Toddler Role in the Family: A Culturally Comparative Study

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TODDLER ROLE IN THE FAMILY:
A CULTURALLY COMPARATIVE STUDY

by

Orathai Dejthamrong

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts

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VITA

The author of this thesis was born in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1942. After graduating from Mater Dei College, Bangkok, Thailand, she enrolled in Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand, from where she got her B.A. and M.A. in Linguistics. She began her graduate work in Sociology at Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, in 1971.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter**

I. THE COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE TODDLER ROLE IN DIVERSE SOCIETIES  1  
- The Problem  1  
- Methodology  4  
  - The Cultures Studied  4  
  - Categorization of Societies  5  
  - Descriptions of the Selected Societies  7  
  - Defining "Role Expectations for Achievement"  14  
- Hypotheses  17

II. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF TODDLERHOOD  19  
- Age-Role Theory Approach  19  
  - The Function of Socialization in the Age-Role of the Toddler  22  
- The Function of the Toddler Role in the Formation of Basic Personality: The Psychoanalytic Approach  25  
- Psychological Aspects of Toddlerhood  27  
- Conclusion of the Dimension of Toddlerhood  31

III. A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF THE TODDLER ROLE  34  
- Rites of Passage  37  
  - Weaning  38  
  - Bowel Training  42  
  - Other Acts of Training  45  
- Social Expectations for Responsibilities  48  
- Social Relations  49  
  - Parent-Toddler Relations  49  
  - Sibling-Toddler Relations  52  
- Autonomy  54
IV. SUMMARY AND FINDINGS ........................................... 57

Summary .............................................................. 58
Non-Literate, Simple Technological Societies ....................... 58
Literate Societies ...................................................... 60
Advanced-Educational and/or Technological Societies ............... 63
Hypotheses to be Tested ............................................... 66
Hypothesis I ................................................................ 66
Hypothesis II ................................................................ 68
Hypothesis III .............................................................. 71
Conclusion ................................................................ 74

BIBLIOGRAPHY .............................................................. 87
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Age Comparison for Weaning by Culture</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Comparison of Bowel Training By Age</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Mode of Change at Beginning of Toddler Period</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Culturally Comparative Food for Toddler</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Culturally Comparative Training and Activities of Toddler</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Culturally Comparative Mode of Parent-Toddler Relation</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Culturally Comparative Mode of Sibling-Toddler Relation</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Culturally Comparative Work Responsibilities of Toddler</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Comparison of Person(s) Who Takes of Toddler By Culture</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

THE COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE TODDLER ROLE
IN DIVERSE SOCIETIES

The Problem

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate a comparative analysis of the characteristics and social expectations of the toddler role in diverse societies. The perspective to this problem stems from a general age-role theory that personality development consists of socialization or enculturation to a series of age-roles including infancy, toddlerhood, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and senescence or old age.

From this cultural perspective, our concern is with toddlerhood as an age-role and with the cultural expectations and imperatives upon this age-role as well as with the social characteristics of the toddler. From birth onward, the infant is confronted with conceptions and expectations about his social growth. By the time the infant reaches a certain chronological age, the ministering adults expect certain behavioral changes (Guthrie, 1966). Society defines and limits the approved responses and goals of the toddler as member of the society (Allision Davis, 1955). The role of the toddler exists within an
organization of privileges and duties. There are variations and similarities of these social expectations among diverse societies concerning the life cycle or age-role life sequence. This age-role approach to toddlerhood differs from the psychoanalytic view which emphasizes the influence of the biopsychological experiences during toddlerhood upon basic personality structure. It differs from the physical maturational approach which directs attention to the developing physical characteristics of the toddler (Gesell, 1949). The age-role approach differs from the socialization approach which is concerned with the changing mental and social capacities of the toddler in terms of his internalized norms, modes of relations, speech, thought, and selfhood (Piaget, 1955). This comparative age-role approach directs attention to the way diverse societies define the toddler role as well as with the comparative characteristics, activities and relations of the toddler.

The aspects of the toddler role to be compared and analyzed in this thesis include, 1) the modes of role passage from infancy to toddlerhood, 2) modes of social relations, 3) degree of responsibilities and activities. The study by Langman (1973) is one example of the child role, in general, as affected by the adult role. His study emphasized the economic influence on the adult role. Many other studies (Sears, MacCoby, LeVine, 1957; Guthrie, 1966; Klien, 1965; Prothro, 1962) show variations in the child role in differ-
ent cultures as reflected in the child rearing practices which in turn affect the personality development. This study will concentrate on the similarities and diversities of the toddler role in different cultures in terms of his degree of socialization and the extent to which he begins to prepare for the adult role.

In the field of personality development, as was stated by Sears (1957), toddlerhood or the preschool period is crucial in personality development. During this period, the person completes his elementary process of socialization, starts to learn to take the role of others, widens his sphere of relationships, and experiences an emergence of a more complex self. He begins to acquire and internalize rules of behavior (Piaget, 1955). At the beginning he views these rules as absolute, unchanging and sacred. His understanding of rules consists only of going through the accepted notions. As he learns these rules, he acquires the foundation for further development of self control. He bridges the gap between the sensory-motor activities of the baby and the internal mental activities of the school-age child and he increases his capacity for symbolic communication. Erikson (1950), too, has regarded the toddlerhood as providing the foundation for all subsequent motivation and personal disposition.

The age-role approach gives another perspective and dimension to personality development, namely the function
of social definitions and imperatives upon the age roles in the age structure. The toddler stage is crucial because it not only lays the foundation for the development of his personality, but prepares the person for adapting to subsequent age-roles.

Methodology

The Cultures Studied

The goal of cross-cultural research is to ensure that one relates one's findings to human behavior in general, rather than being bound to a particular culture (Stewart and Jones, 1972). If we limit the studies within the framework of one culture, we cannot be certain whether the discovered relationships are valid for other cultures because the discovery may be an artifact of some limitation or special circumstances of the culture which has been discovered (Whiting, 1953). The ultimate goal of comparative research is to provide a logic of analysis whereby the general nature of a phenomena may be specified and the cultural condition that gives rise to its specific manifestations explained (Suchman, 1964).

In studying the toddler role in the family cross-culturally, the diversities and uniformities of this age-role are compared in role passage, social expectations, social relation and social characteristics.

The data on toddlerhood were obtained through a
review of literature. Thus the role of the toddler was investigated among the Navaho, Thonga, Kwoma, Hopi, Alorese, Ganda, Puerto Rican, Japanese, Filipino, Lebanese, Thai, Jewish (Israel - Kibbutz and Shtetl), Soviet, English and American cultures.

These societies are classified into three categories: non-literate, literate and advanced societies. The following criteria are used in the categorization: 1) mode of technology, 2) cultural isolation and homogeneity, 3) division of labor and 4) education.

The non-literate societies include the Navaho, Thonga, Alorese, Kwoma, and Hopi. These societies subsist through simple ways of hunting, farming and fishing. Cultural homogeneity and isolation prevail in these societies who live in relative social isolation either by preference or by geographical impediments. The family is a self-sufficient economic unit and part of a larger kinship group. The division of labor is very simple and clear cut according to sex. In the four societies studied in this category, the division of labor in the family is very rigidly separated by sex. The husband's division of labor is to build the dwelling, cut the firewood, haul the water, work in the field, hunt for food and herd sheep or horses. The wife's work role is confined to rearing children, cooking, gathering crops for immediate consumption, weaving and helping in the field. In these non-literate societies there is no formal education,
and the end of the toddler role in these societies is signified by working in the field or helping in the household.

The literate societies include the Ganda, Puerto Rican, Japanese villagers, Filipino, Jewish Kibbutz, Lebanese and Thai. In these societies, modern and traditional technology coexist. These societies are less homogeneous and isolated than the non-literate societies. This is due in part to the impact of foreign cultures. The division of labor is more complex and the family as a unit becomes more dependent upon the community. In these literate societies, formal education is practiced and social change becomes more rapid. The younger generation is motivated toward higher educational goals than the older generation.

The advanced educational and/or technological societies include the Soviet, American, English and Jewish Shtetl. In these societies, higher educational standard and/or modern technology prevail. Their cultures are very heterogeneous and the division of labor is very complex.

These societies which have been classified into three categories not only show the differences in degree of technical advancement, but also manifest patterns of adult role expectations in each category which is related to the behavior patterns of the toddler role.
Descriptions of the Selected Societies

The first type includes the following:—

Navaho: Data on the Navaho were obtained from Kluckhohn’s (1949) study of the Indians living near Ramak, New Mexico. Acculturation, other than in the realm of material objects, had been relatively slight. These people earn their living by the simple way of farming and sheep-herdings. Health and long life are primary Navaho goals. They give value to wealth accumulation for "good living." But there is no thought of or plan for the future achievement.

Thonga: The Thonga village is located in South Africa, and is formed of an enlarged family. The village of Thonga consists of the following people: the headman and the old people who have fallen into his charge, his wives, his younger brothers and their wives, his married sons, his unmarried sons and daughters. People make their living by farming and herding. The work is allocated by sex. The way of life reflects a slowly changing and immobile society.

Kwoma: the Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea and they are a mountain-dwelling people. According to Kwoma standard, every adult male must produce food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife. People live mainly by cultivation. The gardening involves cooperation of several people, basically the members of two or more closely related households. But if
the work is too big for them, they may ask others in the same hamlet to help. Besides gardening, men also hunt for food while women take care of the cooking. Men and women share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals.

**Hopi:** The Hopi Indians live in Northern Arizona, east of the Grand Canyon. The Hopi's division of labor lies between the house and the field. It is the man who owns the fields and tills them whereas the woman possesses the house and its contents and has the task of feeding the members of her household. Men also have to herd sheep and goats. Women also cultivate small gardens near the spring and carry a water supply from the spring to the household.

**Alorese:** People of Alor live in a small island in the Natherland East Indies. The material in this study was taken from DuBois' (1944) *People of Alor.* People in Dubois' study are a group of mountain people at Atmelang in the Barawabing district. Women are responsible for the cultivation and collection of all vegetable foods. Therefore, they are the owners of all the plants produced. Men control the financial system.

The second type includes these societies:-

**Kibbutz:** The Kibbutz is a kind of Israeli subcultural community. It is a utopian community where social and political sophistication and educational programs are directed to the preparation of the youth for the attaining of the
ideal adult role. The main principles of the Kibbutz are economic collectivism and social equality. It is a voluntary organization composed of like-minded people who attempt to realize and attain economic and social justice — a democratic organization. Child-rearing is not the function of the family but of the institution.

