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TECHNIQUES USED BY RURAL MOTHERS IN REARING THEIR
ONLY CHILD WHO WAS UNDER THREE YEARS OF AGE

by

Ruth Friddle Wilson

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R. F. W.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the early years of life and of childhood experiences to the formation of personality has been attested to by many and critics in the field of child growth and development. For most children the greatest influence in these early years is the home situation in which they are born--their parents, other relatives, the socio-economic status of their family, their cultural and religious inheritance. All of these, to some degree or another, contribute to the environment which in turn controls the kinds of experiences children have before their environment is broadened to include experiences with a number of other children, the church, the school, and the neighborhood at large. The most important influences in the home situation, however, are the parents. The young child depends completely on his parents for his physical existence; this fact parents have recognized over the centuries. In recent years psychologists have pointed out that the child has emotional needs that his parents, or their substitutes, can adequately meet. Psychologists point, also, to the relationship between mental illness, juvenile delinquency, and emotional and social maladjustment and adequately met emotional needs during childhood. This, they place the parent in the position of being a significant force in the development of his child's personality. The degree and kind of force he exerts is determined by the relationship he has with his child.

The parent-child relationship is very complex; its quality is revealed in numerous subtle and overt ways. One of the ways it is

relationship is reflected is through the techniques of guidance of the parent used to direct his child's development and behavior. It is this area of parent-child relationships, the techniques of guidance used by parents, that this study investigated.

Studies of actual child rearing practices or techniques seem to be of great importance at this time for several reasons. The American family has changed considerably since the turn of the century. For most families are one generation families. Although there are fewer children per family, the proportion of dependent children to the total population is increasing. Families are more mobile and changes in residence necessitate many adjustments by all family members. Many mothers of young children are working and the number steadily increases. All of these changes may have implications for changes in parent-child relationships. In regard to the change to smaller families, Ross observed that: "The child in the small family often carries a heavy burden in the matter of attention and care, undivided and undivided."¹ If this is so, it is true, how is the result of this one change reflected in the parent's behavior toward his child?

Another reason for studying parent practices in child rearing is that much literature is available to parents which describes methods of child rearing but little is known, other than opinion and speculation, of the extent of use of such literature. "Expert" advice is found in advertisements: in mother-back editions, daily newspaper columns, advertisements of products for babies, magazines with frequent ads; sometimes,

¹ Katherine Mc G., The Surrogate School (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1955), pp. 35-36.

popular articles, and a great variety of specialists. Not only do the
 reports recorded by these sources frequently disagree with each other,
 but parents might find such disagreements helpful since it would pro-
 vide them with one or two alternatives if the first one did not pro-
 duce the desired results. Other parents might be comforted by the fact
 that others, with the result that they may be so unsure of themselves
 that they prefer to do nothing at all. Of course, if methods
 are to be actively used to rear their children, parents should use
 current literature as sources of child rearing information. The
 availability of this information is available to them as parents of
 children on the parent-child relationship.

Literature is not the only source of information available to
 obtain ideas and theories of child rearing. Doctors and other
 professional possibilities today for information about child care,
 as children in the initial years of life are being reared, and
 the fact that there is no lack of obstetricians, pediatricians, psycho-
 pathologists, radiologists, and other baby specialists. The Agricultural Ex-
 tension Service, the State University, and the local classes, all of
 which are available to parents as sources of information about child
 rearing and child care. Do these sources are not the same as those of
 the past? The answer to this question is yes. The
 objectives of the study of this investigation is a part.

The primary purpose of the later auxiliary research study, con-
 ducted by a child psychologist, a sociologist, and a home economist,
 was to study the communication of information about child care and re-
 lated to parents of young children. The study was also to study the

Verbal, intellectual, social and emotional levels of skill as their favorable and unfavorable behavior as to the who-relationships existed between the mother's techniques and (1) the child's age, (2) the child's sex, (3) the mother's age, (4) the mother's education, (5) the mother's occupation, (6) the socio-economic rating of the family, and (7) the years of infarction for the type of technique used.

Several terms have special meaning in relation to this study.

Their definitions are as follows:

Infants were children less than twelve months old.

One year olds were children between twelve and the by-three months old.

Two year olds were children between two to-four and three-five months old.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The first tentative effort at research study found regarding parents' practices in child rearing was initiated only two or four years ago and that another decade passed before another such study was reported, which was the relative success of research into this area of parent-child relationships. Only within the last decade has any appreciable amount of research been done which was concerned with the methods or techniques parents use to rear their child; very few of these have investigated parents' sources of information about child rearing.

The following review of studies related to this investigation will be given in chronological order and will again be divided into two major groups: studies reported prior to 1950 and studies reported thereafter. Since several of these studies were concerned also with children older than the ones in this study, from birth to three years of age, the findings related to this younger age group will receive the most emphasis. A brief discussion of the services as a method of obtaining data in the area of parent-child relationships will conclude the chapter.

Studies prior to 1950. The first study of child rearing practices, reported by Anderson,¹ was also the most extensive ever reported; over three thousand families with children between the ages of one and five years were questioned about their child rearing practices. The study was

¹ John E. Anderson, The Young Child in the Home (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936).

conducted by the Committee on the Education and Training of the Infant and Preschool Child of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

A number of the results of this report appear relevant to the one at hand. In regard to punishment and methods of discipline, more boys than girls were punished at one year of age, but after that observed differences between sexes in the amount of punishment was insignificant. The amount of punishment increased through three years of age, then it declined. Parents of the "average" one year old spanked him about twice a week. Other methods of control used at this age were scolding, reasoning and ignoring. The "average" three year old was punished three or four times per month. He was also disciplined by reasoning and scolding, and less often by ignoring, deprivation of a pleasure, or by being shut out of a room, or on a chair, or in a corner.

Parents in the lower socio-economic group were more likely to resort to spanking and to do so more frequently than were the higher socio-economic groups. Scolding and getting the child into a corner were methods of control found to be more common in the lower classes; ignoring, isolation, reasoning and deprivation of a pleasure were methods used more often by the higher classes. Further socio-economic class differences were found in response to the literature on child care read during the year prior to the interview; parents of the higher socio-economic classes were so much more likely to have read such literature. However, about half of all parents had read no books on child care in the past year.

Perhaps the most widely known study of parents' practices in

rearing young children is the Chicago study reported by Davis and Havighurst² and, in part, by Ericson.³ The study described differences in the cultural training of children whose parents were of a different social and cultural level. Data were gathered by interviews with 100 white and 100 Negro families with each group about equally divided between the middle social class and the lower social class. Findings indicated that membership in a social class probably had more influence on child rearing practices than membership in a cultural group. Greater differences in practices were found between the two social classes than between Negroes and whites of the same social class. Significant findings were: middle class parents were more severe in weaning and toilet training, they scheduled infant feeding more rigidly, they restricted their children more and expected them to assume responsibility for themselves earlier; lower-class mothers were generally more permissive than those of the middle-class in their child rearing practices.

The findings of some recent studies, discussed later in this chapter, did not always support these social class differences and some found the lower class to be the least permissive. Havighurst and Davis⁴ attribute these differences in findings to a number of factors: changes in child rearing ideology, inadequacies in sampling, over generalization of findings to an entire social group, differences between geographical

² Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, 11:698-710, December, 1946.

³ Martha C. Ericson, "Child-rearing and Social Status," American Journal of Sociology, 53:190-192, November, 1946.

⁴ Robert Havighurst and Allison Davis, "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, 20:438-442, August, 1955.

regions, religions, and nationality background, and the method used to obtain data.

Although the questions were asked in a different way, the study by Jersild⁵ of the joys and problems of child rearing is somewhat similar to the portion of the present study concerned with the favorable and unfavorable behavior of children, as viewed by their mothers. The families represented were drawn mainly from urban, white, middle class groups. However, enough suburban and low socio-economic families were in the sample for the authors to report findings significant for these groups. Many more urban parents than suburban parents mentioned problems related to health and to living quarters such as inadequate space and resulting irritability. Parents of low socio-economic status mentioned the problem of living quarters more than any other problem; also, these parents appeared to show less awareness and appreciation of the psychological characteristics of their children than did parents of higher economic status.⁶

Parents tended to describe in more general terms those qualities in their children they considered to be satisfying than the ones which were displeasing or liabilities. About two and a half times more items of satisfaction were mentioned than present problems or sources of dissatisfaction. Personality traits, temperament, character and disposition were the category mentioned as the source of most satisfaction to parents,

⁵ Arthur Jersild, et al., Joys and Problems of Child Rearing (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949).

⁶ Ibid., p. 121.

with more than four-fifths of the families indicating these to be this category for almost two-thirds of the children in the sample. Undesirable personality traits and factors related to routines were considered by the parents to be their major past and present problems, with the latter more than three-fifths of the families indicating these to be a one-third and more than one-fourth, respectively, of the children. Differences were also revealed between parents of boys and parents of girls: slightly more items of satisfaction were mentioned by parents for their daughters, while slightly more problems were mentioned by parents for their sons.

When the data were tabulated by age groups, information became available as to the joint satisfactions of parents with children up to four years of age. For this age group, the group most similar to the general sample, the major satisfactions were, in the following order: (1) close relationship and mutual affection, (2) qualities of child's relationship with other persons and with relatives, (3) personality traits, (4) discipline, wide in parental activities and activities in child rearing, (5) routines; these satisfactions were mentioned over half of the children. Major problems with children of this age were specific items of satisfaction over children and not general differences in overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction of living conditions. The following problems were mentioned by more than two-fifths of the children, routines were a problem with over one-third, and the two categories of discipline, sleep, discipline, etc. in child rearing and sibling relationships were mentioned as problems with slightly less than one-third of the children.

Studies reported in the last decade. The first major investigation of some of the child rearing techniques used by a group of rural mothers with their preschool children was reported by Blackler.⁷ Data were collected from thirty-three mothers by the use of an inventory of child-rearing practices. The mother's attitudes toward her child, her own behavior, and the child's behavior were also recorded. The child's behavior was recorded in terms of feeding, toilet training, sleeping, sex behavior, resistance, aggression, and other maladjustments, and the mother's behavior was recorded in terms of her attitude toward visitors, discipline, learning of appropriate behavior, and other factors. The child's behavior was recorded in terms of feeding, toilet training, sleeping, sex behavior, resistance, aggression, and other maladjustments, and the mother's behavior was recorded in terms of her attitude toward visitors, discipline, learning of appropriate behavior, and other factors. The child's behavior was recorded in terms of feeding, toilet training, sleeping, sex behavior, resistance, aggression, and other maladjustments, and the mother's behavior was recorded in terms of her attitude toward visitors, discipline, learning of appropriate behavior, and other factors.

While these practices in the area of feeding, toilet training, discipline, and other factors, and Blackler's article also was at the same time a questionnaire on pages 22, 23, and 24. This questionnaire was part of the Home Rearing-in-Project to determine whether these practices were related to social class and other factors. A correlation was found with a

⁷ Carolyn Gray Blackler, "The Attitudes of a Sample Group of Rural Mothers Toward Some Problems of Child Rearing in the Preschool Years" (University of Tennessee, unpublished thesis, August, 1951).

⁸ Etta Lynn Henry Kintzkin, "Shifts in Child Care Practices in Three Social Classes Under an Infant Care Program of Flexible Methodology," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 22:57-61, January, 1952.

Studies reported in the last decade. The first of the findings of a study of some of the child rearing techniques used by a group of rural fathers with their preschool children was reported by Bickley.⁷ Data were collected from thirty-three fathers by the use of an unstructured interview. The study revealed a variety of child rearing techniques, such as: feeding, toilet training, sleeping, sex training, obedience, affection, and the relationship, role of the father, and the child's response, self-control, learning, and play to the child, and the child's response to the father. The study also revealed that the fathers were generally authoritarian, in that they were strict and demanded obedience to the child, and that the child's response to the father was generally obedient. The study also revealed that the fathers were generally authoritarian, in that they were strict and demanded obedience to the child, and that the child's response to the father was generally obedient.

