

A TEST OF HENDIN'S HYPOTHESES RELATING SUICIDE IN SCANDINAVIA TO CHILD-REARING ORIENTATIONS

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BLOCK, JEANNE & CHRISTIANSEN, B. A test of Hendin's hypotheses relating suicide in Scandinavia to child-rearing orientations. *Scand. J. Psychol.*, 1966, 7, 267-288.—Hendin's hypotheses regarding the psychodynamic origins of the differences in suicide incidence among Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were studied by comparing responses on a Child Rearing Practices Report by 385 university students in these countries. Results lend support to Hendin's hypotheses with respect to competition, maternal authority, physical freedom and autonomy, and the use of teasing, but not with respect to tolerance for aggression, expression of affect, and dependency. The findings for Denmark and Norway are more consistent than for Sweden with Hendin's observations. Descriptions of the mother-daughter relationship were more supporting of Hendin's conjectures than descriptions of the mother-son relationship.

The consistent differences in the incidence of suicide among the three Scandinavian countries—Denmark (16.9 per 100,000), Sweden (16.9 per 100,000), and Norway (6.6 per 100,000)—have provoked considerable speculation about the sociological and psychological factors which may be associated with the significant differences in suicide rates among these countries. Although there may be some discrepancies in the specific figures reported, depending upon source and year, the statistics within the Scandinavian countries are considered by demographers to be highly reliable. (The data quoted were obtained from the World Health Organization, Epidemiological and Vital Statistics Reports, Vol. 15, No. 10, 1962. It will be noted that the 1962 suicide rates are lower than those for previous years and reflect the consistent downward trend in the suicide statistics for Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.) Certainly, the relative incidence of suicide among the three countries has seldom been in dispute—Sweden and Denmark have had comparatively high suicide rates while Norway's suicide rate has been significantly lowest over a period of many years.

Attempts to explain the discrepancy between the relatively higher rates of Denmark and Sweden and the low rate of Norway in terms of differences in industrialization and urbanization have been regarded generally as untenable, because the relative rates remain the same when only the capital cities are compared (Hendin, 1964). Copenhagen and Stockholm have approximately three times the rate of suicides each year as Oslo. Other explanations of the differences in frequency of suicide lack persuasiveness, also. Each of the three countries has highly accurate statistical bureaus. Each country follows rather similar procedures in

reporting the cause of death. Each experiences the sometimes depressing effect of long, dark nights, and Norway and Sweden both confront harsh winter weathers. The 'Eisenhower hypothesis', attributing the high rates of suicide in Sweden to the advanced social welfare measures, conveniently overlooked the low rate of Norway—a country with similarly advanced social legislation. This hypothesis ignores, too, the progressively lower suicide rates in Scandinavia over the past several years despite the expansion of social welfare coverage. Explanations, it seems, must be sought in other ways.

Recently, the psychoanalyst Hendin (1964) has sought to rationalize these suicide statistics in terms of differences in the 'psychosocial character' developed within the several Scandinavian countries. In an attempt to gain an understanding of the culture of each country, its values, its institutional forces, its psychological contexts, Hendin interviewed in depth 25 persons who had made serious suicidal attempts in each of the three countries. In addition, he depth-interviewed ten or fifteen non-suicidal patients in each country and included, also, groups of nurses and relatives of the hospitalized patients in order to gain a broader understanding of the culture and its peoples. Hendin supplemented his interview data by the study of the folklore, literature, drama, and popular cartoons of each country to assess the cultural attitudes toward life and death as they are revealed in literary projections of the people.

From these diverse observations, Hendin has formulated a composite description of the 'psychosocial character' typifying each of the three countries. He has focussed on the parent-child relationship as the primary matrix for social learning and has postulated that differences in child-rearing attitudes, values and behaviors may be linked directly to the psychodynamics of suicide in these countries.

Hendin's notions are provocative and have aroused much discussion, particularly in the Scandinavian countries. Clearly, these hypotheses—developed from depth-psychological interviews of limited numbers of specially selected subjects—should be subjected to experimental verification using more objective techniques and large, non-psychiatric samples.

This paper reports the results of a preliminary test of some of the explicit hypotheses of Hendin with respect to the child-rearing attitudes characterizing mothers in each of the three Scandinavian countries. The data reported obtain from a larger study which explored, in addition to child-rearing attitudes, the cultural values and self-images in samples of university and college students in countries additional to the three reported herein.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects used in the present study were university and teachers' college students in the capital cities of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. It should be recognized that the samples used are not representative of the national populations and, in addition, practical problems of assembling samples in each of the countries may have contributed to some further minor differences among the samples even though an attempt was made to sample from similar courses in each of the universities. All results reported should be understood as qualified in terms of the particular samples employed. For purposes of stylistic grace and convenience, we will refer in subsequent sections of this paper to 'Danish mothers', for example, rather

than the more cumbersome citation 'Danish mothers of university students at the University of Copenhagen.' Table 1 shows the number of subjects and their distribution by sex for each country.

TABLE 1. *Distribution of subjects by country and sex.*

Country	Male	Female	Total
Norway (N)	84	108	192
Denmark (D)	33	29	62
Sweden (S)	40	91	131
Total	157	228	385

Assessing the mother-child relationship

The Child Rearing Practices Report (CRPR) was administered to all subjects. This technique, developed by Block (1964), consists of a set of items or variables which attempts to cover quite comprehensively the domain of parental attitudes and values. Each item is printed on a separate card and the test is composed of 91 items. The respondent is asked to scale the items along a continuum of personal salience or relevance in accordance with Q-sort procedure. The 'My Mother' form of the CRPR was used in this study, wherein the students were asked to describe the behaviors, attitudes and values of their mothers in the child-rearing context.

The CRPR was translated into Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish, with great care being taken to insure comparability of the items with respect to meaning across the three cultures. The strong similarities among the three languages made it easier to achieve equivalence among the translations. Comparability of translation was judged by several bilingual professional persons as well as by assessing the similarity of reversed translations when compared with the original English text.

Each subject was asked to place exactly thirteen cards in each of seven categories, ranging from 'Most Descriptive of my Mother' (Category 7) to 'Least Descriptive of my Mother' (Category 1). The use of the Q-sort method with a forced distribution is particularly relevant in comparative research, since undesirable response sets which may operate differentially in dissimilar cultural milieux are excluded.

