN'S IMPLICIT NEEDS

	Mother-Initiated Interaction		Continuing Interaction		Verbal Communication of Affection		Non-Verbal Communication of Affection		Sharing Activity		Total	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	15	6	15	10	17	7	14	6	17	14	11	1
1	3	7	3	4	2	6	4	6	2	3	0	3
2	1	5	0	2	1	3	2	3	0	2	4	1
3	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	1	0	2	1
4	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
> 4	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	11
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	0.45	1.2	0.9	1.15	0.2	1.35	0.4	1.45	0.25	0.65	2.2	5.8
Signif. of Diff.	.05		n.s.		.01		.05		n.s.		.01	

As can be seen from the last column in Table 7, the null hypothesis of no difference between the two groups of mothers could be rejected at the .01 level of confidence.[4] During the 30-minute period of observation, 11 of the 20 lower-class mothers initiated no interaction, whereas 11 of the 20 middle-class mothers initiated more than four interactions which met children's implicit need for companionship and affection. The middle-class mean was higher than the lower-class mean in every subcategory, and statistical significance was obtained in "mother-initiated interaction", "verbal communication of affection", and "non-verbal communication of affection".

The foregoing data permit the conclusion that compared to middle-class mothers, lower-class mothers not only are less responsive to children but also initiate significantly fewer interactions in a companionate, affectionate way. The extent of the influence of the observer's presence as well as other interpretations will be discussed in Chapter V.

Interactions related to influence techniques. The preceding discussion was based on child-centered observations, i.e., observations concerning the child's need for attention and affection. In contrast, the following presentation will concern mother-centered observations, i.e., how the mother attempts to influence the child when she wants to change his on-going behavior. Table 8 is presented as an orientation to a comparison of lower- and middle-class mothers in the various influence techniques they use. The analysis pertaining to specific hypotheses will be presented shortly.

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[4]The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used.

TABLE 8

ALL INFLUENCE TECHNIQUES USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS DURING A TOTAL OF 600 MINUTES[a]

Influence Technique	Lower Class N = 20		Middle Class N = 20	
	Freq.	Per Cent	Freq.	Per Cent
Verbal techniques				
1. Requesting				
a. Gently or politely	58	27	64	34
(1) Without explanation	49	23	42	22
(2) With explanation	9	4	22	12
b. In an order-giving manner	83	38	26	14
(1) Without explanation	77	35	23	12
(2) With explanation	6	3	3	2
c. With irritation	9	4	2	1
(1) Without explanation	7	3	2	1
(2) With explanation	2	1	0	0
2. Consulting	4	2	27	14
3. Psychological manipulations	36	17	53	28
a. Coaxing	21	10	19	10
b. Humoring	0	0	2	1
c. Evaluating	5	2	3	2
d. Distracting or offering a substitute gratification or alternative	7	3	14	7
e. Offering aids for self-control	1	0	5	2
f. Ignoring	0	0	5	2
g. Others	2	1	5	2
4. Bribing	3	1	0	0
5. Warning or threatening	14	6	4	2
a. Loss of love	0	0	0	0
b. Loss of things or privilege	0	0	0	0
c. Physical punishment	7	3	2	1
d. "Exile"	7	3	0	0
e. Others	0	0	2	1
Physical enforcement	10	5	11	6
1. Casual	4	2	2	1
2. Foreceful	6	3	9	5
Total	217	100	187	99

[a]Thirty minutes with each of 20 mothers, making a total of 600.

During a total of 600 minutes of observation, lower-class mothers made a total of 217 attempts to influence children, whereas middle-class mothers made 187 attempts. In order to compare the two groups in relative frequency of techniques used, all frequencies were converted into percentages. It can readily be observed from Table 8 that the technique most frequently used by lower-class mothers was orders without explanation (35 per cent). The other most frequently used techniques were requesting gently without explanation (23 per cent), coaxing (10 per cent), and warning or threatening (6 per cent). Middle-class mothers were found most frequently to use gentle requests without explanation (22 per cent), followed by consulting (14 per cent), gentle requests with explanation (12 per cent), and orders without explanation (12 per cent). The chi-square test used to test the null hypothesis that the two samples can be considered to have come from the same population came out to be 60.36, which is significant beyond the .01 level of confidence.[5] The two groups of mothers can be said to differ significantly in influence techniques.

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to test the various hypotheses which stated how the two groups of mothers were expected specifically to differ. The first hypothesis stated, "Middle-class mothers consult their children more frequently than do lower-class mothers." As can be seen from Table 9, the difference between the cumulative frequency

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[5]In performing the chi-square test, some cells were collapsed because many subcategories would otherwise not have had expected frequencies of at least five. The following eight categories remained after combining the cells which could be considered logically to belong together: Gentle requests without explanation, gentle requests with explanation, requests in an order-giving manner, requests with irritation, consulting, psychological manipulations, warning or threatening, and physical enforcement.

distribution of the lower class and that of the middle class regarding "consulting" was found to be significant at the .01 level of confidence. The data can thus be said to have confirmed the hypothesis regarding the influence technique of "consulting".

TABLE 9

FREQUENCY OF "CONSULTING", "REQUESTING GENTLY", AND "EXPLAINING" USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

Frequency in 30 Minutes	Consulting		Requesting Gently		Explaining	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	18	8	1	3	10	8
1	1	5	7	3	5	5
2	0	3	3	5	4	3
3	1	1	3	1	0	2
4	0	2	3	3	1	2
>4	0	1	3	5	0	0
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	0.2	1.35	2.9	3.2	0.85	1.25
Signif. of Diff.	.01		n.s.		n.s.	

The second hypothesis to be considered is "Middle-class mothers make gentle requests more frequently than do lower-class mothers." As can be seen in Table 9, which summarizes the relatively bilateral verbal techniques, the trend was in the expected direction, but the difference was not statistically significant. The hypothesis concern-

ing gentle requests could, therefore, not be confirmed.

The last column of Table 9 is related to the next hypothesis: "Middle-class mothers explain their requests more frequently than do lower-class mothers." The data again showed a trend in the expected direction, but statistical significance was not obtained. The hypothesis related to "explaining" was thus not confirmed.

Table 10 presents the data related to the hypothesis "Middle-class mothers use psychological manipulations more frequently than do lower-class mothers." As can be seen from the last column of Table 10, the data came very close to confirming this hypothesis, but statistical significance was not obtained. The data came out in the expected direction in every subcategory of "psychological manipulations" except "evaluating", but no significant difference was found in any of the six subcategories.

The data pertaining to the hypothesis "Lower-class mothers resort to bribing more frequently than do middle-class mothers" can be found in the second column of Table 11 ("Bribing"). As can be seen from this column, the data tended toward the expected direction but did not confirm the hypothesis concerning "bribing".

The next hypothesis to be considered is "Lower-class mothers give orders more frequently than do middle-class mothers." As can be seen from the fourth column of Table 12 (Total of "Ordering" (without irritation)), the data lent confirmation to the hypothesis concerning the influence technique of "ordering" ($p < .05$). When orders given without explanation were considered separately from those given with explanation, a statistically significant difference was again found between the two groups of mothers ($p < .05$). Finally, all orders were combined,

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY OF "PSYCHOLOGICAL MANIPULATIONS" USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

	Coaxing		Humoring		Evaluating		Distracting or Offering Substitute or Alternative		Offering Aid for Self-Control		Ignoring		Total	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	8	12	20	19	16	17	14	13	19	15	20	17	5	6
1	7	3	0	0	3	3	5	1	1	5	0	2	5	0
2	3	2	0	1	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	5	2
3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	5
3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	0.8	0.95	0	0.1	0.25	0.15	0.35	0.7	0.05	0.25	0	0.25	1.8	2.65
Signif. of Diff.	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	

TABLE 11

FREQUENCY OF "BRIBING", "PHYSICAL ENFORCEMENT", AND "COERCION" USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

	Bribing		Physical Enforcement		Coercion	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	19	20	13	14	12	16
1	0	0	5	2	2	4
2	0	0	1	3	6	0
3	1	0	1	1	0	0
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	0.15	0	0.5	0.55	0.7	0.2
Signif. of Diff.	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	

and a significant difference was found between the two groups of mothers at the .01 level of confidence (the last column of Table 12 combining orders given without irritation with those given with irritation).

As can be seen from the next-to-the-last column of Table 12, the hypothesis stating, "Lower-class mothers give orders with irritation more frequently than do middle-class mothers," was not confirmed, although the data came close to confirming this hypothesis.

The next hypothesis to be considered is "Lower-class mothers resort to physical enforcement[6] more frequently than do middle-class mothers." It is apparent from Table 11, which includes three types

[6]"Physical enforcement" refers not to physical punishment but to motoric enforcement which is typified by a mother who holds a child in order to prevent him from hitting another child.

TABLE 12

FREQUENCY OF "ORDERING" USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

	Ordering (without Irritation)						Ordering with Irritation		Total (All Ordering)	
	Without Explanation		With Explanation		Total					
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	4	13	15	18	4	13	12	18	3	12
1	4	3	4	1	3	2	7	2	4	3
2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	2
3	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0
4	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	1
5	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0
5	4	2	0	0	4	2	0	0	5	2
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	3.85	1.15	0.3	0.15	4.15	1.3	0.45	0.1	4.5	1.4
Signif. of Diff.	.05		n.s.		.05		n.s.		.01	

of unilateral techniques, that the data not only did not confirm the hypothesis but also came out in an unexpected direction.

The last column of Table 11 pertains to coercion and provides the data related to the hypothesis which states, "Lower-class mothers resort to coercion more frequently than do middle-class mothers." The socioeconomic-class difference came out in the expected direction and approached statistical significance. However, a significant level was not attained.

TABLE 13

FREQUENCY OF "SENSITIZING CHILDREN" AND "PREVENTIVE REMINDING" USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

	Sensitizing Children		Preventive Reminding	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	18	12	15	15
1	1	4	4	1
2	1	2	1	2
3	0	2	0	1
3	0	0	0	1
Total	20	20	20	20
Mean	0.15	0.70	0.3	0.7
Signif. of Diff.	n.s.		n.s.	

"Middle-class mothers try more frequently than lower-class mothers to influence children by sensitizing them to mothers' feelings" is the next hypothesis concerning unilateral-vs.-bilateral influence techniques. As can be seen from the second column of Table 13, the data pertaining to sensitizing children to the feelings of others came close to confirming the foregoing hypothesis. However, a statistically significant difference was not found.

The final hypothesis comparing the two socioeconomic classes in influence techniques is "Middle-class mothers preventively remind children more frequently than do lower-class mothers." As stated in Chapter II, "preventive reminding"[7] is not exactly an influence technique in the sense of changing the child's on-going behavior, but it was included among influence techniques because it occurs before the occurrence of the child's action. It can be seen readily from the last column of Table 13 that the data did not lend confirmation to the hypothesis concerning preventive reminding.

The foregoing presentation concerned socioeconomic-class differences in influence techniques which are used before the occurrence of the desired behavior. Some influence techniques are used after the occurrence of the child's behavior generally to influence the child's future behavior. Such influence techniques are here referred to as "retroactive influence techniques" and are divided into the two broad categories of "limit-setting" and "rewarding" techniques. The socioeconomic-class differences in the use of these retroactive techniques are summarized in Table 14.

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[7]An example of "preventive reminding" is a mother's casual statement, "Be careful not to drop the glass."