While the research in the area of feeding, toilet training, and discipline reveals, as Bickley's article indicates, that the child's response to the father's discipline is generally obedient, the research in the area of affection and the relationship between the father and the child reveals that the father's affection and the child's response to the father's affection are generally positive.

⁷ Carolyn Gray Bickley, "The Attitudes of a Sample Group of Rural Fathers Toward Some Problems of Child Rearing in the Preschool Years" (University of Tennessee, unpublished thesis, August, 1951).

⁸ Ethel M. Henry Kletskin, "Shifts in Child Care Practices in Three Social Classes Under an Infant Care Program of Flexible Pathology," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 22:53-61, January, 1952.

children in child care on certain variables during the first year. Expected differences were found in date of beginning toilet training and strictness of regime, i.e., mothers in lower social classes began toilet training earlier than those in the upper social class (i.e., white-collar professional or managerial group), and the upper social class mothers were less prohibitive in regard to discipline. Social class differences were not found in the areas of duration of breastfeeding, bedtime practices, or father's participation. Mischkin stated that the data seemed to indicate a general shift toward more permissive practices to be treated with previous studies,⁹ although differences in attitudes of mothers still remained to a degree. The author concluded that the data suggest that child care practices are "characteristic of the social class of the mother or child care worker."¹⁰

The subjects in the study by Mullis¹¹ were 21 two- and three-year-old children from a rural section of "Canada" who had child care experience of 2 years or more before the beginning of the study. The children were from a middle-class group, while the care workers had at least a high school education, a college degree or its equivalent. The children were of the middle-class group and were reported as middle class. A group of three-fourths of

⁹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, and Davis & Reigart, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁰ Mischkin, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹¹ Mullis, "The Effect of Social Class on the Development of Children from Two Different Educational Levels" (University of Minnesota, Ph.D. thesis, August, 1953).

the others were better, and I would probably do the same with
M. (1965) group. Data were gathered by each individual service
and the writers discussed their role in social control, the
sources of influences or areas with which they had contact, and
of the nature of the help they had received.

The other group of authors (1965) also discussed the role
of the social control group in the family, and the role of the
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control group, and the role of the family in the social control
group.

Lasio¹² reported an investigation of the role of the family in the
social control group.

¹² Joan Kathleen Lasio, "Parent Behavior Center: A Study
in Control," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 49:17-137, February, 1964.

mothers toward their first and second children. The mothers applied for inclusion in studies by the Fels Research Institute before the birth of their first child; they were visited every six months thereafter. Parent behavior toward first children seemed to be more restrictive and coercive and less warm emotionally than behavior toward second children. However, once the children were six or seven years of age, these differences in parent behavior toward them were much less apparent. The age difference between the siblings appeared to be an important contributor to the variation in parent behavior toward the two children. Most important to the research at hand, were Lasko's findings relevant to the relationship between the parent and the first child. She made this observation:

"At a very young age the first child enjoys a markedly child-centered environment characterized by accelerational attempts of a verbal intellectual kind... By age three or four, however, the home no longer revolves around him and, starting from a much more favored position in the beginning, he is less warmly treated than is his younger sibling at a similar age."¹³

The mothers tended to verbalize more anxiety about the routines of caring for their first, yet, they tended to baby and to protect the second child more. At almost all age levels, disciplinary friction was more marked between the mother and the first child than with his sibling. The friction became most pronounced at age five when disciplinary policies appeared to tighten up and when warmth toward the first child was at a low ebb.

Through the use of an open-end interview, Hoeflin¹⁴ obtained data

¹³ Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁴ Ruth Hoeflin, "Child Care Practices and Child Care Resources Used by Ohio Farm Families with Preschool Children," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 48:271-297, June, 1954.

on the child rearing practices of 100 Ohio farm families with children between two and five years of age. The parents were scored on child rearing practices in the areas of toileting, sleeping, feeding, thumb sucking, role of father, discipline, emotional development and parent-child relationships, by checking a series of thirty-five positive and thirty-five negative statements against their statements recorded on the schedules at the time of the interview. The most positive points were scored in the area of toilet training, the highest number of negative points was in the area of sleeping. Data seemed to indicate that neither the socio-economic status nor child care resources used were the only determining factors in child rearing practices of this group. The parents were also asked which two of several sources of child care information had been most valuable; in order of frequency named, these were: relatives and friends, printed materials, past experience, professional aid, and lay groups.

Another study¹⁵ primarily concerned with differences in child rearing practices between social classes reported that parents in the upper-middle class were more permissive and less severe in child training than parents in the upper-lower class. The 372 mothers of kindergarten children were questioned, among other things, about their children's feeding, toilet training, sex training, and aggression toward other children and adults, as well as about the techniques of discipline they used and restrictions placed upon the children. When class level was held constant

¹⁵ Eleanor E. Maccoby and Patricia K. Gibbs, "Methods of Child Rearing in Two Social Classes," In W. E. Martin and C. E. Stendler, editors, Readings in Child Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954), pp. 380-395.

it was found that the better educated mothers seemed to be more permissive toward sex behavior and to use less physical punishment as a discipline technique. When mothers of similar education were compared, the upper-middle class mothers were more permissive and less punitive than the upper-lower mothers. No class differences were found in allowing aggression toward parents and demonstration of affection toward children.

An elaboration¹⁶ of the Maccoby and Gibbs investigation was published in 1957. This more detailed description of the data discussed several findings pertinent to this study. There were more girls than boys who practically never received physical punishment.¹⁷ As techniques of discipline the better educated mothers tended to use reasoning more and tangible reward less. The middle-class mothers tended to use isolation more and ridicule less; and, in general, the younger mothers were somewhat more severe than the older ones.¹⁸

An exploratory study by Sewell, Mussen, and Harris¹⁹ investigated thirty-eight child training practices of parents of 162 five and six year old rural Wisconsin children by means of intensive interviews with their mothers. The authors found several significant correlations in the areas of permissiveness in early feeding and toilet training procedures, parent participation in activities with their children, promotion of early independence, and punishment for misbehavior. However, they consider the results to be quite tentative. They concluded that

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

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 405.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 433-438.

¹⁹ William H. Sewell, Paul H. Mussen, and Chester W. Harris, "Relationships Among Child Rearing Practices," American Sociological Review, 20:137-148, April, 1955.

although there are areas of consistent child training practices, generally speaking, the parents interviewed for this study did not have "a single pervasive philosophy governing all aspects of their child training behavior."²⁰ Instead, severity or permissiveness in one area of training may be associated with their opposites in other or later practices.

Hubert and Britton²¹ interviewed fifty-six mothers of children registered for later enrollment in the nursery school at Pennsylvania State University. The mothers were interviewed when their children were under one year of age and again about a year later to find out their attitudes and practices in rearing their children, to discover factors related to these attitudes, and to determine relationships among their attitudes and practices. The sample was primarily a selected middle class group. At the time of the first interview two-fifths of the children were "only" children and almost that many were the younger of two; the remainder were the youngest of from three to five children.

More mothers were employed outside the home the second year, but eight out of ten were still full time homemakers. The data showed certain similarities and differences in the attitudes and practices between mothers of girls and mothers of boys. The mothers of girls appeared to be somewhat more attentive in some areas to their daughters and to enjoy rearing them more than did mothers of sons. There was a tendency for boys' mothers to allow more activity than did girls' mothers. Boys' mothers tended to be less strict with their sons and to

²⁰ Ibid., p. 148.

²¹ Mary Alice Gorman Hubert and Joseph H. Britton, "Attitudes and Practices of Mothers Rearing Their Children from Birth to the Age of Two Years," Journal of Home Economics, 49:208-219, March, 1957.

expect less understanding of rules than did girls' mothers. Further differences were revealed between the mothers' attitudes toward their sons and toward their daughters when the mothers cited the things they enjoyed and the things which annoyed them about their children. At the time of the first interview only one mother said she enjoyed "everything" her son did; six mothers enjoyed "everything" their daughters did. More mothers of sons expressed pleasure with their child's verbal interaction than did mothers of daughters. These data also suggested that the things which pleased or annoyed mothers in their children were related to the developmental levels of their children and to the ordinal position of the child in the family. A number of significant relationships among child-rearing attitudes and family practices during the first year, during the second year, and between those of the first and those of the second were found in the areas of feeding and attitudes of the mother toward feeding.

In a California study²² of child rearing practices, thirty-six middle-class and thirty-eight working class mothers who had only one child between the ages of two and one half and five and one half years of age were interviewed. Significant differences were found between the two classes in the following: lower-class mothers were more severe in toilet training, were less responsive to the baby's crying, permitted less aggression toward the parents, more often carried through when they told a child to do something, and reported less thumbsucking and more nailbiting. The lower-class mothers mentioned fewer sources of ideas about child

²² Martha Sturm White, "Social Class, Child Rearing Practices, and Child Behavior," American Sociological Review, 22:704-712, December 1957.

rearing. Both classes most often mentioned own ideas, common sense and trial and error as sources of child rearing ideas. The middle-class mothers mentioned experts, other mothers, and friends more frequently than did the lower-class mothers. White believes that the data support the view that a change has taken place in child rearing and that this change may be due to the different reference sources used by the two groups.

Two studies similar in design to this one were completed in 1958 with a total of eighty urban parents providing the data. The purposes of these investigations were two-fold: (1) to find out the types of information and sources of help these parents used in rearing their children and the kinds of information for which they expressed a need; and (2) to compare the types of information and sources of help and information used by the parents of children enrolled in two programs of the Woman's College Nursery School with those used by comparable groups of parents whose children were not enrolled in a nursery school program.

Harris²³ interviewed the twenty mothers whose children were enrolled in the Woman's College Nursery School and a comparable group of twenty mothers who also had children between the ages of three and five years old. The findings of her study suggest that the developmental level of the child had much influence on the child's actions which pleased and concerned the parent. Almost two-fifths of the mothers stated that their child's most favorable action was "good use of language". They also

²³ Joyce Lee Harris, "The Acceptance of Certain Programs and Services by Two Groups of Parents of Young Children" (The Consolidated University of North Carolina, unpublished thesis, 1958).

enjoyed their children's imitation and show of affection. These parents felt their children's most unfavorable actions were being disobedient and impudent. The largest difference found between the nursery school parents and the non-nursery school parents was in the unfavorable action of having temper tantrums; one-fourth of the non-nursery school parents stated that they disliked this action by their children, while none of the nursery school parents mentioned temper tantrums. Eating, sleeping, and playing were the child rearing areas with which these parents seemed most concerned. The parents stated that their most helpful sources of information about child rearing were reading materials, experiences, pediatricians, observation, and friends, in that order.²⁴

The data for the second²⁵ of these studies were obtained from two groups of mothers who had children between the ages of eighteen and thirty-six months. One group of mothers had children enrolled in the Toddler's Program of the Woman's College Nursery School. Several of the findings of this investigation seem relevant to the present study. Half of all the mothers stated that their children's most favorable action was "good use of language." The two most unfavorable actions cited, with almost one-fourth of the mothers mentioning each, were temper tantrums and messy eating habits. When the mothers were questioned regarding their children's physical, intellectual, social, and emotional development they

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 39-49.

²⁵ Sara Holt Allen, "The Acceptance of Certain Programs and Services By Two Groups of Parents of Toddlers" (The Consolidated University of North Carolina, unpublished thesis, 1958).

gave more attention to queries concerning language development, play, and anger. Their reactions to these situations were quite varied. Most of the mothers appeared to encourage or to assist their children's language development. Their actions toward the play of their children depended upon the particular situation. Almost one-third handled angry behavior by spanking and one-fourth by ignoring. They generally cited either intuition or past experience as how they knew to react as they did.²⁶

Although concerned with older children than the ones of this investigation, the report by Kohn²⁷ of parents' reactions to their fifth grade children's behavior contained several implications for this investigation from the viewpoints of findings and analysis. He found that relationships between social class and mothers' reactions were not appreciably modified by controlling other relevant variables, including, mother's age, mother's education, mother's religious background, whether mother was employed outside the home, size of family, ordinal position of the child, socio-economic status of the neighborhood, and whether or not the mother reads popular literature on child rearing.²⁸ Working class parents were more likely to punish physically their daughters than their sons for fighting friends, swiping something, or defiantly refusing to do as they are told. Regardless of sex, working class parents were more likely to punish their children physically for fighting and aggressively wild play than for arguing with siblings and boisterousness.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 48-58.