Hypotheses to be tested

From the publications of Hendin reporting his Scandinavian studies (1960, 1962, 1964), all statements referring to parent-child relationships and child-rearing orientations were extracted. Since greater emphasis was accorded by Hendin to the mother's role in shaping the personality of her child, and relatively fewer statements dealt with the father-child relationship, the present study was limited to considering *maternal* attitudes as these are perceived by grown children. The statements by Hendin, dealing with maternal attitudes, feelings and behaviors, were then summarized by the authors in the form of specific hypotheses.

For each hypothesis, items in the CRPR were reviewed to find those conceptually relevant to the hypothesis. Since the CRPR was being developed and revised at this time, it was possible in certain instances to write items for inclusion which bore specifically upon hypotheses suggested by Hendin. The selection of particular items as expressions of each hypothesis was accomplished by the authors in consultation with other psychologists. (Anni von der Lippe, Per Olaf Tiller, Jack Block, Kikkan Christiansen, Norma Haan, and Isto Ruopila.) It should be noted that some items were considered to be almost perfect translations of Hendin hypotheses while other items were judged to have, at best, only a tangential or partial relationship to the Hendin formulations and were carried along to insure completeness of hypothesis representation. The hypotheses are presented, along with the results of their testing, in the next section.

RESULTS

The mean scores for each country on each of the selected CRPR items were compared, using *t* tests to determine the significance of the differences between countries. Overall *F* tests were not employed since, in the main, hypothesis-relevant comparisons were involved. Because of the interrelationships among CRPR items the multiple *t* tests are not independent of each other, and hence it is the *cluster* of differentiating items that warrants interpretation. The use of two-tailed significance thresholds, even when predictions of the direction of differences were made, helps compensate for any redundancy of discrimination. The sample sizes employed in each analysis are always those presented in Table 1.

The mother-child relationship

According to Hendin, the quality of the relationship between mother and child and the nature of the interaction reveal wide cultural differences among the Scandinavian countries. Hendin writes:

'(Swedish mothers) ... do not enjoy their children' (1962, p. 15); '... do not get the same pleasure from their children—whether caring for them or playing with them—that you see in Danish and American mothers' (1962, p. 16, and 1964, p. 18); '... (show more) maternal rejection of their children' (1962, p. 18); '... (children are significantly) absent in the Swedish (magazine) stories ...' (1962, p. 19, and 1964, p. 63).

Hypothesis 1: *The Swedish mother derives relatively little pleasure from her child.*

'The Danish child (is) indulged in many ways ...' (1960, p. 6); '(Danish mothers get) pleasure from their children—whether caring for them or playing with them ...' (1962, p. 16); 'The (Danish) child is fondled and coddled more often and babied until a later age ...' (1964, p. 30).

Hypothesis 2: *The Danish mother indulges and enjoys her child.*

'(The Norwegian mother) ... will try to derive happiness from the child's independent accomplishments but lives vicariously through them' (1964, pp. 83-84); 'The contradiction between tying the child to her and yet wishing to have an independent child dominates Norwegian mother-child relations' (1964, p. 84); 'While the mother may center her emotional life on the child, she will generally allow the child to have physical freedom' (1964, p. 83); 'On the one hand, there is the tendency to infantilize the child ... on the other hand, the mother tends

TABLE 2. *Mother-child relationship: a comparison of the descriptions by students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden on the CRPR.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating ^a	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio ^b	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother:					
liked to have some time for her- self—away from her children	D 4.11	D vs. N	2.75***	S highest	S middle
	N 3.41	D vs. S	1.24		
	S 3.77	N vs. S	1.81*		
obtained some of her greatest satisfactions from her children	D 5.05	D vs. N	0.19	S lowest	S highest
	N 5.09	D vs. S	3.79***		
	S 5.93	N vs. S	5.12***		
and I shared many warm, inti- mate times together	D 5.06	D vs. N	1.91*	S lowest	S middle
	N 5.51	D vs. S	0.95		
	S 5.32	N vs. S	1.03		
enjoyed having the house full of children	D 3.70	D vs. N	1.08	S lowest	S highest
	N 3.96	D vs. S	2.59***		
	S 4.38	N vs. S	2.06**		
gave me comfort and under- standing when I was scared or upset	D 5.82	D vs. N	1.24	D highest	D lowest
	N 6.06	D vs. S	1.60		
	S 6.15	N vs. S	0.65		
expressed affection by hugging, kissing and holding me	D 4.12	D vs. N	0.10	D highest	D lowest
	N 4.15	D vs. S	0.83		
	S 4.39	N vs. S	0.97		
tended to spoil me	D 4.40	D vs. N	3.20***	D highest	D highest
	N 3.51	D vs. S	1.42		
	S 3.99	N vs. S	2.20**		
joked and played with me	D 4.35	D vs. N	0.81	D highest	D middle
	N 4.13	D vs. S	2.12**		
	S 4.95	N vs. S	3.95***		
was too wrapped up in her children	D 2.95	D vs. N	2.67***	N highest	N highest
	N 3.58	D vs. S	0.33		
	S 3.05	N vs. S	2.74***		
encouraged me to talk about my troubles	D 4.42	D vs. N	1.91*	N highest	N middle
	N 3.94	D vs. S	2.44**		
	S 5.09	N vs. S	0.75		
found being with her children interesting and educational even for long periods of time	D 3.94	D vs. N	2.42**	N highest	N middle
	N 4.45	D vs. S	2.38**		
	S 4.50	N vs. S	0.32		
helped me when I was being teased by my friends	D 4.00	D vs. N	0.04	N highest	N highest
	N 4.01	D vs. S	0.94		
	S 3.74	N vs. S	1.32		

^a For the seven categories of response, 1 = least descriptive and 7 = most descriptive.

^b *** indicates significance at or beyond the 0.01 level; ** indicates significance at or beyond the 0.05 level; and * indicates significance at or beyond the 0.10 level.

to make a relatively young child her confidant' (1964, p. 84); 'The child's self-sufficiency does not indicate a real lack of emotional involvement on the part of the mother as it often does in Sweden' (1964, p. 122); 'The focussing of the mother's emotional life on the child is to some extent counterbalanced by this desire for an independent child' (1964, p. 112).