TABLE 14

RETROACTIVE INFLUENCE TECHNIQUES USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

Retroactive Influence Technique	Lower Class N = 20		Middle Class N = 20	
	Freq.	Per Cent	Freq.	Per Cent
Limit-Setting Techniques				
Verbal	4	33	0	0
Reminding	0	0	0	0
Scolding	4	33	0	0
Physical	6	50	2	11
Casual	2	17	2	11
Severe	4	33	0	0
"Exile"	1	8	0	0
Rewarding Techniques				
Verbal	1	8	13	72
Others	0	0	3	17
TOTAL	12	99	18	100

In order to determine whether or not the two samples could be considered to have come from the same population, a chi-square test was performed using the 2 x 2 table which is presented as Table 15. A chi square of 17.17 (with correction for continuity) permitted the rejection of the null hypothesis of no difference beyond the .01 level of confidence. The two socioeconomic groups of mothers can, therefore, be considered significantly to differ in their use of retroactive influence techniques.

The first specific hypothesis pertaining to retroactive influence

TABLE 15

LIMIT-SETTING AND REWARDING RETROACTIVE TECHNIQUES USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

	Lower Class	Middle Class
Limit Setting	11	2
Rewarding	1	16
TOTAL	12	18
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)	17.17 ($p < .01$)	

techniques is "Lower-class mothers engage more frequently in limit-setting behaviors than do middle-class mothers." As can be seen from the column in Table 16 labeled "Limit Setting", the data tended to confirm this hypothesis, but not at a statistically significant level.

The second hypothesis concerning retroactive influence techniques is "Lower-class mothers use harsh methods of punishment more frequently than do middle-class mothers." The column in Table 16 entitled "Severe Punishment" represents those limit-setting behaviors which were extreme in intensity (i.e., severe "whippings" and scoldings). As can be seen in this table, the data tended to confirm the above hypothesis, but statistical significance was not obtained.

The last hypothesis concerning retroactive influence techniques states, "Middle-class mothers reward their children more frequently than do lower-class mothers for behaving in desirable ways." As can

TABLE 16

FREQUENCY OF THREE TYPES OF RETROACTIVE TECHNIQUES USED BY LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

	Limit Setting		Severe Punishment		Rewarding	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
0	13	18	15	20	19	9
1	4	2	3	0	1	7
2	2	0	1	0	0	3
3	1	0	1	0	0	1
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean	0.55	0.10	0.4	0	0.05	0.65
Signif. of Diff.	n.s.		n.s.		.05	

be seen from Table 16, the data confirmed this hypothesis at the .05 level of confidence.

The foregoing findings concerning observed mother-child interactions are summarized in Chapter VI.

Relationship between Child-Rearing Values and Child-Rearing Practices

Social class has been said to be not a variable but a statement of probability.[8] In other words, there is intraclass variability which overlaps with interclass variability. It was considered desirable,

[8] Robert D. Hess, "Maternal Behavior As a Cognitive Environment," paper presented at the Forty-Second Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, New York, March 18, 1965.

therefore, to combine the two samples of mothers and determine whether or not certain empirical relationships could be found between child-rearing values and observed practices regardless of social class.

Four child-rearing goals and five categories of child-rearing practices were selected to examine the empirical relationships between stated values and observed practices. The four goals were those which proved to be emphasized differently by the two groups of mothers ("That he is neat and clean", "That he is considerate of others", "That he is dependable", and "That he is liked by adults"). The five categories of observed practices were also those which were found to yield statistically significant differences between the two groups of mothers ("meeting explicit needs", "meeting implicit needs", "consulting", "ordering without explanation", and "rewarding").

Since there were four child-rearing goals to be related to five observed categories of child-rearing practices, 20 bivariate tables were drawn. These tables were 2 x 3 tables with an observed practice dichotomized around the mean of the two samples combined (N = 40) and a stated goal trichotomized according to the three piles into which the 18 cards were sorted. An example of such a 2 x 3 table is given as Table 17.

The strength of the relationship between a child-rearing goal and a child-rearing practice was determined by means of the Index of Order Association. The Indices of Order Association thus obtained are presented in Table 18.

As can be seen in Table 18, significant empirical relationships were found between stated child-rearing values and observed practices when the two samples were combined. In 18 out of 20 analyses, relation-

TABLE 17

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHILD-REARING GOAL OF NEATNESS AND CLEANLINESS AND THE CHILD-REARING PRACTICE OF "MEETING THE CHILD'S EXPLICIT NEEDS" WHEN THE LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS SAMPLES ARE COMBINED

		"That he is neat and clean"		
		Least Important	Next Most Important	Most Important
Meeting Child's Explicit Needs	6 times or more	3	9	1
	0 - 5 times	3	11	13

TABLE 18

EMPIRICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOME CHILD-REARING VALUES AND OBSERVED PRACTICES WHEN THE LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS SAMPLES ARE COMBINED

(Numbers are Indices of Order Association)

	Neatness and Cleanliness (N = 40)	Being Liked by Adults (N = 40)	Considerateness (N = 40)	Dependability (N = 40)
Meeting child's explicit needs	-0.64[a]	-0.62[a]	0.38[a]	0.30[a]
Meeting child's implicit needs	-0.84[a]	-0.44[a]	0.49[a]	0.27[a]
Consulting	-0.24[a]	-0.66[a]	0.79[a]	0.39[a]
Ordering without explanation	0.53[a]	0.38[a]	-0.81[a]	-0.05
Rewarding	-0.34[a]	-0.84[a]	0.88[a]	0.05

[a]Significant at the .01 level of confidence

ships in the expected direction were found at the .01 level of confidence. It can be concluded, therefore, that a mother who professes to have a typically middle-class value tends to engage in typically middle-class behaviors with respect to her preschool child.

Child-Rearing Practices and Number, Sex, and Birth Order of Children in the Family

It has been shown in Chapter III (p. 36) that the mothers in the lower-class sample had more children than did those in the middle-class sample. While this difference was not statistically significant, it could be argued that the observed differences in child rearing are attributable not to social class but to the number of children in the family. Sex and birth order may also be pertinent to differences in child-rearing practices. In order to determine whether or not the observed differences could be attributed to social class, it was

TABLE 19

NUMBER, SEX, AND BIRTH ORDER OF CHILDREN FOR WHICH SEVEN PAIRS OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS WERE MATCHED

No. of Children	Older Child	Four-Year-Old	Younger Child
One		G	
		B	
Two		G	G
	G	G	
	B	G	
Three	B	B	B
	G	B	B

considered necessary to compare subgroups of mothers equated for number, sex, and birth order of children. Only seven matched pairs could be found. The number, sex, and birth order of children for which the seven pairs were matched are presented in Table 19.

The matched pairs were compared on five interaction categories which yielded statistically significant differences when the two samples were compared without matching for number, sex, and birth order of children (i.e., "meeting explicit needs", "meeting implicit needs", "consulting", "ordering", and "rewarding"). The rank-sums test was used to test the null hypothesis stating that the two samples can be considered to have come from the same population. As can be seen in Table 20, the null hypothesis could be rejected with confidence in "meeting implicit needs", "consulting", and "ordering without explanation". "Rewarding" and "meeting explicit needs" permitted the rejection of the null hypothesis at less satisfactory levels. It can thus be concluded that differences in child-rearing practices can be

TABLE 20

SOME SOCIOECONOMIC-CLASS DIFFERENCES IN CHILD-REARING PRACTICES OF MOTHERS MATCHED FOR NUMBER, SEX, AND BIRTH ORDER OF CHILDREN

Child-Rearing Practice	Level of Significance $N_1 = N_m = 7$
Meeting explicit needs	.20
Meeting implicit needs	.01
Consulting	.05
Ordering without explanation	.05
Rewarding	.07

attributed to social class even when mothers are matched for number, sex, and birth order of children, but the differences tend to become smaller in some categories of child-rearing practices.

Child-Rearing Practices and the Age of the Mother

It has been shown in Chapter III (p. 36) that the mothers in the middle-class sample were significantly older than those in the lower-class sample. It could be argued, therefore, that the observed differences in child rearing could be attributed to mothers' ages rather than to socioeconomic class. It was thus considered necessary to compare subsamples from the two samples equated for age. Six lower-class and five middle-class mothers were found in the age range between 24 and 26.

The two subsamples of mothers were compared on five categories of child-rearing practices which yielded significant differences when the two samples were not equated for age. The rank-sums test was used to test the null hypothesis stating that the two subsamples can be con-

TABLE 21

SOME SOCIOECONOMIC-CLASS DIFFERENCES IN THE CHILD-REARING PRACTICES OF MOTHERS EQUATED FOR AGE

Child-Rearing Practice	Level of Significance $N_{lower} = 6$ $N_{middle} = 5$
Meeting explicit needs	.01
Meeting implicit needs	.05
Consulting	.07
Ordering without explanation	.01
Rewarding	.01

sidered to have come from the same population. The levels of confidence at which the null hypothesis could be rejected are presented in Table 21. As can be seen from this table, it can be concluded that, by and large, socioeconomic-class differences are still evident when mothers are equated for age.

Results from Interviews

The findings from interviews constitute an incidental part of the present investigation. They are presented here because they provide additional information concerning socialization practices as reported by mothers. The results will be presented without any attempt to test specific hypotheses. The replies related to children's needs will be followed by those related to influence techniques. In general, the quantitative findings from each question will be discussed, and qualitative comments will sometimes be added afterwards.

Mothers' reports related to children's needs. Three questions involving children's psychological needs (e.g., disappointment, jealousy, and excitement) were asked. As can be seen from Table 22, 14 lower-class mothers and 16 middle-class mothers said they would do something to console a disappointed child. The chi-square test performed to test the hypothesis of no difference between the two groups came out to be 0.13--a value which does not permit the rejection of the null hypothesis.

While no quantitative difference was observed, qualitative differences were found in the way in which lower- and middle-class mothers reportedly console their disappointed children. Middle-class mothers' reported means of consoling children were always "psychological" (e.g.,

TABLE 22

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 10

"Suppose you promise your four-year-old child that you will take him to the store, but it rains and you have to tell him that you cannot take him today. Let's say the child is disappointed when he hears the bad news, but he is quiet and does not make a big fuss about his disappointment. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Promising to fulfill the promise as soon as possible or consoling the child in some way	14	16	14	16
Doing nothing	5	3	6	4
Others	1	1		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			0.13 (n.s.)	

encouraging the child to express disappointment and explaining that there are things over which nobody has any control). While no middle-class mother mentioned offering material things to ease the pain of disappointment, seven lower-class mothers mentioned material things, usually sweets. Five of the lower-class mothers answered the question and went on to volunteer the information that if the child makes a fuss in such a situation, they give an explanation, and if the child does not stop complaining, they make the child be quiet by resorting to physical punishment.

TABLE 23

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 9

"Suppose you are feeding a little baby, and your four-year-old child is quietly watching his little brother being fed. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Some reaction which reduces jealousy	3	12	3	12
Reactions related to baby food (not to psychological need)	5	3	17	8
Asking the child why he is staring	3	0		
Not reacting at all	8	4		
Others	1	1		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			6.82 ($p < .01$)	

Mothers' responses to the question concerning children's jealousy can be seen in Table 23. Three lower-class mothers and 12 middle-class mothers reported responding sensitively to the child's jealousy. Chi square came out to be 6.82--a value which permitted the rejection of the null hypothesis of no difference between the two groups at the .01 level of confidence.

As can be seen in Table 23, lower-class mothers were inclined to say either that they would not do anything or that they would respond to the child's desire for baby food or to his curiosity about baby food.