²⁷ Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," American Sociological Review, 24:352-366, June, 1959.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 363-364.

In regard to the analysis of several verbal reactions by the parents, Kohn found it impossible to differentiate these reliably. Specifically, these reactions were: scolding, admonishing to be good, demanding that the child stop, inquiring into causes of behavior, screaming at child, and threatening to punish. These were treated as one type of reaction. One type of reaction which was not reported as such was the withdrawal of love. Concerning this Kohn stated, "... we do not know to what degree any of a parent's actions may be interpreted by his child as a withdrawal of love."²⁹

The purposes of the research by Clifford³⁰ were to study discipline as it occurred in the home, to examine relationships between discipline and extrinsic factors and between discipline and conditions of social interaction, and to determine the effects of discipline on the child. The sample was a relatively homogeneous one of 120 mothers of sixty boys and sixty girls, equally divided between three age levels: three years old, six years old, and nine years old. The results showed that the primary factor associated with discipline on all the dimensions examined was the age of the child. Discipline arose most in situations concerned with routines, establishing sibling and adult relationships, and behaving in a way adults consider to be inappropriate. He believes it is probable that difficulties arising from these sources will decrease with age. The older the child, the more likely the parents were to use verbal techniques rather than forceful techniques. The ten most frequently used methods of

²⁹ Ibid., p. 363.

³⁰ Edward Clifford, "Discipline in the Home: A Controlled Observational Study of Parental Practices," The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 95:45-82, September, 1959.

control with the three year group were, in rank order: reason, scold, coax, spank, divert, threaten, ignore, remove child forcibly, isolate and remove difficulty.

The interview as a method of data collection. Havighurst and Davis³¹ feel that limitations are imposed by the interview as a method of obtaining data on the behavior of parents toward their children. They suggest that to an unknown extent mothers give answers which they regard as being expected or "appropriate," and that the participant observation method would be a better method of collecting such data.

Several other social science researchers, however, cite advantages of the interview method. Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook³² stated that the interview is an appropriate technique for revealing information about "emotionally-laden" subjects since a skillful interviewer can probe beyond public attitudes to the more private sentiments.

Young pointed out that the personal interview "is the only instrument by which significant memories of the past and plans of the future can be ascertained."³³ For the collection of data about attitudes and perceptions, beliefs, feelings, past experiences, and future intentions the interview is an especially adaptable method was the conclusion of Cannell and Kahn.³⁴

³¹ Havighurst and Davis, op. cit., pp. 241-242.

³² Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, Part One: Basic Processes (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), p. 158.

³³ Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p.207.

³⁴ Charles F. Cannell and Robert L. Kahn, "The Collection of Data by Interviewing." In Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (editors), Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953), p. 378.

Thus it appears, to this investigator, that to explore the scope and variety, and, to some extent, the frequency of use of certain child rearing techniques the interview method is a most useful research tool.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES AND GROUP STUDIED

The procedures and the sample described here apply to those used in the study by the School of Home Economics and Agricultural Experiment Station Family Life Research Staff of which this investigation is a part. Briefly, the procedures involved were: to survey national, state and local sources of information about children; to construct, pretest, and revise an interview guide; to develop a data analysis sheet; to select the geographical areas and the families to be interviewed; to interview the cases; to record the data on analysis sheets; to code and tabulate the data; and to analyze the results. A description of the families in the sample concludes the chapter.

I. PROCEDURES

The survey of sources of information about children. Through the use of library facilities a survey was made of all the national, state, and local services concerned with children. The directors of all the local sources found in counties where families were to be selected were interviewed concerning the types and scope of services and information their respective agencies offered to parents with young children. A detailed description of these resources along with an annotated bibliography of the printed materials they have available for parents has been published.¹

¹ Irwin V. Sperry, Marian MacN. Deininger, and Ruth F. Wilson, Sources of Help and Information About Young Children, Research Report No. 1 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Agricultural Experiment Station, North Carolina State College, January, 1958.)

The interview guide. In the planning stages, battery-powered portable tape recorders became available for use in this study. Therefore, data could be collected without notetaking and an interview guide could be used which allowed the informants to talk freely and at length. This would, in turn, tend to stimulate their recollections of past experiences. Such a guide with questions centered around the location of sources of information was developed and pretested with twenty cases. A review of the pretest interviews revealed that the three basic questions--what sources of help and information the mothers used, what help and information they obtained from the sources used, and what help and information they desired--appeared to be answered. Lacking, however, were more data about the actual use of the help and information obtained. On the basis of the pretest results an interview guide (Appendix A) was developed which contained the following areas of questioning: (1) background data concerning the parents and the home, (2) general inquiry about how and where the mother had learned to care for the child, (3) specific inquiry regarding the use of available programs and services, including identification of a number of printed materials known to be available in at least one of three counties, (4) at first general, then specific, questions about selected child development areas, and (5) a review of services and information of help to the mother.²

² For a more detailed description of the interview guide see the following: Irwin V. Sperry, Marian MacN. Deininger, and Ruth F. Wilson, An Appraisal of Tape-Recorded Interviews for Research Purposes, Research Report No. 2 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Agricultural Experiment Station, North Carolina State College, June 1959), pp. 3-4.

The data analysis sheet. Data analysis sheets (Appendix B) were developed which followed the outline of the interview guide. This facilitated more uniform transcription of data from the tape recordings and, subsequently, tabulation of data.

Selection of cases. In consultation with personnel of the Department of Experimental Statistics, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, three counties, Guilford, Moore, and Stokes, were selected from which the sample was drawn. The counties selected were quite different in several respects. One had as its center an industrialized metropolitan area; only cases in the rural fringe were selected from this county. The second had a relatively sparse population except for a resort center in one corner of the county and a history of low levels of living in some areas; cases were scattered throughout the county, excluding the resort area. The third was a highly rural, somewhat mountainous county with a history of isolated communities; the cases interviewed were well scattered throughout most areas of the county.³

Agricultural Extension Service, public health, public welfare, and public school personnel in each county aided the investigators in selecting geographical areas in which the greatest range in levels of living and extent of community organization and channels of communication might be found. Since the study was an exploratory one, an attempt was made to sample the range of possibilities.

Birth registrations, which were filed in the offices of the county register of deeds in the county where the mother lived at the

³ Ibid., p. 5.

time her child was born, were used to determine cases to be interviewed. These were also checked to eliminate families with second children. Birth data sheets (Appendix C), similar in design to the North Carolina birth certificate form, were used to collect names and addresses of possible cases. A few cases were "picked-up" from other interviewees to obtain a sampling of cases who had moved into the county since the birth of the child and for whom no birth certificate had been filed at the time the lists of possible cases were obtained from offices of the register of deeds. Death records were also checked to eliminate from the sample any parent whose child was deceased. The cases interviewed were located with the assistance of local postmasters.

Interviewing the cases. Once the family was located, the interviewer introduced herself, explained the project, and showed the mother a notarized statement from the sponsoring institution which identified the study and the interviewer. By asking for the home of "Mr. John Doe" a check was made on the criterion of "normal" families, with both parents living together. After the mother consented to be interviewed the interviewer mentioned the use of the tape recorder and its time-saving advantage and obtained the mother's permission to tape record her interview. Seven per cent of the 259 mothers of whom interviews were requested refused to be interviewed. Four per cent consented to a written, but not a tape recorded, interview. Two of the 241 interviews obtained were not included in the analysis because of insufficient data; one such instance was due to the mechanical failure of a tape recorder and the other to unusual circumstances which hampered the interview situation.

Most of the mothers talked freely and appeared to enjoy the opportunity to talk at length about their children. An appraisal of the mothers' reactions to tape-recorded interviews has been published.⁴

Recording the data. The interviewers and research assistants trained by the interviewers recorded the data on data analysis sheets as the tape recordings were played back. Responses were recorded verbatim, in many instances, and paraphrased when of considerable length.

Coding and tabulating the data. The data were coded independently by two research assistants. Comparisons were made, differences in coding were discussed, and an agreement was reached in most instances. The few cases of disagreement between the two coders were arbitrated by the child psychologist member of the research staff. The data were then tabulated and analyzed statistically by the chi-square test of independence.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUP STUDIED

Ages and sex of the children. One of the original plans of this study was to maintain a fairly even distribution of children by age groups. However, as shown in Table I, ninety-nine or 41.4 per cent of the children were infants, eighty-nine or 37.2 per cent were one year old, and fifty-one or 21.3 per cent were two years old. Since records were taken for all only children born to mothers living in given areas in each county for three years prior to the time such records were compiled, there are several reasons why this somewhat uneven distribution occurred. A number of

⁴ Ibid, see, especially, pp. 6-13.

TABLE I
AGES OF THE CHILDREN

Age in Months	Number	Per Cent
0-11	99	41.4
12-23	89	37.2
24-35	51	21.3
Total	239	100.0

mothers had a second child by the time the interviewers contacted them and the number of cases increased as the age of the first child increased. A large number of cases were lost due to the families moving; this happened particularly in the older age groups since the mothers' addresses were over two years old. Another reason the two-year old group was comparatively small was that some children reached their third birthday before their mothers could be interviewed.

The sex ratio followed the national trend of more girls than boys. One hundred and eleven or 46.4 per cent of the children were boys and 128 or 53.6 per cent were girls.

Another fact noted about the children was that only one of the 239 children was born at home but a physician did attend that birth. All the other children were born in hospitals or private clinics.

Ages of the parents. The ages of the mothers at the time of the interview ranged from sixteen to forty-two years; the age range of the fathers was from nineteen to fifty years. The youngest mother in the

sample was fifteen years old when her child was born. Table II compares the distribution of the mothers' ages with the distribution of the fathers ages at the time of the interview. As a group the fathers were older than the mothers, with median ages of 25.5 years and 22.4 years, respectively. Almost twenty-one per cent of the mothers were under twenty years of age, but only two per cent of the fathers were in this age group. The largest number of mothers and fathers, 50.2 per cent and 43.5 per cent respectively, fell in the twenty to twenty-four year old age group. Eighteen per cent of the mothers and more than thirty-five per cent of the fathers were in the twenty-five to twenty-nine year old age group. About eleven per cent of the mothers and 18.4 per cent of the fathers were over thirty years of age.

TABLE II
AGES OF THE MOTHERS AND THE FATHERS

Age in Years	Mothers		Fathers	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Under 20	50	20.9	5	2.1
20-24	120	50.2	104	43.5
25-29	43	18.0	85	35.6
30-34	19	8.0	28	11.7
35 and over	7	2.9	16	6.7
No data	0	0.0	1	.4
Total	239	100.0	239	100.0

Education of the mothers and fathers. The distribution of the educational attainment of the 239 pairs of parents is shown in Table III. The greatest differences in the amount of schooling completed by the mothers and by the fathers were found between the numbers who attended or

TABLE III
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE MOTHERS AND FATHERS

Educational Attainment	Mothers		Fathers	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Attended elementary school	28	11.7	58	24.3
Attended high school	71	29.7	75	31.4
Completed high school	111	46.4	78	32.6
Attended college	12	5.0	12	5.0
Graduated from college	13	5.4	11	4.6
No data	4	1.7	5	2.1
Total	239	99.9	239	100.0

completed elementary school only and those who completed high school. Included in the group who completed high school were five fathers and one mother who attended a trade school. More than twice as many fathers as mothers attended or completed elementary school only. None of the mothers but five of the fathers failed to complete the fifth grade. One hundred and eleven, or 46.4 per cent, of the mothers completed high school but did not attend college, as compared with seventy-eight, or 32.6 per cent, of the fathers who attained the same educational level. Included in the group of thirteen mothers and eleven fathers who completed college were two mothers and five fathers who completed from one to three years of post graduate work.