Ganda: As a whole, the East African society is primarily agricultural. Even though some modernization was introduced by the Europeans, most of the people still live the old way of life. The wife cultivates the garden to provide food for the family and the husband is the cash-earner. Nearly all children of school age attend school and most mothers are instructed by the governmental officials about the modern ways concerning child-rearing practices.

Puerto Rican: Data on Puerto Rican toddlers were obtained from Landy's (1959) Tropical Childhood. The study was done in the village of Valle Cana. Economically, the people of Valle Cana are poor; they earn their living by planting root crops on the hill slopes and also work in the cane plantations. So, the population is predominantly a working class. Women are housewives who spend most of their time in the kitchen. These people give the greatest importance to the way they look and dress. The home comes last and little time is spent making it neat or ornamental. The working-class behavior is founded on three virtues: respect, humility and service. All these virtues are oriented toward
the upper-class. "From birth the child is inculcated with the expectation and duties for his parents' class." That is to show respect, deference, humility before the middle-class and the upper-class and to perform all kinds of services for them. "The teaching of his class functions is an important aspect of the socialization of the Valle Canese child." There is no ambitious goal in life beyond that valued by his class.

Lebanese: Data on the Lebanese toddler were obtained from Prothro's (1961) *Child Rearing in the Lebanon*. Families included in his study were the Arabs, Armenians, Moslems, and Christians. These families were the residents of Beirut and three towns in the Beqaa Valley. Even though trade and services dominate the nation's economy, half of the population depends on agriculture for a livelihood and this is especially true for the larger towns of the Beqaa Valley which are the primary agricultural centers.

Filipino: Guthrie's (1966) study on the Filipino child rearing practices gives a very good view of the Filipino toddler. The study was done in the provinces near Manila. The majority of the mothers in the sample had completed only elementary school. Also the majority of them were housewives. Seventy per cent of the fathers did not have much education and were laborers. Guthrie stated that once asked what expectations they have for their children, most mothers also express their expectations for the adults in
the family. The qualities desired are those that preserve family solidarity. According to Guthrie, these qualities would appear to an outsiders to be docility, subordination to elders, and a suppression of individual ambitions. However, for the participants, it is experienced as respect for the wisdom of the older people, gratitude to parents for having been born, etc. Most of all, parents want their children to have a good relationship with other people. There is no expression for ambition or achievement in life.

Japanese: The study of Japanese child training in a small fishing community was done at Tukashima, a hamlet in Okayama Prefecture, Japan. It is a small island with a population of approximately 188 in 1951. For living, they rely chiefly upon fishing in neighboring waters. Cultivation of table crops in small unirrigated farm plots affords a subsidiary source of livelihood. Generally, the men fish and the women farm. They are not isolated from the mainland. Like anywhere else in Japan, life in Takashima is a mixture of modern and traditional ways. Life in the community revolves around the family. One's social position is that of his family, and the affairs of any family member are the intimate concern of all other members. Parents in Takashima don't stress the concept of future achievement in their socialization. They are contended with earning their living as fishermen. As Norbeck (1956) reported, most Takashima students in the advanced grades do below
average in school. The teachers attributed this poor scholarship to Takashima parents, who, "as fishermen, do not value education highly." Takashima adults say that they hold education in less esteem because the amount of formal education which they can afford to give their children, gives them no special advantage in their adult life. However, literacy is considered as an absolutely necessity.

Thai: The study done on child rearing practices in Thailand was carried out in two small farmer villages. The life of the people is simple. The farming is done mostly in the traditional way with some advice on modern technology which the farmers get from the agricultural officials who visit villages from time to time. Mostly, education is considered to be important up to the governmental compulsory level. Some parents do want their children to go for higher education, but the majority would prefer to have the children out of school to help with the farming and the household chores.

The third type includes:-

Jewish Shtetl: The Jewish Shtetl community was found in small towns in Eastern Europe. The people retained their way and their language, responding to the environment, assimilating much of it, integrating it into their way of life, yet keeping the core of their own tradition intact. The Shtetl ideal of male beauty reflects the high value set on learning and wisdom. If a man could not achieve for himself the status of wise student, the next
best move was to achieve contact with scholars. Expectations with regard to social, economic and ethical behavior and role were explicitly linked to one's position on the social spectrum. The position was not permanent and it was achievable through acquiring or augmenting one of the basic values — learning and wealth. Both learning and wealth were regarded as equivalent. There were high expectations in the Shtetl for the achievement of learning, wealth, or both.

American Middle-Class: Information on American child-rearing practices was obtained from Sears' (1957) *Pattern of Child Rearing Practices.* Sears reports and categorizes the methods used by 379 mothers in his sample. Mothers in his sample were very heterogeneous in social class, religious affiliation and education. Most individuals in the middle-class group were primarily engaged in business, professional and white-collar occupations. The middle-class role expectations for adult would be of high achievement in life and upward social mobility.

English Upper-Middle-Class: The data on the English upper-middle-class were obtained from Spinley's (1953) *The Deprived and the Privileged.* He collected his information from the nursery school. The children are from families where the fathers' occupations are business or professional. The mothers don't work after the birth of the children. They are primarily older parents whose economic status frees them
from financial frustrations. Their general background is concerned with material comfort and respectability. The mothers are from the same social class as the fathers and they expect the children to grow up as competent adults, are high and consistent with the adult role played in their social class.

Soviet: The data on the Soviet child upbringing were obtained from Bronfenbrenner's (1970) *Two Worlds of Childhood*. In the Soviet Union there are two types of child upbringing. One is in the family setting, the other is in the collective setting. In this thesis, only the collective upbringing will be studied. The collective upbringing in the Soviet society is programmed to provide the child, from early infancy onward, with the physical, psychological and social conditions regarded as necessary for his full development but not readily available in his own home. The admission to a governmental institution is given primarily to children from families in which one parent is absent or away for a long periods of time, or where the parents work on different shifts. Infants may be entered at three months of age.

**Defining "Role Expectations for Achievement"**

In this study, differences in male occupational adult role expectations among societies, have been analyzed and compared in terms of achievement motivation. McClelland (1967) has defined achievement motivation as composed of strivings
to increase one's capabilities in all activities and to aim to reach standards of excellence in activities in which one can succeed or fail. Still members of societies with weak achievement orientation nonetheless manifest strivings for excellence. When we compare achievement expectations for adults cross-culturally, the degrees of predominance and decisiveness in economic mobility are considered.

Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959), Edgerton (1971) and Langman (1974) indicate that a subsistence economy determines occupational role demands and normative values for the adult members. In industrial societies, a dominant theme for adults is high achievement (Heckhausen, 1967; Rosen, 1971; Langman, 1974). Hunting societies also develop achievement motives whereas the agricultural and pastoral societies emphasize interpersonal harmony above getting ahead (Langman, 1974). The level of educational attainment is another factor that stimulates achievement expectations among adults (Heckhausen, 1967). On the other hand, achievement motivation impels the individual (or member in the society) to compete against standards of excellence and to direct his drives toward socially rewarded educational and occupational goals (Rosen, 1956).

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1 See Introduction to Heckhausen's (1967) *The Anatomy of Achievement Motivation.*
In categorizing the degree of achievement expectations for the adult role, the mode of economy and level of education in each society will be used as criteria for comparison. In terms of subsistence economy, most of the non-literate and literate societies in the sample of societies of this study are agricultural (see p. 7-12). Achievement expectations for adults tend to be lower in these agricultural and fishing societies than in predominantly industrial societies. In the Shtetl society, (though neither industrial nor hunting), achievement aspirations were very high for educational attainment and financial success (see p. 12-13). In literate societies where modern technology is used, achievement expectations tend to be higher than in agricultural societies only.

In terms of literacy and education, generally, advanced technological societies tend to attain an higher education than developing technological societies. Although a broad educational system has been recently introduced, literate societies have had a literature for centuries. Non-literate societies have had no written language. According to economic and educational factors, advanced societies tend to be rated highest in achievement motivation, followed by literate societies, while non-literate societies have lowest aspirations among the members.
Hypotheses

The toddler role is an integral age-role which varies cross-culturally with societal definitions of socialization as well as expectations for the adult role in the total age-role system.

1. Toddlerhood is an age role in which the person consolidates his socialization for subsequent societal participation. The toddler develops neuro-muscular autonomy, a capability to communicate and to relate socially. The toddler in the process of separation from the mother has to 1) redefine his relationship with the mother, 2) become accommodated with other adult family members, as well as siblings and non-family persons. This age period is the process of deprivation, or self-control and a greater degree of personal independence.

2. Societies with high expectations for achievement among the adults affect the toddler differently than those with low expectations for achievement: in cultures with high expectations for achievement, role expectations for the toddler would be higher than in the cultures with low expectations for achievement. This high expectations for achievement for the toddler is in term of early and abrupt change in role performance as well as in the strict training for the toddler.

3. In term of training, each culture train the toddler in such a way as to prepare him for attaining the subsequent
adult role. In the cultures with high expectations for achievement and competition in the adult role, the toddler is expected to achieve independence earlier. On the other hand, in the cultures which give high value to cooperation and interdependence among adults, the toddler is expected to depend more on the adults and older siblings.
CHAPTER II

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF TODDLERHOOD

Age-Role Theory Approach

This age-role approach to personality focuses upon the development of personality as the function of a succession of cultural imperatives for each age role. According to Weinberg, personality development does not result spontaneously from physical maturation nor from early childhood training. It is the result of a succession of the cultural imperatives of age roles in a total age structure. This cultural dimension of growth at least guides the life-cycle of the cultural participant. Since cultures vary, the patterns of growth in the life-cycle vary accordingly. However, there are seven criteria in the cultural aspect of personal growth:

First, persons of a younger age roles tend to regard older persons as role models for their behavior, such as children and youths who regard certain adults as their 'idols.' Secondly, persons are compelled more or less to conform to their age roles by their parents, older persons and age mates. Third, their aspirations are oriented toward attaining adulthood, the age-role of most prestige. Fourth, adulthood, usually has most authority, the most prerogatives and the most responsibility of the age-grade structure. Fifth, the adults or the aged may encourage or discourage, facilitate or retard the advance of younger persons at any stage in their advance into new age-roles. Six, because of the varying adult roles of the male and female, the process of socialized growth in the sequence of age roles varies in pace or in content for the male and female. Seventh, when the adult age role is affected by drastic change
of values, the individual approaching the adult role may be hindered in the growth process by having no incentive to strive for the adult role.

The toddler role is of preponderant importance because it is the earliest period of his autonomous socialization experiences. It is the first time the child encounters concerted cultural imperatives. Since the adult role is the prime role and all age-grades struggle for that role, all younger age-roles anticipate and prepare for the assumption of this prime role. Thus, responsibilities and functions of the toddler role vary with societal imperatives.