After reporting that they would not do anything in such a situation, three lower-class mothers added that they would be glad if the child were quiet and not bothering anybody. It may well be that lower-class mothers tended to respond to the child's being quiet, whereas middle-class mothers tended to respond to the child's jealousy.

Question 1, which appears in Table 24, lent itself to projection because it offered two possible aspects to which the mother could respond--the excitement of the child and the annoyance of the mother.

TABLE 24

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 1

"Suppose your four-year-old child is happy and excited, and he comes running into the house slamming the door. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Some mention of interest in child's excitement (child-centered response)	7	14	7	14
Expressing disapproval of slamming of the door without mentioning anything else (self-centered response)	9	4	13	6
Doing nothing	2	2		
Others	2	0		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			3.61 ($p<.10$)	

Some mothers responded to the happy excitement of the child, some responded to the slamming of the door, and some responded to both. In scoring mothers' responses, two main criteria were used: (1) Whether or not the mother mentioned any child-centered reaction and (2) whether or not the mother reacted exclusively in a self-centered way.

As can be seen in Table 24, middle-class mothers tended to express interest in the child's excitement (child-centered response), while lower-class mothers tended to express disapproval of the slamming of the door (self-centered response). Chi square came out to be 3.61, which is not quite significant at the .05 level of confidence.

It is difficult to summarize the findings on mothers' verbal reports related to children's unexpressed needs because two kinds of variables were confounded in the preceding three questions: The nature of the child's emotional need (disappointment, jealousy, and excitement) and the subtlety with which the questions were phrased. The question concerning disappointment was worded in an obvious way, whereas in the next question jealousy was not clearly stated in the description of the problem situation. It can nevertheless be concluded that socioeconomic class differences were observed. Lower-class mothers showed tendencies to be less responsive to children's jealousy, to use sweets to console children, to be pleased with a passive child who does not bother anybody, and to show less interest in children's happy excitement.

Mothers' responses related to influence techniques - Influencing on-going behavior. Six questions were asked describing problem situations which on an a priori basis seemed to require immediate action. These questions dealt with a child who is banging his spoon at the dinner table, one who tries to eat out of his mother's plate, one who

walks on a wet, clean floor, one who is noisy when the mother has a headache, and one who jumps on the furniture. These problem situations were selected to tap a variety of situations, and no attempt was made to make them similar. The influence techniques reported by lower- and middle-class mothers will now be presented question by question.

TABLE 25

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 16

"Suppose your four-year-old child keeps banging his spoon on his plate at the dinner table. . . What would you do if he kept banging his spoon after you told him to stop?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Psychological manipulations	2	5	6	14
Environmental manipulations	4	9		
Physical punishment mentioned singly or as one of two possible reactions	13	4	14	6
Others	1	2		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			4.9 ($p<.05$)	

The three main techniques in a situation such as the one described in Question 16 are listed in Table 25. Fraiberg believes that the technique which best motivates internal control in this type of situation is to ask the child to leave the table and yet allow him to return when he can behave properly. Two lower- and three middle-class mothers

reported this technique. Two middle-class mothers mentioned other psychological manipulations, such as saying, "We have a baby here," or imitating the child.

The second group of techniques, deprivation of privilege, or environmental manipulation, includes taking the spoon away and making the child leave the table. This was the modal response for the middle class (9/20).

The coercive, unilateral technique of physical punishment was reported by 13 lower-class mothers and four middle-class mothers. Lower-class mothers said they tell children to stop before resorting to physical punishment, whereas middle-class mothers were inclined to ask children to stop or to ask them what is bothering them. Lower-class mothers can thus be said to follow one unilateral influence technique with another more drastic unilateral technique.

For the chi-square test, the first two categories of Table 20 were collapsed, as they represent fairly bilateral, non-physical techniques. A chi square of 4.9 permitted the rejection of the null hypothesis of no difference at the .05 level of confidence.

Question 8 was "Suppose your four-year-old keeps trying to eat from your plate rather than eating exactly the same kinds of foods that are on his own plate. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?" This question was intended to find out about limit-setting techniques when the child's behavior is less disturbing than when he bangs a spoon. This question turned out to be a poor one, as an overwhelming majority of both groups of mothers reported that they simply did not have this problem. A few attempts were made to inquire what they might do if the problem did arise, but the response came out

unscorable. A typically unscorable response was "I would just tell her she has her own food, and I can't imagine any more fuss than that."

The role of guilt feelings in the development of internal control has been emphasized by Fraiberg as discussed in Chapter I. Question 3 was asked to give mothers an opportunity to report that they try to induce guilt feelings by saying, "Mommy worked so hard, and look how you cause her to feel." As can be seen from Table 26, only three

TABLE 26

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 3

"Suppose you just washed the kitchen floor and asked your four-year-old child to stay out of the kitchen. Fifteen minutes later, he comes in with his dirty, muddy shoes. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Mentioning physical punishment	10	3	11	3
Non-physical punishment ("exile")	1	0		
Reminding and/or telling the child to remove himself from the floor	4	10	4	10
Inducing or referring to guilt feelings	0	3		
Requesting restitution	1	0		
Preventing the problem from arising	3	3	5	7
Doing nothing	1	0		
Question not applicable	0	1		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE			7.46 ($p<.05$)	

middle-class mothers referred to the child's guilt feelings. Half of the middle-class mothers reported simply reminding the child, usually with irritation, and making him get off the floor. In contrast, half of the lower-class mothers mentioned using physical punishment to make the child "learn" to stay off a wet floor. Chi square came out to be 7.46, which is significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Question 4 was included to learn about lower-class mothers' ideas concerning calling a child "bad boy". An unexpectedly high proportion of lower-class mothers disapproved of "the 'bad boy' part" (11/20).

TABLE 27

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 4

"To continue with the example of the muddy shoes on a clean kitchen floor (preceding question), some mothers would say in a situation like this, 'I told you to stay out of the kitchen, bad boy!' What do you think of this method of handling the child? Do you approve or disapprove? Why?"

		Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
		Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Disapprove	Adverse effect	7	6	11	19
	Forgetting is not "being bad"	0	6		
	Other reasons	4	7		
Approve		7	0	9	1
Others		2	1		
TOTAL		20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)				6.53 ($p<.05$)	

As can be seen from Table 27, only 7 lower-class mothers approved of calling a child "bad", sometimes explaining, "You shouldn't have to tell children more than once," or "They don't like to be called 'bad' and they straighten up." In spite of the high proportion of lower-class mothers who disapproved of calling children "bad", chi square came out to be 6.53, which is significant at the .05 level of confidence.

The reasons for expressing disapproval of calling a child "bad" were somewhat different for the two groups of mothers. Seven lower-class and six middle-class mothers said calling the child "bad" adversely affects him ("He might feel like being bad anyway . . ."). A reason given by six middle-class mothers, but not by any lower-class mother, was that small children forget, and forgetting is different from being bad. Seven middle-class and four lower-class mothers gave other reasons such as somehow they just don't like the word and don't know why.

Question 11 had two parts. The first part asked whether or not mothers explain their feelings when they do not feel well, i.e., whether or not they sensitize their four-year-olds to the feelings of other people. In both groups, 19 out of 20 mothers reported that they explain to their four-year-olds when they are not feeling well.

The second part of Question 11 asked whether or not explaining a headache works. As can be seen in Table 28, half of the middle-class children and six of the lower-class children were reported to respond well to an appeal for considerateness. This difference was not significant, as chi square came out to be 0.96.

Twelve lower-class mothers, as compared to six middle-class mothers, reported that explaining helps sometimes or for a while. While middle-class mothers never mentioned threatening the child with force

TABLE 28

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 11

"Suppose you have a headache, and your four-year-old is noisy. Do you explain to him in a situation like this why you want him to be quiet? Does it work?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
It works.	6	10	6	10
It works sometimes or for a while.	12	6		
It does not work.	0	1	13	9
Others	1	2		
TOTAL	19	19	19	19
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			0.96 (n.s.)	

in such a situation, five lower-class mothers reported coercing them. An example is "They mind pretty good, but at times I have to get a stick behind them. If they are not quiet, I whip them, or send them outside, or I put them to sleep."

As shown in Table 29, it is evident without performing a chi-square test that the two groups of mothers responded similarly to Question 18 concerning jumping on the furniture. Generally speaking, middle-class mothers did not report resorting to spanking, but this question revealed a situation in which middle-class mothers seemed definitely to spank.

TABLE 29

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 18

"Suppose your four-year-old child keeps jumping on the furniture. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency	
	Lower Class	Middle Class
Physical punishment	14	13
Isolation	1	2
Psychological manipulations	0	2
Others	5	3
TOTAL	20	20

There were class differences in responses to Question 18 which did not appear frequently enough for quantitative analysis. Among the middle-class mothers who reported physically punishing children for jumping on the sofa, many of them added other techniques that they use in combination with spankings, e.g., pointing out that they (children) may be hurt or telling them to go outside or to the basement to jump. Another middle-class mother said she might spank if the jumping persisted but quickly added, "Jay's main goal in life seems to be to please people." The above middle-class responses are in contrast to the following remark of a lower-class mother: ". . . Sometimes, before I get up and I don't see them, they jump in the morning. Then, I get a strap . . . "

To summarize the verbal reports of the two groups of mothers regarding influence techniques, lower-class mothers generally tended to

report more coercive (unilateral) techniques, while middle-class mothers tended to report more bilateral techniques. Statistically significant differences were obtained in questions related to table manners, a child's walking on a clean, wet floor, and the mother's use of the word "bad boy" as an influence technique. Many qualitative differences were also observed. The last question related to jumping on the furniture, however, indicated that there are times when middle-class mothers, too, report resolutely spanking children.

Mothers' responses related to influence techniques - "Retroactive" techniques. Five questions were asked regarding situations in which the child has already committed a forbidden act. One question dealt with dishonesty, another with aggression, and a third with a sulking child who is pouting because he has been punished for an act of aggression. A fourth question concerned spilling milk after being reminded to be careful. The fifth question was related to a mild "crime" of omission--forgetting to close the door on a cold, winter day.

Question 19 merits particular attention because both lower- and middle-class mothers accorded highest priority to the child-rearing goal of honesty. As can be seen from Table 30, the theme for most lower-class mothers was physical punishment (with the righteous conviction reflected in wordings like "A good whipping is a must"). In contrast, middle-class mothers reported using various psychological manipulations. The chi-square test yielded a value of 19.66, which is significant beyond the .01 level of confidence.

As shown in Table 31, the two groups of mothers responded similarly to Question 17 concerning aggression according to the same general rule, "Thou shalt not pick a fight, but shalt hit back if pro-

TABLE 30

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 19

"Suppose your four-year-old was the only one in the house, and nothing was broken when you left the kitchen. When you return to the kitchen, you find out that your four-year-old has broken four of your best dishes. What would you do in a situation like this when you know that your four-year-old broke the dishes but says, 'I didn't do it'?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Using or threatening to use physical punishment	12	2	17	2
Being manipulated into not using physical punishment	5	0		
Scolding	1	0	3	18
Psychological manipulations	2	17		
Deprivation of privileges	0	1		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			19.63 ($p < .01$)	

voked." The lower class slightly outnumbered the middle class in verbalizing the philosophy of suppressing all aggression, but the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant.

