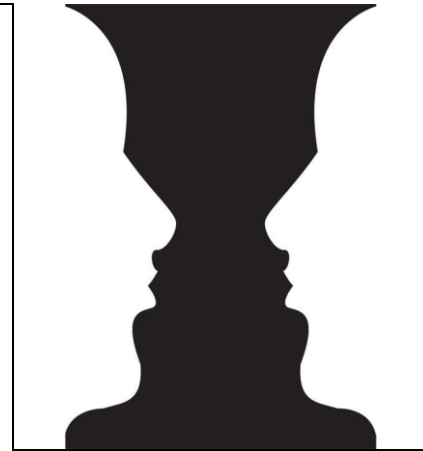


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Cross-cultural analysis of the use of corporal punishment in hunter-gatherer versus agrarian societies

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Abstract

There are numerous reports on the subjecting of children to various forms of violence as a disciplinary method throughout history, from ancient to modern times. Punishing children using physical violence, as a method of acquiring compliance with various social norms dictated by adults, has been continuously practiced during recorded humanity. The current international standards on children's rights that require protection against violence have emerged in the past few decades as a societal response to the quasi-universal use of corporal punishment in modern societies. By contrast, in their empirical fieldwork done since the XIXth century in many hunter-gatherer societies, the ethnographers have found that most of these societies are characterized by the absence or the exceptional use of corporal punishment against children.

In this regard, one area of interest consists in the significant differences in child discipline between hunter-gatherer and agrarian societies. Therefore, this analysis aims to explore variations in parental attitudes towards child-rearing in these two types of small-scale societies, integrating a historical perspective and taking into account variables such as indulgence towards children's behaviour, responsiveness to children's needs, affection towards children, children's autonomy, father involvement and their correlations with the absence or presence of corporal punishment. For ethnographic information, I used Yale University's eHRAF database, from which 601 ethnographic texts on 139 small-scale

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societies (85 hunter-gatherer societies and 54 agrarian societies) were extracted, coded, and analysed. Interpretation of the data indicates that hunter-gatherer societies have positive, non-punitive and more responsive parenting approaches to children's needs, lacking physical punishment, while agrarian societies have scores indicating the presence of violent methods of discipline and parenting practices focused on submission and punishment. All five parental attitudes included in the analysis scored higher in egalitarian societies than in agrarian ones. The most pronounced disparity between the two types of cultures is related to the indulgent nature of parental care. In addition, attitudes of emotional neglect and reduced expression of affection towards children and limited father involvement in child rearing correlate very strongly with the choice of physical punishments for child discipline.

The findings of this analysis highlight the importance of considering the historical and cultural context of parent-child interactions and cultural determinants in choosing positive parenting methods and provide a historical-anthropological perspective for promoting the normative prohibition of all forms of violence against children.

Keywords

Small-scale societies; Hunter-gatherer; Agrarian societies; Cross-cultural; Children; Corporal punishment; Parenting attitudes; Child-rearing;

Introduction

Corporal punishment from a historical and cross-cultural perspective

Methods of care and education of children by parents, members of extended families or members of human groups and communities have evolved, from Levine's conceptual perspective, as a result of: (a) biological constraints given by the ontogeny of the child's physical, cognitive and psycho-social development, of which the extended period of human infancy, the attachment relationship with the primary caregiver, the cooperation between the members of human groups in child rearing (cooperative breeding) and the specific stages of physical and neurophysiological maturation are defining; b) the phenotypic plasticity of the human species, in the sense of the behavioural adaptation of parents to specific ecological and socio-economic conditions, generating a remarkable variability of parenting strategies; c) the intergenerational transmitted cultural conditioning that shapes, in a given population, through social and cultural learning, the parents' relationship to "what is natural, normal and necessary in reproductive behaviour and child care" (Levine et al, 1994). Of the three types of determinants of parenting behaviour, the cultural dimension of parenting has a significant influence on the adoption of parental practices of primary socialization and discipline, expressed by encouraging autonomy or controlling the child's actions and desires, rewarding accepted behaviour or

punishing non-compliance with parental precepts and deviations from social norms. In terms of child sanctioning techniques, cross-cultural analyses have paid particular attention to corporal punishment, understood as any act of intentionally causing physical suffering or discomfort to a child by hitting, slapping, restraining, or injuring in any form, by the person in whose care the child is in, with the aim of punishing or preventing behaviour considered undesirable (UNCRC, 2006).

Historical accounts of the systematic subjection of children to various forms of violence are abundant, with the beating of children in cases of disobedience being recommended and practiced constantly in the past, but also in the contemporary world. In order to highlight the ways in which human societies have evolved and adapted over time and how these changes have influenced parenting practices, we initiated the analysis by including a historical dimension. Differences in child discipline between hunter-gatherer and agrarian societies illustrate the importance of considering the historical and cultural context in understanding human development. At the same time, we started from the premise that corporal punishment, from the perspective of the development of human society, is not inherent to the biological and psychosocial relationship between the parent and the child and does not represent an evolutionary adaptation of parenting to the needs of the child (Bogin, 2016). It is instead a product of cultural conditioning and profound social transformations dictated by the emergence of agriculture, which resulted in the child's participation in obtaining food and the need to impose social roles on the child and to punish him or her in case of disobedience, including the use of physical punishment. By examining these variations, we gain a deeper understanding of the diversity of human experience and of how cultural practices shape parent-child relationships.

Thus, the first part of the analysis includes a description of hunter-gatherer societies (*the foundational schemas* of societal organization and the *hunter-gatherer childhood* (HGC) modelling these societies) and an exploration of the theoretical implications of considering this absence of physical punishment in these societies from the perspective of the historical evolution of the presence of corporal punishment in human societies. The chapter will go on to describe attitudes (permissiveness/social control, expression of affection, responsiveness to children's needs, granting autonomy and father involvement) and the intensity of the use of physical punishment as a technique of behavioural control over the child by parents in 85 hunter-gatherer societies and 54 agrarian societies, revealing the correlations between these and the absence or presence of cultural normativity of punitive measures involving the use of physical violence in the two types of societies. The analysis thus aims to explore the use of corporal punishment in traditional societies, one of the most widespread concerns in the sphere of differences between the parental patterns of hunter-gatherer societies and sedentary (agrarian) or semi-sedentary (pastoralist) societies. In compiling the sample for this analysis, we used Yale University's online database - eHRAF World Cultures (Human Relations Area Files), which comprises a vast collection of materials facilitating the cross-cultural study of human behaviour in 360 highly diverse societies and cultures, both present and past, by covering and indexing all aspects of their cultural and social life (eHRAF).