Hypothesis 3: *Although encouraging independence in her child, the Norwegian mother is very involved emotionally with her child.*

Table 2 presents the items from the CRPR which depict the qualities of the mother-child relationship for each country. The results fail to support the conclusions of Hendin with regard to the Swedish mother. As Swedish mothers were described by their children, they appear warm, loving and derive great pleasure from their children. With respect to the Danish mothers, the results only partially confirm Hendin's implicit hypotheses. Danish mothers were seen by their children as spoiling and indulging, as joking and playing, but not as loving, affectionate or deriving pleasure from the mother-child relationship. The Norwegian mother was viewed by her child in ways similar to the description offered by Hendin, i.e., Norwegian mothers tend to be perceived as involved with their children and as enjoying an intensely personal relationship with them.

Expression of aggression

Hendin suggests there exist differences in the tolerance for expression of aggressive impulses among the three Scandinavian countries. According to Hendin:

'(The Norwegians) have more freedom in verbalizing (aggression) and expressing it than is true for the Danes and Swedes' (1964, p. 97); 'Regardless of the kind or intensity of anger developed by a Norwegian child or adult, there is far less need for the repression of anger than is seen in Denmark or in the characteristically detached Swedes' (1964, p. 123); 'Norwegian children are permitted to express aggression toward other youngsters in striking contrast to the rules for Danish and Swedish children. It is considered legitimate and desirable for boys to fight back physically.... In particular, parents encourage their boys to fight back in situations where the child seems to have been unfairly treated by another child. Thus, the child learns that if he is the aggrieved party, he can count on parental support' (1964, p. 102); 'Girls are *not* supposed to fight back physically but otherwise develop essentially the same patterns of dealing with their anger' (1964, p. 102).

Hypothesis 4: *The Norwegian child is allowed more freedom in expressing aggression.*

(In Denmark) 'The control of aggression starts in childhood. The Danish child while indulged in many ways, is not permitted anything like the aggressiveness toward parents and siblings that is tolerated in the American child' (1960, p. 6); '(Danish children) appear exceedingly well disciplined and well-behaved' (1960, p. 6).

Hypothesis 5: *The Danish child is taught not to show overt aggression.*

'Neither boys nor girls (in Sweden) are allowed to express anger toward their parents and siblings as openly as are American children. Within the house, little girls are permitted to have a somewhat undirected temper tantrum. ... a boy's expression of anger would be considered uncontrolled and unmanly, although the freedom enjoyed by him gives him at least one advantage over the Danish boy. He is able to slam the door, go out and play, and express his anger in some form of disobedience. He therefore learns to take his anger away from the home and act it out' (1965, p. 80).

Hypothesis 6: *The Swedish child is taught not to express direct aggression.*

Items from the CRPR relevant to the aggression hypotheses are presented in Table 3, as well as the results of the comparisons among the three countries. Hendin's conclusions about the Danish mother appear to be supported by the data. Danish mothers were seen as most inhibiting of aggression, being restrictive more about the physical expression of aggressive impulses than about verbal aggression. Although the Norwegian mothers were viewed as allowing greater freedom in expression of aggression than Danish mothers, as Hendin would propose, he is incorrect in his expectation that Norwegian mothers will be less inhibiting than Swedish mothers. Swedish mothers, in contradiction to Hendin's perceptions, were described as most accepting of physical aggression, with a slight indication that they may be less tolerant of verbal aggression than mothers in either of the other countries.

TABLE 3. *Expression of aggression: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother:					
tried to keep me from fighting	D 4.58	D vs. N	2.96***	N lowest	N middle
	N 3.90	D vs. S	3.02***	D highest	D highest
	S 3.85	N vs. S	0.26		
did not allow me to get angry with her	D 3.48	D vs. N	1.11	N lowest	N middle
	N 3.22	D vs. S	1.69*	D highest	D highest
	S 3.08	N vs. S	0.80		
punished me if I quarreled and expressed jealousy toward my brothers and sisters	D 4.30	D vs. N	1.09	N lowest	N middle
	N 4.05	D vs. S	2.46**	D highest	D highest
	S 3.68	N vs. S	1.94*		
encouraged me to keep control of my feelings at all times	D 4.06	D vs. N	1.20	N lowest	N highest
	N 4.37	D vs. S	0.24	D highest	D middle
	S 3.99	N vs. S	1.86*		
let me know when she was angry	D 5.56	D vs. N	0.97	N highest	N middle
	N 5.33	D vs. S	2.35**		
	S 4.95	N vs. S	1.95*		
did not allow me to say bad things about my teacher	D 3.73	D vs. N	1.07	S highest	S highest
	N 3.97	D vs. S	1.51		
	S 4.08	N vs. S	0.57		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

Competition

From his interviews, Hendin concluded that highly significant differences exist among the three Scandinavian countries in attitudes toward competition and in emphasis upon performance. Hendin writes:

'From the child's earliest age, Swedish parents are more interested in his performance and how he compares with other children ... (the child) ... experiences ... an intense interest on the part of his parents in his performance, particularly at school Work and performance are important' (1962, p. 21 and 1964, p. 52).

Hypothesis 7: *Swedish parents emphasize competition and success.*

'The Danish child ... is not particularly encouraged toward competitiveness. ... one should not stand out too much ...' (1960, p. 16); 'Competitiveness and performance are not stressed ...' (1960, p. 15); 'Danish mothers are most apt to boast how well their children look, how well they eat, and how much they weigh. They are far less likely to boast of the activities of the child ...' (1960, p. 7).

Hypothesis 8: *The Danish mother does not encourage competitiveness in her child.*

'The majority of Norwegian patients were not pressured by a particularly successful or ambitious father (or mother) in the direction of great achievement' (1964, p. 111); 'The Norwegian child is not required to excel in order to win his mother's affection ... Norwegian boys are not expected as they are in Sweden to excel under any circumstances. They please their mothers by being good, and good behavior means that they cause no trouble' (1964, p. 112).