Question 13 concerned the aftermath of punishment and the subsequent internalization of a "lesson". The results appearing in Table 32 show that lower-class mothers infrequently re-assure children who temporarily resent them. In contrast, a majority of the middle-

TABLE 31

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 17

"Suppose you just found out that your four-year-old child has knocked down and beat up the four-year-old child living next door. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Staying out or observing the "general rule"	10	11		
Encouraging self-defense	3	5	13	17
Others	0	1		
Telling children not to fight	7	3	7	3
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			1.20 (n.s.)	

class mothers reported at least talking to the child, usually reassuring him of parental love or suggesting some enjoyable activity. Chi square came out to be 8.18, which permitted the rejection of the null hypothesis at the .01 level.

A majority of the lower-class mothers seemed not only to fail to reinstate the child but also to punish them under the circumstances described in Question 13. Some examples were "I would give her a spanking to get her out of it and tell her not to be hard headed," and "I'll spank him because he has to mind his mother." Some lower-class mothers went on to explain that by age four children become so calloused to the belt that mothers have to use a switch or think up some more drastic

TABLE 32

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 13

"Suppose you scolded your four-year-old child for doing something very serious like hurting his baby brother pretty badly. Half an hour later, the child still seems to be upset and sulking and pouting. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Effort to reinstate the child or to suggest an enjoyable activity	1	9	4	14
Effort to communicate--but without reassuring the child of parental love	3	5		
Ignoring	5	4	16	6
Expressing disapproval of sulking	1	2		
Scolding or spanking for sulking	10	0		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			8.18 ($p < .01$)	

technique. A few lower-class mothers expressed the desirability of sending children to bed because physical punishment is quickly over, but being sent to bed lasts longer.

The purpose of Question 14 was to find out how mothers of the two socioeconomic classes might differ in their attempts to influence an internal mechanism which foresees and prevents small, daily accidents. Table 33 shows that the two groups were, by and large, similar in their replies. Both groups showed large intraclass variability,

TABLE 33

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 14

"Suppose you warned your four-year-old child to hold his glass of milk carefully so as not to spill it. Five minutes later, he drops it and makes a big mess. What would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency	
	Lower Class	Middle Class
Physical punishment	2	0
"Exile"	0	1
Reminding	5	4
Scolding	2	9
Making children clean up	7	1
Depriving children of milk	2	1
Reassuring	0	1
Preventively manipulating the situation	1	1
Doing nothing	1	2
TOTAL	20	20

and considerable variability was also observed in intensity of emotions. For these reasons the cells were not collapsed for a chi-square test.

Question 2 dealt with a mild "crime" of omission. As can be seen in Table 34, this question turned out to be a poor one because half of the lower-class mothers reported that this problem simply did not arise. Lower-class houses are small and crowded, and their four-year-olds apparently do not have an opportunity to come into the house, leaving the door wide open on a cold, winter day. An analysis of

TABLE 34

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 2

"Suppose during the coldest time of the winter, you have told your four-year-old child over and over to keep the door closed in order to keep the house warm. You can't even remember how many times you have told him to close the door after opening it, but again he has come in, leaving the door open. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency	
	Lower Class	Middle Class
Reminding or making the child go back and close the door	6	12
Consequence-type punishment	1	4
Other non-physical punishment	1	1
Physical punishment mentioned	2	1
Problem never arises	10	2
TOTAL	20	20

mothers' responses to this question was, therefore, not possible.

To summarize the findings on retroactive, limit-setting techniques, two of the five questions clearly yielded class differences. One question was related to teaching honesty, and the other concerned a child who is sulking after being justly but severely punished. The modal lower-class method for teaching honesty was reported to be severe, physical punishment, whereas middle-class mothers tended to report various psychological manipulations. When a child is unhappy after being justly but severely punished, middle-class mothers tended to report attempting to reinstate the child. Lower-class mothers, on the other hand, tended to report expressing strong disapproval of the

child's surface behavior. Lower-class mothers' inability to use effective psychological manipulations and their inability to reinstate the child after punishment go a long way to explain why social values are not internalized among lower-class children.

Finally, four questions were asked to inquire into mothers' rewarding retroactive influence techniques. The first question was related to the child's finally succeeding in dressing himself. The second was a continuation of the previous one to find out how many times mothers might continue to praise children for repeating a feat. The third question inquired into what mothers do when children are eating with unusually good table manners. The last question described a situation in which the child makes a scribbly drawing and says, "Mamma, look."

Question 6 was worded in such a way that the "correct" answer was obvious. As shown in Table 35, almost all the mothers of both

TABLE 35

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 6

"Suppose your four-year-old child is having a difficult time learning to put on his sweater by himself. What would you do in a situation like this? . . . To continue with the child who had a hard time putting on his sweater, suppose he finally succeeds in putting it on by himself. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency	
	Lower Class	Middle Class
Praising	19	20
Not praising	1	0
TOTAL	20	20

TABLE 36

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 7

"What if anything, would you do the second time he succeeds in putting it (sweater) on by himself? . . . How many times would you keep praising him?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Praising enthusiastically more than twice or as long as the child shows his accomplishment	6	14	6	14
Praising with little enthusiasm	5	5	14	6
Praising no more than twice	9	1		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			4.9 ($p<.05$)	

groups said they would praise the child. Only one lower-class mother said that she would simply tell the child to go on outside because the child is merely doing what he is supposed to do.

Being praised once or twice is not reinforcing enough for the child to internalize the praise. As can be seen from Table 36, the modal response for the middle class was enthusiastic and repeated praise, while lower-class mothers tended to report praising no more than twice. A lower-class mother remarked that she tells the child that since she already knows that the child can put on a sweater, there is no need for an adult to watch the child. The chi-square test led to the conclusion that the null hypothesis of no difference could be rejected at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 37

RESPONSES OF LOWER- AND MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS TO QUESTION 12

"Suppose your four-year-old child is eating with unusually good table manners. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

	Frequency		Frequency Used for Chi-Square Test	
	Lower Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	Middle Class
Praise verbally and enthusiastically	4	16	4	16
Praise mildly or with material rewards	4	2	16	4
Say nothing	12	2		
TOTAL	20	20	20	20
CHI SQUARE (with correction for continuity)			8.5 ($p < .01$)	

As can be seen in Table 37, Question 12 produced clear-cut class differences beyond the .01 level of confidence. Most of the middle-class mothers, as compared to four lower-class mothers, reported praising the child enthusiastically. Among the 14 who reported doing nothing when children are eating with unusually good table manners, 12 were lower-class mothers. Typically, lower-class mothers said they correct bad manners, but if children are eating with good manners, there was nothing more they could do.

Question 20[9] was an attempt to inquire into the origin of the

[9] "Suppose your four-year-old child scribbles something on paper, and you can't even tell what he tried to draw or write. What, if anything, would you do if the child says, 'Mama, look'?"

achievement motive by finding out something about the use of verbal reward in response to children's showing of their drawings. The two groups of mothers responded very similarly to this question, always mentioning praising children or asking them to talk about the picture. The only difference between the two groups was in the degree of involvement and enthusiasm shown while answering the question. Lower-class mothers exhibited passive, almost reluctant interest, while middle-class mothers usually answered the question with enthusiasm and amusement.

To summarize the findings on positive "retroactive" influence techniques, both groups of mothers reported praising children when they show their art work and when they succeed in putting on a sweater by themselves for the first time. However, lower-class mothers' degree of involvement and enthusiasm was minimal. When asked how many times they would continue to praise the child for putting his sweater on by himself, a difference emerged between the two groups. Also, middle-class mothers reported more often to praise children when children are eating with unusually good table manners.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Child-rearing values (mothers' goals)

Middle- and lower-class mothers both accord high priority to honesty, happiness, obedience to parents, and a good education. However, they differ in other qualities which they associate with the four primary ones. For example, middle-class mothers stress considerateness and dependability, whereas lower-class mothers emphasize neatness, cleanliness, good manners, and obedience to teachers. These findings are consistent with Kohn's conclusion[1] that the lower class emphasizes obedience to people in authority and conformity to external rules of respectability, while the middle class values internal qualities. (Kohn also speculated that the lower class may accord high priority to neatness, cleanliness, and manners because these goals are problematic to them, whereas the middle class attains these goals easily enough to take them for granted.)

A comparison of the six most important values for the middle class and the six most important values for the lower class suggests that middle-class mothers expect obedience to parents and to teachers to be motivated by considerateness, whereas lower-class mothers want blind obedience to people in authority. The lower class desires the external act of obedience, good manners, neatness, and cleanliness,

[1] Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," op. cit.

while the middle class desires the internal intent of considerateness. While sorting the cards, middle-class mothers often said that if children are considerate and happy, they will be obedient, and they will have good manners.

Bernstein's theory[2] distinguishing the status-oriented lower class from the person-oriented middle class is relevant to the difference between the lower-class emphasis on obedience and the middle-class emphasis on considerateness. Bernstein pointed out that the lower class tends to control children by appealing to status (i.e., "Don't talk to your mother like that"), whereas the middle class tends to appeal to the regulator's feelings and to the child's guilt feelings (i.e., "It upsets me when you talk like that"). More will be said later about Bernstein's theory.

A striking class difference was observed with regard to the importance of being liked by adults. While this was the very least important goal for middle-class mothers, it was given considerable emphasis by the lower class. This phenomenon is in line with the lower-class notion that one achieves " . . . not through gaining skills and confidence but through being liked."[3]

Two goals were given a fair amount of stress by middle-class mothers but not by lower-class mothers: Being ambitious and being curious. While both groups of mothers expressed a strong desire for a good education, only middle-class mothers expressed the desirability of certain qualities which are necessary to achieve the more distant goal

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[2]Basil Bernstein, "Social Class, Speech Systems, and Psychotherapy," The British Journal of Sociology, XV (March, 1964), 54-64.

[3]New York City Youth Board, Reaching the Fighting Gang, 1960, 58.

of "a good education". Lower-class mothers can thus be said to prefer passivity to curiosity and conformity to ambition.

Happiness was accorded high priority by both groups of mothers. This desired state of being is achievable in many different ways, and middle-class mothers related it to qualities of interpersonal relations (e.g., considerateness and dependability) and to some realistic qualities for growth (e.g., curiosity and ambitiousness). Lower-class mothers, on the other hand, seemed to want happiness for their children in combination with blind obedience and conformity to rules of respectability.

What is the relevance of middle- and lower-class child-rearing values to internal control? Both groups of mothers appear to agree on the desirability of certain ends. The crucial difference is that the lower class believes in "good" behavior through obedience, while the middle class believes in desirable behavior which is motivated by inner control. In the lower class, good conduct can be expected as long as external control is present, but children can be expected to have little inner control when external control is removed. In the middle class, external control becomes less and less necessary, since inner control based on considerateness will gradually take over the functions of authority figures.

It was possible in the present investigation to establish empirically some relationships between child-rearing values and child-rearing practices (Table 18), and substantiate the theory concerning the relationship between child-rearing values and the development of inner control. Regardless of membership in the social-class system, mothers who professed to value the internal qualities of considerateness

and dependability were found to meet children's emotional needs and to use bilateral influence techniques. Conversely, mothers who professed to prefer external respectability were found less likely to meet children's emotional needs and more likely to use unilateral influence techniques.

Limitations of the technique used to assess child-rearing values. The present method of assessing values enabled mothers of both socioeconomic classes to express their child-rearing values in the same way. No mother achieved a higher score for being articulate or imaginative. The range of possible total scores for each child-rearing goal was limited to a lower limit of 20 and an upper limit of 60 so as to make the two sets of scores comparable.