The historical development of corporal punishment of children

The history of corporal punishment of children can be described as an "arch across time" (see Figure 1) in the evolution of adults' responsibilities for the upbringing and care of children. In this chronological evolution of physical punishment, we distinguish three historical periods:

- a) *Corporal punishment is not a parental practice* - in the ancestral period of human development (300,000 BC-10,000 BC) characterized, hypothetically, by forms of an organization significantly similar to egalitarian hunter-gatherer societies, whose lack of physical punishment has attracted the attention of anthropologists since the late 8th century;
- b) *Corporal punishment represents a widespread and culturally validated parental practice* - the sedentarisation of human populations through the spread of agriculture, animal husbandry, the emergence of centralized political and economic structures and the industrialization of contemporary societies (10,000 BC - present), creating the premises for the intense use of violent acts of child discipline as a defining method in the arsenal of parenting techniques and the transfer to the contemporary world of social norms validating control and punishment;
- c) *The global process of banning corporal punishment of children* - the shift in the 20th century from perceiving the child as a human being who does not exist in a social and moral sense, but is only in the making (Pickering, 2005), to consider him or her, regardless of age, social condition or cultural affiliation, as a distinct person and subject of rights. This transition implies respect for his or her physical integrity and the initiation of a global process of legal prohibition in all countries of the world of any form of violence against him or her.

Corporal punishment is not a parenting practice in pre-agrarian societies

In traditional small-scale societies² whose nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life was based on hunting, fishing or gathering food resources from nature, parents very rarely resort to corporal punishment and show aversion to hitting children. Parental attitudes towards children's problematic initiatives and behaviours are characterized by the cooperation of group members in raising children, general leniency, and children's individual autonomy and freedom to explore and choose their daily activities are respected (Diamond, 2013). Children's upbringing and education are not directed by parents or others in the extended family, children's groups have a prominent socializing role, physical punishment is almost entirely absent, and children from age 2 are free to play or explore "from dawn till dusk" (Gray, 2011).

² Levinson defined a small society as a distinct cultural unit without any writing system, and a popular society as a society whose members share a common cultural tradition, producing at least 50% of their calorie requirements, and are under the political control of a state (Inkeles & Levinson, 1969).

These parental patterns in hunter-gatherer societies are considered functional adaptations acquired as a result of slow selective pressures from the ecological space, including the physical, social or intra-individual environment in which humans evolve. In fact, given their similarity to the traits of the parental behaviour of anthropoid apes and Catharine monkeys (Van Schaik, 2016; Martin, 1995), some of these patterns of human childhood in pre-agrarian societies have a phylogenetic origin (e.g., infant attachment to mother or another reference person in life). Thus, their evolution is presumed to date back 30-40 million years (Konner, 2005). The term used for this evolutionary process is the *environment of evolutionary adaptability* (EEA), formulated by John Bowlby as representing, in the case of the human species, the ancestral environment of hunter-gatherers, considered the "natural" environment that dominated 99% of human evolutionary history (Bowlby, 1971; Rosano, 2013).

The differences in child discipline between hunter-gatherer and agrarian societies are understood through the historical lens of the evolution of social interactions. Hunter-gatherer societies emerged as the earliest form of human social organization, characterized by nomadic groups of small numbers of people who moved frequently in search of resources, hunting, fishing and gathering for subsistence. In such societies, children are highly valued and are constantly in the care of parents and other adults. Because people live together and have to cooperate to survive, corporal punishment of children is perceived as a threat to group cohesion and interpersonal relationships, which are vital for the whole group. Being in continuous interaction with nature, members of these societies gain a deeper understanding of the dangers and protection needs of children, leading to more empathetic and flexible ways of shaping behaviour and fostering children's physical abilities and social skills in order to survive in specific subsistence environments. These issues are reflected in parenting practices that emphasize indulgence toward children's behaviour, respect for their wishes, responsiveness to their needs, and affection for them (Konner, 2010). With the advent of agriculture and the sedentarisation of human populations, intra-family life has changed and the social structures became larger and more complex. This transition also brought transformations in parenting practices. Although children continued to be important members of these societies, the demands of agriculture and the specialization of social roles and functions meant that parents had less time and resources to devote to child-rearing and adopted more structured approaches to child-rearing, using authoritarian methods. The upbringing emphasized submission, which favoured a shift to violent measures of discipline and control.

Observations by anthropologists and ethnographers in egalitarian hunter-gatherer societies in all parts of the world have described different types of child disciplining practices by parents or other members of the communities studied. In contrast to the near-universality of physical punishment of children for transgressions of adult-prescribed rules since the so-called "Neolithic Revolution" (10,000 BCE), still practiced in some countries today on a disturbingly large scale, most hunter-gatherer societies are characterized by "indulgence, stimulation and lack of restraint" (Konner, 1976) resulting from the absence or exceptionality of corporal punishment in childcare. The social organization of these societies, including with respect to adult-child relationships, is assumed to be similar,

maintaining the subsistence techniques of human groups prior to the emergence of agriculture as an essential means of securing food (Hublin, 2017).

Corporal punishment is a widespread and culturally validated parenting practice in stratified societies

Historical data and ethnographic descriptions have indicated a high frequency and normativity of physical punishment in complex societies (agrarian, pastoral, intensively agrarian, industrial and post-industrial), with the use of this method of violent discipline deriving from characteristics such as social stratification and inequality, the political organization of society, the persistence of a culture of intersocietal conflict, and the existence of forms of parental assistance in child rearing by unrelated individuals (Ember & Ember, 2005). The practice of agriculture and animal husbandry has profoundly transformed the socio-economic organization of human societies, changed relations with the natural environment and, as a consequence, reshaped social relations, prefiguring the emergence of hereditary social classes and, ultimately, industrial societies dominated by the phenomenon of globalization. Numerous scientific works have highlighted acts of violence against children in human history, from antiquity to the modern era.

The punishment of children through the use of physical correction in families or institutions as a method of discipline intended to make them respect the rules and norms imposed by adults (their parents, teachers or representatives of various forms of authority) is a common practice that has been documented in the literature. Spread globally, with varying intensity from country to country, institutionalized or prohibited by law³, the corporal punishment of children in the family has characterized traditional agrarian, pastoral and industrial societies, accompanied by extreme forms of neglect and violence against children, such as abandonment, exploitation, physical mutilation, sexual abuse, infanticide, community extermination or public executions (DeMause 1974).

In this context, family relationships and child-rearing methods have sought to fulfil the same universal task of parents or other persons undertaking parental responsibilities of preparing children to become "culturally competent mature members" of each society into which they are born and developed (Bornstein, 2010). Over time, human societies have generationally transmitted specific knowledge about children and childhood and appropriate parenting practices, with child care and child development becoming social constructs with considerable cultural variation (Prout & Routledge, 2015).