The infant encounters social definitions and expectations about his social growth from birth. The American middle-class wants to hasten social growth but some societies, such as the Navaho, are more permissive and tolerate the onset of toddlerhood at a later age. From early life, the infant is directed to emphasize the expectations of the adult role, identify with and imitate persons in older age-grades.

The culture orients the individual so that he is impelled at first and may later want to acquire new patterns of behavior and new orientations in growing up. The toddler starts imitating parents in role-playing of house and other games. This imitation continues and becomes more complex as the child grows older.

The society compels conformity more or less to specified age-roles, which means abandoning former practices and accepting new functions. The group compels the indivi-
dual to give up attitudes and practices which he would like to retain. These imperatives start to function at weaning and with the changed definitions of the age role which accompany this transition. In slow-changing, homogeneous cultures, socialized growth may be smooth. But in rapidly changing heterogeneous cultures, socialized growth does not have the smooth replacement of generations it has in the more static cultures. The child imitates role models who are outside the family and is uncertain about his adult role until the late teens whereas in his early adulthood he may seek techniques which differ from those of older persons.

The pace and aim of growth vary from culture to culture. In some cultures, the infant may be weaned before the first year and treated as a toddler before the second year. In some cultures, the infant-toddler may not be weaned until the third or fourth year. Adolescence may be skipped in some cultures and prolonged in other cultures. In some cultures, senescence may arrive before forty years of age; in others it may be prolonged until sixty or sixty-five years. The pitch of age-grading may be early adulthood in some cultures but may be later adulthood in others.

In some cultures the pace and direction of socialized growth may differ for boys and girls. From birth boys and girls are treated differently. But in some cultures, this difference may not be clear cut.
The Function of Socialization in the Age-Role of the Toddler

Socialization focuses upon the development of the individual as a social being and participant in society. Socialization, as a process, entails several phases and changes. The process of socialization includes the patternings of social learning transmitted through child care and training, the acquisition of language and of selfhood, the learning of social roles and of moral norms. Childhood socialization is the social orientation of the child and his enculturation, first within the small world of family, neighborhood and then in relation to the larger society and culture (Clausen, 1968). Current approaches to the development of selfhood emphasize the years from infancy through about age six.

The preschool period is important for forming a framework of experiences, ideas, feelings, attitudes and concepts. The task of socialization of the toddler within the family constitutes the first steps toward achieving the performance requirements that are imposed for the participant in a given society. Clausen noted that socialization from the perspectives of parents and child may be seen somewhat differently than from that of societal functioning. Many tasks in childhood socialization are regarded as a sequence of stages beginning with initial parental demands and the child's first partial responses and building up to the demand for and achievement of fully acceptable perform-
Socialization can be seen as the imposition of restraints and frustrations on the child. At toddler period, these restraints and frustration are especially obvious if one concentrates attention on the demands of weaning, toilet training and restraining aggression. For most toddlers, frustration is less acute and less pervasively characteristic of toddlerhood than is the zest for learning to control their bodies and to explore their world. If their explorations bring approval and if their accomplishments are praised, they gain both confidence and competence.

As the toddler is cared for, guided, and given opportunity to learn, he comes to know not only his world but himself. During the toddler period, the self emerges from the toddler’s learning to take the role of others. By role-taking we mean that the person can participate in cooperative enterprises. By empathizing with other persons he incorporates their attitudes into his own conduct and learns new schemes of behavior. Then he is able to imagine himself in the place of his parents, his siblings or someone else who observe and comment on his behavior. Thus, he can bring into his own awareness the social process and the norms that govern others (Clausen, 1968).

According to G.H. Mead, there are two stages in the full development of the self. In the first stage, the individual's self is constituted by organizing the particular
attitudes of others toward himself and toward each other in the specific social acts in which he participates with them. In the second stage, the self is constituted also by organizing the social attitudes of the generalized others or the social group, to which he belongs, as a whole. In this second stage the self reaches its full development. The individual is able to take the social attitudes by mean of further organizing and then generalizing the attitudes of particular other individuals in terms of their organized social bearings and implications (Stafford, 1943).

Socialization also concerns the development of moral judgments which is part of the more general process of cognitive development as the child participates in the society. Piaget (1955) in his The Moral Judgment of the Child is concerned primarily with the cognitive aspects of moral growth -- with the judgment of right and wrong. The moral judgments of a preschool child are seen as bound by his "egocentrism." He is unable to subordinate the immediate stimulus field as it stimulates his own sense organs sufficiently, to imagine how it would affect someone approaching it from a different perspective. To him, names of things are an integral part of them, instead of being arbitrarily assigned. However, at first, the toddler sees rules as entirely external to himself. Then, comes the times when he accepts the rules as absolute, unchangeable and as having a kind of existence of their own. He obeys the
spirit rather than the letters of the rules. Piaget calls this stage "morality of constraint" (Pulaski, 1971). It is not until the phase of mutual respect and cooperation is reached that the moral judgment of the child becomes truly autonomous. This later stage is called "the morality of cooperation." In this stage rules are no more absolute; they are changeable as long as everyone agrees. The child's moral development has its own social aspects because rules are handed down from parents to child, in the same way, the rules are passed from older children to younger ones in the case of children's games. The preschool child's understanding of rules consists only of going through the accepted notions, with individual variations as fancy dictates. (Pulaski, 1971).

The Function of the Toddler Role in the Formation of Basic Personality: The Psychoanalytic Approach

In general, the Psychoanalytic views emphasize that the basic personality is formed in early life and determines later behavior. Infantile drives, parent-child relations, and psychosexual development, are basic in forming the unconscious aspects of motivation and mind. From this view, the unconscious motives have similar meanings in all cultures, because these experiences in personality development occur in every society. The Neo-Freudian theories of personality development vary considerably from theories of the primary
process and its effect upon the universality of unconscious behavior. Erikson sees group character as emerging from the erogenous zone experiences of a people during childhood combined with their cultural practices of child-rearing.

Erikson, in full agreement with Freud, assumes that emotional aspects of life permeate all human functions. He is concerned with the emotional relationship between persons, rather than with personality as such. Each individual's life depends largely upon the relative balance of the three major psychic structure -- the id, the ego, and the superego.

Erikson perceives the first two years of life as providing the foundation for all later motivation and personal disposition. For Erikson, the first five years are essentially a reformulation and expansion of Freud's Psychosexual developmental stages. Yet, for Erikson, they are phases of constant motion; and an individual never has a personality, he is always redeveloping it.

The toddler period is the time when the person achieves autonomy and thus discovers that his behavior is his own. During this phase, his physical, social and psychological dependency creates a sense of doubt about his authonomy. Therefore, the toddler needs sympathetic guidance. Erikson emphasizes the importance of the ego development, which permits an awareness of self as an autonomous unit in circumscribed areas of life and the integration of the experience. From a sense of self-control without loss of
self-esteem comes a lasting sense of autonomy and pride; from a sense of muscular and anal importance, of loss of self-control and of parental over-control, comes a lasting sense of doubt and shame.

**Psychological Aspects of Toddlerhood**

The early psychologists when studying personality developments emphasized innate endowments and underemphasized cultural influences. However, with the decline of Neo-Darwinism and the development of social sciences, the psychologists increasingly recognized social influences upon the personality. In turn, this influences, directly or indirectly, their interpretations of intelligence tests, projective tests, personality development and learning.

Psychologists view the behavior of the toddler as exemplifying the continuously functioning process of adaptation. His intelligence functions to make him increasingly master of his world. Thus Piaget develops stages of intelligence growth of the child. For example, during the first two years called the sensory-motor period, he manifests his intelligence through his perceptions and motor activities -- his eyes follow a moving object or his head turns in response to noise.

The toddler must bridge the gap between the sensory-motor activities of the baby and the internal mental activities of the school-age child. He learns to use symbolic
substitution, such as language, and mental images, for the sensory-motor activities of infancy. Instead of seeing his mother, he can think of her and can thus get along without her immediate presence for a longer period of time. Piaget feels that the "make believe" play of this period is very important because through it the toddler is assimilating symbolically the activities, roles, and ideas of the world around him. At the same time, this assimilation is being balanced by accommodation, which Piaget describes as being the primary function of imitation. By imitating the speech, the behavior, and the activities of adults, the toddler learns to adjust to new situations in his world.

Sears (1957) views the development of the child in three phases:— 1) the phase of rudimentary behavior, which is based upon native needs and learning in early infancy, 2) the phase of secondary motivational systems which is based upon family-centered learning, 3) the phase of secondary motivational systems which is based upon learning beyond the family.

Socialization begins to take place during the second phase, covering the early childhood period; the time between the second half of the child's first year and the age he enters school. During this period, his primary needs continue to motivate him. However, these are gradually incorporated into repeatedly reinforced social learning, or secondary drives. Henceforth, these secondary
drives will be his main motives to action unless his social environment fails to provide the necessary reinforcement.

During this phase, the toddler learns through punishment and reward. However, Sears gives little consideration to punishment as an alternative to reward. In *Pattern of Child Rearing*, he stresses that punishment does not elicit reaction. Genuine social learning depends upon replacing previous learning with newer experiences, based upon more appropriate satisfactions, rather than upon avoiding unpleasant experiences or upon a fear of the consequences.

Development during toddlerhood is essentially anchored in the satisfaction gained from the learned dependency upon the mother. The toddler learns to imitate and to rely upon his dependency. As the toddler grows older, the mother regards excessive emotional dependency as behavior which should be altered. Frequently, this shift in emphasis will come about with the mother's preparations for a new sibling or her return to work.

Weaning starts during this period. Weaning involves five aspects: 1) learning to acquire food by other means than sucking; 2) learning to like this new method of food intake; 3) learning to want solid food; 4) learning how to handle solid food orally; and 5) learning to eat without being held.

Through toilet training, the toddler learns bodily cleanliness and approved toilet habits. Also, toilet
training introduces other new behavioral learning such as bodily regularity, modesty, and cleanliness.

Sex training, in general, involves primarily prohibitive instructions. Sexual modesty is one of the first behavioral motivational systems and an integral part of the socialization. The toddler has to deal with undefined concerns which have little meaning for him.

Around the third year of life, the toddler's behavior tends to resemble that of his parents. Identification can be traced to the quality of the mother-child relationship, to the mother's efforts in providing gratifying experiences in infancy, and, conversely, in the infant's need for his mother. Sears stresses that sex-typing -- the stimulating of "development of social behavior appropriate to the toddler's own sex" -- is the most pervasive aspect of the identification process. Increase in identification and conscience leads a toddler to behave more in keeping with his sex, but, at the same time, toddlers of each sex must learn how the other behaves and what such behavior expects of him in return.