Occupations of the mothers and fathers. More than one-fourth of these 239 mothers with a child under three years of age were employed full-time outside the home. None were employed on a part-time basis. Table IV shows the frequency distribution by occupational categories of the employed mothers and the fathers. About thirty-seven per cent of the

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE EMPLOYED MOTHERS AND THE FATHERS

Occupational Categories ¹	Mothers		Fathers	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Professional and Managerial	6	9.2	17	7.1
Clerical and Sales	16	24.6	13	5.4
Farmers and Farm Laborers	0	0.0	52	21.8
Service, Except Household	4	6.2	8	3.3
Craftsmen	13	20.0	47	19.7
Operatives	24	36.9	90	37.7
Laborers, Except Farm and Mine	0	0.0	7	2.9
Unemployed	0	0.0	3	1.3
No Data	2	3.1	2	.8
Total	65	100.0	239	100.0

¹ A grouping of the major occupations as listed by: Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 81 (Washington, D. C. : U. S. Department of Commerce, March 19, 1958), p. 11.

employed mothers and the fathers were employed as operatives, largely in various kinds of textile mills. The second largest occupational group for the fathers was that of farmers and farm laborers, with 21.8 per cent engaged in this occupation. Almost twenty-five per cent of the employed mothers were engaged in clerical or sales occupations, but only 5.4 per cent of the fathers were similarly employed. About twenty per cent each of the employed mothers and fathers were employed as craftsmen. The small numbers of parents employed in professional or managerial occupations was reflected in the small numbers who attended or completed college.

The home. The series of background questions which initiated each interview (See the Interview Guide, Appendix A) obtained

data relative to the home situation and the socio-economic status of the family.

More than three-fourths of the families had lived in their present residence less than four years, as shown in Table V. Probably the most important factor involved is that these families were in their "beginning" stage, i.e., they recently had their first child, and as relatively new-formed families they could not be expected to have lived in their present

TABLE V
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF THE FAMILIES

Number of Months or Years	Fam Number	Per Cent
5 Months or Less	25	10.5
6 to 11 Months	29	12.1
1 to 3 Years	128	53.6
4 to 8 Years	36	15.1
More Than 8 Years	9	3.8
No Data	12	5.0
Total	239	100.1

home for any great length of time. However, mobility was also a contributing factor when the number who moved between the time their child was born and the time of the interview was considered. Many such cases could not be interviewed because they had moved to urban areas or some distance away; but a number were interviewed because their move had been to another house in the same or neighboring rural community and a forwarding address was available in the post offices.

The homes of seventy per cent of the families were located in "open country" rural areas. About eleven per cent of the homes were in crossroad communities or "clustered" areas. The remainder of the cases

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lived in rural communities with populations between 50 and 2500 persons.

Almost forty-four per cent of the families owned or were buying their home, as is shown in Table VI. About thirty-five per cent stated they paid rent for the house in which they lived. Twenty-five or 10.5 per cent of the cases lived in the home of other relatives. The eleven

TABLE VI
HOME OWNERSHIP STATUS OF THE FAMILIES

Home Ownership Status	Number	Per Cent
Owned Home	105	43.9
Rented	83	34.7
Lived with Others	25	10.5
Other	11	4.6
No Data	15	6.3
Total	239	100.0

cases in the "other" category of home ownership, Table VI, either lived in a home belonging to a parent and did not pay rent, or lived in a home furnished in connection with the father's occupation, which in these cases were parsonages and a forestry station.

Nearly seventy-five per cent of these "beginning" families lived alone. Data were unavailable for approximately three per cent of the cases. In the remaining fifty-five cases, or 23.0 per cent, other persons lived in the same home as the family interviewed. Twenty-five of the families lived with relatives, and relatives or other persons lived with thirty of the families. The number of relatives or other persons living in the home with the interviewed family ranged from one to eight; most frequently the number of such individuals was one or two. Usually these other persons were parents of the family interviewed. In three of

the families persons who were not relatives were living in the home.

Socio-economic status. The possession of eighteen items (see the Interview Guide, Appendix A) was checked for each family to obtain a measure of their level of living. The items selected were the sixteen chosen by Harris,⁵ plus a home garden and television, as the ones which ranked highest by all methods of scale construction from a series of

TABLE VII
SOCIO-ECONOMIC RATINGS OF THE FAMILIES

Number of Items Possessed and Socio-Economic Rating	Families	
	Number	Per Cent
3-6 Low	20	8.4
7-9 Middle-low	44	18.4
10-12 Middle-high	102	42.7
13-15 High	73	30.5
Total	239	100.0

items tested with 1,017 farm operators in a representative farm sample in North Carolina. The items farm magazine, home garden, and tractor power were not included in the items tabulated for level of socio-economic status since these items were not applicable to the majority of the families. The possession of a single item was given a value of one so that each family was ranked on a scale from zero through fifteen. No family possessed fewer than three of the items.

⁵ Mary Jordan Harris, Review of Methods of Scale and Item Analysis and Their Application to a Level of Living Scale in North Carolina, Progress Report RS-13 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Agricultural Experiment Station, North Carolina State College, July, 1951).

The socio-economic ratings--low, middle-low, middle-high, and high were developed to compare the relative material levels of living of groups within the sample and are not applicable to any other groups or persons. The two largest socio-economic groups in the sample were the middle-high and the high to which 42.7 per cent and 30.5 per cent, respectively, of the families belonged. Only 8.4 per cent of the families belonged to the low socio-economic group and 18.4 per cent to the middle-low group.

There was considerable variation in the socio-economic levels found within the three counties. In the county centered by a metropolitan area, 84.0 per cent of the ninety-four families interviewed were in the two upper socio-economic groups. In contrast were 76.3 per cent of the seventy-six families residing in the mountainous county and 55.0 per cent of the sixty-nine families in the county with a history of low levels of living in some areas. Apparently these families, although not a representative sample, reflected the general socio-economic levels prevailing in the rural areas in which they lived.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Two-hundred and thirty-nine mothers, each with an only child under three years of age, who lived in rural areas of one of three counties in Piedmont North Carolina provided the data for this study. These mothers discussed at length the behavior of their children which they perceived as favorable and/or unfavorable as well as selected areas concerned with the children's physical, intellectual, social, and emotional growth and development. The data they provided were analyzed for the following information and the discussion will be presented in this order:

(1) The relationship between the favorable behavior of the child as expressed by the mother and (a) age of child, (b) sex of child, (c) age of mother, (d) education of mother, (e) employment of mother, and (f) socio-economic rating of the family. Also included will be a discussion of the techniques mothers used to guide favorable behavior.

(2) The relationship between the unfavorable behavior of the child as expressed by the mother and (a) age of child, (b) sex of child, (c) age of mother, (d) education of mother, (e) employment of mother, and (f) socio-economic rating of the family. A discussion of the techniques mothers used to guide unfavorable behavior concludes this section.

(3) The relationship between sex of the child and the mother's perception of the child's behavior regarding the developmental areas of sleep, language, memory, play, relations to adults, love, and anger. Included is a discussion of the techniques the mothers stated that they used to guide the behavior exhibited in each of the different developmental areas.

(4) The relationship between the techniques used by the mothers and (a) sex of child, (b) age of child, (c) age of mothers, (d) education of mother, (e) employment of mother, (f) socio-economic rating of the family, and (g) the source of information used according to the types of techniques.

I. FAVORABLE BEHAVIOR

"What are some of the things (your child) does that you think are cute, or that you enjoy seeing him do?" was the question which brought forth the mother's responses of her perception of the favorable behavior of her child. These responses were divided into seven major categories which were defined as follows: (1) Locomotion consisted of any method of purposely moving from one place to another such as crawling and walking. (2) Other physical activities included such actions as jumping, dancing, hopping, bending, climbing, pulling up, reaching for objects, playing with fingers and toes, turning over in crib, sitting alone, and clapping hands. (3) Intellectual activities named by the mothers were understanding or use of language, "quick learner," and other evidences of memory. (4) Responding to adults was defined as smiling or laughing in response to an action by an adult and indications of liking or disliking adults. (5) Other social activities included imitating, play activities, assisting parents in home activities, "pats-a-cake," winking eyes, and looking at self in mirror. (6) Unspecified responses were that everything the child did was enjoyable or that the parents enjoyed behavior which the mother questioned that outsiders would enjoy. (7) Miscellaneous types of behavior consisted of such items as those concerned

with feeding, sleeping, and toileting, expressing love and anger, expressing fear, getting into things, watching television, never crying unless sick or hungry, sticking out tongue, pulling hair, putting objects in mouth, and liking animals.

The chi-square test of independence was used to determine whether there was a significant probability that relationships existed between the types of behavior of the children which the mothers deemed as favorable and the variables of sex and age of the child and age, education, and employment of the mother, and socio-economic rating of the family.

Sex of child. No significant relationship was found between the responses of the types of favorable behavior and the sex of the child. As shown in Table VIII, there was only a slight tendency for the mothers to mention more items of an intellectual nature for boys than for girls. There was also a trend in favor of the girls, although not statistically significant, for the mothers to state that "everything" the child did was enjoyable.

Age of child. There appeared to be a relationship between the age of the child and the types of behavior the mothers mentioned as favorable. The relationship found was significant beyond the .01 level of confidence. The greatest differences between expected and observed frequencies, (see Table IX), were found in responses regarding intellectual activities, responding to adults, unspecified behavior, and behavior in the miscellaneous category. In proportion to total responses more two-year olds, and fewer infants were mentioned for the items of intellectual activity and unspecified behavior. Many more infants and fewer one-and two-year

TABLE VIII

MOTHER'S INTERPRETATION OF FAVORABLE BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO SEX OF CHILD

Sex of Child	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior							Total
	Locomotion	Other Physical Activities	Intellectual Activities	Responding to Adults	Other Social Activities	Unspecified	Miscellaneous	
Boy	14	40	35	21	28	13	22	173
Girl	16	33	27	25	35	23	30	189
Total	30	73	62	46	63	36	52	362

TABLE IX

MOTHER'S INTERPRETATION OF FAVORABLE BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO AGE OF CHILD

Age of Child in Months	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior							Total
	Locomotion	Other Physical Activities	Intellectual Activities	Responding to Adults	Other Social Activities	Unspecified	Miscellaneous	
0-11	15	34	15	30	24	8	24	150
12-23	10	28	27	13	23	16	26	143
24-35	5	11	20	3	16	12	2	69
Total	30	73	62	46	63	36	52	362

olds were cited as responding to adults, and considerably fewer two year olds were mentioned for items in the miscellaneous category.

Age of mother. No significant relationship was found between the age of the mother at the time of the interview and her response to the types of behavior she enjoyed seeing in her child. The total responses regarding favorable behavior are presented by age groups in Table X.

Educational attainment of mother. A slight tendency was found for mothers who graduated from high school to be observant of more intellectual behavior by their children than for mothers with less education. However, mothers who attended elementary school only mentioned more items of social activity while high school graduates mentioned proportionately fewer social activities. The differences, as shown in Table XI, were trends only, and were not significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Employment of mother. The employed status of the mothers and the behavior they stated they enjoyed in their children appeared to be independent of each other, since no statistically significant probability was found that a relationship existed between the two. Only a slight trend was noted, as shown in Table XII, for employed mothers to mention fewer physical activities. This probably occurred because they were with their children fewer hours while the children were awake and had less opportunity to observe all of the children's physical activities than the mothers observed who were at home with their children all day.

Socio-economic rating of the family. The socio-economic rating of the family apparently was independent of the types of behavior the mother stated she enjoyed seeing in her child. A trend was noted, however,

TABLE X
 NUMBER OF MOTHERS RESPONDING TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE BY TYPE OF BEHAVIOR

Age of Mother in Years	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior						Total
	Locomotion	Other Physical Activities	Intellectual Activities	Responding to Adults	Other Social Activities	Unspecified	
Under 20	3	17	6	9	16	6	77
20-24	15	39	35	17	32	16	174
25-29	4	11	15	14	11	9	77
30 and over	3	6	6	6	4	5	34
Total	30	73	62	46	63	36	362

TABLE XI

MOTHER'S INTERPRETATION OF AVAILABLE BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MOTHER

Educational Attainment of Mother	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior						Total
	Locomotion	Other Physical Activities	Intellectual Activities	Responding to Adults	Other Social Activities	Unspecified	
Attended Elementary School	3	11	4	4	11	2	38
Attended High School	13	17	13	14	21	10	107
Completed High School	10	30	35	22	22	21	167
College	4	5	10	6	8	3	46
Total	30	71	62	46	62	36	351*

* Data were not available on the educational attainment of the mother responding to four items of favorable behavior.

concerning families in the middle-low group. As shown in Table XIII, mothers in the middle-low socio-economic group tended to mention locomotion and other physical activities more and intellectual activities, responding to adults, and unspecified behavior less than the proportionate number of mothers in other socio-economic groups.