Hypothesis 9: *Norwegian parents do not emphasize competition and success.*

The group comparisons on selected CRPR items relating to performance and competition are presented in Table 4. Hendin's observations about the salience of competition and emphasis on performance in Sweden are supported by the results. Swedish mothers were

TABLE 4. *Competition: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother:					
believed it was good for me to play competitive games	D 2.58	D vs. N	0.73	S highest	S highest
	N 2.73	D vs. S	7.19***		
	S 4.17	N vs. S	8.40***		
thought it was good practice for me to perform in front of others	D 2.42	D vs. N	4.90***	S highest	S highest
	N 3.59	D vs. S	7.24***		
	S 4.07	N vs. S	2.54**		
encouraged me to do things better than others	D 3.67	D vs. N	0.35	S highest	S middle
	N 3.58	D vs. S	0.12		
	S 3.64	N vs. S	0.28		
expected a great deal of me	D 5.06	D vs. N	1.46	S highest	S middle
	N 4.68	D vs. S	1.22		
	S 4.76	N vs. S	0.38		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

described as significantly more concerned with competition and quality of performance than mothers in the other two Scandinavian countries being studied. Danish mothers, while not emphasizing competition and achievement, do appear to value performance in the sense of maintaining high standards of excellence. Danish mothers expect a great deal of their children but do not want them to 'stand out' from others. Norwegian mothers, in accordance with Hendin, were described as making fewer demands on their children and as being only moderately concerned about level of achievement.

Tolerance for expressing affect

Hendin noted differences between Norwegian and Swedish parents in the degree to which freedom is allowed in the expression of feelings and emotions. Denmark was discussed only parenthetically with regard to affect expression. Hendin writes:

'Since Norwegian children are not expected to practice that early suppression of emotional expression that is required of the young Swedish child, they are emotionally freer as adults' (1964, p. 123); 'The relative freedom enjoyed by Norwegian patients in the expression of anger created the impression that they were generally less restrained in expressing emotions than were the Swedish and Danish patients' (1964, p. 103); 'While Norwegian patients clearly differed from their Danish and Swedish counterparts in their ability to express anger, they resembled the Danes in their ability to laugh at themselves and in their ability to cry openly' (1964, p. 107); 'Norwegian boys are permitted to cry more readily than are boys in Sweden.... Both sexes are free to express excitement and joy' (1965, p. 126).

Hypothesis 10: *Norwegian parents are freer in expressing feelings and emotions.*

'The Swedish child is actually taught not to show too much feeling, and this is more so for the boy than the girl' (1962, p. 19 and 1964, p. 67); 'Great stress is put on the child's ability to be reasonable and unemotional even in disturbing situations. To be "tyst och lugn" ... is something of a Swedish ideal, and more so for the boy and the man than for the girl and the woman' (1962, p. 19 and 1964, p. 67); 'Girls can cry, boys cannot' (1962, p. 19 and 1964, p. 67); 'Neither boys nor girls are allowed the degree of direct expression of anger toward their parents and siblings' (1962, p. 19 and 1964, p. 67).

Hypothesis 11: *The Swedish child is taught to suppress his feelings and control his emotions.*

The analyses with respect to the dimension of affect expression may be seen in Table 5. The data do not support the contention that Swedish mothers tend to be more suppressing of affect or, conversely, that Norwegian mothers rear their children with greater freedom in affect expression. Although not hypothesized by Hendin, the present study found Danish mothers to be described as most restrictive of affect expression.

Encouragement of independence

Concerning dependency, Hendin writes:

'The Danish child's dependence on his mother is far more encouraged ... (she) ... fosters the child's dependence ...' (1960, p. 7); '(In Denmark) it is customary to encourage the child's dependence on his mother and delay his separation from her' (1964, p. 50).

TABLE 5. *Expression of affects: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother					
expressed affection by hugging, kissing, and holding me	D 4.12	D vs. N	0.10	N highest	N middle
	N 4.15	D vs. S	0.83		
	S 4.39	N vs. S	0.97		
encouraged me to talk about my troubles	D 4.42	D vs. N	1.91*	N highest	N middle
	N 4.94	D vs. S	2.44**		
	S 5.09	N vs. S	0.75		
gave me comfort and understanding when I was scared or upset	D 5.82	D vs. N	1.24	N highest	N middle
	N 6.06	D vs. S	1.60		
	S 6.15	N vs. S	0.65		
joked and played with me	D 4.35	D vs. N	0.81	N highest	N lowest
	N 4.13	D vs. S	2.12**		
	S 4.95	N vs. S	3.95***		
and I shared many warm, intimate times together	D 5.06	D vs. N	1.91*	N highest	N highest
	N 5.51	D vs. S	0.95		
	S 5.32	N vs. S	1.03		
let me know when she was angry	D 5.56	D vs. N	0.97	N highest	N middle
	N 5.33	D vs. S	2.35**		
	S 4.95	N vs. S	1.95*		
taught me at an early age not to cry	D 2.97	D vs. N	1.07	S highest	S lowest
	N 2.71	D vs. S	3.52***		
	S 2.16	N vs. S	3.10***		
did not allow me to get angry with her	D 3.48	D vs. N	1.11	S highest	S lowest
	N 3.22	D vs. S	1.69*		
	S 3.08	N vs. S	0.80		
encouraged me to keep control of my feelings at all times	D 4.06	D vs. N	1.20	S highest	S lowest
	N 4.37	D vs. S	0.24		
	S 3.99	N vs. S	1.86*		
punished me if I quarreled and expressed jealousy toward my brothers or sisters	D 4.30	D vs. N	1.09	S highest	S lowest
	N 4.05	D vs. S	2.46**		
	S 3.68	N vs. S	1.94*		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

Hypothesis 12: *The Danish mother encourages her child's dependence.*

'(Swedish) ... mothers push their children into an extremely early independence ...' (1962, p. 16 and 1964, p. 50); 'The tendency in Sweden is to encourage a very early separation of the child from the mother and for the mother to be pleased with behavior that indicates that the child is self-sufficient and independent' (1962, p. 15 and 1964, p. 50).

Hypothesis 13: *The Swedish mother encourages early independence in her child.*

'The Norwegian child is given much physical freedom to play and run around while the Danish child is not.... Norwegian mothers are more like Swedish mothers in that they want to

have a self-sufficient and independent child. . . . She (the Norwegian mother) will try to derive happiness from the child's independent accomplishments and live vicariously through them. This contradiction between tying the child to her and yet wishing to have an independent child dominates Norwegian mother-child relations' (1965, p. 98).