The advantages of the present assessment technique make for certain disadvantages. First, limiting the child-rearing goals to 18 meant that mothers were denied the opportunity to state other goals which they might have regarded as even more important. In answer to this criticism, it can be pointed out that Kohn selected most of these values from a pre-test in which he asked parents, "When you think of a boy (or girl) of (child's) age, are there any things you look for as most important or most desirable?"[4]

A second weakness of this assessment technique is that limiting the range of possible total scores to between 20 and 60 assumes the absolute magnitude and range of these child-rearing goals to be the same for the two socioeconomic groups. In actuality, the real position of "That he is honest" may be higher for one class than for another if an

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[4]Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," op. cit., 347.

absolute scale were available. It must be pointed out, therefore, that the conclusion that the two groups of mothers broadly share a common set of values is correct only insofar as the assumption of equal absolute level and range is correct.

The third question to be raised regarding the validity of the assessment method is whether or not a person's statement that something is of value to him can be accepted. The alternative of direct observation may not be satisfactory either, for, as Robin Williams says, "No student of human conduct can accept uncritically, as final evidence, people's testimony as to their own values. Yet actions may deceive as well as words, and there seems no reason for always giving one precedence over the other."[5] As Kohn[6] states, confidence is gained in a score based on assertions to the extent that it can be ascertained that parents act in reasonable conformity to the values they assert.

Mother-child interactions (socialization practices)

Interactions related to children's socio-emotional needs. It has been found that lower-class children have a significantly smaller probability than middle-class children of receiving need-meeting responses when they attempt to elicit such responses (Table 3). It has also been found that lower-class children ask for such responses significantly less often than do middle-class children (p. 54). Perhaps the more significant of these two findings is the fact that lower-class children attempt much less frequently than middle-class children to elicit need-meeting responses, indicating that they are less dependent on their

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[5]Robin Williams, American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 378.

[6]Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," op. cit., 348.

mothers than are middle-class children. It is this very dependence which is, after all, at the basis of anaclitic identification. The data indicate that lower-class mothers respond less than half of the time when children ask for a response, whereas middle-class mothers respond three-quarters of the time. It is this lack of responsiveness which contributes to the lower-class children's tendency not to initiate as many need-expressing interactions as middle-class children.

In addition to responding significantly less often than middle-class mothers to children's attempts to elicit need-satisfying responses, lower-class mothers were found to initiate significantly fewer interactions than middle-class mothers in ways that meet children's implicit need for companionship and affection (Table 7). The socio-economic class differences were more pronounced when mother-initiated need-satisfying interactions were concerned than when mother's responses to children's initiative were concerned. The lower-class mothers' infrequent initiation of companionate and affectionate interactions probably contributes to the lower-class children's infrequent initiation of interaction to seek companionship and affection.

Sears, Maccoby, and Levin[7] theorized that identification is motivated by (1) the child's emotional and physical dependence on his mother, whose very existence near him is in itself a source of pleasure, (2) his desire to reproduce, in fantasy, the pleasant experiences which are associated with supportive, nurturant parents, and (3) his worry about whether or not he has his parents' affection and approval. The present analysis indirectly indicated that lower-class children's

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[7]Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, op. cit.

emotional dependence on mothers is considerably less than that of middle-class children--at least to the extent that lower-class children seek emotional sustenance from their mothers significantly less frequently than do middle-class children. In relation to the second factor which is said to motivate identification, the data obtained in this investigation suggested that lower-class children have less supportive and less nurturant parents to reproduce in fantasy than do middle-class children. To use Green's terminology,[8] the degree of "personality absorption" in the child rearing of the lower class appears to be minimal. This affectional deprivation appears to deprive lower-class children of the very dependence which middle-class mothers foster and utilize to modify children's personality. In other words, lower-class children appear to be deprived of conditions which motivate anaclitic identification.

Interactions related to influence techniques. The data came out in the predicted direction with regard to nine of the ten hypotheses stating in various ways that the lower class tends to be unilateral, while the middle class tends to be bilateral in their attempts to influence children's on-going behavior. Only two of these hypotheses were confirmed at statistically significant levels--"Middle-class mothers consult their children more frequently than do lower-class mothers," and "Lower-class mothers give orders more frequently than do middle-class mothers." The principal reason for not obtaining statistical significance more frequently was the brief period of observation, as a significant level was approached in differences pertaining to "gentle requests with explanation", "requests with irritation", "requests without explanation (total)", "psychological manipulations", "warning or

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[8]Green, op. cit.

threatening", and "sensitizing children to the feelings of others".

In addition to being more unilateral than middle-class mothers in influence technique, lower-class mothers were found to outnumber middle-class mothers in frequency of attempts to influence children (217 vs. 187, Table 8). This observation is significant in view of the fact that middle-class mothers interacted with their children in need-meeting ways approximately three times as often as did lower-class mothers. In other words, when lower-class mothers interact with their children, they tend to interact for the purpose of influencing children's behavior. When middle-class mothers interact with their children, they tend to interact in ways that gratify children's socio-emotional needs. Two-thirds of the lower-class mother-child interactions were for the purpose of influencing children, whereas more than two-thirds of the middle-class interactions gratified children's socio-emoticnal needs.

The most frequently used lower-class technique was found to be "ordering without explanation", comprising 35 per cent of the total lower-class attempts to influence children and yielding a statistically significant class difference. Orders per se did not seem to cause difficulty when the child obeyed and there was no clash between the will of the mother and that of the child. However, direct clashes quickly arose in 11 of the 20 cases comprising the lower-class sample. (Only two of the 20 middle-class cases manifested such clashes.) The "request" of lower-class mothers sometimes led to an increasingly blatant power struggle. Three types of orders appeared to contribute to a clash between the mother and the child: (1) The mother's attempts to make the child do something he did not want to do, e.g., trying to make him go outside when he wanted to stay with the adults, (2) her attempts to

make the child sit up quietly and have manners, and (3) her attempts to make the child do something when he was temporarily emotionally incapacitated, e.g., trying to make him talk immediately after harsh physical punishment.

When children became restless and noisy, middle-class mothers were observed typically to say, "If you want to stay here, I want you to be quiet." This technique utilized the child's desire to stay to motivate internal control. In contrast, lower-class mothers were observed either to try to force children to go outside when they did not want to go, or to repeatedly order them to be quiet. In other words, lower-class mothers began with impossible demands and ended up coaxing and/or threatening children. Middle-class mothers tended to be more skillful initially and therefore did not work themselves into coercing children.

A few examples will illustrate how the bilateral technique of "consulting" differs from "ordering" and leads to the child's making decisions, assuming responsibility, and accepting the mother's standards. When a middle-class child expressed the desire to blow bubbles, the mother did not give permission, explaining that the child had spilt the liquid all over her blouse the day before. The mother then asked the child if she wanted to get in the bathtub to blow bubbles there. The child thereupon promised not to get dirty. The mother hesitated and again asked, "Don't you think you should try it in the bathtub first?" The child repeated her promise, agreed to let the mother throw the whole bottle away in case she did get dirty; went out to blow bubbles, and came home clean after a few minutes. The standard of neatness and cleanliness was thus internalized at least for a brief

period of time by making skillful use of the technique of "consulting".

An incidental observation related to unilateral and bilateral influence techniques pertains to the use of the word "please" and the various forms of the word "we". During the 600 minutes of observation, the word "please" was recorded once among lower-class mothers and nine times among middle-class mothers. During the same period of observation, wordings like "Let's take a nap" and "We don't do that" never appeared on the tape in lower-class homes, but were recorded nine times in middle-class homes. The use of the word "please" evidences the mother's respect for the child and his feelings, and the various forms of the word "we" is a clear indication of the bilaterality with which middle-class mothers approach their children.

The preceding discussion on the bilateral influence techniques of middle-class mothers does not imply that middle-class mothers were always bilateral. They did give orders without explanation and did threaten to spank children. In fact, they used slightly more motoric means of enforcing demands than did lower-class mothers, e.g., picking up a child who would not move. The hypothesis pertaining to this type of motoric enforcement (Hypothesis h) was the only one which the data tended to refute. The difference between the middle and lower class in influence techniques appears to be in the relative frequency of unilateral and bilateral techniques.

The present discussion has so far centered around socioeconomic class differences. Perhaps it is in order to view the findings from the standpoint of similarities. As can be seen from Table 8, the two groups of mothers were very similar in total frequency of "gentle requests without explanation", "coaxing", and "physical enforcement". The

two groups thus overlapped in these three categories but differed both at the bilateral end ("consulting", "requesting gently with explanation", and "distracting or offering a substitute gratification or alternative") and at the unilateral end of the continuum ("ordering without explanation" and "warning or threatening"). A parallel statement can be made with regard to meeting children's emotional needs. The two groups of mothers were found to be similar in frequency of "not meeting explicit needs" and "partially meeting needs" but differed at the positive end of the need-meeting continuum. Middle-class mothers were found not only to respond to children's expressions of socio-emotional needs more frequently but also to initiate more interactions in companionate and affectionate ways.

The lower-class mothers' readily available repertoire of behaviors appears to be limited compared to the repertoire of middle-class mothers. As can be seen from Table 38 listing the most frequently used lower-class techniques in descending order of frequency, lower-class mothers were found to use very few techniques. One-third of all lower-class attempts to influence children were "orders without explanation", and three categories comprised two-thirds of all lower-class attempts to influence children. For the middle class, it was necessary to include more categories of influence techniques to attain approximately the same cumulative percentage (Tables 38 and 39).

Influence techniques are part of the communication system among members of a group. Bernstein's theory[9] on social class and speech patterns gives a framework within which the influence techniques of the lower- and middle-class mothers can be clarified. He observed

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[9]Bernstein, op. cit.

TABLE 38

INFLUENCE TECHNIQUES MOST FREQUENTLY USED BY LOWER-CLASS MOTHERS

	Per Cent	Cumulative Percentage
1. Order without explanation	35	35
2. Gentle request without explanation	23	58
3. Coaxing	10	68
4. Warning or threatening	6	74

TABLE 39

INFLUENCE TECHNIQUES MOST FREQUENTLY USED BY MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

	Per Cent	Cumulative Percentage
1. Gentle request without explanation	22	22
2. Consulting	14	36
3. Gentle request with explanation	12	48
4. Order without explanation	12	60
5. Distracting or offering substitute gratification or alternative	7	67
6. Forceful physical enforcement	5	72

that the speech of the lower class is fast, inarticulate, simple in structure, condensed in meanings, and encompassing a small vocabulary. He further noted that the lower-class speech has few qualifiers, particularly those which qualify feelings, and argued that this type of speech is not just substandard English but a particular code which he called a "restricted code". He noted that the middle-class speech is more complex with more qualifiers and a larger vocabulary. He called this type of more elaborate language an "elaborated code".

Bernstein theorized that the restricted code is contingent on social structure, since it is the shared feelings and expectations of a closely knit group that give rise to a restricted code by reducing the need to elaborate meanings. Close friends, prisons, and the Army are examples of social structures which generate restricted codes. Bernstein went on to point out that restricted codes exist in all segments of society, as the social conditions which generate them are universal. The uniqueness of the lower class lies in the fact that it is limited to a restricted code and has no other code. The middle class has an elaborated code in addition to a restricted code.

It has already been mentioned earlier in the present chapter that Bernstein argued that authority in the lower class is exercised through status-oriented appeals, whereas in the middle class it is exercised through person-oriented appeals. In connection with a discussion of values, it was pointed out that the status-oriented lower class was found to value obedience, whereas the person-oriented middle class was found to value obedience and considerateness. The influence techniques of the two groups of mothers also manifested the same kind of class distinction. The most frequently used technique of the status-oriented

lower class was found to be commands (35 per cent of all attempts to influence), whereas the most frequently used technique of the person-oriented middle class was found to be gentle requests (34 per cent of all attempts to influence).

