CHAPTER - II

PROBLEMS AND TECHNIQUES OF INVESTIGATION :

Outline of Procedure :

Are there general norms of child rearing which can be related meaningfully to general norms of child behaviour, so that we can speak of personality types? Some cultural anthropologists have argued that cultures from more or less integrated wholes, configurations, or Gestalts. They believe that if a culture is to maintain its integration, it must produce - at least in part by the training of its children - personalities which fit into that culture. Thus child rearing is important as a mechanism for the transmission of culture, and its study is important as a clue to the configuration or Gestalt which characterizes the culture. How this point of view is for too intricate to the tested by empirical data from a single culture. Consequently, it is important in any study of child rearing to see whether there are any wide patterns in the behaviour of mothers, whether these are related to general patterns in the behaviour of their children. Anthropologists
interested in this question have often followed Freudian lines and have focused on the emotional, affective life of the child. Questions of strictness and permissiveness in weaning, toilet training, sex, and dependency have received much attention. Recently, however, a group of psychologists has focused attention on another motive - the need for achievement (Mc Clelland et al.) They found that individuals differed widely in their need for achievement when the achievement was for its own sake and not for external reward. They also found some relationship between mother-child relations and the amount of achievement need in the children.

Are there identifiable differences between urban and rural parents? Are there class differences in child rearing in a culture where family ties include both rich and poor? Are there urban-rural differences where many city people maintain strong ties with their village of origin? The questions posed have been of a psychological, anthropological or sociological cast. How do mothers from industrial mothers treat their children.

The research technique:

This investigation is deliberately modeled after selected American studies so that results obtained can be compared with those previously obtained in other countries. The most important of these models was the interviewing schedule evolved by the staff of Laboratory of Human Development of the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University, for use with mothers in two Boston suburbs. This schedule, with the results obtained from its use, was described in detail in Patterns of Child Rearing (Sears et al.). It covered a wide range of maternal behavior and explored most of the facets of child rearing considered important by contemporary psychologists.

The second model for the child-rearing study was a series of experiments on the achievement motive (Atkinson). In this series, techniques for the measurement of the strength of the achievement need in children

were set forth (Aronson, Knapp, 1958) and the child-rearing attitudes of mothers were related to the amount of achievement need in their children (Winterbottom, 1958).

The third model in the child-rearing study was test situations which psychologists had found to be useful in giving insight into similarities and differences of cultures. One of these, the Draw-a-Man test (Goodenough, 1926) had been used in the Middle East (Dennis, 1957a), and the other, known as the


USES test, had been evolved in an attempt to compare Middle Eastern children and adults with persons elsewhere (Dennis, 1957 b).  

From these three models were evolved interviewing schedules and protocols in Gujarati for use with working mothers, and keeping these aims into consideration two sets of attitude inventories for 50 mothers whose children were observed in social interactionary process along with mother were prepared. A group of 100 mothers of five to six years old children who were residing in an industrial setup in different areas of Ahmedabad, were interviewed. Special schedules were prepared for the purpose. 

A group of 50 mothers, of children between five and ten years of age studying in Gujarati schools of Ahmedabad, were administered two sets of inventories assessing child rearing attitudes and behaviour. The two attitude instruments used and the PAKI, which employs a Likert technique, and the 

PAS, which is based on a forced format. The study utilized PARI scales into three factors: three subscores factorially derived subscores on the parental attitude research instrument. (Authoritarian, Hostility-Rejection, and Democratic). The PAS composed of four scales: Disciplinarian, indulgent, protective, and rejecting were obtained for each other. Acknowledged parental attitudes and behaviour were assessed through use of two-part questionari are of the parental attitude research instrument.

(PARI Schaefer & Bell, 1957). 8

Some of these items were modified in an attempt to make them more acceptable to members of middle socio-economic class environment. Items were factor analyzed using the model and single plane rotational procedure developed by Thurstone. On each of the three PARI factors and on the disciplinarian and rejecting factors of the attitude survey the mothers were divided at the

median into a High Group and a Low Group. In addition, extreme groups were selected from approximately the upper and lower quartiles of the distributions.

The behaviour of methods in High Groups and Low Groups, and in Extreme groups, was compared in accordance with the hypotheses stated below. The data was further explored for possible significant relationships other than those hypothesized.