Hypothesis 14: *The Norwegian mother is ambivalent about independence in her child.*

Table 6 presents the comparisons with respect to maternal encouragement of the child's independence. Results are at variance with the observations of Hendin. Danish mothers were not found to foster dependency in their children but rather seemed oriented toward early maturation of their children. Swedish mothers were not perceived as encouraging early independence, but were described as tending to prolong childhood while granting, at the same time, independence and autonomy to the child. The Norwegian mother was described as somewhat reluctant to see her child grow up rapidly but, also, as allowing the child considerable freedom and independence. Hendin's perception of the ambivalence underlying the Norwegian mother's feelings about her child's independence tends thus to be supported.

TABLE 6. *Encouragement of independence: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother:					
encouraged me to be independent of her	D 3.92	D vs. N	0.15	D lowest	D middle
	N 3.96	D vs. S	0.66	S highest	S lowest
	S 3.75	N vs. S	1.06		
was sorry to see me grow up so fast	D 3.35	D vs. N	0.76	D highest	D middle
	N 3.54	D vs. S	0.20	S lowest	S lowest
	S 3.30	N vs. S	1.22		
believed a child should be weaned from the breast or bottle as soon as possible	D 3.03	D vs. N	1.01	D lowest	D highest
	N 2.83	D vs. S	1.39		
	S 2.72	N vs. S	0.73		
taught me that I was responsible for what happened to me	D 5.46	D vs. N	1.03	D lowest	D highest
	N 5.23	D vs. S	2.16**		
	S 4.93	N vs. S	1.75*		
thought it unwise to let children play a lot by themselves without supervision from grown-ups	D 3.05	D vs. N	1.09	D highest	D highest
	N 2.81	D vs. S	0.86	N lowest	N lowest
	S 2.84	N vs. S	0.19		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

Parental authority

Hendin noted differences in the definition of women's role in each of the countries which may affect parent-child relationships in important ways. Hendin describes the maternal roles as follows:

'Within (Danish) families, the pattern of the passive father and more forceful mother is seen more and more ...' (1960, p. 8); '(The husband) is rarely concerned with the discipline of the children' (1964, pp. 32-33).

Hypothesis 15: *The Danish mother has more authority over the children than the Danish father.*

'The (Swedish) man is likely to be remote from any close emotional contact with his children ...' (1962, p. 21 and 1946, p. 68); '... the mothers have been the stronger and more effective force in their families' (1962, p. 21 and 1964, p. 69).

Hypothesis 16: *The Swedish mother is the one with the most authority in the family.*

'Complaints that their wives subordinated everything to the children ... were frequently voiced by Norwegian men' (1964, p. 86); 'The (Norwegian mother's) view of the woman's role is that of a mother rather than a wife' (1964, p. 87); 'Questioned about the qualities that an ideal woman should have, they (Norwegian women) invariably spoke of domestic abilities and affection for children, never mentioning qualities that a woman should have in relation to a man' (1964, p. 87); 'The mother is usually the dominant force in shaping the child's character' (1964, p. 112).

Hypothesis 17: *The Norwegian mother identifies herself more in the role of mother than in the role of wife.*

Table 7 presents the comparisons between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden with respect to parental roles, including differences in patterns of authority. In accordance with Hendin's predictions, Swedish mothers were seen by their children as having more authority within

TABLE 7. *Parental roles: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother:					
placed by father's wishes ahead of those of her children	D 3.88	D vs. N	0.45	N lowest	N lowest
	N 3.76	D vs. S	0.14		
	S 3.84	N vs. S	0.40		
wished my father had been more interested in his children	D 3.24	D vs. N	0.27	D highest	D middle
	N 3.32	D vs. S	0.31		
	S 3.23	N vs. S	0.06		
obtained some of her greatest satisfactions from her children	D 5.05	D vs. N	0.19	N highest	N middle
	N 5.09	D vs. S	3.79***		
	S 5.93	N vs. S	5.12***		
was the one with the most authority over the children	D 4.33	D vs. N	1.09	S highest	S highest
	N 4.01	D vs. S	0.53		
	S 4.50	N vs. S	2.09**		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

the family insofar as the children are concerned. No significant differences among the countries were found in regard to the mothers' wishes to have the father play a more central role in the family. The data provide some support for Hendin's conclusions that Norwegian women derive greater pleasure from motherhood than womanhood, since Norwegian respondents felt that their fathers' wishes were subordinated more often to those of his children.

Guilt

According to Hendin, the Danish mother tends to punish her child by the use of guilt-arousing techniques:

'The arousal of guilt ... is the major form of punishment in Denmark. It takes the form of mothers letting the child know how hurt she is and how badly she feels at the child's misbehavior' (1960, p. 6).

Hypothesis 18: *The Danish mother tends to punish her child by arousing guilt.*

The items related to the guilt hypothesis and their comparisons are presented in Table 8. The results support Hendin's emphasis on the role of guilt in Danish child-rearing practices. Danish mothers were described as finding punishment difficult to administer and as wanting

TABLE 8. *Arousal of guilt: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother: found it difficult to punish me	D 4.55	D vs. N	1.08	D highest	D highest
	N 4.27	D vs. S	0.55		
	S 4.40	N vs. S	0.68		
let me know how much she sacrificed for me	D 3.11	D vs. N	0.04	D highest	D highest
	N 3.10	D vs. S	1.26		
	S 2.73	N vs. S	1.66*		
used to tell me how ashamed and disappointed she felt when I misbehaved	D 4.17	D vs. N	0.66	D highest	D middle
	N 4.35	D vs. S	1.02		
	S 3.87	N vs. S	2.28**		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

their children to be aware of the sacrifices they make. Although both Danish and Norwegian mothers focus on their own reactions (shame, disappointment) to the child's transgressions, the impact of these techniques may differ in the two countries. In Denmark, guilt arousal occurs in a context of ambivalence which is not found to characterize the socialization practices of Norwegian mothers. Our data on the use of guilt-arousing techniques in Norway contradicts Hendin's observations: 'Arousing the child's guilt is not the major method of discipline in Norway that it is in Denmark' (1965, p. 144) or 'Only some of the nurses and

patients (in Norway) had histories like the Danish patients; namely, that they had primarily been disciplined through the mother's tears or by being made to feel that she had been hurt by their misbehavior' (1965, p. 106). Swedish mothers clearly were lowest on the dimension of guilt arousal.