Techniques used to guide favorable behavior. The most frequently mentioned method used to direct favorable behavior was encouragement. Encouragement was defined for use in this study as a broad scope of acceptance ranging from passively or inactively allowing, watching, enjoying, smiling, or laughing to verbally encouraging and playing with the child. The second most frequently mentioned technique of guidance was assistance, which meant any act by the mother to aid the child in achieving behavior or activity that she deemed satisfactory.

II. UNFAVORABLE BEHAVIOR

After the mothers had expressed their views regarding their child's favorable behavior they were asked: "What are some of the things (your child) does that you think are not cute or that you wish he would not do?" The responses to this question were grouped into six major categories: (1) Routines which was behavior primarily involved with the activities of eating, sleeping, and toileting. (2) Physical activities included locomotion, climbing, not sitting still, dancing, removing shoes, and kicking while diaper was changed. (3) Social activities consisted of responding to adults, interactions with other children, exhibiting selfishness and playing with the telephone. (4) Anger was any display of anger ranging from the statement "he gets mad" to temper tantrums. (5) Getting into

Employed Status of Mother	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior							Total
	Locomotion	Other Physical Activities	Intellectual Activities	Responding to Adults	Other Social Activities	Unspecified	Miscellaneous	
Housewife	19	56	41	36	44	26	34	258
Employed outside of home	10	14	21	10	19	10	13	102
Total	29	72	62	46	63	36	52	360*

* Data were not available on the employed status of the mothers responding to two items of favorable behavior.

TABLE XIII

MOTHER'S INTERPRETATION OF FAVORABLE BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC RATING OF FAMILY

Socio-economic Rating	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior							Total
	Locomotion	Other Physical Activities	Intellectual Activities	Responding to Adults	Other Social Activities	Unspecified	Miscellaneous	
Low	0	7	4	5	4	5	5	30
Middle-low	9	17	7	5	12	3	10	63
Middle-high	12	31	29	19	34	15	19	159
High	9	15	22	17	13	13	13	110
Total	30	73	62	46	63	36	52	362

things was defined as touching, playing with, or manipulating objects the parents did not want the child to bother. (6) Miscellaneous behavior included such things as crying, sulking, whining, acting stubborn or contrary, slapping, biting, pulling hair, putting fingers or thumb in mouth and sucking them or other objects, spitting, sticking out tongue, holding breath, pinching, and repeating terms the parents considered inappropriate. Tables XIV through XIX show the total number of responses for each of these types of behavior according to several variables.

Not all mothers stated that their child acted in ways they considered to be unfavorable. Forty-four mothers or 21.6 per cent who responded to this question replied that they could not think of any undesirable actions they had observed in their child. Typical answers were: "No, I don't think so"; "Still too young"; and "Nothing serious, she is not bad." Almost sixty per cent of these responses were for infants and were made by 34.2 per cent of the mothers of infants who responded to this question.

The data were analyzed by the chi-square test of independence to determine whether significant relationships existed between the types of behavior the mothers stated were unfavorable and the variables of sex of child, age of child, age of mother, education of mother, employment of mother and socio-economic rating of the family.

Sex of child. No significant relationship appeared to exist between the sex of the child and the types of behavior the mothers perceived as unfavorable. More boys than girls were cited as showing anger (Table XIV) but the differences were not significant.

Age of child. As with favorable behavior, the probability that a

relationship existed between the types of unfavorable behavior mentioned and the age of the child was statistically significant, beyond the .01 level of confidence. The greatest proportionate differences were found in undesirable social activities, getting into things, miscellaneous items, and anger, (see Table XV). Infants were mentioned proportionately less often for undesirable social activities and anger, but more often for getting into things and miscellaneous items of behavior. One-year olds were more frequently mentioned for anger and less frequently for miscellaneous items. The most important relationship found between the age of the child and unfavorable behavior was in the proportionately larger number of two-year olds cited as exhibiting undesirable social behavior. The two-year olds, however, got into things less frequently. There appeared to be little difference between the age of the child and the number of mothers stating that behavior concerned with routines and physical activities was undesirable.

Age of mother. The age of the mother and the types of behavior the mother stated was unfavorable were independent factors and no significant relationship was found between the two. Only a slight tendency was found, as shown in Table XVI, for mothers under twenty years of age to mention anger less and miscellaneous items of behavior more often, proportionately, than mothers in older age groups.

Educational attainment of mother. No statistically significant relationship was found between the types of behavior of an only child the mother viewed as unfavorable and the amount of education the mother had. As shown in Table XVII, the largest proportionate difference was in the

MOTHER'S INTERPRETATION OF UNFAVORABLE BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO SEX OF CHILD

Sex of Child	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior						Total
	Routines	Physical Activities	Social Activities	Anger	Getting into Things	Miscellaneous	
Boy	3	9	6	20	10	35	83
Girl	12	9	13	13	16	41	109
Total	20	18	19	33	26	76	197

TABLE XV

MOTHER'S INTERPRETATION OF UNFAVORABLE BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO AGE OF CHILD

Age of Child in Months	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior						Total
	Routines	Physical Activities	Social Activities	Anger	Getting into Things	Miscellaneous	
0-11	4	4	1	7	12	30	58
12-23	11	10	3	24	12	25	90
24-35	5	4	10	7	2	21	49
Total	20	18	19	38	26	76	197

slightly larger number of mothers attending or graduating from college who mentioned undesirable behavior concerned with the routines of eating, sleeping and toileting. The number was so small, however, that the difference may be due to chance.

Employment of mother. The fact the mother was or was not employed outside the home appeared to have no significant affect on the types of unfavorable behavior she observed in her child. The distribution of responses to unfavorable behavior according to the employed status of the mother is presented in Table XVIII.

Socio-economic rating of the family. The relationship between the socio-economic rating of the family and the types of behavior the mothers perceived as unfavorable approached, but was not statistically significant, at the .05 level. Several trends may be noted from the data in Table XIX. There was a tendency for mothers of the low group to give more responses classifiable as getting into things and anger. Mothers of the middle-low group tended to mention undesirable physical activities and getting into things proportionately more and anger somewhat less. No trends were observed for mothers of the middle-high group; the observed results for this group were similar to the expected results. Mothers with a high socio-economic rating tended to mention more items of undesirable social activities and fewer unfavorable physical activities and getting into things.

Techniques used to guide unfavorable behavior. Corporal punishment, defined as any physical contact used for disciplinary purposes, was the method most frequently used to direct, or redirect, unfavorable behavior. This method was used almost twice as frequently as the large

Age of Mother in Years	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior						Total
	Routines	Physical Activities	Social Activities	Anger	Getting into Things	Miscellaneous	
Under 20	3	3	1	3	5	22	37
20-24	10	10	12	22	16	36	106
25-29	4	4	2	9	4	8	31
30 and over	3	1	4	4	1	10	23
Total	20	18	19	38	26	76	197

TABLE XVII

MOTHER'S INTERPRETATION OF UNFAVORABLE BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MOTHER

Educational Attainment of Mother	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior						Total
	Routines	Physical Activities	Social Activities	Anger	Getting into Things	Miscellaneous	
Attended Elementary School	1	2	3	3	3	9	21
Attended High School	3	7	6	6	7	27	56
Completed High School	11	8	9	23	11	33	95
College	5	1	1	4	3	7	21
Total	20	18	19	36	24	76	193*

* Data were not available on the educational attainment of the mothers responding to four items of unfavorable behavior.

range of somewhat unclassifiable and sometimes indefinite actions grouped as miscellaneous techniques, and slightly more than twice as frequently as the method of ignoring a behavior. Scolding, explanation, substitution and isolation were techniques also used, but much less often than the three previously mentioned.

III. SELECTED CHILD DEVELOPMENT AREAS

Following the rather general questions concerning the child's favorable and unfavorable behavior, the mothers were asked specific questions regarding their child's physical, intellectual, social, and emotional growth. The specific areas of inquiry were: sleep, language, memory, play, relations to adults, love, and anger, (see Interview Guide, Appendix A). The mothers' responses concerning their child's behavior relative to these areas were assessed as being: (1) generally favorable; (2) specifically favorable, i.e., a favorable comment relating a specific incident was given; (3) neutral--the mother gave no indication that the behavior was liked or disliked; (4) generally unfavorable; and (5) a specific problem cited.

The total responses to each of the child development areas are shown in Table XX. The considerable variation in the total number of responses between the different topics was attributable to several reasons: (1) mechanical difficulty developing in the tape recorder during the interview made the data unavailable when the recording was transcribed as well as did excessive background noise during the recording; (2) the question was not asked, and (3) there was no response to the question.

MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF UNFAVORABLE BEHAVIOR

Employed Status of Mother	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior						Total
	Routines	Physical Activities	Social Activities	Anger	Getting into Things	Miscellaneous	
Housewife	17	13	14	24	15	56	142
Employed Outside of home	3	5	5	14	8	19	54
Total	20	18	19	38	26	75	196*

* Data were not available on the employed status of the mother responding to one item of unfavorable behavior.

TABLE XIX

MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF UNFAVORABLE BEHAVIOR ACCORDING TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC RATING OF FAMILY

Socio-economic Rating	Number of Responses by Type of Behavior						Total
	Routines	Physical Activities	Social Activities	Anger	Getting into Things	Miscellaneous	
Low	0	1	1	5	4	4	15
Middle-low	4	7	3	2	9	16	41
Middle-high	7	7	5	15	9	33	76
High	9	3	10	16	4	23	65
Total	20	18	19	38	26	76	197

The mothers were also asked what they did about their child's behavior in regard to each of these areas. This section will include a discussion of the mothers' reactions to and actions with their child's behavior concerning each of the seven selected areas and a summary of the statistically significant sex differences in the way the mothers viewed their child's behavior.

Sleep. There were 242 responses to the question "How does (your child) do about sleeping?" Of these responses, almost sixty per cent were generally favorable responses and a little more than thirty per cent cited specific problems, (see Table XX). The most frequently mentioned method of handling the sleep situation was assistance, for both generally favorable responses and specific problems. Since the end result to the mother was getting the child to sleep, assistance was most often rocking, giving a bottle, or putting the child in the bed with the parents.

Almost ten per cent of the mothers responding to the question about sleep volunteered the information that the child regularly slept, for at least part of the night, with one or both parents. In only one case was this because the child did not have a bed of his own. Half of these mothers stated that they had a specific problem with sleep, but the other half viewed their child's sleeping behavior as generally or specifically favorable or neutral. Another three per cent of the mothers stated that they regularly went to bed with the child until he fell asleep.

Unusual sleeping arrangements were related by two mothers who worked from three in the afternoon until eleven at night. They left their

TABLE XX

CLASSIFICATION OF TOTAL RESPONSES TO SELECTED
CHILD DEVELOPMENT AREAS ACCORDING TO SEX OF CHILD

Selected Child Development Areas		Number of Responses					Total
		Generally Favorable	Specifically Favorable	Neutral	Generally Unfavorable	Specific Problem	
Sleep	Boy	64	6	3	2	33	108
	Girl	76	3	2	8	45	134
Language	Boy	64	30	4	1	3	102
	Girl	85	27	0	0	3	115
Memory	Boy	43	24	4	1	3	75
	Girl	52	16	1	0	14	83
Play	Boy	56	16	4	3	13	92
	Girl	57	19	5	4	27	112
Relations to Adults	Boy	51	13	8	3	23	98
	Girl	64	11	5	2	31	113
Love	Boy	61	14	10	0	11	96
	Girl	84	12	21	0	7	124
Anger	Boy	6	2	30	32	45	115
	Girl	9	1	22	44	80	156
Sub- total	Boy	345	105	63	42	131	686
	Per Cent	22.7	6.9	4.1	2.8	8.6	45.1
	Girl	427	89	56	58	207	837
	Per Cent	28.0	5.8	3.7	3.8	13.6	54.9
Total	Number	772	194	119	100	338	1523
	Per Cent	50.7	12.7	7.8	6.6	22.2	100.0

children with their mothers overnight. One of these mothers brought her child home each morning to stay until she went to work in the afternoon. The other, however, took her child to her mother's home as she went to work on Monday afternoon and did not bring the child home until sometime Saturday afternoon. Some days, not every day, she and her husband went to see the child for an hour or two before they went to work.