Essentially, during this phase, the toddler develops his own personality as directed by his elders through their child-rearing efforts. Sears stresses that the success of each method of child-rearing depends upon finding a middle ground; either too much or too little dependency, or too strong or too little identification and con-
Sears emphasizes the role of the mother. A person's capacity to be a loving mother, to regulate her permissiveness, and her attitude toward sex and toilet training. The mother's capacities are greatly associated with her own self-esteem, her evaluation of the father, and her feelings about her current life situation. He stresses that the beginning of socialization -- that is the period during the second half of the first year to the age the child enters school, or the preschool period -- is the most crucial.

Conclusion of the Dimension of Toddlerhood

The Age-Role approach emphasizes the cultural aspect of the socialized growth. Though in every society, an individual undergoes the same path of growth -- from infancy to senescence -- the pace of growth, the pattern of role expectations, responsibilities, functions and duration of each age-role vary cross-culturally. The Age-Role theory gives importance to the adult age-grade as the prime role. The toddler role in different societies varies accordingly to this prime role.

The socialized growth of the person characterizes the chief characteristic of the toddler role. In participating in a social role, the individual develops a "self" through which he can internalize and bring into his own awareness the social process and the norms of the society. The
toddler period is a crucial period in an individual life. It is the first time he encounters the awareness of social contact. It is the time when his "self" first develops. Consequently, the toddler develops his moral judgment. During this period, the toddler is faced with ambivalence of growth and frustration. The success of the process of growth and socialization of the toddler depends largely on the socialization agents, especially the mother.

The Psychoanalytic approach stresses the influence of early experiences upon the basic personality structure which persist in later behavior and which is the product of child-training techniques and mother-child relations. This approach emphasizes first that the uniqueness of the individual must be taken fully into consideration, and, second that the biological drives could not be completely muted by the culture. Each individual's life depends largely upon the relative balance of three major psychic structure -- the id, ego, and superego. The toddler period is the most important period as it provides the foundation for all later motivation and personal disposition. According to Erikson, the development during the three stages in infancy, toddlerhood and childhood, is crucial to the later personality development. The sense of trust and mistrust, mother-child relationship, sense of self-control or loss of self-control the child develops during this period, lay the foundation for his later personality development.
Psychological dimensions pertain to the child's intelligence development, learning process and individual behavior. Psychologists view the behavior of the toddler as a function of process of adaptation. The intelligence is an integral part of this adaptation. During this period, the toddler is able to use symbolic substitution such as language and mental images. He is also able to imitate and assimilate the symbolic activities of others. He learns through rewards and punishments. The mother plays an important part in shaping the toddler's behavior and emotional dependency as well as his personality through child training and rearing practices. Much of the development during this period reflects the mother's own personality. This period is viewed by psychologists to be the most decisive one in a person's life.

Each of the four mentioned dimensions emphasizes different aspects of and influences on the toddler's behavior. However, they all agree that the toddler period is a crucial time of an individual's life. The development and experiences during this period bear important influences on the later personality. They also agree that many of the experiences during this phase vary from society to society.
CHAPTER III

A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF THE TODDLER ROLE

The toddler role consists of certain behavioral patterns which begin after weaning, until childhood. This role links infancy and childhood. It is associated with profound changes, especially of bodily controls, of social expectations, and of relations with other members in the family and in personality organization.

According to Gardner (1964), in the process of growing up, the toddler has to learn how to live "successfully in the world of other people." This involves a wide variety of skills in interaction with others, ability to await one's turn and to postpone one's own satisfaction for the greater satisfaction of being socially accepted.

During the infancy, social expectations imposed on the person are very lenient and mostly respond to his impulsive satisfactions. He is expected to cry when hungry, sleep when drowsy, eliminate when biologically necessary. Others strive to satisfy his wants as soon as possible. At the toddler period, beginning with weaning, the adult's responses to the toddler change from efforts to respond to his uncontrollable bodily needs to attitudes of approval and disapproval designed to encourage him to exercise bodily self-control, including the practice
of feeding himself and renouncing the urge of being fed. In order to be accepted, the toddler has to learn to adjust himself to new social expectations. At the weaning time, the child has to abandon his satisfaction in food as well as in the ways of eating. He is expected to become accustomed to eating food other than his mother's milk, and with the ways of consuming food other than sucking. Thus, he has to adjust his urge for food according to social expectations in his society (Sears, 1957; Broom, 1968). In some cultures, the weaning period is a traumatic shock to the toddler. Not only being refused the breast, the toddler is also separated from the mother, removed to sleep elsewhere than beside her, and perhaps sent away to stay with another relative (Read, 1968). The degree of abruptness in toilet training can be emotionally upsetting. In order to meet social expectations, the toddler has to control this urge and adjust himself to the time and place. He must learn to control his elimination and to stop depending upon his mother for cleanliness. By the end of the toddler period, he is expected to be independent and self sufficient. (Broom, 1968).

According to Weinberg's age-role theory, the toddler encounters a conflict during this time. On the one hand, he may still want to retain his infancy role, and remain dependent. Erikson has pointed out that during this period, the toddler achieves autonomy which gives him conflicting
feelings between the dependency which he develops with his caring adult, and the independency which he develops through his autonomous skill, between the sense of trust which he develops during infancy, and the sense of distrust which he develops from his discovery through autonomy. The child experiences a certain sense of guilt from the negation of his trusting dependency.

However, the degrees of drastic change, frustration, and restraint which the toddler experiences vary culturally. In some cultures, the toddler experiences trauma during abrupt changes while in others the toddler experiences a gradual change without frustration (Whiting and Child, 1953). Weaning can represent a very difficult change for the toddler but in some cultures, weaning is done very gradually. The child is accustomed to some solid food before being refused of the breast. So, his change of food is not accompanied by the separation from his mother. While undergoing changes in his role, the toddler also enjoys the comfort of maternal fondling.

In this chapter, the role of toddlers among different cultures will be examined. This study will include the rites of passage from infancy to toddlerhood, responsibilities and social relations within the family.
Rites of Passage

Van Gennep points out that a human being does not become a member of his society merely by being born; he has to be formally accepted into it. When a person changes from one status to another he has to be recognized by members of his society. The ritual or process through which a person in a society changes from one status to another is called "rite of passage" (Mair, 1965).

Benedict notes that in every society the individual is expected to behave differently at different stages of his life. When these changes are not recognized through "rites of passage," there are discontinuities in what she called "cultural conditioning" which result in strain and conflict (Singer, 1961).

The main rite of passage which every child has to go through in order to shift from infancy to childhood is the "weaning process." Weaning marks the end of infancy and the beginning of toddlerhood which is a link between infancy and childhood.

After weaning, the toddler has to go through many other training acts before he can be fully accepted into childhood. The toddler period is indeed a transition period. The toddler has to adjust and readjust himself to the continuous changes and new demands the adults in the society thrust on him. Bowel training is another very important transition. According to Sears, bowel training is
as important as weaning. Weaning involves a complete renunciation of one method of eating and the learning of another while bowel training involves the development of control over the original methods of elimination. Both weaning and bowel training have equal influences on the personality development of the person.

Since growing up is the function of cultural imperatives, culture also defines and provides the ways and methods of the rite of passage for shifting from one role to another. The processes of weaning, bowel training as well as other important training, vary accordingly to the variation of the culture of each society.

Weaning

According to Sears (1957), weaning denotes the shift from breast feeding to bottle feeding. This shift not only means the change of the object of sucking, but the destroying of the accompaniment of feeding -- being held in the mother's arms. Weaning sometimes refers to the changing of the way of feeding the child -- the complete withdrawal of the bottle and the breast. The toddler has then to learn to take food by other ways than sucking. He also has to learn to like solid foods as well as ways of eating them -- namely biting, chewing and using his fingers and utensils. Most of all, the toddler must learn to get used to not being held while he is eating.
For Ainsworth "weaning" means to teach (a child) to feed otherwise than from the breast. Thus, we can qualify the process of weaning as "abrupt" or "gradual," "severe" or "mild" (Ainsworth, 1967). If the toddler is shifted from an entirely breast-fed state to a state in which he is not fed by breast at all, we can qualify this process as "severe" or "abrupt." On the other hand, if the toddler is prepared for this change, the process is marked as "mild" or "gradual." The degree of sudden or gradual change varies greatly among cultures. In some societies, the process of weaning is exceedingly severe, providing no advance preparation and using vigorous means to stop the toddler from the old way of life in infancy and to push him into toddlerhood. But in some societies, the rite of passage is very mild, providing long preparation for the "stop" and allowing the toddler to get used to the "start." Sucking might be permitted to continue as long as the toddler wishes and years of experiences with chewing and biting are offered before full reliance is placed on these methods.

The non-literate societies tend to wean the toddler in the second or third year of life. The Thonga and the Kwoma usually wean the toddler during the second year, the Alorese and the Navaho during the third year of life. Weaning in these societies is considered to be abrupt and usually the toddler is sent away to stay with relatives.
for a period of time. Substances are also used to make the toddler distaste the breast. After weaning the toddler has to face drastic changes such as the loss of many of the infancy privileges which range from the breast to the motherly love and attention, and his status in the family. This is especially true with the Alorese, after weaning, the toddler is completely rejected by his parents and he is left without regular provision of food. He has to beg food from other family members and from neighbors. However, in these non-literate societies, the deprived-weaned toddler is still able to enjoy attention and care from others besides his mother. This is due partly to the extended family system and partly to the adults' conception of the toddler. The toddler is considered to be like a toy or a small animal which people love to play with. Therefore, the toddler is hardly alone.

All in all, the toddler in the non-literate societies suffers from traumatic shock and deprivation during the weaning period. It is true that there are some cases in which the toddler is said to wean himself, but this rarely happens. In entering toddlerhood, the person has to encounter changes in the adults' response to him, both in his physical needs and his psychological needs. He is not prepared enough for these changes. The traumatic shock is worsened by the rejection of and the separation from the mother. The toddler in these societies undergoes strong
emotional disturbance.

The literate societies tend to wean the toddler during the first or second year of life. Even though weaning in these societies tend to come earlier than in the non-literate societies, the toddler is more prepared for the process. The number of times the infant is breast fed is gradually reduced. At the same time, some solid softened food is also introduced into his diet before the weaning time. The toddler experiences emotional tantrums in striving to get the mother's breast. However, the toddler in these societies is compensated for the loss of the breast by being either given more love and attention or having his attention conveyed to other directions, as in the Ganda, Filipino, Thai, and Japanese societies. In the Kibbutz society where the toddler is raised up in an institution, he is also provided with more care and attention from both his biological mother and the mother substitution of the metapelet. Only in the Lebanese society is the toddler reported to have a sharp break both in nurturance and maternal care.