Teasing

Although the Danish child is taught to control his aggressive impulses, teasing and jokes which only thinly veil aggressive barbs are tolerated as outlets for aggression. Hendin notes:

'If there is a socially acceptable outlet for Danish aggression, it is in the sense of humor... The Danes are fond of teasing ...' (1960, p. 7).

Hypothesis 19: *The Danish parent allows and encourages teasing in social interaction.*

Two Q-sort items bearing upon this hypothesis and their means for each of the three countries are reported in Table 9. The results tend to support Hendin's observations that teasing is prevalent in Denmark. Danish (and Swedish) mothers were described more

TABLE 9. *Teasing: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	t ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother:					
did not allow me to tease or play tricks on others	D 4.97	D vs. N	0.56	D lowest	D lowest
	N 5.10	D vs. S	0.97		
	S 5.18	N vs. S	0.47		
sometimes used to tease and make fun of me	D 3.20	D vs. N	3.52***	D highest	D highest
	N 2.29	D vs. S	0.18		
	S 3.14	N vs. S	4.21***		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

often as teasing and making fun of their children than were Norwegian parents. Although the difference is not significant, Danish mothers apparently tolerate more teasing by their children than do the mothers in other Scandinavian countries.

Physical freedom

A familiar sight in Norway is that of the well-bundled and booted child with his sled, skis or other toys playing outside for long periods of time, apparently without supervision from adults. Hendin writes:

'As a rule, Norwegian and Danish mothers differ significantly in expressing the mother-child tie. The Norwegian child is given much physical freedom to play and run around while the Danish child is not' (1963, p. 83); 'Young children are out playing for long hours, unsupervised or watched only by older siblings' (1964, p. 83); '(The Norwegian mother) ... will gene-

rally allow the child to have physical freedom' (1964, p. 83); 'Norwegian mothers are like Swedish mothers in that they want to have a self-sufficient and independent child' (1964, p. 83); '... (Norwegian mothers) will stress how early their child can walk or talk or be alone' (1964, p. 83); 'An independent, self-sufficient child is highly valued in Norway (as it is in Sweden) and the child's personal freedom is not likely to be restricted' (1964, p. 122).

Hypothesis 20: *The Norwegian mother allows her child physical freedom.*

The comparisons with respect to the physical freedom allowed children in each of the Scandinavian countries are presented in Table 10. The data support Hendin's observations that more physical freedom is allowed Norwegian children than is true in Denmark and, to

TABLE 10. *Physical freedom: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother:					
always made sure she knew where I was and what I was doing	D 4.67	D vs. N	0.31	N lowest	N lowest
	N 4.58	D vs. S	0.12		
	S 4.71	N vs. S	0.57		
thought it unwise to let children play a lot by themselves without supervision from grown-ups.	D 3.05	D vs. N	1.09	N lowest	N lowest
	N 2.81	D vs. S	0.86		
	S 2.84	N vs. S	0.19		
did not want me to play rough games or do things where I might get hurt	D 3.83	D vs. N	2.16**	N lowest	N middle
	N 3.30	D vs. S	3.58***		
	S 2.99	N vs. S	1.76*		
realized she had to let me take many chances as I grew up and tried new things	D 3.94	D vs. N	1.20	N highest	N highest
	N 4.23	D vs. S	0.22		
	S 4.00	N vs. S	1.22		
expected me not to get dirty while I was playing	D 4.09	D vs. N	2.68**	N lowest	N lowest
	N 3.43	D vs. S	0.97		
	S 3.83	N vs. S	1.96*		
felt it was important for me to play outdoors and get lots of fresh air	D 5.23	D vs. N	3.84***	N highest	N middle
	N 5.90	D vs. S	4.23***		
	S 6.01	N vs. S	0.83		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

a lesser extent, Sweden. Norwegian parents permit their children to play freely out of doors without supervision or without admonishments to keep themselves clean. Danish mothers were described as most restrictive of the child's physical freedom and Swedish mothers were found to be intermediate on this dimension.

Cleanliness training

Hendin has asserted that Swedish families emphasize cleanliness and orderliness to a greater degree than either of the other Scandinavian countries:

'Swedish girls (are encouraged) to become meticulous. ... Cleanliness and orderliness ... are strongly ingrained ...' (1962, p. 22); '(It is) the writer's impression that the child is toilet trained earlier in Sweden ...' (1964, p. 22); 'In girls ... the idea of cleanliness and orderliness being psychologically equated with goodness and obedience remains strongly ingrained' (1964, p. 56); 'The woman devotes more effort and concern to the neatness, cleanliness and quality of the dress of her child than is usual in the United States or in the rest of Scandinavia' (1964, p. 56); 'Apparently the toilet training in the Swedish child takes place earlier and in a shorter period than in our children' (1964, p. 56).

Hypothesis 21: *The Swedish mother emphasizes cleanliness and orderliness.*

The data which bear on the dimensions of cleanliness and orderliness are presented in Table 11. Hendin's conjectures about the earlier age of toilet training are not supported, since Swedish mothers were viewed as more relaxed about instituting toilet training than

TABLE 11. *Cleanliness training: a comparison of the responses of students in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to CRPR items.*

Item	Mean Q-sort rating	Groups compared	<i>t</i> ratio	Predicted order	Obtained order
My mother:					
expected me not to get dirty while I was playing	D 4.09	D vs. N	2.68***	S highest	S middle
	N 3.43	D vs. S	0.97		
	S 3.83	N vs. S	1.96*		
believed in starting toilet training as early as possible	D 3.59	D vs. N	1.03	S highest	S lowest
	N 3.82	D vs. S	1.16		
	S 3.33	N vs. S	2.79***		
gave me a good many family duties and responsibilities	D 4.52	D vs. N	0.22	S highest	S highest
	N 4.58	D vs. S	2.21**		
	S 5.17	N vs. S	2.62***		
had firm, well-established rules for me	D 2.65	D vs. N	0.53	S highest	S highest
	N 2.78	D vs. S	1.75*		
	S 3.12	N vs. S	1.72*		

See footnotes at end of Table 2.

mothers in Denmark and Norway. Some emphasis is placed upon staying clean during play by the Swedish mothers according to their children, but not so much as that attributed to Danish mothers. The principal support for Hendin's hypotheses about cleanliness comes from items referring to family duties and established rules which may relate tangentially to demands for order. These items significantly differentiated Swedish mothers from mothers in Denmark and Norway.