**Hypothesis:**

This study aims at evaluating the general hypothesis that differences in maternal attitudes towards child rearing and family life are associated with differences in maternal behaviour. This general hypothesis is based on a concept of attitude which includes behaviour as one of its components. From this general hypothesis the following specific sub-hypothesis have been derived, expressed in terms of behavioural manifestations of particular attitudes.

1. Mothers who are high on the Authoritarian factor of the schedule prepared by trial and error method by the author of this study
will exhibit more restrictive observation directing, and restriction behaviour in an interaction situation than mothers low on the Authoritarian factor of the schedule prepared.

2. Mothers who are high on the Hostility-Rejection factor of the ERI schedule will exhibit more difference, forbidding and criticism and less verbal interaction, responsiveness to questions, interactive play, helping, and praise-approval affection than mothers low on the Hostility-Rejection factor of the schedule.

3. Mothers who are high on the Democratic factor of the ERI schedule will exhibit qualities of more teaching, explaining, demonstrating, questioning, than mothers low on the Democratic factor of the ERI schedule.

4. Mothers who are high on the Disciplinarian factor of the II schedule will exhibit more attentive observation, directing, and restriction behaviour in the mother-child
interaction than mothers who are low on the Disciplinarian factor of the schedule.

5. Mothers who are high on the Rejecting Factor of the PAS schedule will exhibit more indifference, forbidding, criticism, and less verbal interaction, responsiveness to questions, interactive play, helping, and praise-approval affection than mothers who are low on the Rejecting Factor of the II schedule.

A conceptual analysis of the domain of parental attitude was made as a basis for developing an inventory of specific when a concept was developed, either on the basis of theory or on the basis of the writings of others, an operational definition was attempted by writing items designed to measure the concept. These schedules are dealing with items containing socially unacceptable content. These questionnaires elicit truthful answers due to the element of social desirability. This has been described as the tendency of a subject to answer an item as she thinks she would rather than as she actually feels.
preliminary scales were tried out on small samples of mothers and items were eliminated if they did not reveal variation in attitudes or did not convey with other items used to define the scale. After three additional try outs the five most reliable items for each scale were selected for the final form. It is a Likert-type scale and is scored by assigning weights to the response categories of strong agreement, mild agreement, mild disagreement, and strong disagreement. A scale score consists of the sum of the items weights.

A 30 minute session in a standardized play situation was arranged for each mother and child. During this period mother-child interaction was observed and categorized as it took place, in accordance with the schedule of 12 behaviour categories for the mother and 12 categories for the child. Each 30 minute observation session consisted for three consecutive periods of ten minutes each, making behavioral measures available for the total half hour period as well as for each ten minute period.
The recording method used in this study was based on the continuous recording method used by Bales (1951), with the behaviour categories developed by Merrill (1946); Moustakes et al. (1956) and others. The criteria for the selection of categories were that they bend themselves to clear definition, that they be easily recognized in the process of social interaction, and that they be sufficiently comprehensive to cover the behaviour that could occur during the play situation.

It contained children's furniture on which toys and materials were set out. A chair for the mother near a table containing a number of current popular magazines was also in the room.

(1) Encouraging verbalization
(2) Seclusion of the mother
(3) Fear of harming the child

(4) Strictness
(5) Irritability
(6) Deficitation
(7) Rejection of the Homemaking Role
(8) Approval of Activity
(9) Avoidance of Communication
(10) Ascendance of Mother
(11) Intrusiveness
(12) Comradeship and Sharing
(13) Acceleration & Development
(14) Dependency of the Mother
(15) Suppression of Sexuality.

Internal consistency reliability coefficients were calculated by Schaefer and Bell (1958) for each of the scales with Kuder - Richardson Formula 20 and were of the order of .40 to .77. The PARI was factor analyzed by Schaefer (1957) on a normal sample of 100 mothers, yielding three factors.

Factor I which included authoritarian controlling factor; Factor II which included hostility-rejection factor; Factor III which included democratic-equalitarian factor; Factor IV which included Disciplinarian indulgent factor; Factor V which included protective rejecting factor.
Scale IV and V is a forced choice one in which subjects choose one of each pair of items that best represents his attitude.