Current knowledge in this area, particularly about the child's relationship with parents, other caregivers, and other members of the community in which he or she

³ The subject of corporal punishment of children by parents or other caregivers has a recent history in Romania, which begins in particular with the concern of civil society to promote the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child after its ratification in 1991. Subsequently, in 2004, through Law 272/2004 on the protection and promotion of the rights of the child, corporal punishment was banned, Romania became the 14th country with such legislation.

develops, is based almost exclusively on data, experiences, and theories of the past two centuries being the results of the analysis of highly stratified societies characterized by unequal access to power and resources and that has thus generated a dominant social construct. The members of this society called *WEIRD* (*Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic*), suggesting by this sui-generis ethnonym that they grew up in a Western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic society, have been said to be "among the least representative populations we can consider for generalizing about the human species" (Henrich et. al, 2010). In order to later take on specialized roles in society, in these contemporary societies, children's activities are heavily controlled by adults, children's education is heavily institutionalized at all ages, and undesirable behaviours are corrected through measures including punishment, even physical correction (Boyette & Hewlett, 2018).

Global process to ban corporal punishment of children

The contemporary world, characterized by an advanced and intense level of social and economic development, represents the culmination of a process that began 10,000-12,000 years ago. The cultural transformations in child discipline methods in Scandinavian societies at the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century will be integrated as principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child towards the end of the 20th century. They become the global desideratum regarding the respect for the physical integrity and dignity of children. Current international standards on the rights of the child, which call for the prohibition of all forms of violence against children, including corporal punishment, have crystallized in recent decades as a societal response to the widespread use of physical punishment in modern societies at different levels of socio-economic development. Current mechanisms to prevent and eliminate corporal punishment of children constitute a global cultural phenomenon that attests to children's natural, innate right to physical and emotional integrity. Thus, 65 countries out of 198 United Nations Member States have outlawed any form of corporal punishment or degrading and humiliating treatment. Despite this progress, the current process of integration into the culture of humanity, by assuming or imposing positive discipline in child upbringing and child care, without the use of physical aggression, faces serious obstacles in many parts of the world. Globally, corporal punishment is still seen, even in countries that have banned it, as a legitimate parenting practice.

We can consider that, in the last three decades marked by the global consensus of the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child by all the States of the world, there has been a transformation of the perspective on corporal punishment. Thus, a method once encouraged or tolerated by society through the voice of representatives of professions that are important to parents (doctors, psychologists, social workers), corporal punishment is now recognized by the same specialists as a risk indicator regarding the physical and psychological development of the child. A key factor has undoubtedly been the change in the status of children as independent subjects of rights, including in relation to parental rights and obligations, with protection against all forms of violence

considered an inalienable right (Durrant, 2008). This process of increased interest in eliminating violence from children's lives has led to the promotion of positive parenting methods and has been informed by multidisciplinary research into understanding the nature and effects of parental violence on children and the development of universal or targeted outreach and intervention programs on social groups, parents or children, particularly in the area of psychiatric psychology (Gershoff, Lee & Durrant, 2017).

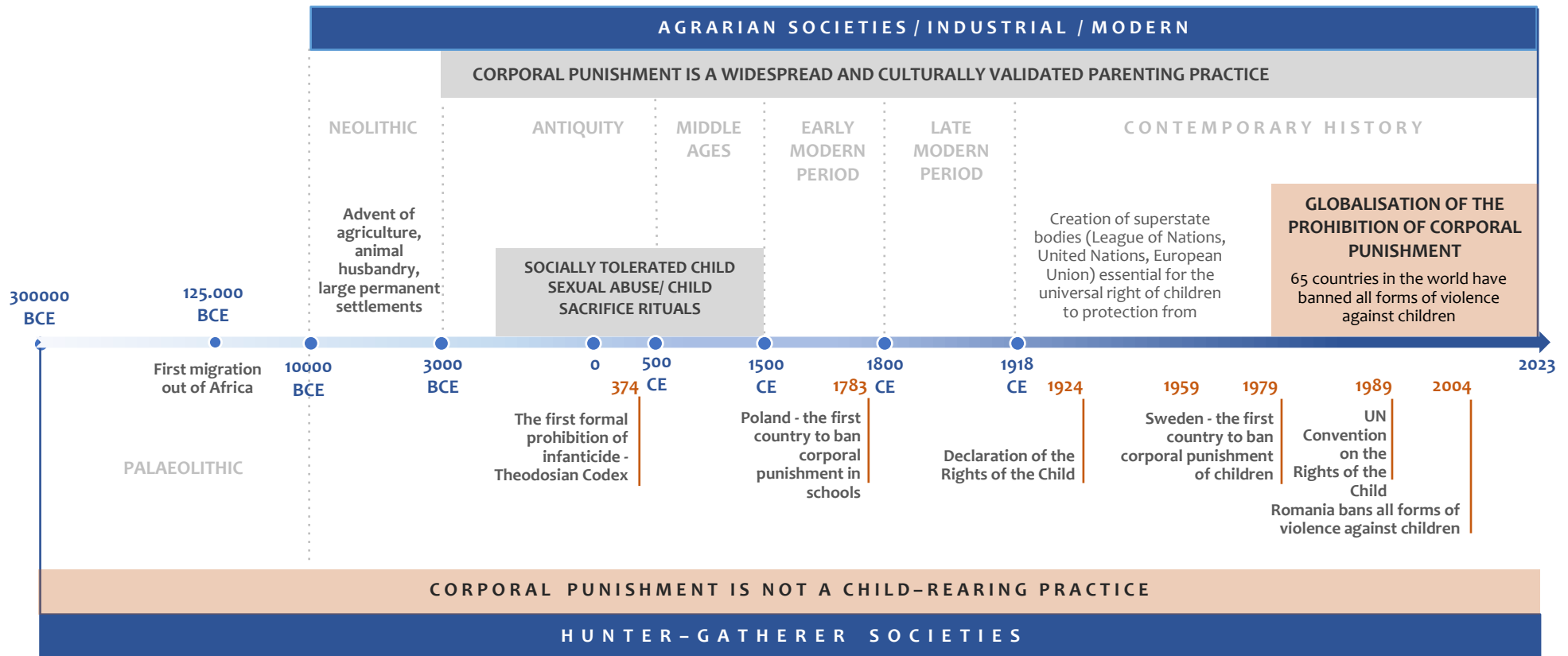
Small-scale societies

Typology of small-scale societies included in the comparative analysis

Hunter-gatherer societies and agro-pastoralist societies represent two distinct ways of life that have evolved over thousands of years in response to different environmental and cultural factors. Although they share similarities, such as the dependence on natural resources and the social organization, these small-scale societies are characterized by important differences in subsistence strategies and social structures (Ember, 1992; Ember, 2020), as follows:

- Hunter-gatherer or forager societies are societies organized into nomadic or semi-nomadic groups or clans of 35-80 members, lacking political, territorial structures, but inclined towards peaceful resolution of inter-group or intersocietal conflicts, and characterized by division of labour by sex and age and by monogamous and polygamous unions (although the latter much lower in frequency). These unions are socially recognized as marriages and are established between individuals belonging to different groups, maintaining the interactions between families that are fundamental to the construction of human sociality. 86% or more (56% in the case of societies considered to be predominantly hunter-gatherer) of food in these societies is obtained by hunting, fishing (the main source of food for 38% of the cultures of this type), gathering honey, shellfish and other plant food resources (roots, fruit, seeds), without producing a surplus. The specific natural environments of these groups are desert areas, rainforests, steppes, savannahs, and arctic areas, which are generally found to be unsuitable for agriculture (Chapais, 2008; Hamilton et al., 2007; Kramer & Russell, 2015; Ember, 2020).
- Agrarian societies are societies that rely on agriculture and animal husbandry (56% or more) as their main means of subsistence, requiring a sedentary lifestyle with a division of labour and a specialization of members in various economic activities. As a rule, agrarian societies develop complex social systems with a hierarchy of power and a concentration of the population in more and denser settlements than hunter-gatherer societies. This category includes: pastoralist societies - societies characterized by high mobility and whose survival depends largely on animal husbandry and herding; horticultural societies - a type of subsistence where food comes from simple

Figure 1 - History of corporal punishment of children



farming (especially gardening); intensively agrarian societies dependent on intensive agriculture, which requires the cultivation and/or irrigation of land over long periods of time; sedentary societies which rely on a different combination of subsistence by adopting combined activities including hunting, fishing, food gathering, animal husbandry, horticulture and intensive agriculture (eHRAF).

For this research, by gaining access to eHRAF World Cultures and, complementarily, by independently studying other historical or contemporary sources not included in eHRAF, it became possible to extract information covering aspects of children's socialization patterns in traditional societies. A total of 139 distinct small-scale societies whose parenting practices were described by coding and analysing 601 ethnographic texts that were selected for analysis by simple random sampling. The selection includes 85 hunter-gatherer societies (63 "hunter-gatherer", 22 "predominantly hunter-gatherer") and 54 agrarian societies (Appendix 2). The list of hunter-gatherer societies integrates all 72 such societies registered in the eHRAF database (295 cultures available at the time of data collection - July-August 2021), plus a further 13 randomly selected egalitarian cultures independently documented through consultation of the global anthropological and ethnographic literature, geographically distributed across 5 continents (Annex 3).

The foundational schemas of social organization of hunter-gatherer societies

In order to understand the indulgent nature of parents' need to correct or discipline children, an important part of their socialization in any society, it is essential to specify the foundational schemas of organization of these societies, defined as "*cultural values and patterns of thought and perception that cut across many spheres of life*" (Hewlett et al. 2011). Described as common thought patterns that permeate the daily lives of community members, becoming motivational forces in organizing social behaviours (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1982), the foundational schemas highlighted in the anthropological literature in describing pre-agrarian nomadic societies are:

1) *Egalitarianism* - directly results from the flexible but constrained way of life born of ecological variability, which involves a continuous movement of groups for immediate food procurement, thus limiting the conditions for property accumulation (Cashdan, 1980). The effects are the maintenance of a very low population density, minimal interpersonal differences in material possessions, and a focus on maintaining the status quo of equality of social positions, although prestige and moral authority may differ from individual to individual (Woodburn, 1982; Lee, 1979; Lee & DeVore, 1968). Although social stratification is reduced by age and gender, and the existence of institutions is impossible, these societies have had the presence of leaders selected on the basis of their competence to fill social functions that allow the group to gain "maximum adaptive advantage" (Juncu, 1998);

2) *Autonomy* - is a central value of egalitarianism, rather than material equality, which shapes social relations, with no one being able to dictate to another person what to do, with consensus dominating decisions of interest to the social group. Regardless of

gender, age or personal abilities, all members of the social group enjoy personal autonomy, which allows for the maintenance of social stability, the balance of power between men and women, and the non-violent resolution of conflict through group division (Lee, 1972; Gardner, 1991). Unlike children in other types of societies (pastoral, agrarian or industrial), where obedience and personal responsibilities define relationships with adults, children in egalitarian societies have the freedom to involve themselves of their own free will in the adult-specific activities or in the play of other children, and they are prepared to become independent adults, able to survive in an unpredictable natural environment (Barry, Child & Bacon 1959; Whiting & Child, 1953).

3) *Sharing* - the sharing of food, other goods or physical space is an ethical behaviour of hunter-gatherer societies, whereby anyone can ask the giver of resources to share them with others so that in the future, when the situation is reversed, the giver can ask for the same in return. This model of reciprocal altruism concerns the relationship between unrelated individuals and confers both long-term benefits and reputation, which is important in the choice of partners (Bird-David, 1990; Gurven, 2004; Hewlett et al., 1998). Reciprocity, which is widespread in egalitarian societies, incorporates within its scope the behaviour of cooperation (Sahlins, 1968), which has generated the deeply prosocial character of human collectivities. In the evolutionary history of the human species faced with considerable fluctuations in resources and successive adaptations to highly diverse natural environments, inter-individual generosity and cooperation have been essential in ensuring the survival of human communities, especially in feeding and caring for children through so-called cooperative breeding (Hrды, 2005; Konner, 2005). In the absence of constant help from *alloparents*⁴, mothers with more than one child could not provide for their children's needs (Hrды, 2009). According to this finding, alloparenting as a manifestation plays an important role in the survival and development of children in hunter-gatherer societies. By sharing the responsibilities of caring and supervising children between several people, the pressure on mothers or fathers is reduced and children receive constant care and attention, even in the event of parental disappearance or parental incapacity, thus creates for children new social experiences and extensive and strong social networks (Bogin, 2016). In this respect, the grandmother hypothesis refers to the essential evolutionary role of grandparents in these societies that enabled the extension of childhood to the human species, increasing children's chances of survival and ensuring the reproductive success of human groups (Hawkes, 2003).

Hunter-Gatherer Childhood (HGC) model

In contrast to the modern view of human childhood, the Hunter-Gatherer Childhood model, based on anthropological research in the Kalahari Desert !Kung tribal populations and validated by robust results of quantitative studies in other cultures with the same subsistence specificities, proposes a series of generalizations of childcare methods. These

⁴ Alloparents are members of the same social group, genetically related or not to the child's biological parents, and who actively participate in their child's care (Hrды, 2009; Konner, 2005).

parental methods are precursors of universal traits of human cultures and universal functional characteristics generated by evolutionary adaptive environments. Presented as hypotheses four decades ago (Konner, 1976) and reconfirmed today, the generalizations of the parenting model from the perspective of this evolutionary theory are as follows:

1) Mother's primary role in raising children in hunter-gatherer societies. Anthropological information does not describe an exclusive mother-child relationship but confirms the theory of attachment to the mother, who responds to the child's physical and emotional needs as the primary caregiver (Bowlby, 1973). Depending on the mother's difficulties, the dense social context specific to these societies ensures that children are also cared for by other members of the community, the child's older brothers and sisters, the maternal grandmother, the father (less involved than mothers, but much more present in children's lives than fathers in modern societies), with attachment relationships extending to other people involved in their upbringing.