TABLE 12. *Summary of results of tests of Hendin's formulations about differences in child-rearing patterns in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.*

Hypothesis	Evaluation of data
<i>Mother-child relationship</i>	
1. The S mother derives relatively little pleasure from her child	Not supported
2. The D mother indulges and enjoys her child	Partially supported
3. The N mother is very involved emotionally with her child	Supported
<i>Expression of aggression</i>	
4. The N child is allowed more freedom in expressing aggression	Not supported
5. The D child is taught not to show overt aggression	Supported
6. The S child is taught not to express direct aggression	Not supported
<i>Attitudes toward competition</i>	
7. S parents emphasize competition and success	Supported
8. The D mother does not encourage competition	Supported
9. N parents do not emphasize competition and success	Supported
<i>Expression of affects</i>	
10. N parents are freer in expressing feelings and emotions	Not supported
11. The S child is taught to suppress his feelings and control his emotions	Not supported
<i>Encouraging independence</i>	
12. The D mother encourages her child's dependence	Not supported
13. The S mother encourages early independence in her child	Not supported
14. The N mother is ambivalent about independence in her child	Supported
<i>Parental roles</i>	
15. The D mother has more authority over the children	Partially supported
16. The S mother is the one with the most authority in the family	Supported
17. The N mother identifies herself more in the role of mother than wife	Partially supported
<i>Miscellaneous hypotheses</i>	
18. The D mother tends to punish her child by arousing guilt	Supported
19. D parents allow and encourage teasing in social interaction	Supported
20. The N mother allows her child physical freedom	Supported
21. The S mother emphasizes cleanliness and orderliness	Partially supported

The results of the present study offer equivocal support to Hendin's formulations of the child-rearing practice in each of the Scandinavian countries. Before examining in the next section some of the factors which may contribute to the diverging findings, a summary of the results for each of the individual hypotheses is presented in Table 12. The authors have evaluated the evidence afforded by the present data and have assigned each hypothesis to one of three categories: supported, partially supported, not supported. Hypotheses were adjudged supported when the several items yielded rather consistent positive results. Hypotheses were considered unsupported when few or no items yielded significant results in the predicted directions. Partial support was ascribed when only some items differentiated significantly, or when the preponderance of items consistently approached significance.

DISCUSSION

On balance, the results offer support for some of the hypotheses of Hendin while failing to confirm other of his conjectures about mother-child relationships in Scandinavia. To what extent these equivocal results derive from errors or insufficiencies of theory, and to what extent they may be ascribed to an only partial adequacy of the methodology employed, we cannot know, but we may offer our own evaluations here.

The positive methodological contribution of this study is that we have succeeded in applying a differentiated instrument, carefully translated, to a large sample of subjects under conditions which eliminate response sets. The tests of Hendin's notions may have been attenuated, however, by the ever-present difficulty of expressing psychoanalytic formulations in testable ways. Writing objective test items to encompass psychoanalytic concepts is a formidable and sometimes impossible task because of the complexities and occasional non-defineables of the theory. This general problem is long-standing, widely known, and requires no further elaboration here.

More specifically, a problem in operationalizing psychoanalytic theory relates to the distinction between conscious and unconscious levels of response. The results of the present study reflect the subject's *conscious* attitudes as he retrospectively and somewhat projectively describes his childhood experiences in relation to his mother. There is little question that a series of clinical interviews may go beyond conscious feelings and reveal something of the unconscious attitudes of the subject. In the one case, objectivity is more closely approximated without achieving, perhaps, deeper knowledge of the subject. The interview approach, although developing greater understanding of the subject, affords less reliable data. Despite the differences in level tapped by the two alternative techniques and the possible intrusion of projective biases, it is encouraging that the findings from the two studies, using diverse methods, converge to the extent found.

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to an examination of the *patterning* of the results, considering them in relation to country, particular socialization variables, and sex differences. Alternative interpretations will be offered for those areas in which the findings are discrepant with those of Hendin.

With respect to country, the data manifest reasonable agreement with Hendin's hypotheses about Norway and Denmark and are less confirming of his generalizations about

Sweden. Hendin has noted that Swedish males (particularly) tend to deny their anger over emotional deprivation in childhood by describing their mothers 'as the nicest in the world' (1965, p. 60). If the denial mechanism is employed especially strongly in Sweden, perhaps the self-report method is less appropriate in this country because of its susceptibility to retrospective idealization of the mother-child relationship. Although the results are consonant with an interpretation of greater defensiveness or tendency to idealize in Sweden, independent evidence for this contention is lacking. Indeed, our data revealed no differences between boys and girls in Sweden which could be interpreted as reflecting differential tendencies to idealize. Equally tenable is the conclusion that the psychopathology found by Hendin to characterize the mother-child relationships of suicidal patients in Sweden may not be generalized to other, less pathological groups. The dangers of generalizing from an atypical sample to a national population should be recognized and may be affecting the validity of Hendin's formulations.

With reference to specific child training areas, the results indicate that Hendin's descriptions clearly were supported with respect to competition, maternal authority, physical freedom and autonomy, and the use of teasing. Our failure to confirm Hendin's hypotheses is largely in three areas of socialization practices—tolerance for expression of aggression, tolerance for affect, and dependency.

Tolerance for expression of aggression as well as other affects was expected to be significantly more often associated with Norway. The findings reveal, however, that Swedish students rather than Norwegians perceive their mothers as more accepting of feelings. We suggest that Hendin may have underestimated the importance of a moralistic ethic in Norway which prescribes behavior in many areas. Although Hendin has noted that remnants of the strict, puritanical attitudes associated with the rural Norway of yesteryear are important yet today in shaping attitudes toward suicide, he failed to explore the impact of this heritage on socialization practices in Norway. The Norwegian child's freedom to express affects, including aggression, is circumscribed to some degree by these moral prescriptions. Uniformly, items in the Q sort which confounded freedom to express impulse with moralistic prohibition tended to be rejected by Norwegian respondents, thus diverging our results from those of Hendin.