Language. The mothers appeared to be generally pleased with their child's language development. Nearly ninety-five per cent of the total responses, as shown in Table XX, were generally or specifically favorable ones. The most frequently mentioned techniques of direction were assistance and encouragement, and no negative techniques such as corporal punishment or scolding were reported.

Memory. The smallest number of total responses, as shown in Table XX, was given for the question "Have you noticed whether (your child) seems to remember things?" Answers were quite varied, although most were assessed as being favorable ones. Techniques, when stated, were equally as variable. A little more than half of the responses indicated that the child remembered some person, place, or thing. Also mentioned were responding to adults, getting into things, a group of unclassifiable statements, social activities, and activities concerning the routines.

Play. About one half of the responses to "Have you noticed anything about the way (your child) plays?" were assessed as being generally favorable. Almost twenty per cent of the responses related specific problems, with twice as many problems mentioned for girls as for boys (see

Table XX). More than seventeen per cent of the responses were specifically favorable ones. Techniques of guidance in the order of most frequent use were assistance, encouragement, miscellaneous actions, corporal punishment, and explanation.

Relations to adults. The predominate response to "Have you noticed how (your child) is with other people?" was generally favorable as shown in Table XX, with about half of the responses classified this way. Slightly less than twenty-five per cent of the responses mentioned specific problems, and most of these were that the child was afraid of people he did not see often, a stage most children go through sometime during the first two years of life. Another problem mentioned was that the father or grandparents of the child allowed or encouraged behavior the mother did not like.

Relatively few actions were recorded on the part of the mothers in this area of development since most of the actions mentioned were those done by other adults.

Love. Nearly seventy-eight per cent of the mothers responded as favorable that their child liked to be cuddled and loved. About fourteen per cent did not indicate whether they considered their child's desire or, in a few cases, refusal to be cuddled and loved as favorable or unfavorable, and another eight per cent mentioned a specific problem (see Table XX). More problems were cited for boys than girls, and this was the only area of development discussed where this occurred. Some of the problems mentioned were: the child was "spoiled" and demanded attention, the child would not allow people other than one parent to cuddle

him; or the child did not like to be cuddled but demanded attention in other ways. The last problem had one mother so disturbed that she said, "I feel like pulling my hair."

Most of the mothers stated they returned their child's desire for love through some demonstration of affection such as cuddling, rocking, kissing, or hugging. A very few mentioned the techniques of encouraging, assisting, and ignoring.

Anger. There were more total responses to the question "Does (your child) ever seem to get angry or mad?" than to any other question about the selected child development areas; also more specific problems were mentioned. Almost seventy-five per cent of the responses (see Table XX) were specific problems or generally unfavorable responses. Less than seven per cent of the responses were assessed as being favorable. More boys than girls were in the neutral classification. Almost two-thirds of the specific problems were related for girls.

The most frequently mentioned techniques of guidance used with anger were corporal punishment and ignoring. Other actions, such as substitution, scolding, demonstration of affection, and isolation were also used.

Sex differences. The total responses by sex (see Table XX) of the mother's perception of the child's behavior regarding seven developmental areas were treated statistically by the chi-square test of independence. The greatest differences between observed and expected results were that boys were more frequently mentioned for specifically favorable responses and less frequently mentioned for specific problems than were girls.

There was also a tendency for boys to be mentioned more frequently for the neutral responses.

IV. TECHNIQUES USED BY THE MOTHERS

In addition to the mother's perception of the child's behavior, this study sought to discover the techniques she used to direct the child's behavior and the relationships between the use of these techniques and the variables of sex of child, age of child, age of mother, education of mother, employment of mother, socio-economic rating of the family, and the source of information for the use of a general classification of techniques.

The techniques or methods used by the mothers, as defined for the purpose of this study, were as follows: (1) Assisted meant any act by the mother in aiding the child to achieve behavior or activity that the mother deemed satisfactory. (2) Encouraged included a broad scope of acceptance ranging from passively or inactively allowing, watching, enjoying, smiling, or laughing to verbally encouraging and playing with the child. (3) Demonstrated affection was any outward or physical expression of love such as cuddling, hugging, kissing, or telling child that he was loved. (4) Explained was a statement of reasons, causes, or possible outcome. (5) Substituted meant distracting the child's attention by use of some other activity or object of interest. (6) Ignored was disregarding the child's behavior or obvious refusal of attention. (7) Scolded included reprimanding or speaking loudly or harshly to the child. Grouped with scolded for analysis was threatened, which meant a warning of punishment or harm. (8) Corporal punishment was the use of any physical

contact for disciplinary purposes. (9) Miscellaneous techniques consisted of a group of actions of considerable scope and variation such as bribing, depriving use of an activity or object, commanding the child not to repeat an action, trying to prevent an activity with no definite statement of how this was done, pacifying or soothing, giving in to the child, trying "to get" child to share or take turns, taking child to the doctor for help with a problem, removing child from or preventing the occurrence of an upsetting or frustrating situation, and making fun of child.

Sex of child. The relationship observed between the sex of the child and the techniques of guidance used by the mothers was significant at the .02 level of confidence. The most important tendencies found (see Table XXI) were that the mothers encouraged and demonstrated affection with their sons more than they did with their daughters. The mothers scolded, threatened, and punished their daughters more than their sons.

Age of child. The relationship between the age of the child and the techniques used by the mothers was significant beyond the .01 level of confidence. The greatest differences between the expected and observed results (Table XXII) were in the use of corporal punishment. A much smaller proportion of infants and a much larger proportion of one year olds were punished than would be expected statistically. Infants were assisted, encouraged, and received demonstrations of affection considerably more than did one and two year olds. Explaining, scolding, and threatening were techniques used most frequently with two year olds and less frequently with infants.

Age of mother. A relationship significant at the .01 level of

MOTHER'S TECHNIQUES OF GUIDANCE ACCORDING TO SEX OF CHILD

Sex of Child	Number of Responses by Techniques Used									Total
	Assist- ed	Encour- aged	Demon- strated Affection	Explain- ed	Substi- tuted	Ignored	Scolded, Threat- ened	Corporal Punish- ment	Miscel- laneous	
Boy	134	87	67	15	16	60	11	65	94	554
Girl	103	71	62	25	25	70	30	100	112	673
Total	317	158	129	40	41	130	41	165	211	1232

TABLE XXII

MOTHER'S TECHNIQUES OF GUIDANCE USED ACCORDING TO AGE OF CHILD

Age of Child in Months	Number of Responses by Techniques Used									Total
	Assist- ed	Encour- aged	Demon- strated Affection	Explain- ed	Substi- tuted	Ignored	Scolded, Threat- ened	Corporal Punish- ment	Miscel- laneous	
0-11	123	77	63	3	14	47	6	23	64	425
12-23	126	50	44	13	16	57	13	92	83	509
24-35	68	31	22	19	11	26	17	45	59	293
Total	317	158	129	40	41	130	41	165	211	1232

confidence was found between the age of the mother and the techniques she used to guide her child's behavior. The largest proportionate difference found, as shown in Table XXIII, was that mothers under twenty demonstrated affection a great deal more and mothers over thirty demonstrated affection considerably less than would be expected. The youngest mothers were also more likely to assist and encourage their children and less likely to explain, ignore, scold and threat, or use miscellaneous techniques. Mothers in the twenty to twenty-four year old age group tended, proportionately, to use encouragement less and corporal punishment more. The greatest proportionate differences found for the mothers twenty-five through twenty-nine years of age were that they used the techniques of substitution more and punishment less than mothers in other age groups. Mothers over thirty years old tended to use miscellaneous techniques more so than the younger age groups.

Educational attainment of mother. The relationship between the educational attainment of the mother and the methods she used to direct her child's behavior, as shown in Table XXIV, was significant at the .05 level of confidence. Mothers who attended elementary school or who attended high school demonstrated affection considerably more than did mothers who completed high school. Mothers who attended or completed college demonstrated affection only slightly less than was statistically expected. Mothers who completed high school were, proportionately, less likely to encourage their children while the reverse was found for mothers who attended or completed college. Explanation was a technique used less than expected by mothers who attended high school only and more by mothers who

TABLE XXIII

Age of Mother in Years	Assisted	Encouraged	Demonstrated Affection	Explained	Substituted	Ignored	Scolded, Threatened	Corporal Punishment	Miscellaneous	Total
Under 20	76	39	44	5	7	19	2	29	21	242
20-24	159	71	60	22	19	71	29	93	109	633
25-29	53	24	19	7	13	27	7	21	37	212
30 and over	29	20	6	6	2	13	3	17	37	133
Total	317	153	129	40	41	130	41	165	211	1232

TABLE XXIV

MOTHER'S TECHNIQUES OF GUIDANCE USED ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MOTHER

Educational Attainment of Mother	Number of Responses by Techniques Used									Total
	Assisted	Encouraged	Demonstrated Affection	Explained	Substituted	Ignored	Scolded, Threatened	Corporal Punishment	Miscellaneous	
Attended Elementary School	34	22	25	5	0	9	5	19	27	146
Attended High School	97	49	47	1	13	29	12	52	53	360
Completed High School	143	63	45	24	21	76	21	79	106	573
College	35	20	11	3	5	13	2	13	22	124
Total	309	154	128	40	39	127	40	163	208	1208*

* Data were not available on the educational attainment of the mothers regarding to the twenty-four items of techniques used.

graduated from high school. Other differences found were that mothers who completed high school used the technique of ignoring to a greater degree, proportionately, than did mothers with less education.

Employment of mother. Statistically significant at the .05 level, employed mothers were found to use the techniques of substitution and miscellaneous techniques more and to demonstrate affection and ignore their child's behavior less than did mothers who were housewives. A slight tendency was also observed, as shown in Table XXV, for employed mothers to assist their children less and to punish them more than did unemployed mothers.

Socio-economic rating of the family. A relationship significant beyond the .01 level was found between the socio-economic rating of the family and the techniques of guidance used by the mother (see Table XXVI). Proportionately, mothers with a low socio-economic rating used miscellaneous techniques and assisted less and demonstrated affection, scolded and threatened, and punished more than was statistically expected. Mothers in the middle-low group were found to use explanation and punishment proportionately more frequently and substitution, ignoring, and miscellaneous techniques proportionately less frequently than the other four types of techniques. The smallest relative differences were observed for mothers with a middle-high socio-economic rating; only one technique, explanation, was found to be mentioned proportionately less frequently than the other types of techniques. The high socio-economic group of mothers used the techniques of substitution, ignoring, and miscellaneous techniques more and demonstration of affection, scolding and threatening, and punishment less than mothers with lower socio-economic ratings.

Employed Status of Mother	Number of Responses by Techniques Used									Total
	Assisted	Encouraged	Exemplified Affection	Explained	Substituted	Ignored	Scolded, Threatened	Corporal Punishment	Miscellaneous	
Housewife	225	112	95	27	21	27	24	104	133	349
Employed Outside of Home	86	44	31	12	20	33	13	56	75	370*
Total	314	156	126	39	41	130	41	164	208	1219

*Data were not available on the employed status of the mothers responding to thirteen items of techniques used.