2) *Long breastfeeding periods.* Breastfeeding takes place, in hunter-gatherer societies, in the first 25-42 months of the child's life (up to 5 years, unless a new pregnancy occurs), at the request of the child or whenever the child cries, at least four times/hour during waking hours, with breastfeeding episodes also reported during the night (Konner, 2005). The weaning age of the baby defines the interval between births and is usually during the next pregnancy. Weaning occurs gradually, often with reluctant reactions from the infant (Shostak, 1981), but without the use of punishment or other negative methods to discourage the infant. In agrarian, pastoral or industrial societies, the period of breastfeeding is shorter (6-12 months) or may be absent, being substituted by animal milk, and the intervals between feeding episodes are much wider, being rather scheduled according to the mother's involvement in work activities (Mackean & Spragins, 2013).

3) *Prolonged physical contact with the mother.* Carrying the infant using systems made of plant fibres or leather (sling or pouch type), characteristic of hunter-gatherer societies in tropical areas, provides permanent skin-to-skin contact between mother and newborn. This is beneficial to the infant by facilitating ongoing communication with the mother and the development of mutual attachment, increasing the frequency of breastfeeding, maintaining optimal temperature, sensory exposure to diverse environments, stimulating the immune system and protection from the dangers inherent in the natural environment of existence (Bigelow & Power, 2020). In the !Kung tribes of south-eastern Africa, this mode of transport accounts for 70% of a day's time in the first months after birth and decreases in duration in the second half of the child's first year of life to 30% (Konner, 1976). In other temperate and northern parts of the world, where temperatures are cooler, carrying the baby in other devices, cloth or wooden carriers carried on the back or chest is prevalent (Konner, 2005). With regard to infants sleeping with the mother, data collected on 90 pre-industrial societies (out of a total sample of 186) showed that in none of the cases did the infant sleep separately from the mother in another room or shelter. On the contrary, in 41 cultures sleeping took place in the same bed, in 30 in the same room, without specifying the bed, and in 19 others in separate beds (Barry & Paxson, 1971).

4) *Total indulgence toward children.* Anthropological work and cross-cultural studies have noted the general tolerant attitude of parents and other members of egalitarian societies toward any child's behaviour. In these socially unstructured societies that value individual autonomy even with regard to children, corporal punishment either is completely absent or exceptionally applied for acts of violence committed between children or in dangerous situations caused by children (Ember & Ember, 2005). Children in these societies are allowed to explore their environment and learn through hands-on experiences instead of being restricted to adult-led activities. They are not involved in economic activities, except for simple, informal tasks performed on their own initiative or as an expression of a desire to imitate adult activities or to protect smaller children. The main concern of groups of children, heterogeneous in gender and age, is play (Draper, 1976). Adults respond immediately to children's signals of discomfort or dissatisfaction by crying, the peak frequency of which in the first three months is similar in all children, regardless of the type of society in which they live. The fact that adults in egalitarian societies react promptly in 90% of children's crying situations compared to 40-50% in samples from Western countries (Barr, 1990) and the findings that the duration of crying is much shorter are due to the different parenting practices in the two types of societies (Barr et al., 1991).

The hunter-gatherer childhood model is important because it highlights how cultural practices and social structures shape children's experiences. By examining the differences between parenting practices in hunter-gatherer societies and agrarian societies, we can better understand the diversity of human experience and how cultural beliefs have evolved over time. In addition, the concept of hunter-gatherer childhood challenges the assumption that modern society holds all the answers to the challenges faced by parents. Instead, it suggests that the methods of parenting and discipline and the features of everyday child-parent or, more generally, child-adult interactions in these specific hunter-gatherer cultures remain important sources of information about the importance of attachment relationships, autonomy, play, nurturing roles, social participation and learning through imitation, observation and exploration in child development. By understanding the role of culture in shaping childhood experiences, we can gain valuable insights into how to promote the healthy development and well-being of children in all societies.

Methodology

The present analysis is a synthesis of the anthropological literature of the last two centuries on the prevailing parental model in hunter-gatherer societies from the perspective of child corrective measures and parental attitudes. Given the universality of the absence of corporal punishment in cultural contexts marked by diversity and interaction with different ecological spaces, the indulgent and protective attitudes and manifestations towards children on the part of parents and other members of these small-scale societies were considered to be evolutionarily determined, representing appropriate responses to ensure their survival. In other words, the development of our species is based on the "natural"

process of socialization specific to hunter-gatherer societies, which are considered to be the evolutionary adaptive environments of humankind (Konner, 2010).

This analysis takes on the dimensions of a comparative *holocultural* research (Mio, 2013), in that it integrates a number of 139 egalitarian and agrarian cultures. The practical advantages of encompassing a wide variety of accounts of child-rearing and socialization methods lead to capturing both the similarities between cultures and, through reinterpretation, highlighting the ubiquity of indulgent parental behaviour and lack of physical punishment, as well as formulating the specifics and underlying themes of the categories of information analysed. The comparative research is *global*, encompassing cultures from all regions of the world - Africa, Asia, Australia, Oceania, Europe and the Americas, not including cultures belonging to nation-states. It is also *comprehensive* (large number of cultures), uses *secondary data* and aims, as far as information is available, at a *synchronic perspective* of correlations (Ember & Ember, 2009).

Galton's problem is considered a vulnerability of cross-cultural studies extended to cultures affected by the process of cultural diffusion that, through statistical estimates, intensifies the coefficients of correlations (Naroll, 1965). It does not create the risk of self-confirmation in this research, if we take into account the general principle that social features of relationships between members of a culture diffuse much slower than symbolic features or material characteristics of that culture (Witkowski, 1974). It is difficult to assume that diffusion of kinship practices manifests itself significantly, given the mutually unintelligible idioms, the great distances between settlements, and the obvious absence of ways in which cultures can share kinship experiences or influence each other. Unlike other spheres of interest in the functionality of material and social life (hunting, marriage, ritual, language, war) where cultural contacts and borrowings may be of interest.

Research question, purpose and hypothesis

This chapter aims to make a systematic comparison between egalitarian hunter-gatherer societies and sedentary, agrarian, horticultural or pastoral societies in order to answer questions about the incidence of corporal punishment and parental attitudes in childcare and the significant correlations between them. Since it aims to highlight a behavioural frequency, the first question is descriptive: *Can the total absence or extremely low frequency of corporal punishment in hunter-gatherer societies be considered “defining features” of hunter-gatherer childhood in stark contrast with the agrarian societies?* This leads to the research hypothesis that there are important differences in the way these societies relate to child discipline methods that they allow the formulation of *two cultural typologies*, defined by the absence or recurrence of corporal punishment in parent-child relationships.

The second question is of a relational nature, not involving an examination of causality between variables: *Are there significant correlations between the six variables selected for research (frequency or absence of corporal punishment, permissiveness, affection, responsiveness, child autonomy and father involvement) that would support the hypothesis of the cultural universal mentioned above?* Of course, we assume that the attitude of indulgence/control toward children's acts and initiatives, as well as the parents'

affective manifestations, the response reactions to children's difficulties or signals of discomfort, the respect for children's autonomy or the duration and the way of fathers' involvement in their upbringing and socialization, will register significant correlations with the absence and, respectively, with the high levels of corporal punishment.