In the area of dependency also the findings were equivocal. In contradiction to Hendin, the Swedish mother was portrayed as obtaining satisfactions from her child and as accepting his dependent needs, whereas the Danish mother was described as deriving little pleasure from her child and encouraging independence in certain areas. These findings can be rationalized, perhaps, if we reject a unidimensional concept of dependency and consider different components embodied in the dependency variable. Dictionary definitions of dependency refer not only to the inability to sustain oneself without aid from others, but to subordination, docility and lack of autonomy as well. The Swedish mother, according to our results, tends to be oriented toward healthy growth and development of her child without, however, foreclosing infancy or pushing the child prematurely toward independence. The Danish mother, on the other hand, was described as valuing a child who is competent in self-care, but who is compliant, docile, and unassertive. The Danish mother appears to allow less psychological independence or autonomy. These results suggest the importance of differentiating the dependency concept so that competence in self-care,

TABLE 13. *Analyses of sex differences on the CRPR within each of the three Scandinavian countries.*

Items more characteristic of males	Items more characteristic of females
<i>Denmark</i>	
My mother: tried to keep me from fighting*** felt that too much affection and tenderness could harm or weaken a child** did not want me to play rough games or do things where I might get hurt** let me know how much she sacrificed for me* expected me not to get dirty while I was playing*	My mother: tended to spoil me** believed it was good for me to play competitive games** joked and played with me* sometimes used to tease and make fun of me*
<i>Norway</i>	
did not want me to play rough games or do things where I might get hurt*** taught me that in one way or another, punishment would find me when I was bad*** tried to keep me from fighting*** expected me not to get dirty while I was playing*** was the one with the most authority over the children*** believed it was good for me to play competitive games** did not allow me to tease or play tricks on others** let me know how much she sacrificed for me* used to tell me how ashamed and disappointed she felt when I misbehaved*	tended to spoil me*** joked and played with me*** and I shared many warm, intimate times together*** believed in starting toilet training as soon as possible*** enjoyed having the house full of children*** sometimes used to tease and make fun of me*** taught me I was responsible for what happened to me*** encouraged me to be independent of her*** always made sure she knew where I was and what I was doing*** realized she had to let me take many chances as I grew up and tried new things**
<i>Sweden</i>	
tried to keep me from fighting*** believed it was good for me to play competitive games*** did not allow me to say bad things about my teachers** obtained some of her greatest satisfactions from her children* felt it was important for me to play outdoors and get lots of fresh air*	realized she had to let me take many chances as I grew up and tried new things*** helped me when I was being teased by my friends*** sometimes used to tease and make fun of me***

See footnotes at end of Table 2, p. 271.

psychological autonomy, and responsiveness to the child's maturation level are not all confounded.

Turning now to sex differences, some of Hendin's formulations of 'psychosocial' character accord more with the results for female subjects than for the male sample. Specifically,

Hendin's descriptions of the Danish and Norwegian mothers appear to hold reasonably well for the mother-daughter relationship, but are less true of the mother-son relationship. If Hendin had interviewed a disproportionate number of female subjects in these countries, his results may have been influenced by this unrecognized sampling bias. The number of male and female subjects are not specified, and Hendin's conceptualization of the 'psycho-social' character of each country is not differentiated by sex.

Our results suggest that it may not be justified to speak of a global, undifferentiated concept of character, since the mother-daughter relationship is significantly different from the description of the mother-son relationship. Systematic sex differences were found across all countries (16.5 % of the CRPR items differentiated the sexes at the 0.01 level of significance). Clearly, these results indicate that sex differences in socialization practices must be respected.

Of even greater interest than the sex differences found across three countries is the differential treatment of the sexes associated with each individual country. Table 13 presents the data separately within each country with respect to sex differences, using the CRPR items relevant to the Hendin hypotheses.

These data suggest that Danish mothers as described by their daughters are relatively indulgent, spontaneous, and playful—a description consistent with Hendin. Danish males, however, described their mothers as relatively restricting, controlling, and unaffectionate—a picture less congruent with Hendin. There is some indication that guilt is more often associated with males in Denmark and competition is emphasized to a greater degree with girls.

The greatest differences in socialization practices between the sexes are found in Norway, where boys and girls appear to experience grossly different child training. Here, too, the mother-daughter relationship is more consonant with Hendin's description than is the mother-son relationship. Norwegian mothers are seen by their daughters, in contrast to their sons, as being warm, indulgent, intimate, spontaneous and playful. Independence appears to be comparatively more emphasized with girls than with boys. The mother-son relationship is characterized by greater emphasis on control of aggression and by a greater tendency on the part of the Norwegian mother to arouse and capitalize on her son's guilt. The greater freedom of the Norwegian mother, as observed by Hendin, appears to be more characteristic of the mother-daughter relationship.

The differences in socialization practices associated with sex in Sweden did not affect appreciably the results of the tests of Hendin's hypotheses. The results which were obtained for the undifferentiated sample tended to hold when the sexes were analyzed separately. As might be expected, a greater emphasis on competition was found to be characteristic of Swedish males, as well as the tendency to control aggression which was noted in the other countries. The tendency, assumed by Hendin, for Swedish males to idealize the mother-child relationship was not borne out by our analyses, since only one of the 14 items in Table 2 depicting the affective tone of the mother-child relationship (my mother obtained some of her greatest satisfaction from her children) differentiated the sexes.

In sum, the results argue for the necessity of recognizing the differential influence of sex on socialization practices and, by implication, on the psychodynamic etiology of suicide in Scandinavia.

Hendin's analysis differentiates the concept of guilt as an etiological factor in suicide. The characterization of suicide in Sweden as a 'performance' type of suicide suggests that guilt, precipitated by failure in the competitive sphere, is of critical import. The emphasis on competition and performance in Sweden was underscored by our results. In Norway, Hendin characterizes the suicide pattern as a 'moral' form, which suggests that guilt is aroused by violations of the puritan ethic which still seems to pervade much of Norway. The importance of moral prescriptions in Norway was reflected in the present research. Hendin describes suicide in Denmark as catalyzed by 'dependency loss', wherein dissolution of a dependent relationship evokes the desire to hurt the other by arousing guilt. Our data indicate that guilt arousal is a frequently used child-rearing technique in Denmark and that the mother-child relationship is characterized by more ambivalence. Thus, these general conclusions of Hendin about the manifold aspects of guilt and their differential role in the psychodynamics of suicide in Scandinavia are offered support by the data of this study.

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