Some mothers in the literate societies try to accelerate the weaning process by smearing substances on her breast or by separating the toddler from her either temporarily or only during the night time. Some mothers in the Ganda and Thai societies send the toddler away for a few days while the Filipino mothers separate the toddler
from them at night time. Smearing substances on the breast is practised in almost every literate society in this study except the Kibbutz.

In the advanced societies, weaning tends to come during the first year of the person's life. Mostly, it is accelerated by the adults. However, some solid food is gradually introduced into the toddler's diet and the number of feedings is also reduced. The degree of acceleration varies cross-culturally. In the Shtetl society, the degree of acceleration was so high that weaning was somewhat sudden. The person was pushed by the adults in the society to grow up. By age two, the toddler in the Shtetl society was supposed to eat what the adults ate and sat at the same dining table. He was considered to be a child rather than a toddler. But in the American middle-class and English upper-middle-class societies, though weaning occurs in early part of the first year and is very systematic, the process is very gradual. Weaning is done through two steps, firstly from the breast to the bottle and secondly from the bottle to the cup. In the Soviet society, the infant may be admitted into a collective institution at the age of three, thus we may take this age as the beginning of weaning since it is the time he is separated from the breast and the mother.

**Bowel Training**

According to Sears (1957), toilet training is much like weaning. A baby has ready-made responses that rid
him of his waste products, just as he has a built-in reflex to make the getting of food convenient. Free use of both these infantile skills eventually becomes changeworthy and his mother feels impelled to train him to new methods of feeding or to more controlled ways of eliminating.

Bowel training is another rite of passage. In order to be fully accepted in the society, the child has to learn to control his elimination. As Sears puts it, all toddlers are trained against free elimination because we have to keep our immediate living quarters free of excrement.

Like the weaning process, the bowel training varies from society to society. This variation ranges from the age of training and the duration to the methods of training. Again, this is the function of a cultural imperative. The toddler is pushed into this elimination control by social forces. At a certain age, the toddler in each society is expected to be clean and able to control this matter and inhibit sphincter muscles until he gets to the proper spot. At what age the toddler is supposed to start controlling his elimination, how clean he is supposed to be, and where is the proper spot, are a matter of cultural differences.

Modern child-development specialists ordinarily encourage the mother to postpone bowel training until some time in the second year, when the toddler has a fairly complete postural control, can voluntarily control his sphincters and can be expected to learn to make some signal
about his needs.

In the non-literate societies, bowel training is not attempted until late toddlerhood, after the second year of a person's life. The Hopi, the Navaho, the Kwoma and the Alorese don't train the toddler for bowel control until he is old enough to walk, talk and understand some words. Then he is told to go outside for elimination. The training is not done systematically. And as Kluckhohn reported on the Navaho, the child is not washed after the elimination. So bowel training means only going to a proper place which usually means outside the house. Cleanliness does not accompany the training of bowel control and there is no real effort on the mother to discipline the toddler in this matter.

In the literate societies, bowel training is done during the first year of the toddler's life, as in the Ganda, the Puerto Rican, the Japanese, the Thai, the Lebanese and the Kibbutz societies; in the Filipino society, the training is done during the second half of the second year of life. The toddler is placed on the pot or at the place for elimination at a particular time everyday or whenever the adults notice a sign from him. The training is done indulgently, especially in the Filipino and the Thai societies. However, in spite of the indulgence in the training, the adults, mainly the mother, are very concerned about the toddler's cleanliness and they "have lots of
patience in cleaning him up." This is true for every literate society in this study except the Puerto Rican society.

Bowel training in the advanced societies is done at an early age and is very insistent. Cleanliness as well as bodily control are matters of great concern for the mothers in these societies. The Shtetl mother considered elimination of bodily waste as necessary as discharging one's emotional tension. In the American middle-class society, the average age at the beginning of training is eleven months and the age at completion is about eighteen months old. In the English upper-middle-class society, the toddler is bowel trained almost from birth and is expected to be dry and clean by the time he is nine to twelve months old. The Soviet toddler is expected to be dry and clean at the age of eighteen months.

Other Acts of Training

Besides the main rites of passage of weaning and bowel training, in order to be fully accepted in the society, the toddler has to pass through many other training acts which will enable him to really participate in the life of his society. According to Sears and MacCoby (1957), bowel training is accompanied by a whole set of other training which affects the toddler's social and sexual behavior. These acts of training include good table manner, quietness, carefulness around the house and with furniture, etc. and
vary from society to society depending upon the expectations of the adult role.

The main training in the non-literate societies is the survival techniques:— avoiding dangerous places, eg. high cliff, types of consumable fruit, etc. The father is the one who takes care of these teachings while the mother takes care of his conduct, both within and outside the family. The toddler is taught to respect and obey older people including older siblings.

The main dimension of training in the literate societies is the control of aggression even in self-defense. Most parents in these societies want their children to have good relations with people and prefer to see them running back home than engaging in fights with friends. The second most important dimension of training is obedience and respect toward older people, including older siblings. In the Filipino society, obedience and respect toward parents are pursued further and become a life long debt of gratitude. In the Thai society, the toddler is taught to show respect even to strangers who are older than he. Cleanliness and neatness represent another dimension of training for the toddler. In the Puerto Rican society, since there is not much furniture in the house, the main cleanliness and neatness training is directed toward the body, but in other societies this training includes keeping the house and furniture clean and in order. Besides these main acts
of training, each society directs the training of the toddler toward the development of the approved and acceptable behavior and manners. In the Japanese society, the training include using chop-sticks, proper ways of kneeling and bowing; in the Thai society, it includes teaching the proper way of "wai" which is a way of greeting and showing respect; in the Kibbutz society, the toddler is trained for group living.

In the advanced societies, besides the main training of aggression control, obedience, and cleanliness which are the same as in the literate societies, adults also socialize the toddler in order to prepare him for his adult role in the society. In the Shtetl society, the toddler period was very brief and by age three the toddler was sent to school for formal education. In the English and American societies, the toddler is trained to be independent and to be able to help himself at an early age. In these societies, the demands for "good behavior" such as saying "please," "thank you," etc. are also included in the toddler's socialization. The English upper-middle-class toddler is trained for intellectual and social life through play and fun. He is given all the care, attention and training so that he will grow up and feel secure in his life and be able to face life confidently and optimistically.
Social Expectations for Responsibilities

Each society has its own expectations for the responsibilities of the toddler. However, since this age-role is considered not to be adequately socialized for any task nor responsibility, most adults don't demand any responsibility from him. The toddler is usually asked to help with small errands.

In the non-literate societies, the toddler is not required to have any responsibility. It is a time of care-free period and he is able to enjoy and immense amount of liberty. However, the Navaho toddler is an exception because responsibilities are imposed on him as soon as the weaning is completed. He is expected to help in some light household chores. If he fails to do so, he is punished with scolding, mild switching, etc.

The toddler in the literate societies is not required to have any responsibility besides doing some small errands as he is asked to. Not only has he no responsibility, but he is expected to depend on adults in almost every aspect of life. During the toddler period, the toddler members in the family are always ready to help the toddler, as in the Filipino, Thai, Japanese, Ganda and Lebanese societies. Responsibilities for the toddler start with the onset of childhood. However, as Guthrie remarks: in the Filipino society, responsibilities are not pushed on the child but he grows into them in participating in the day to day
activities. And this is true for almost every literate society in this study.

In the advanced societies, except the American society, responsibilities are imposed on the toddler. The Shtetl toddler, since he was sent to school at the age of three, was responsible for his school work. The Soviet toddler, during his second year, is expected to have some light responsibilities such as helping others, serving at the table, cleaning up, etc. These responsibilities increase with age. The English upper-middle-class toddler, though imposed with no responsibility until he enters school, is carefully watched and controlled by his parents in terms of "what is good for the child." The American toddler is not expected to perform any regular task until school age.

Social Relations
Parent-Toddler Relations

In the non-literate societies, the mother-toddler relation is a kind that creates anxiety on the toddler's part. Beginning with rejection at weaning, the mother, as a disciplinary agent, starts putting demands on him and punishes him for disobedience. The Kwoma mother-toddler relation especially is a sudden change from intimate mother-infant relation to the almost complete rejection at the toddler period. This is also true, though not as severe, with the Navaho and Hopi. However, in these
societies, the toddler is also rewarded for his conformance. In the Alorese society, the mother rejects her child since his infancy. The relation is almost lack of a reward system and it fosters hostile feelings toward the parents.

Fathers in the non-literate societies, are mostly the source of comfort and gifts for the toddler. They seldom punish him but teach and play with him during their leisure time. This is especially true for the Hopi father. The father-toddler relation in the non-literate societies, with the exception of the Alorese, is a pleasant and intimate one.

In the literate societies, the parent-toddler relation is a warm and intimate one. Even though the mother may change her attitudes towards the toddler, she gives him no less love and attention. In the Puerto Rican society, the mother does not have much time to spend with the toddler, but she does not reject him. She gives him kisses and carries him whenever he asks for it. In other societies, such as the Filipino, the Thai, the Japanese, the Ganda, the Lebanese, the mother carries and fondles the toddler a lot. The Kibbutz toddler, though being raised up in a collective institution, is neither rejected by his biological mother who visits him daily, nor by the metapelet. The mother in the literate societies is a source of gratification for the toddler.
The father-toddler relation in the literate societies does not differ from the mother-toddler relation. The father develops an intimate relation with the toddler when he helps his wife taking care of the toddler. In the Thai society, the father starts having a close and affectionate relation with his child at the toddler period. The Filipino father is reported to even "buy the affection from the toddler." The Puerto Rican father often show affection and has some anxiety about insuring the love from the toddler.

In the advanced societies, the mother is closer to the toddler than the father. In the Shtetl society, though one tried to hasten the toddler to childhood and the mother didn't show much affection to him, her relation to him was still more intimate than that of her husband. The Shtetl father was rarely home and when he was home, he rarely participated in the family affair. He was a figure of fear for the toddler. The parent-toddler relationship in the Shtetl society was rather formal. This is also true with the English society. The English toddler is able to be with his parents only at a particular time of a day. He is usually with his nurse. Since the father is the authoritative and disciplinary force in the family, to the toddler, he is a figure of fear and respect. In the American society, the parent-toddler relation is more intimate and less formal. Because of the neuclear family
system, the mother and the father have to help in taking care of the children. Most American middle-class mothers are affectionate towards the toddler. The Soviet collective upbringing does not foster any intimate relation between parents and toddlers.