Coding procedure

The quantitative cross-cultural codes developed by Herbert Barry on the sample of 189 societies created by Murdock & White (1986) were used to code the information collected. The anthropological literature does not provide the same variety of resources and density of information for all cultures, which complicates the task of coding in order to identify correlations between variables and compare parenting practices. However, focusing on the variable of corporal punishment as a socialization technique allows for the analysis, from adjacent parental perspectives, of its general absence in archaic cultures. These perspectives are:

- *2 categories of cultures: nomadic/egalitarian* (corresponding to hunter-gatherer societies) and *sedentary/stratified* (including agrarian, horticultural, pastoral and societies practicing different modes of subsistence);
- *5 types of fundamental attitudes of parents and other primary caregivers in the child's close social circle* (permissiveness/social control, parents' expression of affection, parents' responsiveness to children's needs, child autonomy and father involvement) described using a 5-point Likert scale, from level 1 = `significant absence` to level 5 = `significant presence`;
- *corporal punishment – punitive method*: Maintaining the order of meanings favourable to the child, the classification of the presence or absence of corporal punishment uses the same Likert scale ranging from 1 = `significant use` to 5 = `total absence` (Table 1). Thus, value 1 corresponds to an extremely high level of frequency of corporal punishment and of the unpredictability of parental behaviour, and level 5 indicates, according to the explicit notes of the ethnographers, either the absence of this form of discipline or the unusual nature of this technique in the parental arsenal of the culture in question.

The unit of analysis is each of the 139 selected societies, whose scores resulting from the coding of ethnographic information are used in calculating the means of the six variables (five parental attitudes and corporal punishment) separately for the two categories of small societies. The resulting means allow conclusions to be drawn for comparative analysis.

It is important to note that the division of attitudes and corporal punishment into five degrees of manifestation are hypothetical and are constructed to guide the comparative cross-cultural analysis between the two types of small societies. Of course, using these variables to characterize a single culture separately requires consideration of the broader cultural context and an understanding of the unique cultural and historical factors shaping these practices in that culture.

For each society, a sheet was prepared in which the relevant fragments for the six variables and their bibliographic sources were entered, followed by the first coding. To check the scores, we used the intra-coder method, with two successive coding for the same company. The primary coding followed the consultation of the eHRAF database (July-August 2021), and the second, considered as the final coding, at a distance in a time of 12-14 months (second half of 2022). Of the 139 societies, 12 societies (2 hunter-gatherers and 10 agrarians) were selected after the completion of coding and they were included only in the second coding phase. The resulting Kappa (Cohen's) coefficient indicates high agreement between the two successive codings ($k=0.64$) and moderate agreement ($k=0.56$) regarding corporal punishment separately.

Although no distinctions between socializing agencies are introduced, the coding considers information that relates to the relationship between children and the main people identified as responsible for raising the child, i.e. parents, grandparents, relatives or adults who have adopted the child. Also, taking into account the purpose and hypothesis of the analysis, the scores aimed to identify the prevalence or lack, thereof, of cultural integration of corporal punishment in the relationship of primary caregivers toward children in early childhood (0-3 years) and childhood up to 10-12 years.

The research instruments used are the *Outline of World Cultures (OWC) Index* and the *Outline of Cultural Materials (OCM) Index*, the latter organized categorically. Using the OCM, information was collected using the following key categories regarding the parenting practices of the selected societies: family, family relationships, nuclear family, adoption, grandparents and grandchildren; on infancy, infant feeding, infant care, child care, child development and maturation, child activities, child status; socialization, enculturation/cultural integration techniques, weaning and food training, aggression training and transmission of cultural norms.

Previous cross-cultural research has noted that not all ethnographic works describing hunter-gatherer cultures cover key aspects of children's social relationships with other children and adults (parents, grandparents, and other extended family members within or outside the groups). Often, references to childhood in 19th century anthropological literature are lapidary or missing, the reasons being that most ethnographers were men who were either not interested in the dynamics of childhood or had difficulty observing maternal relationships (Barry & Paxson, 1971). Therefore, in the coding process for many cultures, information collected from the eHRAF database was supplemented by consulting other anthropological descriptions not included (e.g., Aché, Pirahã, Bofi, Abenaki).

In order to eliminate ambiguities related to the child's age and gender, as there are many situations where the ethnographers' observations were not specific, the coding took into account, above all, the attitudes and socialization techniques manifested in the first 10-12 years of children's lives. In egalitarian societies, these are characterized by a much greater autonomy and permissiveness than in stratified societies. The affection and responsiveness of parents to their children's needs are related to the first period of childhood, up to weaning (in principle, 0-3 years). Primary descriptions of cultures, preceding the cultural transfers caused by colonialism that influenced representations of

the world and inter-human relations, were considered for coding. We have thus tried to maintain, in the case of the childhood of the hunter-gatherers, the synchronic approach to the correlations of the variables included in the research, by considering the early ethnographic descriptions with priority. Where information was missing or too unclear to establish a score, no record was listed, leaving a blank.

Table 1. Operational definitions of the coding scheme

Attitudes of parents (Barry et al., 1977)	
Permissiveness - assessed in terms of the harshness or leniency of socialization, manifested by the control of children's activities or the lack of its presence.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 - Harsh socialization, total control and severe punishment from parents for mistakes 2 - Generally harsh but indulgent treatment 3 - Generally moderately permissive 4 - Mostly indulgent, but not totally indulgent 5 - Completely lenient, lacking in disapproval or control
Affection - defined as attention and positive interest expressed towards the child (scale modified from 4 to 5, after Barry, 1977)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 - Parents or other caregivers exhibit neglectful attitudes, rarely expressing affection for the child 2 - Child is often ignored by parents 3 - The child is generally given moments of affection or attention 4 - Frequent displays of affection and attention 5 - Repeated and intense expression of affection and interest in the child
Responsiveness - readiness to respond to child's needs, relevant to children aged 0-3 years (scores slightly modified from Barry & Paxson, 1971)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 - Children are scolded or punished when crying or when at risk 2 - Poor response; children are left to calm down unassisted or to find their own solutions to their problems 3 - Generally inconsistent response; children rarely succeed in getting adults to respond to their requests or problems 4 - The adult most often intervenes when child cries or requests 5 - The adult intervenes immediately upon the child's desire for food, crying, whining or requests for help
Granting autonomy to children - applied to middle childhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 - Children are controlled and told what to do and what is forbidden and threatened with punishment 2 - Children are given specific daily roles (looking after younger siblings, getting or preparing food, fetching water, etc.) 3 - Children are given some tasks and can receive guidance without being deprived of free time. 4 - Children spend most of their time in friendship groups and may be asked to attend or participate in community activities 5 - Children are fully autonomous, spend time in their own groups, can participate as they wish in adults' daily activities
Father involvement (Konner, 2010; Barry & Paxson, 1971)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 - Relationship lacks closeness - father's importance in child's life is minimal 2 - Rare moments of closeness - father's involvement is limited to ceremonies that directly concern the child (birth, rites of passage, adoption) and providing food for mother and child 3 - Occasional, inconsistent proximity 4 - High frequency of proximity - father is the second most important person in interaction with the child 5 - Very close relationship - the father spends, with great attention and affection, at least a quarter of the total amount of time that the mother spends caring for the child, playing with the child or showing affection towards the child.