Out of 100 mothers who were available were taken for sub-sampling at different stages of the study. Generally it is very difficult to contact all mothers and children at one time in different schools, therefore, 50 mothers could be contacted in this study in my opinion seems an adequate sample difficulties of getting into touch with all mothers and getting adequate answers from them.

Categories of Mother-Child Interaction:

The criteria for the selection of categories were that they lend themselves to clear definition, that they be easily recognized in the process of social interaction, and that they be sufficiently comprehensive to cover the behaviour that would occur during the play situation. They are descriptive rather than inferential. The categories, with their definitions, are as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1 Non attention</td>
<td>Mother pay no attention to child. Mother may be reading magazines, looking out of the window, staring into space.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2 Attentive Observation</td>
<td>Mother attentively watches child and his activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3 Verbal interaction</td>
<td>Mother makes verbal comments to child showing recognition or awareness of child or his activity, other than remarks which are scored in other categories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4 Questions</td>
<td>Mother directly questions child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M5 Responds to questions</td>
<td>Mother answers child question.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M6 No-Response</td>
<td>Mother does not respond to child's question.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M7 Interactive play</td>
<td>Mother plays with child within the framework of child's conception of activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M8 Helping</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M9 Directing</td>
<td>Mother specifically states the course of action which she wants child to follow.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
M10  Restriction  
Mother interferes with child's behaviour or attempts to modify child's behaviour by reducing the intensity, speed, or manner of executing.

M11  Criticism  
Mother criticises, blames, expresses hostility towards, or punishes child.

M12  Praise-Approval Affection  
Mother praises child, gives encouragement to child, or expresses affection, such as petting or hugging child. 
Example: 'you've sung a lovely song.'

Categories Descriptive of Child Behaviour  
(M = Mother  C = Child)

C1  Out-of-contact  
Child is not in contact with play situation or with Mother. 
Example: child is starting into space or looking out of window.

C2  Attentive Observation  
Child watches mother or her activity.

C3  Verbal Interaction  
Child makes verbal comments to mother other than those which are scorable in other categories, showing awareness of mother's presence.

C4  Seeking Help  
Child asks mother for help
C5 Seeking information
Child asks mother for information; e.g., who is the president of India?

C6 Seeking permission
Child asks mother for permission.

C7 Interactive play
Child and mother are playing together interactively.

C8 Independent play
Child plays by himself.

C9 Suggesting
Child suggests an activity.

C10 Directing
Child specifically states the course of action he wants mother to follow.

C11 Criticise
Child criticises or blames mother, expresses hostility towards mother, or becomes physically aggressive.

C12 Seeking-Attention-Approval-Praise
Child calls attention to himself or his activity, desiring mother focussing on himself and what he is doing.

The Recording of the Mother-Child Interaction:
For each 30 minute session separate to recording sheets were used for three ten minutes periods, thus making possible an analysis for each period as well as
for the total session. Recording was continuous, with each observed verbal or non-verbal behaviour on the part of the mother or the child tallied in the appropriate category. The verbal recording unit was approximately equal to a simple sentence.

The group was homogeneous in socio-economic status and resided in a desirable though non-prestige area of the city of Ahmedabad.

Each mother was again told that the purpose of the research was to study the play behaviour of the young children when the mother was present. The mother was told that during the 30 minute session she was free to do as she wished, that she might think of the session as a half hour in her own home during which she was unoccupied by household duties and was free to be in the same room with her child.

In order to insure objectivity in scoring the interaction sessions, no knowledge of the mother's attitude scores or of the socio-economic factors was available to the observer. When all observations were completed and the data was ready for analysis, the attitudes scores were decoded and compared with the behaviour scores.
This has been described as the tendency of a subject to answer an item as he thinks he should rather than as he actually feels (e.g., "parents should" rather than "I should"). The element of "Social desirability" has been drawn from the research of Edwards (1957) who isolated the factor of social desirability from tests such as the MMPI and showed that it could account for many differences in studies using this test.

In one study Edwards reported a product moment correlation of .87 between the probability of endorsement of personality statements and social desirability scale value. Generally parents tend to respond accordingly to cultural norms rather than their own feeling. The scale is forced choice one in which subjects choose one of each pair item that best represents his attitude. 30 pairs of items were given.


14. The author is highly grateful to the guide for helping in preparing the questionnaires, etc.
Sampling:

The problems of sampling range from the practical difficulties of obtaining human subjects to the questions of making generalizations from the population.