TABLE XXVI

MOTHER'S TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL USED ACCORDING TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC RATING OF FAMILY

Socio-economic Status	Number of Responses by Techniques Used									Total
	Assisted	Encouraged	Exemplified Affection	Explained	Substituted	Ignored	Scolded, Threatened	Corporal Punishment	Miscellaneous	
Low	15	13	14	3	2	7	8	17	8	77
Middle-low	69	29	23	11	3	20	8	44	26	238
Middle-high	141	71	57	11	13	52	16	64	95	525
High	92	45	30	15	13	51	9	40	82	382
Total	317	158	129	40	41	130	41	165	211	1232

Sources of information. The total responses of sources of information for given techniques were grouped into four major categories for statistical treatment by the use of the chi-square test of independence. These categories were: (1) Positive techniques which included assisted, encouraged, demonstrated affection, explained, and substituted; (2) Neutral techniques were ignored; (3) Negative techniques consisted of scolding and threatening and use of corporal punishment; (4) Miscellaneous techniques were those previously defined as miscellaneous techniques.

The relatively large difference between the total number of sources of information and the total number of techniques mentioned may be explained by a number of reasons: (1) the respondent could not recall the source of information; (2) the respondent could not decide from which of several sources she gained her information; (3) the answer was evasive or entirely unrelated, such as a mother knew to spank her child "because he needed it"; (4) excessive background noise or mechanical difficulty in the tape-recorder obscured the respondent's answer; and (5) the question was not asked.

The relationship observed (Table XXVII) between the type of technique used and the source of information for the type of technique was significant beyond the .01 level of confidence. More than the proportionately expected number of responses named reading materials and other sources which included high school home economics classes, radio, television, and consumer information, for positive techniques while own experiences were mentioned considerably less often. Doctors and relatives or friends were named more frequently and natural inclination less

TABLE XXVII

NORTON'S TECHNIQUES OF PAIN RELIEF USED ACCORDING TO SOURCE OF INFORMATION

Source of Information	Number of Responses by Techniques Used				Total
	Positive Techniques	Neutral Techniques	Negative Techniques	Unclassified Techniques	
Doctor, nurse	20	7	0	6	33
Relatives, friends	35	15	9	7	66
Reading materials	41	10	5	7	63
Own experiences	80	23	49	29	181
Natural inclination	88	14	31	22	155
Other	12	3	0	0	15
Total	276	72	94	71	513

frequently for neutral techniques. The greatest proportionate differences were found in the sources of information for negative techniques. Own experiences were mentioned far more frequently as the sources of information for negative techniques, while doctors and other sources were not cited at all. Reading materials were also named less frequently for negative techniques.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. SUMMARY

The importance of the experiences of early childhood in the development of a child's personality has been emphasized by numerous noted authorities in the field of child growth and development. Since the child is totally dependent on his parents for his physical existence during the first few years of life, the parent or parent substitute is placed in the position of being the greatest influence in determining the intellectual, social, and emotional experiences of the child as he takes care of the child's physical needs. The amount and kind of influence the parent exerts on his child's development takes on many forms. One form is the method he uses to guide his child's behavior. The study of the techniques of guidance or child rearing practices used by parents today becomes more significant in view of the relatively rapid changes presently taking place in the American family structure and functions. This century has seen a number of trends which have brought changes in the parent-child relationship. Smaller families, more one-generation families, mobility, working mothers, rising juvenile delinquency, and more industrialization are a few of the trends.

Another reason that the study of child rearing practices appears of greater consequence today is that much "expert" advice which describes modern theories of child rearing is available to parents through literature, doctors, and other professional sources. What are the effects of the abundant availability of information about child-rearing on the techniques

parents use to guide their child's behavior? This was one of the major questions this study sought to answer.

The purposes of this study were to determine: (1) The relationship between the types of behavior of only children under three years of age which mothers perceive as favorable and unfavorable, and the variables of (a) sex of child, (b) age of child, (c) age of mother, (d) education of mother, (e) employment of mother, and (f) socio-economic rating of the family. (2) The relationship between sex of the child and the mother's perception of the child's behavior regarding the developmental areas of sleep, language, memory, play, relations to adults, love, and anger. (3) The relationship between the techniques of guidance used by the mothers with the variables previously mentioned plus the source of information for the types of techniques used.

The results of past research indicated that the age of child, sex of child, age of mother, education of mother and particularly, the socio-economic status of the family were significant factors in determining the child rearing practices a mother used. Some of the trends observed were for mothers to be more strict with girls, younger mothers to be more severe, and the upper social classes to be more permissive and less punitive than mothers in the lower social class groups.

Tape-recorded interviews with two-hundred and thirty-nine mothers, who had an only child under three years of age and who lived in rural areas of one of three counties in Piedmont North Carolina, provided the data for this study. This investigation was a part of a larger one undertaken by the Family Life Research Staff of the School of Home Economics, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina and the Agricultural Experiment Station, North Carolina State College.

II. CONCLUSIONS

The data were analyzed by the chi-square test of independence to determine relationships significant at the .05, or beyond, level of confidence. From the analysis of the 239 tape recorded interviews certain conclusions may be drawn:

1. The most frequently mentioned favorable behavior as stated by the mother was physical activity, excluding locomotion. Other types of favorable behavior cited in the order of frequency were: other social activities, intellectual activities which included language, responding to adults which included smiling and laughing, miscellaneous types of behavior, unspecified behavior or "everything" was enjoyed and locomotion. There was a slight tendency for mothers to mention more intellectual items for their sons than for their daughters. Proportionately more girls were mentioned for the unspecified behavior that "everything" was enjoyable. These sex differences were not statistically significant. Encouragement and assistance were the techniques used most with favorable behavior.
2. The only variable found to have a significant relationship with the types of behavior deemed by the mothers as favorable was age of the child, which was significant at the .01 level of confidence. The greatest differences found were in the items of intellectual behavior, responding to adults, miscellaneous behavior and unspecified

behavior. Intellectual behavior and unspecified behavior were mentioned proportionately more with an increase in the child's age. Responding to adults and miscellaneous behavior were mentioned proportionately less as age increased. As the mother performed the numerous and frequent routine tasks for her child during his first year of life she was probably more aware of his responsiveness to her than later when the child was somewhat less dependent and could walk, feed himself, and be entertained with toys. Most of the responses concerning intellectual behavior were related to the child's ability to verbalize, a development which naturally increases with age. By the time the child was two years old mothers tended to give more general responses about their child's favorable behavior than mothers of infants who had fewer types of behavior to remember and were, therefore, more specific. This may explain the tendency for more mothers of two year olds to say that "everything" the child did was favorable.

3. The types of behavior of their child which the mothers stated were unfavorable were mentioned in the following order of frequency: miscellaneous items--a few of which were biting, pulling hair, crying, sticking out tongue, and slapping--exhibiting anger, getting into things, activities concerned with routines, social activities,

and physical activities. Slightly more than one-fifth of the mothers stated that their child was "too young" or that they had not observed any unfavorable actions in their child. Almost sixty per cent of these responses were made by 34.2 per cent of the mothers of infants who responded to this question. No significant relationships were found between the types of unfavorable behavior mentioned and the variables of sex of child, age of mother, education of mother, employment of mother and socio-economic rating of the family. A few trends were noted, however. More boys than girls were cited as showing anger, which may be accounted for by the fact that on the average boys develop slightly slower than girls and, lacking verbalization, show their frustration more through anger. Mothers in the two lower socio-economic groups tended to mention getting into things proportionately more frequently than mothers with the highest rating. The lack of the financial means to provide play equipment and materials which the child was allowed to use may have accounted for this trend to some extent. Other tendencies noted between the types of unfavorable behavior and socio-economic rating were: mothers of the low group mentioned anger more and mothers of the middle-low group mentioned anger less than was proportionately expected; the middle-low mothers gave more responses of unfavorable physical activities while mothers

with a high socio-economic rating cited proportionately fewer such responses; and mothers in the high group tended to name more undesirable social activities. This last finding was somewhat the same as that of other studies which found that the higher the socio-economic rating of the family, the more pressures the parents placed on the child to conform to social standards. Thus, these mothers tended to mention the behavior which they considered socially unacceptable. Corporal punishment was the most frequently mentioned technique for redirecting unfavorable behavior.

4. The probability that a relationship existed between the age of the child and the types of behavior mothers reported as unfavorable was found to be significant at the .01 level. The one year old child was said to show anger considerably more often than the infant or two year old. Developmentally, anger is expected more at this age since it is during the one year old period that the child lacks a usable language and he meets more frustrating experiences his reactions to which are interpreted unfavorably by the parent as one of anger. Infants were mentioned proportionately less for undesirable social activities than were two year olds, an expected finding due to the developmental level needed to perform the types of activities cited as undesirable social activities. Infants were mentioned more frequently for getting into things than were two year olds. As the infant

begins to crawl and explore his environment, his attention span is too short for even numerous toys to keep him occupied at all times, thus his explorations bring him into contact with many "forbidden" objects. Infants were also named proportionately more for miscellaneous types of behavior and the one year old was named less.

5. When asked about their child's behavior regarding sleep, language, memory, play, relations to adults, love and anger, the responses were predominately favorable ones except for anger, where most of the responses were either generally unfavorable or a specific problem was mentioned. The total responses were tabulated by sex according to the classification of generally favorable, specifically favorable, neutral responses, generally unfavorable, and a specific problem mentioned. Considerably more boys than girls were cited for specifically favorable responses and somewhat more for neutral responses. Proportionately more girls than boys were mentioned for specific problems. Thus it appeared that in general the mothers of boys in this group looked more favorably upon their child's behavior than the mothers of girls.
6. A high probability was found that a relationship existed between the techniques the mothers used to guide their child's behavior and the variables of sex of child, age of child, age of mother, education of mother, employment of mother, socio-economic rating of the family and the source

of information for the use of the type of technique. In this group of mothers, therefore, there appeared to be a definite relationship between the six factors mentioned and the types of guidance techniques the mothers used.

7. The relationship between the techniques of guidance used and the sex of the child was significant at the .02 level of confidence. The greatest differences observed were that mothers encouraged and demonstrated affection more with their sons and scolded or threatened and physically punished their daughters more. If, as other studies have indicated, the mothers were less strict with their sons and expected less understanding of rules, then they would be less likely to punish their sons than their daughters.
8. The probability that a relationship existed between the age of the child and the actions the mother used to guide the child's behavior was highly significant beyond the .01 level. The greatest differences between expected and observed results were in the use of corporal punishment, scolding or threatening, encouragement, demonstration of affection, and explanation. Infants were punished much less, one year olds a great deal more and two year old slightly more than was proportionately expected. Two year olds were scolded or threatened and given explanations considerably more than were infants. The mothers encouraged and demonstrated affection with infants much more than with one and two year olds. Many mothers of infants

stated that they felt their child was too young to understand why he was being punished, therefore, they did not yet punish him physically. The same reasoning, using the type of discipline the parent thought the child would understand, may account for the greater use of verbal discipline with the two year old child.

9. Also significant beyond the .01 level of confidence was the relationship found between the age of the mother and the techniques of guidance used. The greatest difference observed was that mothers under twenty demonstrated affection much more than older mothers. There was a definite tendency for the use of affection by the mother to decrease with an increase in her age. Mothers under twenty also tended to assist and encourage their children more than was expected and to ignore, scold or threaten, and use miscellaneous techniques less. Twenty through twenty-four year old mothers encouraged less but scolded or threatened and punished more than was proportionately expected. The greatest difference found for the twenty-five through twenty-nine year old mothers was their proportionately greater use of substitution and lesser use of punishment. Mothers over thirty tended to use miscellaneous techniques more and substitution less.
10. The amount of education the mother had and the techniques of guidance used were related at the .05 level of confidence. The use of demonstration of affection decreased

with an increase in the amount of education. There were no responses by mothers with less than some high school education that they used the action of substitution. Mothers who graduated from high school ignored their child's behavior more than did mothers with less education. Explanation was a technique used less by mothers who only attended high school and more by those who graduated from high school. Mothers who attended or graduated from college tended to encourage their children more than those who graduated from high school.