Corporal punishment (Barry et al., 1977; Barry & Paxson, 1971; Ember & Ember, 2005)	
Corporal punishment (slapping, hitting with objects, burning or other physical distress) used to discipline or show disapproval of the actions and behaviour of children in the care of the person taking the measure	1 - Very high level of frequency of use of severe corporal punishment causing physical suffering, regardless of the child's behaviour 2 - Prevalent mode of discipline for non-compliance with social norms or rules set by parents 3 - Corporal punishment is used for certain actions and behaviours of children 4 - Corporal punishment is used rarely and generally as a last resort 5 - Corporal punishment is not at all typical or missing from the discipline techniques used by parents. (In this category, we have included non-threatening actions such as splashing with water).

Data interpretation

In terms of identifying, by comparing cultural groups, correlations between corporal punishment of children and different variables of attitudes, parenting practices or socio-cultural norms, the research attempted to encompass as many cultures as possible, by overlapping different types of subsistence and temporal location of ethnographic descriptions. The fundamental source of information analysed consisted of the anthropological records of the *Standard Cross-Cultural Sample*. Using a random sample of 60 small-scale traditional (folk) societies (included in the eHRAF archive), David Levinson showed that the low frequency of corporal punishment is associated with a low rate of domestic violence in which women are victims. While the presence of violence against women does not correlate with the frequency of physical punishment of children, confirming the hypothesis of a link between these two variables from the perspective of prevention and control of domestic violence (Levinson, 1981). Levinson also demonstrated that heavy dependence on subsistence farming is a predictor of the physical punishment of children (Levinson, 1988). Extending the analysis to Murdock and Douglas White's 1968 sample of 186 pre-industrial societies, the results of extensive cross-cultural research suggest that corporal punishment is more common in societies where non-relatives are involved in childcare (the contemporary world's pattern), with a complex economy marked by the "power inequality", by the presence of social stratification and political integration and by the "culture of violence" expressed particularly through the presence of war (Ember & Ember, 2005).

Corporal punishment

Before proceeding to the analysis of the correlations of attitudes and methods used by parents with the presence of physical punishment in their interaction with children, we find, in line with previous analyses, that hunter-gatherer societies are characterized by a very low level of presence of corporal punishment, unlike agrarian societies where the high frequency of violent discipline dominates. The mean cumulative score of egalitarian societies is 4.62 (on a scale from 1 to 5), with a 95% confidence interval for values between 4.49 and 4.75, indicating a very high probability of the almost total absence of physical punishment in egalitarian societies. The anthropological accounts of situations where

children were corrected by hitting or subjected to corrections that produce physical and emotional suffering are extremely rare. Levels 4 and 5 total almost 93% of the sample of hunter-gatherer societies.

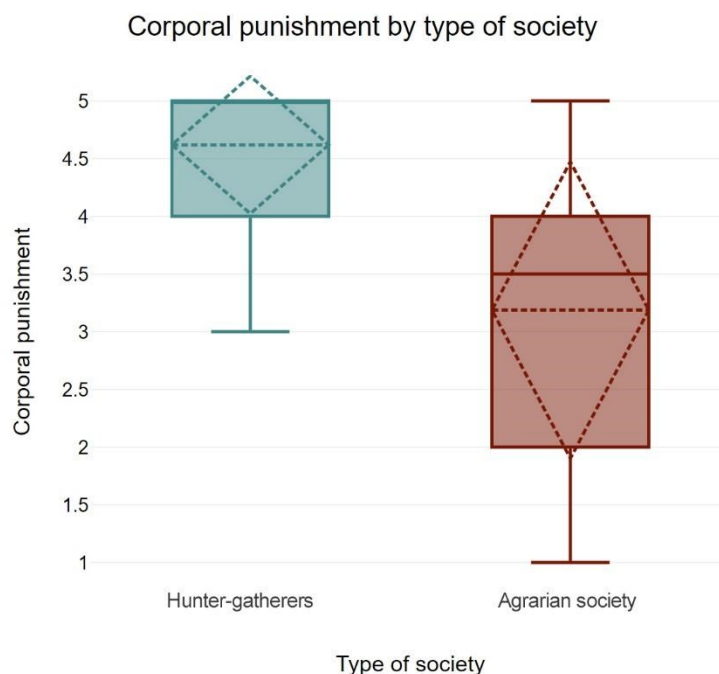
Table 2. Comparative distribution of corporal punishment in the two types of societies (author's analysis)

		Type of society	
		Hunter-gatherer	Agrarian
	Frequency	85	54
Corporal punishment	Mean	4.62	3.19
	Median	5	3.5
	Standard deviation	0.6	1.3
	Variance	0.36	1.69
	95% Confidence interval of Mean	4.49; 4.75	2.82; 3.56

Illustrative is the significant difference in standard deviations between the two categories of societies. It is important to note that, considering the median value (5) and the low standard deviation (0.60) expressing a narrow variability, it becomes typical for these groups that the lack of any parental willingness to inflict physical suffering on the children for their behavioural modelling. This is not by chance if we consider that the coding results included only the range of scores of 3-5. None of the 85 hunter-gatherer societies was included in categories 1 (very high frequency) or 2 (prevalent method of discipline). For only five of the cultures did the information collected refer to level 3, according to which children can be beaten for certain behaviours (e.g. endangering oneself or another child, breaking taboos, forbidden sexual practices).

By contrast, in agrarian societies, the scores are significantly different. The average use of corporal punishment is 3.19, almost one and a half points lower than in egalitarian societies, with a median of 3.5 and a standard deviation of 1.3. These results show a prevalence of the use of physical violence against children for a range of actions or behaviours that violate cultural precepts, social norms or do not respect the rule of obedience to parents or other community members. An almost uniform distribution of frequency across the five levels of corporal punishment (Figure 2) underscores a high variability. This distribution ranges from the unpredictable and continuous application of physical punishment (level 1 - 16% of cultures), regardless of the child's behavioural adjustments to avoid violence, (level 1 - 14.58%), to the almost total absence of violence in the interaction between child and parent in cultures that reject this technique of child socialization (level 5 - 14.58%).