The next most frequently used lower-class techniques were "gentle requests without explanation" and "coaxing". The words used by the lower-class mothers in making gentle requests tended to be the same simple words as those used in giving orders, and it was the tone of voice which distinguished a gentle request from a command. For example, "Sit up" was scored either as a command or as a gentle request depending on the tone of the mother's voice. "Coaxing", too, requires only simple words like "come on" spoken with a coaxing voice. The most frequently used lower-class influence techniques were thus found to be part of a restricted code.

It has already been pointed out in connection with the results pertaining to the influence technique of "psychological manipulations" (Table 10) that the data concerning the influence technique of "evaluating" came out in a direction contrary to the one predicted (with a mean of 0.25 for the lower class as compared to 0.15 for the middle class). This tendency can be interpreted in light of Bernstein's argument that the lower class uses status appeals, e.g., "Be good and do X, Y, or Z." This tendency of lower-class mothers to use the influence technique of "evaluating" was very slight, and further investigation is necessary, with longer periods of observation.

Bernstein theorized that status-oriented appeals increase the similarity of the regulated with others of the same status and helps to sustain the solidarity of the group at the expense of the unique differ-

ences of its members. Person-oriented appeals, in contrast, increase individual identity, for they emphasize the unique feelings, beliefs, and purposes of the individual. The psychological correlate of the status-oriented appeals of the lower class is, therefore, deprivation of the process of individuation. Bernstein's theory thus adds to the argument that conditions for lower-class children foster neither individuation nor "personality absorption".

If the child rebels against status-oriented appeals, he is challenging the status system and is thereby challenging the culture of which he is a part. Bernstein points out that this challenging of the status system tends to force the regulator into taking punitive action. The data obtained in the present investigation confirmed Bernstein's argument by showing "warning or threatening" to be the fourth most popular influence technique among lower-class mothers. Lower-class mothers were also found to engage more frequently in limit-setting interactions than middle-class mothers. As Bernstein pointed out, when the child is faced with status-oriented appeals, he is limited to the following three possible reactions: (1) Uncompromising acceptance, (2) withdrawal, and (3) rebellion. The frequent recurrence of the sequence of status appeal---rebellion---coercion is not surprising.

From a developmental perspective, status-oriented appeals develop sensitivity to unambiguous social relationships based on clear-cut authority. A lower-class child who is limited to status-oriented appeals cannot develop sensitivity to people's unique motives and purposes and therefore cannot decode the verbal elaboration of meanings and feelings. Therefore, the lower-class child cannot perceive situations involving people as problems to be solved by his own unique in-

vestigation. In his development, the guiding principles are obedience to authority and reference to his status. It appears that the lower-class mother who, in her own childhood, learned to decode only the language of status-oriented appeals cannot be expected to know the coding principles of person-oriented appeals.

Speaking of the middle class, Bernstein argues that person-oriented authority appeals increase verbal interactions and make speech more elaborate, since the guiding principle for inquiry into appropriate behavior is feelings and meanings. A middle-class child who is thus controlled through the verbal manipulation of feelings has access to the regulator as a person. It can be speculated that identification with parents and the consequent internalization of parental values may be easier when the child thus has access to the regulator as a person.

In the present investigation, the influence techniques used after the occurrence of the child's behavior to generally affect his future behavior were called "retroactive influence techniques". When retroactive techniques were divided into "limit-setting" and "rewarding" techniques, the socioeconomic-class differences were found to be significant (Table 15). Middle-class mothers were found to reward their children significantly more often, and lower-class mothers were found to set limits more often than middle-class mothers.

The more important of the above two findings concerning retroactive influence techniques can be said to concern the rewarding aspect rather than the limit-setting aspect. It is argued, in other words, that the crucial factor in the internalization of parental values appears to be not limit setting after transgression but the rewarding of desired behavior. The theoretical significance of reward

has been discussed at the beginning of this volume in connection with Swanson's explanation[10] of the difference between anaclitic identification and identification with the aggressor. Swanson theorized that when the child is not rewarded, he has only two alternatives to consider--the potential pleasure of transgression and the potential pain of punishment. When the child is rewarded, the gratification accruing from the reward tips the balance between the two alternatives. Modern psychoanalytic writers like Fraiberg,[11] too, state that the potential loss of self-esteem resulting from the loss of parental love and esteem is at the root of self-control. Lower-class children cannot learn to please other people because they do not have adults who can be pleased. Since lower-class children are seldom rewarded for good conduct, they are deprived of this essential condition which motivates inner control.

Limitations of the present method of observation. The method of observation used in the present investigation has some serious limitations. First, it lacks the standard set of stimuli which the laboratory and standardized tests provide. Second, the same investigator formulated the hypotheses and collected and analyzed the data. Third, the presence of the investigator undoubtedly affected observable behavior.

While the above criticisms are acknowledged, the study can nevertheless be defended as an initial step in directly studying the socialization practices of disadvantaged, Negro mothers in their natural environment. Observation under many sets of circumstances is necessary to understand socialization practices, and the present investigation can be considered as an addition to the existing body of knowledge in spite of its methodological limitations.

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[10] Swanson, op. cit.

[11] Fraiberg, op. cit.

Having one person formulate the hypotheses and collect and analyze the data was a serious disadvantage. It is hoped that the same type of investigation can soon be replicated on a much larger scale. It is difficult to imagine, however, how a "blind" interviewer can go into a disadvantaged home and remain unable to state the population which the mother represents. Likewise, a typed record of interactions readily reveals the class membership of a mother because of her speech.

The presence of the interviewer undoubtedly did affect behavior. The point to be made, however, is that no matter how well people try to present their "front region",[12] some genuine aspects of behavior are bound to emerge. As discussed earlier, the lower-class mothers' limited repertoire of behavior could probably not be changed by conscious effort. The present investigation can be said to be a comparison of the best of both groups of mothers, and significant differences were found during 30 minutes of observation. It is sobering to extrapolate the findings to a period covering several years of socialization.

Findings from mothers' verbal reports

The questionnaire proved more sensitive to socioeconomic-class differences than the coded observed behavior, as statistically significant differences were obtained more frequently from verbal reports than from actual observation. The findings from the questionnaire alone could have explained the relative inability of lower-class children to internalize parental values.

The responses to questions involving children's psychological

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[12] Goffman's term denoting the more public aspects of behavior, room arrangements in houses, etc., as distinguished from more private aspects. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959).

needs confirmed the observed class differences, indicating the lack of responsiveness on the part of lower-class mothers.

The skillfulness of middle-class mothers in influencing children's on-going behavior was also confirmed by questionnaire data. Middle-class mothers generally reported using psychological and environmental manipulations, whereas lower-class mothers referred to physical punishment. On the other hand, the question involving children's jumping on the furniture revealed that there are times when middle-class mothers, too, resolutely resort to physical punishment.

With regard to retroactive, limit-setting techniques, the question involving a child who is sulking after being severely punished showed a difference between the status-oriented lower class and the person-oriented middle class. The question concerning dishonesty was of particular interest, for both groups of mothers accorded highest priority to the child-rearing goal of honesty. The use of physical punishment by the lower class as compared with the psychological manipulations of the middle class summarizes in a nutshell the class differences between a restricted code and an elaborated code, and between punishment and the inducing of guilt feelings.

It would have been impossible for an observer to wait until dishonesty occurred, and the responses to this question underlined one of the advantages of questionnaires. The mothers reported what they considered the most appropriate way to "teach" honesty, thereby giving insight into the relative inability of lower-class children to internalize honesty.

As regards rewarding, mothers' responses to Question 7 involving the child's dressing himself and Question 12 involving unusually good

table manners were in agreement with the observed class differences. Lower-class children were reported as being seldom praised for good conduct.

Two questions revealed lower-class mothers' potential for improving their socialization practices. Question 4 revealed that seven out of the 20 lower-class mothers disapproved of calling a child "bad". Although these mothers generally did not appear to communicate respect for their children, the fact that they expressed awareness of the detrimental effects of certain verbal utterances was encouraging. Question 6 involving the child's succeeding finally to put on his sweater revealed that lower-class mothers are cognizant of the child's need for praise. What is not understood is the necessity for continuing to encourage children. The lower-class mother who said she simply tells the child to go on outside because the child is merely doing what he is supposed to do gave insight into the relationship between status-oriented expectations and the relative absence of praise among lower-class mothers.

In conclusion, the information obtained from interviews confirmed and supplemented the information obtained from direct observation. However, the questionnaire was sensitive neither to the specific behaviors constituting mother-child interactions nor to the sequence of events which took place under different sets of circumstances.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present investigation was undertaken in an effort to answer the question "Are the lower-class values at such variance with those of the middle class as to account for the relative inability of members of the lower class to behave in conformity with middle-class standards, or are the lower-class values fundamentally similar to those of the middle class, but the socialization practices are such that lower-class mothers hinder the internalization of these values?" Answering this question involved the investigation of (1) values and (2) socialization practices among middle- and lower-class Negro mothers.

It was found that middle- and lower-class mothers share a broadly common set of child-rearing values, such as honesty, happiness, obedience to parents, and a good education. It was found, however, that lower-class mothers emphasize these four values in combination with obedience to people in authority, being liked, and conformity to external rules of respectability, while middle-class mothers emphasized the same primary values in combination with internal qualities such as considerateness and dependability. The two groups were thus found to be similar in basic values, but socioeconomic-class differences were apparent along lines which suggested external vs. internal control.

Since middle- and lower-class mothers appeared to share similar child-rearing values, the causes of the relative lack of conformity

among members of the lower class to middle-class standards were sought in differences in socialization practices. The major theoretical link between the empirically observable behavior of the parent and the resultant presence or absence of inner control in the child was Swanson's distinction between anaclitic identification and identification with the aggressor. It was generally hypothesized that the antecedents of anaclitic identification would be found chiefly in the middle class, and that the antecedents of identification with the aggressor would be found chiefly in the lower class. Other theories which served as a basis for hypotheses in the present investigation were Bronfenbrenner's theory concerning the importance of meeting children's socio-emotional needs and Spiegel's theory concerning the conduciveness of bilateral influence techniques to internalization.

Two broad categories of observable socialization practices were selected for investigation because of their relevance to anaclitic identification and the consequent internalization of parental values. They were (1) mothers' meeting of children's socio-emotional needs and (2) their influence techniques. It was found that middle-class mothers were significantly more responsive to children's expression of socio-emotional needs, and that they initiated significantly more interactions than lower-class mothers to meet children's implicit need for companionship and affection.

With regard to influence techniques, it was found that lower-class mothers use the unilateral technique of "orders without explanation" significantly more frequently than middle-class mothers, and that middle-class mothers use the bilateral technique of "consulting" significantly more frequently than lower-class mothers. The data

consistently tended to show middle-class mothers to be more bilateral than lower-class mothers, and the evidence relative to all ten of the specific hypotheses except the one concerning "physical enforcement" came out in the predicted direction. Middle-class mothers thus showed tendencies to use the bilateral techniques of "requesting gently", "explaining", "sensitizing children to mothers' feelings", and all types of "psychological manipulations" with the exception of "evaluating". Lower-class mothers' tendency was more frequently to use the unilateral technique of "bribing", "ordering", and "coercing".