Practical difficulties in obtaining subjects result, for example, in our knowing little about child-rearing practices in lower-class homes; such parents do not understand nor are they interested in research. The sampling procedure was quite simple. Because we wanted to ask the mothers about behaviour of children.

100 mothers were interviewed, because we wanted to ask the mothers about behaviour of children in general and to get information about child-rearing attitudes. Among 100 mothers only 50 mothers were available with children for observation in social interactionary process such story telling, each child was given a pencil and a piece of paper and asked to draw a man.

Of this sample, then completeness cannot be claimed. A special effort was made to avoid the obvious mistake of omitting lower-class families. While completeness is not claimed for this sample, it may be felt
that it is fairly representative of the children and mothers and of their behaviour. Demographic and related characteristics of the samples are presented in the next chapter.

**Interviewing:**

It was decided to use the interviewing approach in this study because it was the only way to obtain sufficient data on a wide range of topics within a reasonable time. Responses received to the questions posed could therefore be interpreted on a basis of generalized personal knowledge of the people and their culture. Many a mother was enthusiastic at the opportunity to describe some problem, and talked at such length that there was no doubt about her opinions and attitudes, yet there were instances in which the mothers' reports did not seem to be accurate.

**The Concept of Attitude - Its Measurement:**

The purpose of this study reported here is to investigate the relationship between maternal attitudes towards child rearing and family life in an urban industrial community of Ahmedabad City, as measured by questionnaires, and the observed interaction of the mother with
her preschool child in a specific play situation.

The hypotheses to be listed are based on the concept that an attitude includes as one of its components a tendency to act or react in defined ways in particular stimulus situations. The study uses specific observation techniques which yield quantitative measures of overt behaviour. The basic question to be answered is whether mothers who reflect different attitudes also differ in social interactions with their children. A secondary question to be addressed is whether different attitude instruments differentially predict social behaviour.

In the child study area it may be pointed out a vital need for studying a major link between parental attitudes and the behaviour of children. The relation between parental attitudes and how parents actually behave with their children. It may be described many of the existing studies as having a "reverse leap-frog" design in that inferences form obtained differences in parental attitudes involve a backward extrapolation in time, conceptually 'heaping over' the actual behaviour of parents with the children. It is hoped that the present study
will contribute towards filling the gap in the area of research. Moreover, the present research should be of value in helping to assess the behavioural predict-ability of different attitude scales for parent-child interactions. Parents of these children were administered questionnaires that assessed child-rearing attitudes and behaviour. Social uncertainty were positively correlated with (a) the magnitude of the absolute difference between parents in their acknowledged child-rearing attitudes and behaviour and (b) the degree to which the mother exceeded the father in warm personal contact with the child. The whole study gives an atmosphere of child's physical environment with a vital section of city to realize the nature of its origin, growth and development. This is done in order to evaluate whether a city, which is an abode of millions of human beings, ever takes into consideration to vital needs of children of the human race. The study also gives the effect child-rearing attitudes and forms of misdemeanour selected for comparison as viewed by adults.

Every manifestation of conscious life, however, simple or complex, general or particular, can be treated as an attitude, because everyone evolves a tendency to
action. According to G.W. Allport attitude is "a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experiences, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related." Krech and Crutchfield propose the following definition: perceptual and cognitive processes, with respect to some aspect for the individual's world, an attitude is essentially a form of anticipatory response, a beginning of action, which is not necessarily completed.

Sherif and Centrill describe attitudes as among "those components of the psychological make-up of the individual which determine that he shall react not in a passive or neutral way but in a selective and characteristic way especially in relation to certain specific stimulus situations." 

Fusion states that an attitude is the 'probability of the occurrence of defined behaviour (or social action) in a defined situation.... Attitudes will be studied for their utility in prediction'.

No one has seen an attitude; an attitude, however real to its possessor, is an abstraction, the existence of which is inferred either from non-verbal overt behaviour, or from verbal or symbolic behaviour.