Sibling-Toddler Relation

In the non-literate societies, older siblings often help take care of the toddler. Sometimes, the toddler in these societies is reported to be completely under sibling's care. But because of the rejection at weaning, the sibling-toddler relation is a mixture of hostility and dependency. The older siblings take the opportunity for revenge for their having been dethroned when the toddler was born. While the toddler has to depend on older siblings, he also develops hostile feelings towards them. This is especially true in the Kwoma, Thonga, and Navaho societies.

In the literate societies, older siblings have to take care of the toddler when the mother is engaged in other works. Because the older siblings didn't experience rejection when the toddler was born, they don't have any hostile feelings towards the toddler. The sibling-toddler relation in these societies, except the Ganda, is intimate and friendly. The Ganda toddler is reported to show no attachment to older siblings even though he sometimes has to be completely under their care. In the Puerto Rican society, it is reported that sometimes older siblings even
use their position and power to attract favor from the toddler. In the Filipino, the Thai, and the Japanese societies, the sibling-toddler relation can be explained as "solicitude on the part of the older and dependency on the part of the younger." The toddler is also taught to respect and obey the older siblings. In the Kibbutz society, because of limited contact, the sibling-toddler relations is less intimate and less competitive.

In the advanced societies, the sibling-toddler relation is less intimate because older siblings are not responsible for the toddler. In the American society, when the mother has to go out, it is the babysitter who takes care of the toddler. The toddler is not taught to respect nor to obey the older siblings. They are taught not to be jealous and not to fight with one another. In the English and Shtetl societies, the sibling-toddler relation is even less intimate because as the boy reaches school age, he is sent to school. The toddler doesn't see much of his older siblings. In the Soviet society, because of the collective setting, the toddler cannot develop any familial relation. Instead of having a close relation with his siblings, the Soviet toddler develops a relation with peers.
Autonomy

The toddler period is not only the time when the child first encounters socialization efforts from adults, but it is also the time when he achieves autonomy and is able to go out and learn about the environment. As Gordon R. Lowe (1972) puts it, even this period is full of stress and strain, but because of the autonomous skill achieved during this period, the child is also able to find new satisfactions through discovery and exercising his own effort to get what he wants. Now, he does not have to depend on adults for what he needs. When he wants to hug or kiss his mother, he can go to her instead of waiting until she comes to him. It is the time when he is able to go around and see things he has never seen before except when being lifted or carried. This really changes the child's relation to his environment. Coupled with his activity drive and his curiosity, this period is the time for parental concern. The toddler can get anywhere, obtain just anything. But once he gets it, he does not know its use, nor its danger. Constant supervision is necessary. The wise and patient supervision can be rewarding and enriching for the toddler, but too much restriction can ruin his entire relation with his environment. On the other hand, negligence can risk the toddler's life by involving him in dangerous and fatal accidents (McCandless, 1967). Lowe (1972) suggests that the toddler period is the time when the child is striving for autonomy which
is accompanied with self-esteem. According to Erikson, this is the time when the toddler's physical, social and psychological dependency creates a sense of doubt of his own autonomy. Howe sees the autonomy in early childhood as extremely complex. The child is faced with ambivalent condition of whether to obey his active drive for autonomy and for more opportunities to exercise his own choice. The ambivalence ranges from the control of excretory impulses to impulses of all kinds.

In the non-literate societies, as the toddler achieves his autonomous skill, he is able to move and roam about as he wants. Though he is not taught to help himself, because of parental rejection, the toddler is forced to depend on his autonomous skills and exercise them as much as possible. But in the Hopi society, since the toddler is carried by his older sister most of the time, he is more confined to sibling care.

Because of the dependency pattern in the literate societies, the toddler tends to depend on the adults on almost every aspect. He is carried around, is helped in everything. Anyway, once the toddler is able to crawl and walk, the adults allow him to go around at his will as long as he is within their sight. Some mothers in these societies tie the toddler's ankle with a soft rope and let him crawl or walk around within the radiance of the rope length. The toddler is not able to fully help himself in earing, dressing,
washing, until early childhood.

Most toddlers in the advanced societies are put in the playpen as soon as they are able to move about by themselves. This restricts the toddler from exercising full autonomous skill. However, the adults also encourage him to be able to help himself as soon as possible. By later toddlerhood, he is able to help himself in eating, dressing and washing. The Soviet toddler is even encouraged to help others during this period. The Shtetl toddler was even more pushed to achieve autonomy at the early toddlerhood by being sent to school where he had to rely only on himself.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

Societies are organized groups of interacting persons who achieve consensus; and have a network of social roles. Cultures are the organized and shared responses and attitudes of the members. The successful training of the individual for a particular place in society depends upon the standardization of the behavior of the society's members (Linton, 1945).

As it has been stated several times in this thesis the toddler period is a crucial period in the individual's life cycle. The influence of this period continues to lay the foundation for his personality development. The toddler in any society is trained according to societal standards. His direction of growth is determined by the degree of socialization and influenced by the expectations for this age-role. The configuration of growth varies culturally.

In chapter III, we have seen various role expectations and performances by the toddler in different types of societies. This chapter is the summary and the testing of the hypotheses.
Non-Literate, Simple Technological Societies

In the selected four non-literate societies, the weaning tends to come during the second or third year of life, but it is sudden and abrupt. The child not only changes the food he eats, but his way of eating as well. Not prepared for the adult's diet, so suddenly after weaning, he nonetheless may have to depend totally on the adult's fare and eat the fare the same way. He is not only separated from the mother physically but encounters a different attitude from the mother and from other members in the family. Suddenly he has to provide for his needs as much as possible, even in seeking maternal affection. Mostly the child will be sent to stay away from the mother for a period of time in order to "forget the breast." Bowel training in these societies is done very permissively. Since neither pot nor toilet room are used in these societies, bowel training means only to control the physical urges until he reaches the proper place outside the house. Cleanliness does not accompany bowel training. The main training in these non-literate societies are the techniques of survival in the wild natural areas and also the training for almost absolute obedience and respect for others' property. The adults in these non-literate societies expect the toddler to have some responsibilities in the household

Summary
chores, such as fetching the water supply and bringing firewood. The strictness of these responsibilities differ among societies.

The mother-toddler relationship is a kind which creates anxiety on the toddler's part. The very close intimate relationship during infancy is immediately changed by the mother's redefinition of the toddler. She not only does not respond to his demand, but also starts imposing demands on him and treats him differently from the way she treated him during his infancy. Also she is the main disciplinary agent, thus, the rejection of love, the new attitudes she has towards him, her exercising of punishment for the achievement of some disciplines, really give the toddler a traumatic shock. But the father-toddler relation during this period is not a great change from infancy. Since he is not a disciplinary agent, the father rarely punishes the toddler. Instead he is the one who teaches the toddler the way he can exercise his recently achieved autonomous skill safely and more freely. The toddler's relation to older siblings is not a pleasant one. Since he was the one who dethroned the elder when he was born, the elder siblings express their revenge and hostility at the time of his weaning. Since the mother rejects him because of the new comer, his relation with the younger sibling then is in turn a kind of jealousy, hostile and competitive.
Once he has achieved autonomy, the toddler in non-literate societies is able to exercise his skill to the fullest extent. He is able to crawl around, not put in the playpen. The freedom in autonomy is to the extent of his excretory control. Since adults are very permissive in this matter, he achieves this autonomous skill without any anxiety.

**Literate Societies**

In the literate societies, the weaning is more permissive and is less of a shock for the child. Mostly the toddler is prepared for the weaning. And it is done very gradually. By the time weaning is completed, the toddler is somewhat familiar with the adult's diet, though in some cases, the toddler still tries to strive for the breast. Only two societies, that of Uganda and Lebanon, are reported to physically separate the toddler from the mother for a period of time. In other societies, the toddler only has to separate from her at night time. But the mothers in these societies supplement the breast by giving more love and understanding to the toddler. Only the toddler in the Lebanese society suffers a shock somewhat comparable to that experienced by the Kwoma toddler. The toddler was very indulged in infancy but at weaning there is a sharp break in nurturances and affection.

Concerning elimination training, most mothers in these societies start training during the first year, except
the Filipino mothers who start in the second year. The training is reported to be very permissive and gradual. And this is especially true with the Filipino mothers. Though the elimination training is very permissive, cleanliness is stressed from the beginning of the training. Punishment is used in the later part of the training. Mostly, the toddler is spanked, scolded, cuffed, etc., when he still wets or soils in the later part of the toddler period.

In the other modes of training in the literate societies, the most important goal is the toddler's respect, and obedience to older persons. In the Filipino society these modes of training to attain respect and obedience go beyond these goals to assure life-long gratitude to the mother. Body cleanliness is another goal that is stressed in the training. This includes neatness for the child's body and order for the home. The third is the inhibition of aggression. The parents prefer that the child flee home in case of conflict rather than have him fight with peers. Training for proper behavior differs according to each society so that each society has its own preference.

The toddler is not required to have any responsibility at all. It is the period of happiness and freedom from cares. Since the toddler is always with the adults, as he grows he also learns the adults' ways and once in a while is required to do very small errands such as picking up something in another room for the parents. There always
are always around to help him in almost every aspect. Thus, the toddler in these societies tends to be very dependent on the adults.

The mother-toddler relation is a warm and intimate one. The toddler is almost always with the mother because most mothers in these societies don't work outside. A large amount of physical contact between the mother and the toddler really increases the intimate relationship. Compared to the non-literate societies, mothers in literate societies are more permissive with their toddlers. The father in these societies is reported to have some anxiety about insuring the love of the toddler. Thus, he tries to please the toddler and to show him a great deal of affection.

The sibling-toddler relation in these societies is rather solicitous on the older part and dependent on the younger one. Older siblings are always required to attend the younger one. They take him with them to the playground. So the sibling-toddler relation is also intimate and close. There is some jealousy among siblings. But if this ends up with fighting, either the wrong side or both will be punished and given a long "lecture" on why siblings should love and help one another. One reason that there is not much hostile feeling among siblings is that at weaning, if the mother has a new born baby, if the toddler really show that he needs his mother's breast, the mother will let him share the breast with the infant.
Toddlers in these literate societies are never put in a playpen. When he first achieves the crawling skill, he is free to crawl anywhere in the house, under the watchful eyes of the adults.

Advanced-Educational and/or Technological Societies

In the advanced societies, the weaning goes through two stages:—weaning the baby from the breast to the bottle, then from the bottle to the cup. Weaning takes place very early, as early as three to four months of age. But it is a very gradual process. The process is not completed until the end of the first year or the middle of the second year. However, weaning the child is really a matter of parental concern. Even though the process is gradual, if the child is too slow, it is a matter of worry for the mother.