As regards the "retroactive" influence techniques of reward and limit setting, the two groups of mothers were found to differ significantly. Middle-class mothers were found significantly more frequently to reward children for good conduct, and lower-class mothers showed a tendency to set limits more frequently than middle-class mothers.

The present investigation did not attempt to prove the presence or absence of anaclitic identification among lower-class children. Instead, it specified certain aspects of the social milieu and pinpointed some social conditions which appear to foster anaclitic identification among middle-class children and hinder it among lower-class children.

The conclusion reached in this investigation is that the relative inability of members of the lower class to behave in conformity with many middle-class standards appears to emanate more from differences in socialization practices than from differences in child-rearing values. Because middle-class mothers meet children's socio-emotional needs, middle-class children become very dependent on their mothers. Punishment in this context is highly meaningful. For lower-class chil-

dren, on the other hand, punishment does not have the same meaning, for punishment does not deprive them of the same, highly gratifying relationship.

This study added confirming evidence to Kohn's findings regarding social class and child-rearing values. It also provided confirming evidence to Bronfenbrenner's "theory in search of data".[1] Swanson's theory concerning the importance of the reward aspect of "discipline" was also supported. Spiegel's theory did not directly concern itself with socioeconomic-class differences in child rearing, but the findings of the present investigation supported his views regarding the conduciveness of bilateral influence techniques to long-term internalization.

The present study was a downward extension of the literature available on socioeconomic-class differences in child rearing. In studying the "lower class", almost all the major investigators in the past have dealt with the so-called working class--not Negro mothers receiving public assistance. The next step is to repeat the same procedures with middle- and lower-class Caucasian mothers of four-year-old children to determine whether or not the same kind of differences exist.

A second step is to study the sequence of interactions more specifically to delineate the mother's behavior and the child's reactions. For example, what events precede coercion? What is its outcome?

The present investigation was a gross analysis of two social classes. What remains to be done is a longitudinal study, within the

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[1] Bronfenbrenner's own phrase. Bronfenbrenner, op. cit., 109.

context of social classes, of individual mothers' child-rearing practices and the behavioral outcome of individual children. Informal observations of older siblings suggested that within each class, a few atypical mothers are found, and that the children of atypical mothers also tend to be atypical for a given social class. A systematic study of this "hunch" involves a much larger research project, and such a project appears to merit undertaking in the very near future.

APPENDIX A

CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM FOR ANALYZING OBSERVED MATERNAL BEHAVIOR

Three aspects of the classification system used in this study to analyze observed maternal behavior will be discussed in this appendix--(1) the rationale for the classification system, (2) the scoring criteria, and (3) the relationships which are presumed to exist between the various categories of maternal behavior and the hypotheses listed in Chapter II.

A principle which guided the selection of categories for analyzing observed maternal behavior was to conceptualize them in fairly behavioristic and yet psychodynamically meaningful terms. Another guiding principle was to place the focus of observation on the two salient areas of mother-child interactions, that which involves children's socio-emotional needs and that which concerns techniques for influencing children's behavior. These broad categories appear in Roman numerals in the following list of scoring criteria. The first category (related to children's socio-emotional needs) can be termed "child-centered observations", and the second category (concerning influence techniques) can be termed "mother-centered observations".

A given unit of interactive behavior is either an <u>action</u> which is initiated by a person or a <u>reaction</u> to someone else's behavior. One kind of reactive maternal behavior consists of her reactions to children's <u>expressed</u> needs. For example, when a mother reacts to a

[1] For clarification of the following discussion, see pp. 43-45.

child's saying, "I want a cookie," she is reacting to his expressed need. Other examples include his snuggling up to her, his showing something and saying, "Mamma, look," and his asking a question. Since a mother can react to these expressed needs by satisfying them, partially satisfying them, or not satisfying them at all, mothers' reactions to children's expressed needs were divided into the three subcategories of "meeting", "partially meeting", and "not meeting" expressed needs.

Mothers were observed during interviews to meet children's expressed needs by "responding or answering a question", "complying", "responding physically", or "verbalizing or acknowledging the child's feelings". They were observed partially to meet children's expressed needs by "explaining reality", "suggesting means of self-help", "vaguely promising", or "others". Finally, they were observed not to meet children's needs either by ignoring or by outrightly refusing to meet their needs.

Some mothers interacted with children in a need-meeting way when youngsters indirectly expressed their socio-emotional needs. For example, some mothers engaged the child in a conversation when he persistently asked for food shortly after a meal. Mothers' reactions to this kind of indirectly expressed needs were classified under "mother-initiated interactions related to the child's implicit needs" as "meeting implicit needs indirectly expressed".

Some need-meeting interactions were initiated entirely by the mother when the child was making no attempt to seek her reaction. For example, some mothers initiated a conversation for companionship, and some continued the conversation when such a conversation could easily

have been terminated. These two types of interactions were classified under "meeting implicit needs not expressed by the child". The other two subcategories under the same heading were "communication of affection" and "sharing activities", which were presumed to meet children's need for affection and companionship. The subcategory of "communication of affection" was further broken down into verbal and non-verbal communication.

A type of maternal behavior which was made possible by the mother's awareness of children's needs was "preventive manipulation of the environment". For example, a mother who sent a younger child to a neighbor's house before the interview to insure uninterrupted conversation was taking a preventive measure because she was aware of the child's need for attention in such a situation. Since such preventive measures showed a sensitivity to children's needs (as well as a mother's ability to plan ahead), it was decided to include "preventive manipulation of the environment" as a subcategory of "meeting implicit needs". When an interaction was initiated by the mother, such a mother-initiated interaction was almost always either an attempt to influence the child's behavior or an action which appeared to meet children's implicit socio-emotional needs.

Mothers' influence techniques were conceptualized chiefly in the light of Spiegel's theory[2] concerning the relationship between influence techniques and the internalization of decisions. Spiegel classified various types of influence techniques along a continuum from the most unilateral to the most bilateral technique and argued that bilateral techniques lead to long-term internalization, while unilateral techniques work only temporarily.

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[2]Spiegel, op. cit.

The most frequently used influence techniques are verbal requests. Among verbal requests, a definite dichotomy was made between the bilateral approach of "requesting gently" and the unilateral approach of giving orders.

"Consulting", the second verbal technique, was considered a separate subcategory because it is the most bilateral of bilateral approaches.

Of the various "psychological manipulations", some subcategories are more bilateral than others. For example, "distracting or offering a substitute gratification or an alternative" is more bilateral than "coaxing" and "evaluating".

"Bribing" is a unilateral verbal technique. "Warning or threatening" is even more unilateral, the equivalent of "coercion" in Spiegel's terminology.

"Preventive reminding", the sixth verbal technique, is a small category with lesser theoretical significance. Saying, "Watch it," or "Be careful," is not exactly an influence technique, for it does not change the child's on-going activity. However, it was considered an influence technique because it provides temporary "internalization" before the occurrence of the child's behavior.

The seventh and eighth verbal techniques are "retroactive limit setting" and "rewarding". These are called "retroactive techniques" because they occur after the occurrence of the child's behavior, but, needless to say, their aim is to influence the future behavior of the child. The difference between "reminding" and "scolding" is a question of degree of severity. "Correcting" refers to purely cognitive matters, e.g., a mother's correcting a child who looks at a "5" and reads, "Three."

The non-verbal influence techniques include physical techniques, "exile", and "deprivation of things or privileges". The difference between physical "enforcement" and "punishment" is that the former does not involve a retroactive element of punitiveness. An example of physical "enforcement" is a mother's holding a child who wants to hit another child.

The final category, "ignoring the child's behavior", was not of relevance to the hypotheses investigated. This category was included because it was felt desirable to complete the classification of maternal behaviors which could be observed during an interview in the home. This category is felt to merit further investigation in future studies.

Criteria for Scoring

I. Interactions related to the child's socio-emotional needs (child-centered observations)

A. Reactions to the child's explicit needs

All reactions of the mother to the child's explicit needs. "Explicit needs" refer to the child's behavior which is clearly directed toward the mother in an attempt to seek her reaction.

Scored: The child's saying to the mother, "I'm thirsty."
The child's snuggling up to the mother.
The child's showing an object to the mother, saying, "Mamma, look."

Not scored: The child's opening and closing the door without looking at the mother. This behavior is not scored as an expression of a socio-emotional need because it is not clearly directed toward the mother.

1. Meeting needs: Any need-meeting response in terms of the literal meaning of the expressed need.

a. Simple responding or answering
Any verbal or non-verbal reaction to the child-initiated attempt to seek a reaction.

Example: Saying, "Yes," when the child calls the mother.

Answering a question.

b. Complying
Any verbal or non-verbal reaction in compliance with the child's request.

Example: Giving a cookie when the child says, "I want a cookie."

Giving permission is included in this category as when a child asks, "May I eat my cookie?"

c. Responding physically
Any motoric response to a child's expressed need.

Example: Putting an arm around the child when he snuggles up.

d. Verbalizing or acknowledging the child's feelings
Any verbalization or acknowledgment of the child's feelings.

Example: Comfortingly saying, "Yes, your knee hurts," when the child shows his knee to his mother and plaintively says, "It hurts here."

2. Partially meeting needs: Any response which does not completely meet the expressed need but nevertheless constitutes some response to the expression of need.

a. Explaining reality
Giving an explanation to the child as to why his request is being denied.

Example: Responding to a request for a story by saying, "No, I can't read a story now because I am talking with the lady."

b. Suggesting means of self-help
Not complying with the child's request but, instead, suggesting to the child what he might do to meet his own need.

Example: Responding to the child's request for milk by saying, "Why don't you ask Big Sister to give you some milk?"

c. Vaguely promising
Not complying with the child's request but, instead, giving a vague promise.

Example: Saying, "Later," when a child requests a story.

Note: If a mother says, "I can't do it now, but I will do it as soon as the lady is gone," this response is classified as "Explaining reality" (not "Vaguely promising").

d. Others

All other responses which partially meet the child's expressed need.

Not giving permission is included in this category because the child at least receives a response when the mother says, "No." If a reason is given for not giving permission, this reaction is classified as "Explaining reality" (not "Not giving permission".

"Not giving permission" is different from "Refusing" (I-A-3-b) in that the latter is exemplified by refusing to give a cookie to a child who asks for a cookie. In other words, the child's asking permission is considered differently from all his other requests.

3. Not meeting needs: Not meeting the child's expressed need at all.

a. Ignoring

The absence of maternal reaction to the child's expressed need.

The absence of a maternal reaction is always scored as "Ignoring" regardless of whether or not the mother perceived the child's expression of a need, since all maternal behavior related to children's explicit needs are scored from the child's point of view.

b. Refusing

Refusing to meet the child's expressed need without giving an explanation.

If an explanation is given, such a reaction is scored as "Explaining reality" (I-A-2-a).

B. Mother-initiated interactions related to the child's implicit needs

1. Meeting implicit needs indirectly expressed

This category could be argued to belong more appropriately to category I-A, since it is a reaction, and not a mother-initiated interaction. It is included in category I-B because it concerns a child's implicit need.

An example of an indirectly expressed need is a child's saying, "I'm hungry" shortly after finishing an adequate meal.

Example: Responding to the above situation by saying, "Why don't you come here and sit between the lady and me?"

The distinction between direct and indirect expressions of needs is based on inference from the situational context.