Smith, Bruner, and White define attitude as a "predisposition to experience a class of objects in certain ways, with characteristic effect; to be motivated by this class of objects in characteristic ways; and to act with respect to these objects in a characteristic fashion. In brief, an attitude in a predisposition to experience, to be motivated by, and to act toward, a class of objects in a predictable manner." Green defines an

attitude as a latent variable which describes a "consistency among responses to a specified set of stimuli or social objects." 20

Rosenberg et al (1960) have described attitudes as made up of cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Their schematic presentation is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurable</th>
<th>Intervening</th>
<th>Measurable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Variables</td>
<td>Variables</td>
<td>Dependent Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stimuli (individuals, situations, social issues, social groups, and other attitude objects)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Affect</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sympathetic nervous responses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Verbal statements of affect</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Perceptual responses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Attitudes</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cognition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Verbal statements of belief</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Overt actions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Behaviour</strong></td>
<td><strong>Verbal statements concerning behaviour</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

they have been particularly concerned with relationship among the three major components of attitudes and through experimental methods have studied attitude change by systematically manipulating one of the components.

Warran and Carmichael hold that since there is complexity in our ideals they are seldom definite, and do not lead to form concrete experiences. But they continue to develop in the form of deep lying ideal attitudes, which serves motives of action and control the course of our time.21

In Kohler's Gestalt psychology22 the term 'Attitude' is found to express one kind of psychological stress or activity within the organism. He remarks that from the viewpoint of Gestalt psychology a change of attitude involves a definite psychological stress exerted

upon a sensory field by process originating in other parts of the nervous system. To some degree the organisation of the field may yield to it and the most compulsory organization which can occur in experience is a dynamical event or attitude consisting of one member from which it issues and the other one towards which it is directed.

From the above it may be concluded that there is actually no difference among psychologists on the conception of attitude has been studied from different quarters with different points of view.

The present study is concerned with child rearing attitude what Green refers to as 'elicited verbal attitude and action attitudes', or, expressed in terms of Rosenberg et al., the relationship between the affective-cognitive components (verbal statements of affect and belief) and the behavioural components (overt actions).
Probably the earliest study of the measurement of parental attitudes by a self inventory method was that of Jaws (1925). The purpose was to develop a relatively objective means of rating the attitudes and practices of parents. A check list of words describing attitudes (e.g. affectionate, apathetic) was presented to 50 mothers with instructions to check those which applied to them. No data on reliability or validity was presented and on attempts were made to set up for differentiate groups. Nevertheless, this study represents a pioneer effort in the field parental attitude measurement.

Koch et al (1934) used the thustone technique to construct two scale for the measurement of attitudes toward children's freedom. The attitudes of less educated subjects were found to be more inconsistent and less liberal than the more educated groups.

In another early study Stogdill (1936) analysed differences in adult attitudes toward various aspects of child behavior. A 10 point rating scale was used to
indicate judgments about how seriously or unfavourably the adult rather felt the behaviour described in the item affected the child. Significant differences were found between the reactions of parents, students, and psychologists on these scales. The latter endorsed more freedom and extroverted behavior for children, while parents endorsed stronger control and more introverted, withdrawing social adjustment for children. We also found that enlightened attitudes towards children were associated with high socioeconomic status, special education in social or psychological sciences, favourable home training, and residence in the East or Middle West, but not with sex, marital status, or intelligence.

Read (1945) studied the relationship of measured parental attitudes toward parental control behavior of children by comparing the responses of 32 parents with the ratings of their nursery school children on a behavior inventory. Although correlations between attitudes and ratings of child behavior were not significant, she concluded that there was a relationship between liberalism in view of parental control and child behavior.
Anderson (1946) prepared a study by Miles on the relationship of parental attitude scores and the leadership status and social acceptance of the child by the school group. Scales measuring over-protection, dominance, and encouragement of social development were found to be related to the child's social adjustment.

Shoben (1949) developed an attitude scale which differentiated between problem and non-problem parents. The items consisted of general statements tapping affectively toned points of view that parents might have regarding children. The items were grouped into four subscales: Dominant, possessive, ignoring, and miscellaneous. Shoben concluded that: "(a) parental behaviour, as represented by parental attitudes, is measurably consistent; that (b) parent attitudes are meaningfully associated with child adjustment; that (c) apparently relevant and internally consistent variables can be extracted from a pool of items by means of the combined judgments of sophisticated judges."
Trapp and Kausler (1958), on the basis of dominance scores and parent differences scores on the Shoben Inventory, were able to reliably predict avoidance of adult contact in preschool children. However, Gordon (1957) obtained negative results in attempting to predict parent behavior ratings with the Shoben Inventory. Eaton (1958) also obtained negative results in predicting children's adjustment ratings on the basis of parent score on the Shoben Inventory.