Though the process of bowel training is not very severe, it is done very systematically and purposefully. The toddler is placed on the pot everyday at particular times. These societies expect the toddler to be clean much earlier than the afore mentioned societies. Punishment such as spanking, scolding and teasing are used. The child is also expected to wash himself at an earlier age.

Mothers in these societies emphasize the great importance of obedience in training the toddler. However, the emphasis on the importance of obedience is mainly for the toddler's own safety. The American middle-class family also
places importance on keeping the house clean and neat, on the control of wall marking and jumping on furniture. Noise control also is a matter of concern. The upper-middle-class English family also considers training for good behavior as of a great importance. They train the toddler not only for the control of present behavior, but also look forward to his certain approved respectable adult behavior. Independence is greatly emphasized in these societies.

Toddlers in the middle-class American and upper-middle-class English societies are not required to have any responsibility at all except acting according to what they are trained. But in the Shtetl society, in late toddlerhood, he was responsible for his school work. The Soviet toddler is responsible for some light chores.

The social relation in the advanced societies is not uniform. In the American middle-class family, the mother-toddler relation is a close and intimate one. Though the mother would expect the toddler to help himself, she is please if he depends on her. The affection of the mother for the toddler is expressed through a large amount of physical contact, holding, hugging, kissing, etc. The mother also likes the toddler to be always near her. In the English upper-middle-class family, the toddler is usually with the nurse. He can be with the parents only at certain arranged times of the day. The father in both societies play an important part in disciplining the toddler.
In the American society, the father is closer to the toddler than in the other advanced societies in this study. In the English and Shtetl societies, the father is the figure of fear and respect. The relation is somewhat distant.

In the advanced societies, there is sibling jealousy when the new baby is born. But as the toddler is given no less love and attention, the jealousy disappears soon. In the American society, the sibling-toddler relation is a close and friendly like manner. But in the English and Shtetl societies, as soon as the toddler reaches school age, he is sent to school. So the relation between the toddler and his older sibling is not close. His relation to the younger one is a jealous one at the beginning but as the jealousy disappears, it is almost time for him to go to school too.

In the Soviet society, because of the collective upbringing, the toddler cannot develop any familial relation. Instead, he develops close relation with peers and the upbringer.

Mostly, the toddler in the advanced societies is placed in either a playpen or some limited area to provide the opportunity for the mother to be free for her work. But when the adults have time, he is taken for a walk. His autonomous skill is exercised with control from the adults. His elimination control is also strictly trained, as compared to other societies.
Hypotheses to be Tested

Hypothesis I

Toddler is an age role in which the person consolidates his socialization for subsequent societal participation. The toddler develops neuro-muscular autonomy, a capability to communicate and to relate socially. The toddler in the process of separation from the mother has to 1) redefine his relationship with the mother, 2) become accommodated with other adult family members, as well as siblings and non-family persons. This age period is the process of deprivation, or self-control and a greater degree of personal independence.

The information obtained from the cultures studied supports the hypothesis. Toddlerhood begins with the weaning, or the separation from the breast or the mother, or both. With this separation the mother herself begins to change attitudes towards her child as well as ways of treating him. The toddler in all three categories of societies, has to redefine his relation with his mother because of her change of attitude towards him (see p. 39-47). In the non-literate and literate societies, the toddler, not only is separated from the breast and the mother, but is also placed under the care of older siblings. Thus, he has to adjust himself to the loss of the mother, to staying with siblings and be under their care. In the advanced societies,
though older siblings don't take part in caring for the toddler, they and the parents are the only members in the toddler's social world with whom he starts having a symbolic interaction. Therefore, the toddler has to accommodate with them in order to be accepted as a member in the family. In the societies where the toddler is raised in an institution (in the Soviet and the Kibbutz societies), the people in the toddler's social world are those outside his family and he has to adjust himself to peers and to those who take care of him (see Table IX).

The assumption of the toddler role starts with the deprivation of losing the breast, then of losing infancy's privileges. Besides these losses, the adults start imposing commands, disciplines and some light responsibilities on the individual (see p. 48 and 49). The person who assumes the toddler role has to undergo the deprivation from the beginning to the end.

With the bowel and bladder training, the toddler starts gaining self-control, especially the control of his elimination. With all the restrictions the adults set for him, the toddler has to learn to control his needs and autonomy. Also, the aggression training during this period helps the toddler to learn to control his emotions.

The autonomous skills that the toddler gains during this period, combined with the independence training and the self-locomotion, support and increase his personal independence.
By the end of this period, the toddler in every society, is expected to complete all these socializations and to be ready to assume the child role.

Hypothesis II

Societies with high expectations for achievement among the adults affect the toddler differently than those with low expectations for achievement; in cultures with high expectations for achievement, role expectations for the toddler would be higher than in the cultures with low expectations for achievement. This high expectations for achievement for the toddler is in term of early and abrupt change in role performance as well as in the strict training for the toddler.

The findings tend to be inconclusive.

Changes of the role performance can be seen in transitions such as weaning and toilet training from infantile behavior to toddler behavior. Instead of being a passive receiving infant, the toddler is forced by society to exert self-control of his behavior consistent with the expectations for his new age role.

Societies with the highest expectations for achievement in the adult role begin to wean the toddler from the breast and to toilet train him at an earlier age than do societies in the other two categories (see p. 39-47, Table I and II). On the other hand, societies with the lowest
expectations for achievement in the adult role begin to wean and to toilet train the toddler at an older age than the other two categories of societies. Age at completion of weaning and toilet training also relate with the expectations in the adult role in the society. In term of early change of role performance, the data support the hypothesis.

The modes of change in role behavior from infancy to toddlerhood seem to support partly this hypothesis. Considering the weaning in the societies of the two opposite of the hypothesis is true. Although weaning in the societies with low expectations for achievement comes late, it is abrupt and severe. On the other hand, though the weaning in the societies with high expectations for achievement comes early, it is very gradual, with preparation for the separation from the breast and for the change of food and way of eating (see p. 39-42 and Table III). This abruptness and severity can be seen in term of modes of weaning. Table III shows that non-literate societies are at the one extreme of abruptness and severity and advanced societies are at the other extreme of gradualness. This part of the hypothesis tends to be refuted by the evidences.

But modes of toilet training confirm the hypothesis. In societies at the low extreme of achievement expectations, the toddler is weaned gradually and permissively. In fact,
adults in these societies seem to take the matter very easily. In the societies at the other extreme, toilet training starts early and is done purposively, strictly and with deep intent by the adults (see p. 42-45 and Table II).

Among societies who are categorized between the extreme categories in achievement expectations, that is the literate societies, age of weaning and toilet training also falls between the two polar categories (see Table I and II). Also, the mode of change in role performance is neither as abrupt as the lowest extreme nor as gradual as in the highest extreme. Weaning is both abrupt and gradual. Toilet training is very permissive but the adults are concerned especially for the toddler's cleanliness.

The change of feeding, it is worth noting, also varies according to the categories of the societies. Among the non-literate societies, food for the toddler is usually softened food of the adult's diet. Among the literate societies, special soft food for the toddler is prepared. Among the advanced societies, the toddler is fed specific manufactured food (see Table IV).

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1 Abrupt weaning means the attempt of the adults to separate the toddler from the breast immediately by smearing substances on the mother's breast. Gradual weaning means the adults prepare the toddler for the separation from the breast and for the change of food. Most literate societies prepare the toddler for the separation by decreasing the number of feeding times, and for the change of food. At the same time, they also apply substances on the breast to make the toddler distaste the breast.
There is sufficient evidence to conclude that the degree of early and abrupt changes in the performance of the toddler as well as the degree of strictness in training vary according with the degree of achievement expected of the adult in the given society.

Hypothesis III

In term of training, each culture train the toddler in such a way as to prepare him for the attaining of the adult role. In the cultures with high expectations for achievement and competition in the adult role, the toddler is expected to achieve independence earlier. On the other hand, in the cultures which give high value to cooperation and interdependence among adults, the toddler is expected to depend more on the adults and older siblings.

Independence for the toddler is achieved by his autonomy in eating, elimination, dressing, unaided locomotion and self-control in aggression, obedience and emotional expression. According to this hypothesis, the toddler in non-literate societies is permitted to achieve these capacities at a later age than in advanced societies. Adults in advanced societies stress these capacities in the socialization of the toddler. The comparative findings in this study support this hypothesis. Besides expecting the toddler to be independent at the earliest time, adults in advanced societies also impose more demands upon the
toddler in the socialization process (see Table V).

The goals of training for toddlers that are almost uniform in different types of societies constitute autonomy or self-help and obedience. The degree of emphasis in the socialization of the toddler varies with the degree of achievement expectations from adults. Other cross-cultural goals of toddler training which are uniform in most societies except for the non-literate societies, are cleanliness, orderliness and manners. Table V shows that the relative demands impressed upon toddlers vary according to the degree of achievement expectations. Societies with very high achievement expectations impose higher demands, such as the upper-middle-class English society, who trains the toddler for intellectual and social life or the Shtetl society who required the toddler to attend school or the Soviet society who requires that the toddler be formally trained in language, ability to criticize peers and to accept the group viewpoint.

When we compared the training and social relations of toddlers in different societies, we see that societies at the high extreme of achievement expectations really emphasize that the toddler develop autonomy as early as possible and his obedience which is stressed, is interpreted as being mainly for his own safety.

Toddlers generally have close relation with their parents but are not supposed to depend upon them completely.
Sibling relations do not include respect, obedience and dependence. But in some permissive societies in which achievement is low in the adult role expectations, independence for the toddler is not a central concern for the adults. They prefer the toddler to be dependent on them. The toddler's relation to his parents and siblings is reported to be very close and he feels able to expect help from them any time. The relation includes obedience, respect, and gratitude. When we look at the adult role expectations in these literate societies, not only achievement expectations is less stressed, but they even stress the interdependence and social relation as of great importance among the adults. The ways adults treat the toddler at the time of weaning and of toilet training also foster his positive attitudes towards others (see p. 39-45).

Some societies such as the Alorese society which is at the low extreme of achievement expectations and toddler training, does not bear out my hypothesis. We would expect the toddler to be totally dependent upon the adults. But we find that the Alorese society, as soon as the toddler is weaned, he is left by himself. It is true that he has relatives, siblings and neighbors for help. But within the family circle, some elder siblings to whom he is entrusted, seem to take the opportunity to take revenge on him for their being dethroned when he was born. However, we cannot say that the toddler is expected to achieve independence
at this time. He is still a helpless creature who frequently is just left there to struggle for himself and has to learn to become independent. In these societies, achievement expectations are low among the adults as are interdependence and cooperation. In this context, the toddler is not expected to be either independent or cooperative or dependent.