2. Meeting implicit needs not expressed by the child: Mother-initiated interactions which do not constitute attempts to influence the child's behavior and which can be interpreted as meeting children's implicit emotional need for companionship and affection.

   a. Mother-initiated interaction without specific intent to influence

      Any verbal or non-verbal interaction initiated entirely by the mother for companionship without any specific intent to influence the child's ongoing behavior.

      Example: Saying to a child who is concentrating on a puzzle, "Oh, it's almost done, isn't it?"

   b. Continuing to interact with the child without specific intent to influence

      A continuation of interaction without specific intent to influence when such interaction could easily be terminated.

      Example: Continuing the above interaction by saying, "Is that the puzzle Uncle Ben gave you?"

   c. Communicating affection

      All mother-initiated communication of affection. If the mother hugs the child in response to the child's snuggling, this response is scored under "Reaction to the child's explicit needs".

      (1) Verbally

      Any term of endearment or verbal expression of affection.

      Example: Saying, "Honey", "dear", etc.

      Affectionately saying to the interviewer in front of the child, "She is my paying girl. She pays the

milk man and the bread man and the paper boy."

(2) Non-verbally
Any non-verbal communication of affection.

Example: Smiling.
Nodding in approval.

d. Sharing activities
Any shared activity which meets the child's need for companionship and which does not have the sequential element of interaction to meet the criteria for I-B-2-a.

Example: Laughing together, looking at each other in response to what is being said in the interview.

3. Preventive manipulation of the environment
Manipulating the environment so that the child's needs will not arise or will not be frustrated.

Example: Sending a younger child to a neighbor's house before the interview in order to insure uninterrupted conversation.

This category shows the mother's awareness of the child's needs which she anticipates.

II. Influence techniques (mother-centered observations)
Any attempt of the mother to change the on-going behavior of the child.

A. Verbal techniques

1. Requesting
Any verbal requests which do not meet the criteria for "Consulting", "Psychological manipulations", "Bribing", "Warning or threatening", or "Preventive reminding".

The division into the following three subcategories was in terms of the total message communicated--not in terms of wording. For example, if a mother gently said, "Sit down," this was classified as a gentle request even though the wording appeared like an imperative.

a. Gently
Any verbal request which is gentle enough not to meet the criteria for an order.

b. In an order-giving manner
Any verbal command communicated with authority but

without agitation.

Example: Saying, "Don't touch it!" as an order.

c. With irritation or harshness
A command with considerable irritation or harshness.

Example: Angrily yelling, "Don't touch it!!"

2. Consulting: Any verbal attempt to influence which has an element of asking the child what his wishes are.

Example: "Would you like to get a book?" (which means in effect that the mother wants the child to bring a book).

3. Psychological manipulations: Any of the following verbal techniques which are attempts to get the child to want to comply.

a. Coaxing
Example: Saying, "Come on, now, please, don't touch the tape recorder." The pleading quality of the request distinguishes "Coaxing" from "Requesting gently".

b. Humoring
Example: A mother's laughingly saying, "Thank you, but no thank you," to a child who is rubbing saliva on the mother's leg.

c. Evaluating
Example: Saying, "Be a good boy and stop that."

d. Distracting or offering a substitute gratification or an alternative
Example: Distracting the child from the tape recorder by saying, "Why don't you draw a pretty flower for the lady?"

Saying, "If you want to be noisy, I want you to play in your room."

e. Offering an aid for self-control
Example: Saying, "We certainly don't want to break the tape recorder, do we? No, sir."

f. Ignoring
A mother's deliberate decision to influence the child by ignoring him.

Example: Deliberately ignoring the child when the mother senses that the child is continuing to open and close the door to annoy

her and attract her attention.

4. Bribing: Any verbal attempt to influence the child by offering a bribe.

   Example: Saying, "I'll take you to the Dairy Queen if you talk."

5. Warning or threatening: Any verbal attempt to influence by warning the child that the mother will do something painful unless the child complies.

   a. Withdrawal of love
      Example: Saying, "Mommy won't like you unless you stop."

   b. Withdrawal of things or privileges
      Example: Saying, "You won't get any dessert tonight if you don't behave."

   c. Physical punishment
      Example: Saying, "You want a spanking?"

   d. "Exile"
      Example: Saying, "I'll put you to bed if you don't sit up quietly."

6. Preventive reminding: Any casual reminder to prevent a possible incident.

   Example: Saying, "Be careful not to spill it."

7. Retroactive limit setting: Any verbal limit setting after the occurrence of the child's behavior.

   a. Reminding
      A casual reminder not to repeat an act.

      Example: Saying, "Don't do that next time."

   b. Scolding
      An emotional verbal expression of disapproval.

      Example: Saying, "I told you not to do that! You know better!"

   c. Correcting
      A strictly cognitive feed-back.

      Example: Saying, "No, that's a five," when the child misreads a number.

8. Rewarding: The positive side of "retroactive", verbal influence techniques.

Example: Praising the child.
Expressing appreciation for the child's effort.

B. Non-verbal techniques
1. Physical (motoric) techniques

a. Enforcement: All motoric techniques to influence the child's on-going behavior (not including physical punishment).

Example: Pushing a child who does not want to move.

Removing a child away from the tape recorder when he persists in poking it.

b. Punishment: Motoric, punitive actions after the occurrence of the child's undesirable behavior.

Example: Hitting, spanking, pulling hair.

2. "Exile"
Sending a child to his room or putting him to bed as punishment.

3. Deprivation of things or privileges
Telling a child that he will have no dessert or television program and the like. This category differs from threats in that the decision is final.

C. Ignoring the child's behavior
1. Punishable behavior not discouraged
Scored: Glaringly punishable behavior

Example: Hitting a sib.
Walking in with muddy shoes.
Touching moving parts of tape recorder.

Not scored: Making a moderate amount of noise.
Walking in front of an adult without saying, "Excuse me."
Genuine accidents.

Boarderline (not scored): Opening and looking into the interviewer's purse.
Hitting a sib when reasonably provoked.
Touching a non-moving part of tape recorder to see mother's reaction.

2. Rewardable behavior not encouraged
Scored: When a child agrees not to touch tape recorder any more and lives up to promise.

When a child brings in the newspaper saying, "Look, what I found."

Not scored: When a child helps himself to milk and drinks it without seeking help.

Boarderline (not scored): When a child ties his shoe lace with ease.

Relationships between Observation Categories and Hypotheses

The data which were used to test each hypothesis are presented in Table 40. In the first column are listed the hypotheses in the order in which they appeared in Chapter II. In the second column, the observation categories pertinent to each hypothesis are listed.

TABLE 40

OBSERVATION DATA RELATED TO EACH HYPOTHESIS

Hypothesis	Observation Category
II A 1 (explicit needs)	I A
II A 2 (implicit needs)	I B 2
II B 1 a (consulting)	II A 2
II B 1 b (gently requesting)	II A 1 a
II B 1 c (explaining)	II A 1 a (1) II A 1 b (1) II A 1 c (1)
II B 1 d (psychological manipulations)	II A 3
II B 1 d (bribing)	II A 4
II B 1 f (ordering)	II A 1 b
II B 1 g (ordering with irritation)	II A 1 c
II B 1 h (physical enforcement)	II B 1 a
II B 1 i (coercion)	II A 5

TABLE 40 (CONTINUED)

Hypothesis	Observation Category
II B 1 j (sensitizing)	Entire record of interactions, particularly II A 1 a (1) II A 1 b (1) II A 1 c (1) II A 2 II A 3 a II A 3 d
II B 1 k (preventive reminding)	II A 6
II B 2 a (retroactive limit setting)	II A 7 II B 1 b II B 2 II B 3
II B 2 b (harsh punishment)	II A 7 b II B 1 b
II B 2 c (rewarding)	II A 8

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____

Date _____

Children and their ages

1. _____ 6. _____

2. _____ 7. _____

3. _____ 8. _____

4. _____ 9. _____

5. _____ 10. _____

Other people living in the home

1. _____ 3. _____

2. _____ 4. _____

Occupation

Father

Mother

Mother's father

Education (number of years of schooling completed)

Father

Mother

Age of mother

Most mothers of four-year-old children have common problems almost every day. Since different mothers handle these problems in different ways, I would like to know how you handle these problems which I will describe to you.

1. Suppose your four-year-old child is happy and excited, and he comes running into the house slamming the door. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

2. Suppose during the coldest time of the winter, you have told your four-year-old child over and over to keep the door closed in order to keep the house warm. You can't even remember how many times you have told him to close the door after opening it, but again he has come in, leaving the door open. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

3. Suppose you just washed the kitchen floor and asked your four-year-old child to stay out of the kitchen. Fifteen minutes later, he comes in with his dirty, muddy shoes. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

4. To continue with the example of the muddy shoes on a clean kitchen floor, some mothers would say in a situation like this, "I told you to stay out of the kitchen, bad boy!" What do you think of this method of handling the child? Do you approve or disapprove? Why?

5. Suppose your four-year-old child is having a difficult time learning to put on his sweater by himself. What would you do in a situation like this?

6. To continue with the child who had a hard time putting on his sweater, suppose he finally succeeds in putting it on by himself. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?"

7. What, if anything, would you do the second time he succeeds in putting it (sweater) on by himself? How many times would you keep praising him?

8. Suppose your four-year-old child keeps trying to eat from your plate rather than eating exactly the same kind of food that is on his own plate. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

9. Suppose you are feeding a little baby, and your four-year-old child is quietly watching his little brother being fed. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

10. Suppose you promise your four-year-old child that you will take him to the store, but it rains and you have to tell him that you cannot take him today. Let's say the child is disappointed when he hears the bad news, but he is quiet and does not make a big fuss about his disappointment. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

11. Suppose you have a headache, and your four-year-old is noisy. Do you explain to him in a situation like this why you want him to be quiet? Does it work?

12. Suppose your four-year-old child is eating with unusually good table manners. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

13. Suppose you scolded your four-year-old child for doing something very serious like hurting his baby brother pretty badly. Half an hour later, the child still seems to be upset and sulking and pouting. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

14. Suppose you warned your four-year-old child to hold his glass of milk carefully so as not to spill it. Five minutes later, he drops it and makes a big mess. What would you do in a situation like this?

15. Suppose your four-year-old child keeps banging his spoon on his plate at the dinner table. How many times would you tell the child to stop before you do something?

16. What would you do if he kept banging his spoon after you told him to stop?

17. Suppose you just found out that your four-year-old child has knocked down and beat up the four-year-old child living next door. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

18. Suppose your four-year-old child keeps jumping on the furniture. What, if anything, would you do in a situation like this?

19. Suppose your four-year-old child was the only one in the house, and nothing was broken when you left the kitchen. When you return to the kitchen, you find out that your four-year-old has broken four of your best dishes. What would you do in a situation like this when you know that your four-year-old broke the dishes but says, "I didn't do it"?

20. Suppose your four-year-old child scribbles something on paper, and you can't even tell what he tried to draw or write. What, if anything, would you do if he says, "Momma, look"?

APPENDIX C

CHILD-REARING VALUES (MOTHERS' GOALS)

(Each item on a separate card and arranged in the following order:)

1. That he is affectionate.
2. That he is ambitious.
3. That he is neat and clean.
4. That he is considerate of others.
5. That he is curious about things.
6. That he is able to defend himself.
7. That he is dependable.
8. That he has a good education.
9. That he is happy.
10. That he is honest.
11. That he is liked by adults.
12. That he has good manners.
13. That he obeys his parents well.
14. That he is able to play by himself.
15. That he is popular with other children.
16. That he has self-control.
17. That he is a good student.
18. That he obeys his teachers.

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