Harris, Gough, and Martin (1950) examined the relationship between parental authoritarianism, permisiveness, parent-child integration, parental rigidity, and good judgment, and children's attitudes towards Negroes. Very few relationships were found between these parental attitudes and children's ethnic prejudice. The authors concluded that there was no simple one-to-one relationship to explain children's ethnic attitudes on the basis of parental child rearing views.

Mark (1953) assembled 139 items which appeared to be relevant to the concept of the schizophrenogenic mother and administered them to 100 mothers of 190 hospitalized males schizophrenics and to 100 mothers...
of controls matched for age, religion, education, socioeconomic status, and age of the sons, of the items. 67 differentiated the groups between the 10 percent level of confidence. However, Schaefer and Doll (1958) reported that a replication of Mark's study by McFarland failed to find significant differences between mothers of normals and of schizophrenics.

Porter (1954) developed a scale to measure parental acceptance of the child. He found that individual responses showed a high internal consistency and that scores differentiated among parents. However, Burchinal et al (1957) were unable to find any significant relationships between parents responses to the Porter acceptance scale and children's responses to the Rogers test of personality adjustment. When Burchinal (1958) compared both the Shoben and Porter a attitude scales with personality test scores of children, practically all correlations were insignificant.
The attitude scales used in the present research, the parental attitude research inventory and the Maryland parental attitude survey, will be discussed in the following chapter.

Attitude scales as a means of studying maternal variables, when compared with other methods, offer the advantages of speed, efficiency, and objectivity. In addition, their quantitative scores make statistical comparisons possible. Many of the studies cited report significant relationships between parental attitudes and child adjustment variables. Others, however, report ambiguous or negative results. They leave unanswered the question of the relationship of responses on an attitude questionnaire to actual behavior. Zuckerman et al (1960) and Hoffman and Lippitt (1960) express the idea that parents' verbal descriptions of their attitudes may be significantly discrepant from their actual behavior. It is with this problem that the present is concerned.
Studies of child rearing:

From earliest times men of the Western world have studied children as a key to social change. Plato, Locke, Rousseau, Dewey, and many others have looked to children to discover the true nature of mankind, and to child rearing as the crucial element in the building of a better society. There are strong environmentalist assumptions that a proper environment, respecting one's inborn indelible rights, would make it possible for all persons to grow up capable of accepting and discharging the responsibilities of freedom. In such a culture, where hereditary rights are given a minimal emphasis, it is hardly surprising that the stress should be on an appropriate environment. In the early nineteenth century the theologians Calvin and Wesley and the philosophers Locke and Rousseau seemed to have been of major influence. A century later it was psychologists and pediatricians who dominated. In spite of the plethora of counsel, however, there was little scientific or empirical foundation to support the advisers. Only in the twentieth century did the serious study of child rearing begin. Perhaps major
Credit for this launching should to the psychologist G.S. Hall. Infants were reared in semi-isolation to see whether they would then exhibit normal motor development, children were placed in "authoritarian" Caesarfaire groups to see whether they did better under one condition then under the other and hundreds of other ingenious experiments were carried out. Cultural factors determined the conclusions of many such investigations.

The earliest philosophy of child rearing, if it can be called a philosophy, was primordial, pragmatic, and directed toward self-survival and family survival; the father of the family kept a thoughtful eye on his sons, particularly as they reached puberty.

Plato, in the Republic, thought of youth as eminently teachable, at least the boy child from an aristocratic family. Plato's notions of child rearing were intellectual; bring the boy to be a man of the most sophisticated and knowledgeable type, willing and able to bring his education and talents to the service of his state.
Rousseau set forth a philosophy of child rearing that shook up the aristocratic society of his time (1712-1778). Let the child mature in the total freedom. Rousseau has contributed in obvious and implicit ways to modern theories of child-rearing.

In the Victorian era children, boys or girls were thought of as miniature adults. Their role was to be seen but not heard, to be obedient, to be little ladies or little gentlemen. The Victorian theory of child rearing was genetic constitutional.

These early studies in the 1950's are significant in the historical development of systematic efforts to analyze parents' behavior and its effects on the growing child. However, they are limited by their sole reliance on case histories, lack of precision in operationally different and measuring variables, and unwarranted assumptions of casual relationships.