Conclusion

The findings of this inquiry are the patterns of toddler role-behavior derived from 15 cultures.

1. Toddlerhood is the age-role when the individual gains neuro-muscular control including command of his trunk, hands, legs, feet, fingers and vocal chords; he can sit, walk, run, articulate words and phrases; he acquires bowel and bladder control; he attains a rudimentary sense of personal identity and of personal possession. By the end of the toddler period, the individual is expected to have completed his capacity for controlling speech, self-locomotion, elimination and eating an adult's diet (Gesell, 1949).

2. In term of social growth, during the toddler age-role the individual develops selfhood -- approximately by 18 months of age. He then is capable of taking the role of others. As a result, he is able to communicate symbolically with others, to practice self-control and thereby to obey or disobey; he can relate with one or more persons in single or diverse roles -- the mother as well as other family
members. These qualities are the requisites for members of any society to function in society (Inkeles, 1968).

3. The toddler age-role may be regarded as a transition period from infancy to childhood. The individual is not fully socialized and hence has minimal social responsibilities and experiences a period of play. Although in some non-literate societies, the toddler is required to do some household chores, he is not fully responsible for them. In most of the three categories of societies studied, adults perceive him as inadequately socialized to assume a concerted work role. Thus, he is not assigned concerted training and work responsibilities (see Table VIII). The toddler period can be seen as a socialization period in which the toddler learns both bodily and emotional control. But these modes of discipline are not sufficient to enable him to function independently in the society so that he requires care from others. His activities are limited within the family. In term of his age-role, he may remain in social conflict because his role emerges from the deprivation by maternal separation. Thus, on the one hand, the toddler loses infancy's indulgences and attention so he may yearn to revert to the infantile role. On the other hand, the toddler's realization of autonomy, and self-control as well as the independence he gains during this period, encourages him to sustain his present role and to look forward to assuming the next age-role of childhood.
4. By the end of the toddler period, the individual is adequately socialized to prepare for training for the work role. This change begins when the individual is defined as sufficiently socialized to begin the formal learning process for an occupation. This begins in non-literate societies when the toddler begins childhood and is then sent to work, or to help the adults. In literate and advanced societies, when the toddlerhood ends, the individual is sent to school to be prepared for an adult role.

5. Our findings indicate that the toddler role varies in different societies according to the age he enters the role, according to the methods and modes of training, and to his relation with other family members. This study has shown that these differences in toddlerhood are related to societal expectations for the adult role in the particular society.

1) Societies with highest achievement expectations for the adult role are consistent with weaning and toilet training which tend to come the earliest. Because of the high expectations for achievement in adult role, society tries to push the person to the next age-role as early as possible. In the societies with the lowest achievement expectations for the adult role, the weaning and toilet training seem to come the latest.

2) The social relations of the toddler vary with the norms of adult social relations in the individual society.
In advanced societies, individual independence prevails. Thus, adults emphasize personal independence as the ultimate goal in the training of the toddler. In literate societies, social dependency and social relation are regarded, thus the toddlers in these societies tend to be more dependent on adults. In non-literate societies, the toddler is not sufficiently socialized for physical independence and interpersonal relations.

3) In terms of training, each society emphasizes distinct aspects of socialization. Most societies train the toddler informally by encouraging his participation with members of the family and his learning how to behave bit by bit in everyday life. Adults encourage and/or teach him to walk, speak very informally. In some societies, as in the upper-middle-class English and Soviet societies, toddler socialization is partly done purposively and formally. The behavioral differences are due to the differences in the degree of achievement expectations in the adult role in each society.

Since differences of the toddler role in diverse societies are related to the adult role expectations, this role may be regarded as a preparation of the person to be adequate to assume an adult role. Thus during the toddler period, the individual becomes socialized. In this sense, it is a kind of marginal role during which the individual prepares for childhood and the subsequent formal and informal acculturation process.
Table I

Age Comparison for Weaning by Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Age At Beginning</th>
<th>Age At Completion</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Lowest Achievement Expectations)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>2 yrs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alorese</td>
<td>2 yrs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hopi</td>
<td>2 yrs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kwoma</td>
<td>2-3 yrs.</td>
<td>2-3 yrs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thonga</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>7 mos.-7 yrs.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>18 mos.</td>
<td>2 yrs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>13 mos.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lebanese</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>1-2 yrs.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibbutz</td>
<td>4 mos.</td>
<td>5-6 mos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advanced Societies</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Highest Achievement Expectations)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shtetl</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet</td>
<td>3 mos.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>11 mos. (majority)</td>
<td>15 mos. (majority)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>9 mos.</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Age At Beginning</td>
<td>Age At Completion</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Literate Societies</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>When able to walk &amp; understand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alorese</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwoma</td>
<td>2 yrs. (same time as weaning.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>4 mos.</td>
<td>8 mos. (not soiling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>13 mos. (median age 6 mos.)</td>
<td>22 mos. (median age 3 yrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>6 mos</td>
<td>3 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>18 mos.</td>
<td>4-5 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>6 mos</td>
<td>3 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advanced Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 mos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>9 mos. (majority)</td>
<td>10-14 mos. (majority)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>From birth</td>
<td>9 mos.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table III
Mode of Change at Beginning of Toddler Period

1. Wean from breast to solid food.
   Navaho, Hopi, Thonga, Kwoma, Alorese.

2. Wean from breast, but solid food is given before weaning period.
   Ganda, Thai, Lebanese, Japanese.

3. Wean from breast and bottle to solid food.
   Puerto Rican, Lebanese, Filipino, American, English.
## Table IV
Culturally Comparative Food for Toddler

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>Soft food of adult's diet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alorese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwoma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thonga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Soft food especially cooked for toddler and some soft food of adult's diet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advanced Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shtetl</td>
<td>Soft food of adult's diet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>Manufactured baby food and some soft food of adult's diet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table V
Culturally Comparative Training and Activities of Toddler

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training and Activities</th>
<th>Non Literate Societies</th>
<th>Literate Societies</th>
<th>Advanced Societies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kwoma</td>
<td>Hopi</td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Avoid dangerous places.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kinds of eatable fruits.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Obedience.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Aggression control.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Noise control.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cleanliness.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Orderliness.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Get along with others.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Create positive attitudes.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Respect for property rights.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Respect for elders.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Formal training in language.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Respect rights of others.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Criticizing peers in view point of the group.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table VI

Culturally Comparative Mode of Parent-Toddler Relation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Mother-Toddler</th>
<th>Father-Toddler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>Mother-disciplinary agent, harsh Toddler-anxiety</td>
<td>Close and warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwoma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alorese</td>
<td>Mother-rejection, harsh Toddler-hostile</td>
<td>Father-rejection, harsh Toddler-hostile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>Close and affectionate</td>
<td>Close and affectionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>Mother-disciplinary agent Relation-no rejection but not close</td>
<td>Close and affectionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>Close and affectionate</td>
<td>Close and affectionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Developing close relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>No information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibbutz</td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>Close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advanced Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shtetl</td>
<td>Formal, no expression of love.</td>
<td>Distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>Close and affectionate</td>
<td>Close and affectionate and also disciplinary agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Formal, disciplinary agent, figure of fear and respect.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table VII

## Culturally Comparative Mode of Sibling-Toddler Relation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of Relation</th>
<th>Non Literate Societies</th>
<th>Literate Societies</th>
<th>Advanced Societies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>Kwoma</td>
<td>Hopi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Older siblings are responsible for toddler.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Older siblings are source of comfort for toddler.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Older siblings have authority over toddler.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Solicitude on the part of older siblings and dependency on the part of toddler.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Toddler has to respect and obey older siblings.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Competition for parental attention.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Older siblings take revenge on toddler.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Indifferent (no attachment.)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Relation with peers rather than siblings.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table VIII
Culturally Comparative
Work Responsibilities of Toddler

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Type of Work Responsibilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>Light household chores.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopi</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thonga</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwoma</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advanced Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shtetl</td>
<td>School work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet</td>
<td>Light responsibilities such as helping others, serve at table, care for animals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Person(s) Who Takes Care of Toddler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navaho</td>
<td>1. Mother- but entrusts toddler mainly to others or family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopi</td>
<td>2. Father - Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwoma</td>
<td>3. Siblings - Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thonga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alorese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literate Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>1. Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>2. Siblings - Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1. Mother - regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>2. Siblings - regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>3. Relatives - sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibbutz</td>
<td>Upbringer in the child-care center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advanced Societies</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shtetl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Nurse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IX
Comparison of Person(s) Who Takes Care of Toddler
By Culture
Ainsworth, Mary D. Salter.

Barry, H., Child, O., and Bacon, M.K.

Benedict, Ruth.

Bronfenbreuner, Urie.

Broom, Leonard, and Pulip Selznick

Clausen, J.A.


Davis, Allison, and Robert Havighurst.

Dennis, Wayne.

1944 *People of Alor*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Edgerton, R.B.
Erikson, E.H.

Flavell, J.H.

Gardner, D. Bruce.


Haring, Doughlas G.

Heckhauser, Heinz.

Inkeles, Alex.

Junod, Henri A.

Klien, Josephine.

Kluckhohn, Clyde.


Lambert, William Wilson, and Weisbrod, Rita.
Landy, David.

Langman, L.


LeVine, R.A.

Linton, R.

Lowe, G.R.

Maier, Brendan H.

Maier, Henry W.

Singer, M.

McCandless, B.R.

McClelland, C. David.
Norbeck, Edward and Margaret.  

Piaget, J.  

Prothro, Edwin Terry.  

Pulaski, M.A.S.  

Rabin, A.I.  

Read M.  

Rosen, B.C.  


Sears, R.R.  


Spinley, B.M.  

Stephens, W.N.  
Stewart, Robert A.C., and Kenneth J. Jones. 

Suchman, E.A. 

Suvannathat, Chancha, L. Bhuapirom and P. Sukhonthasaraya. 

Weinberg, S. Kirson. 

Whiting, J.W.M. 
1941 Becoming a Kwoma. New Haven: Yale University Press. 

Williams, Robin M. Jr. 

Zborowski, Mark and Elizabeth Herzog. 
The thesis submitted by Orathai Dejthamrong has been read and approved by the following Committee:

Dr. S. Kirson Weinberg, Chairman
Professor, Sociology, Loyola

Dr. L. Langman
Professor, Sociology, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

[Signature]

Date

November 26, 1974

Director's Signature