11. The relationship between the employed status of the mother and the actions she used to guide her child's behavior was significant beyond the .05 level of confidence. The mothers who were housewives demonstrated affection and ignored behavior more than did employed mothers and substituted and used miscellaneous techniques less than employed mothers. There was also a tendency for employed mothers to punish more than mothers at home all day with their children.
12. As other studies have indicated, a relationship, beyond the .01 level of confidence, was found between the child rearing practices used and the socio-economic status of the family. Tendencies were observed for the use of corporal punishment and scolding or threatening to decrease as the socio-economic status of the family

increased. The use of substitution, ignoring, and miscellaneous techniques increased proportionately as the socio-economic status increased. The greatest difference found in the use of demonstration of affection was between the groups rated as low and high. The low group demonstrated affection much more, proportionately, than did mothers of the high group. Mothers of the middle-low group used explanation proportionately more than did mothers of the middle-high group. No social class differences were observed for the use of encouragement.

13. The relationship between the types of techniques of guidance used and the source of information for their use was significant beyond the .01 level. For analysis the techniques were grouped into four categories: (a) positive techniques--assisted, encouraged, demonstrated affection, and substituted; (b) neutral techniques--ignored (c) negative techniques--scolded or threatened and used corporal punishment; and (d) miscellaneous techniques. The sources of information mentioned, proportionately, most frequently for the use of positive techniques were reading materials and other sources (high school home economics, radio, and television). Own experience was mentioned considerably less frequently than expected for positive techniques. Doctors and friends or relatives were cited proportionately

studies. It is unknown the extent to which the results were affected by the failure of the mothers to remember the child's behavior and their actions regarding the behavior. Also, in some cases insufficient information made it difficult to code responses as objectively as might be desired.

These limitations could be partially overcome with a larger and more representative sample from which more general conclusions could be drawn. The study of such a sample might bring out regional differences in mothers' perceptions of child rearing practices. Further research would be desirable with an older age group, with families having more than one child, and with an urban sample.

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APPENDIX

- A. Interview Guide
- B. Data Analysis Sheet
- C. Birth Data Sheet

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW GUIDE

A. Background Data

1. Demographic

Child's name	Age	Sex
Length of residence	Owner or renter	
Others in home		
Location of home		
Father's occupation		
If farmer, type of farm		
Per cent of time engaged in farming		
Acreage owned		rented
Acres in tobacco owned?		rented
Acres in other field crops		
Number of dairy cows		
Other livestock, poultry, type and number		
Other farm produce raised for sale		
Proportion of field crops to total farm products sold		
If nonfarm occupation, distance to place of employment		
Father's age	Grade or College year completed	
Was father raised on a farm?	Any part time farming?	
Mother's occupation		
If other than housewife, type of work		
Per cent of employment		
Mother's age	Grade or college year completed	
Was mother raised on farm?		

2. Socio-economic Scale Items

sink in kitchen	electric lights
running water	screens
tub or shower bath	telephone
washing machine	automobile
electric or gas stove	sewing machine
refrigerator	television
daily newspaper	home garden
separate living room	farm magazine subscription
seperate dining room	tractor

3. Social Participation Scale

Names of all organizations in which either mother or father participate including church, Sunday School, circle or societies, union, PTA, etc.

5. Farm Bureau
6. Farm & Home Development Programs
7. Community Development Club
8. Home Demonstration Agent Club Leader Member
9. Prenatal Health Clinic
10. Visiting Nurse - to verify birth
11. Mother-Baby Club or Well-Baby Clinic Health Center
12. Case-worker from Children's division, Welfare Department
13. Homemaker Service, Welfare Department
14. Church visitor
15. Minister
16. Church Nursery - leader, helper, parent discussion group
17. Church meetings or programs
18. PTA meetings, study groups
19. Did mother have Home Economics in high school?
20. Home Economics Adult Class, nearby high school
21. Vocational Home Economics Teacher, visit, consultation
22. Red Cross Course - First Aid & Safety
23. Red Cross Course - Mother - Baby Care
24. Red Cross Course - Home Nursing
25. Library or bookmobile materials
26. Psychologist or psychiatrist
27. Family Service Association Counsellor
28. Industrial plant medical or other consultant service
29. Day Care Center or Nursery School

What service, or source of information was most helpful?

What kind of help would you like to have?

What suits you best? Home visit, place for consultation, group meetings and discussions?

b. Radio and T-V programs

Programs known? heard?

Information gained?

Was it helpful? What did you like about it?

What kind of program would you like to hear or see?
information?

c. Newspapers and periodicals

Publication? How often received? Read?

Articles about small children? Known? Read? How often?

Information gained? Helpful, What did you like about it?

What kind of publication would you like to have available
to you? information?

d. Kit of materials

Which of these publications have you seen?
(Be sure to state title into mine.)

Where obtained?

Was it helpful? How?

(Skim through those publications mother has seen and get specific instances of information and help obtained)

Why did you like it? (or not like it)

What kind of materials would you like to have?

- B. 3. General and specific questions about selected child development areas.

(follow up on any leads arising out of interview thus far.)

- a. What are some of the things your child does you think are pretty cute or that you enjoy seeing him do? (What have you been interested in as you've seen your child develop, etc.)

What do you do about these developments, actions, tendencies?

Where did you get the idea to handle these things in this way? Where did you learn about these things that your child does?

- b. What are some things that your child does that you think aren't cute or that you wish he would not do?

What do you do?

Where did you learn about what to do in these situations?

- c. Specific areas of development:
(On these topics and any leads thus far, check through three basic questions: What did/does child do? What do you do? Where did you learn to do this?)

Physical:

- 1) Sleeping: How does your child do about sleeping?
What did (or do) you do about this?
Where did you get the idea to do this?
Have you heard or read any thing about sleeping?

Intellectual:

- 1) Language development: Does your child ever talk to you?
What do you think he's trying to say?
How did you learn to understand what he's trying to say?
Do you talk to him?
Where did you get the idea to do this?

- 2) Memory: Have you noticed whether your child seems to remember things?
 What sorts of things?
 How did you know he was remembering? How did you learn about this?

Social:

- 1) Play: Have you noticed (or been interested in) anything about the way your child plays? what?
 What do you do?
 How did you learn about this?
- 2) Relations to Parents
 Have you noticed anything about how your child is with members of the family or other older people?
 What do you do?
 How did you learn about this?

Emotional:

- 1) Love: Does your child like to be cuddled and loved?
 How can you tell?
 What do you do?
 How did you learn about this?
- 2) Anger: Does your child ever seem to get angry, or mad?
 What does he do?
 What do you do?
 How did you learn what to do about this ?

4. Review - summary

What kind of person would you like your child to be when he grows up?

What ideas do you have about the future for your child? (child's development patterns, your expectations, educational-financial plans, things you will encourage, things you will discourage, laying a ground work for child's future, etc.)

What information do you think is most important for young parents to have? Is there any advice you would give to other young parents?

Of all the sources and possibilities for help, and the help you have actually had, which do you think was the most important, the most helpful?

If you could have any kind of help you'd like to have in the past, now, or in the future what would it be?

APPENDIX B

DK - Informant doesn't know
 NL - date not obtained
 NR - not relevant
 Otherwise all answers yes/no unless explanation is entered

Case No. _____
 Tape No. _____
 Area _____
 Date _____

INTERVIEW DATA SHEET

(Revised after Protest, February, 1957)

I. Background Data

CHILD'S NAME _____ AGE _____ SEX _____

Place of birth _____

Special information: _____

HOME & FAMILY Length of residence _____ owner/renter _____ Location: _____

Others in home _____ who? _____

Socio - Economic Check List:

_____ sink in Kitchen	_____ elec. lights
_____ running water	_____ telephone
_____ tub or shower	_____ automobile
_____ power washing machine	_____ sewing machine
_____ mechanical refrig.	_____ elec. or gas stove
_____ screens	_____ television
_____ daily newspaper	_____ home garden
_____ sep. living room	_____ tractor power
_____ sep. dining room	_____ farm mag. subsc.

FATHER Occupation _____ Distance to Job _____ Age _____
(type co. & job)

School year comp. _____

Roared on farm _____

Social Participation (Enter name of organization. Check ✓ under appropriate column)

Organization	Member	Go to Meetings	Pay or Contribute	Comm. Mbr.	Officer
--------------	--------	----------------	-------------------	------------	---------

d. Group programs, activities, or services (Information obtained, helpful, liked?)

SPECIFIC: (For each affirmative answer, note number below under "comments" and note whether home visit, outside consultation, group meeting; help or information relative to child; helpful; liked.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| _____ 1. Family doctor | _____ 18. PTA |
| _____ 2. Obstetrician | _____ 19. Home Ec. in High School |
| _____ 3. Pediatrician | years taken _____ |
| _____ 4. Grange | Child Care Unit _____ |
| _____ 5. Farm Bureau | _____ 20. Home Ec. Adult Class |
| _____ 6. Farm & Home Devel. Program | _____ 21. Voc. Home Ec. Teacher visit |
| _____ 7. Home Demonstration Agent | _____ 22. Red Cross Class, first-aid |
| _____ 8. Home Dem. Club leader or member | _____ 23. " " " , home nursing |
| _____ 9. Community Devel. Club (Program) | _____ 24. " " " , Mother-Baby |
| _____ 10. Prenatal Clinic (Health Dept.) | _____ 25. Library or bookmobile service |
| _____ 11. Visiting Nurse | _____ 26. Psychologist or psychiatrist |
| _____ 12. Mother-Baby Club/Well Baby Clinic | _____ 27. Family Serv. Ass'n. counsellor |
| _____ 13. Caseworker, Welfare Dept. | _____ 28. Industrial Plant Service |
| _____ 14. Homemaker Service, Welfare Dept. | _____ 29. Day care center or Nursery Schl. |
| _____ 15. Minister or Church Visitor | |
| _____ 16. Church Nursery | |
| _____ 17. Church activities or programs | |

Service or information most helpful:

Service, information, or help desired:

RADIO & TV PROGRAMS KNOWN AND/OR HEARD:

<u>Program</u>	<u>How often</u>	<u>Information obtained</u>	<u>Helpful?</u>
----------------	------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------

Program desired:NEWSPAPERS AND/OR MAGAZINES KNOWN OR READ:

<u>Periodical</u>	<u>How often</u>	<u>Information obtained</u>	<u>Helpful?</u>
-------------------	------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------

Publication desired:PRINTED MATERIALS KIT, KNOWN AND/OR USED:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Where Obtained</u>	<u>Information Obtained</u>	<u>Helpful?</u>
--------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------

III. Selected Child Development Areas

5

GENERAL:

"Favorable" things child has done: Mother's Actions: Where learned:

"Unfavorable things.....": Mother's Actions: Where learned:

SPECIFIC:

Physical:

Sleep:Mother's Actions:Where learned?

Intellectual:

Language development:Mother's Actions:Where learned?Memory:Mother's Actions:Where learned?

Social:

Play:Mother's Actions:Where learned?Relations to Parents/Other Adults:Mother's Actions:Where learned?

Emotional:

Love:Mother's Actions:Where learned?Anger:Mother's Actions:Where learned?

REVIEW:

97

7

Ideas and expectations about future:

Most helpful source thus far:

Most important information for young parents to have:

Service or help desired:

Comments:

APPENDIX C

CODE SHEET FOR BIRTH DATA

1. Place of Birth a. County		b. Township	2. Usual Residence of Mother a. State		b. County
c. City or Town		Is place of birth within city limits Yes No.		c. City or Town	
d. Full Name of Hospital or Institution			d. Street Address or R. F. D. No.		

3. Child's Name

4. Sex	5a. This Birth Single ___ Twin ___ Triplet ___	5b. If Twin or Triplet 1st ___ 2nd ___ 3rd ___	6. Date of Birth
--------	---	---	------------------

Father of Child

7. Full Name

9. Age	10. Birthplace	11a. Usual Occupation	11b. Kind of Business
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Mother of Child

12. Full Maiden Name

14. Age	15. Birthplace	16. Children Previously Born to this Mother		
		a. Now living	b. Dead	c. Stillborn

18b. Attendant at Birth
M.D. ___ Midwife ___ Other ___

21. Did Mother have Blood Test for Syphilis?
Yes ___ No ___