One of the most comprehensive studies of parental attitudes and practices and their relationship to child variables was made by Maccoby and Levin (1957).

This study was based on standardized interviews with mothers of preschool children, in which they described their child-rearing practices as well as certain aspects of the child's behaviour. The research studied customary child-rearing practices of lower and middle class mothers, the effects of certain practices on selected personality characteristics of children, and factors associated with the use of different child-rearing practices. From the transcription of the interview 138 scales were rated for each mother, with seven main factors:

A - Permissiveness - strictness;
B - Warmth of mother - child relationship;
C - General family adjustment;
D - Responsible child-training orientation;
E - Aggressiveness and puritanism;
F - Perception of husband;
G - Orientation toward child's physical well being.

Natural personality dimensions were derived from scale ratings.
since all data were derived from interviews, the ratings for mother and child were not independent. This study, nevertheless, is an outstanding attempt to quantitatively and qualitatively analyze aspects of child-rearing practices simultaneously and to evaluate their influence in the socialization process.

Sewell, Mussen, and Harris (1955) have studied child-rearing practices using methods similar to those of Sears, Maccoby, and Levin. First they interviewed a large sample of mothers of 5 year olds and 6 year olds. From these interviews they made ratings and judgments about child-rearing practices and then performed a factor analysis of their results. The biggest overlap, then, between Sewell, Mussen, and Harris and Sears, Maccoby, and Levin is their agreement that at least one very important variable in child-rearing practices is the degree of permissiveness or

strictness that a mother shows toward her children. It should be mentioned again that these findings are based on what parents report they do with their children. It is not known whether the children are as their parents describe them.

Another study to be reported here used statistical techniques other than factor analyses in a similar effort to get at meaningful dimensions of child rearing practices. Crandall and Preston (1955) working with a small member of mothers whose children differed widely in age, but also using interview techniques, reported four major dimensions of maternal behaviour. Their first major cluster they named affection. This cluster consists of rather highly interrelated maternal tendencies toward expressing affection, rapport, and much contact between mother and child. It can be seen that this cluster of items has a similarity to the factor identified by Sears,

Maccoby, and Levin as "warmth of mother-child relationship" and to the third factor isolated by Sewell, Mossen, and Harris, which relates to the amount of activity shared by parent and child.

The studies thus far reviewed have attempted to link family life variables to child behavior variables by analysis of such factors as parental background, personality characteristics, maternal adjustment, socioeconomic status, and parental attitudes and practices in the area of child-rearing.

However, they have depended on either analysis of case records or inference or information attained through interviews with parents. Reliance upon reports of behavior rather than actual observation of behavior raises the problem of accuracy because of such factors as selective recall, deliberate distortion, or unconscious distortion. The study reported here has utilized direct observation of behavior with specific measurement techniques as a more objective method than rating scales or interviews.
An individual may manifest uncertainly in a given situation if he feels to predict further events in which he is involved. At least two general classes of such situations are of interest. Social situation, in which an individual is unable to predict the manner in which he will respond to by other persons. A child's expectations about how other persons outside the home will respond to him may derive from his previous experience, with his parents. Differences between parents in their responses to their child's past behavior may prevent the child from developing a generalized expectancy for how other persons react toward him in the future. These differences may therefore create a temporary caution on the part of the child in responding to new interpersonal situations. Such caution, by relatively long response latencies, should be manifested until sufficient experience has been gained to develop specific expectancies for others' behavior has become fairly predictable, uncertainty should decrease.

Personally the earliest studies of an objective type, growing out of psychoanalytic theories of family
relationships of Flugel. Symonds reported the results of two investigations. The first study compared 31 pairs of accepted and rejected children, drawn from case reports and matched for sex, grade, social background, and level of intelligence.

The measuring instruments were check lists of items of the child's behaviour, parental harmony, and factors in the parents' childhood. The accepted children showed more socially acceptable behaviour, were more confident of the future less confused and discouraged, and had fewer feelings of insecurity than the rejected children. Symonds' second investigation also based on case reports, compared children of domi­natory parents were described as polite, sensitive, self-conscious, shy, and more conforming, while children of submissive parents were described as disobedient, irresponsible, independent, stubborn, and unmanageable.