Figure 2. Graphical representation of the incidence of corporal punishment in the two types of societies (author's analysis)



Agrarian societies are dominated by "structural inequalities between different groups of people" (Giddens, 2000) and therefore impose laws, strict roles, power relations and sanctions. This leads to the historical evolution of relations between family members, to the reversal of the child's social position from "angel" (cherub) in egalitarian societies to "property" (chattel) in wider and fully stratified societies (Lancy, 2015), with serious repercussions on the attitudinal register of parents towards their children. Continuing the evolution of new social structures, complex stratified societies, such as industrial ones, have developed mechanisms for sanctioning individuals, justified by ideologies and superordinate systems of rules whose observance implies violence, and are historically transmissible and amplified. The presence of wars, the societal valorisation of violence, and the inequality in the exercise of power generated by social stratification and political complexity have ultimately influenced the dynamics of family relations by legitimizing domination and violence within the family. We speak about a reality associated with the increase of "pressure for obedience and responsibility" on children in both its forms - positive pressure (rewards, privileges) and negative pressure (punishments, unconditional obedience) (Barry & al, 1959). We do not bring into question socio-cultural theories of the normalization of violence in agrarian cultures assumed to have intrinsic characteristics leading to socially or inter-individually propagated attitudes and beliefs of valuing violence (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). However, we note that the factors listed above have contributed to the institutionalization of normative violence manifested in "natural" and "just" actions with the role of preserving and protecting the socio-economic order, ideologies and values recognised in society, creating what has been called, in Johan Galtung's acceptance, "cultural violence". From the Neolithic to the contemporary period,

human societies have acquired, legitimized and perpetuated numerous "*aspects and symbols of violence*", such as - economic exploitation, corporal punishment, slavery, the division into social classes or castes, discrimination on various grounds, infanticide, political and religious ideologization, ethnic assimilation, detention, repression, wars of conquest, genocide (Galtung, 1990). All these traits have become socially acceptable and intensely practiced and sustained by members of society. At least in terms of the cultural normativity of corporal punishment, it has been observed that, in such societies, this practice acts as a catalyst for the intergenerational transfer of the prevalence of violence at the societal level (Lansford & Dodge, 2008).

The context of structural violence in agrarian and pre-industrial societies has redefined the socialization of the child in the family and community, inevitably imbuing the set of values and behaviours with elements of justification for violence, including with regards to corporal punishment applied normatively and equally to adults and children. With the propagation of the concept of "human rights", a process intensified in the last century of human history and extended to "children's rights", first in WEIRD societies and then globally, child socialization has again taken on the valence of positive non-violent education. Today, accepted parenting practices include, among other things, respect for skills and abilities specific to different periods of childhood, increasing autonomy and encouraging children's social participation and independence in decision-making, ensuring attachment bonds and involving fathers in child-rearing. The contemporary model is becoming similar to the Hunter-Gatherer Childhood model that, as we have shown, is characterized by adaptive parenting practices of ancestral human societies in ensuring the normal development and survival of children in extremely challenging ecological contexts. Parents in these societies adopt, in disciplining their children, an attitude of indulgence and tolerance towards behaviours that do not comply with parental requests or with the social norms of the groups in which they live. They even develop certain forms of social organization whose aim is to discourage physical aggression (e.g., the concept of *formal friendship* in the Canela Amazonian population of North-Eastern Brazil).

Box 1. Two contrasting examples of the absence/use of violence in child-rearing

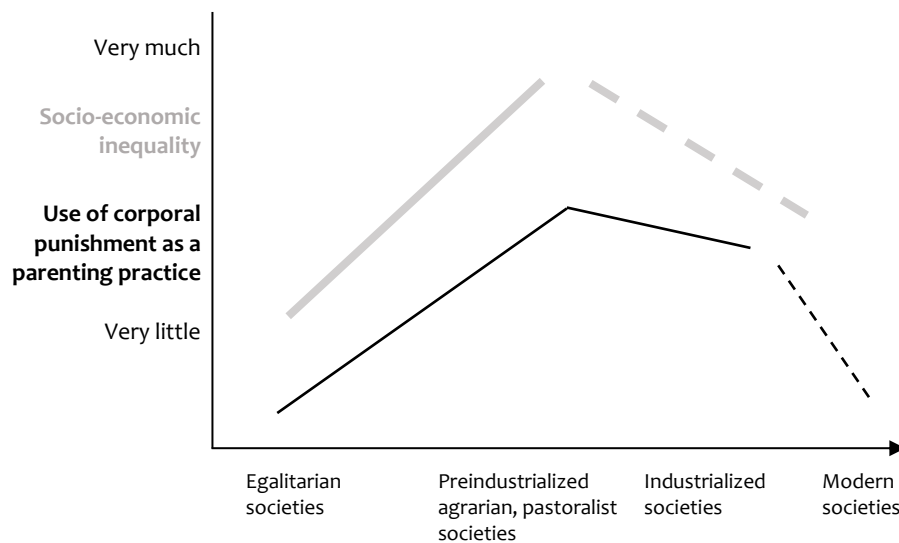
Discouraging violence in small-scale pacifist cultures. The Canela hunter-gatherer peoples of the Amazon rainforests have developed a social practice of formal friendship, a key concept of their identity, which consists of a lifelong bond established between two people from birth (by naming an adult as a formal friend for each child) in order to provide help and guidance at all times. This relationship, considered one of the most important in providing a sense of stability and predictability to members of the tribal community, involves mutual obligations and expectations, such as sharing food, protection and social support. It can lead to curtailment of the behaviour of the formal friend if he or she breaks essential rules, and taboos or commits acts of violence disapproved of by the group (including against children). For example, if one of the children is hit by the parent or is injured due to lack of parental attention, the child's formal friend sets up a sort of formal friendship "scene", with all members of the group attending to understand what happened and how the admonishment or punishment of the parents will evolve. The offending parent is blamed for the actions and given exactly the same treatment that the child has suffered. In addition, the parent will make a significant traditional payment to the formal friend and their

family, usually in the form of food. Formal friendship is a social control mechanism of a society oriented, like most other egalitarian cultures, towards non-confrontational/non-confrontational resolutions in almost all aspects of socialization (Nimuendaju & Lowie, 1946).

Valuing violence in stratified societies. In agrarian societies, where agricultural work is seen as a moral obligation for all family members to provide food, requiring strict adherence to rules and routines, physical punishment becomes the traditional method of child-rearing, tested and passed down from generation to generation. Considered by parents to be the effective everyday way of controlling and instilling obedience in children, in societies such as Tonga, Pawnee, Samoa, Guusi, Goajiro or Azande, the correction of children is carried out using methods that members of egalitarian societies and today's child rights activists would consider abuses and forms of torture that are hard to imagine. In the horticultural Azande population of Central Africa, a child accused of stealing is beaten with a horsewhip or forced to sit for minutes on a mound of ants whose stings cause intense physical pain (Hutereau, 1909). For insolence, disobedience or wasting food, a Goajiro child may be forced to eat until vomiting is induced or is slapped across the mouth, lashed with a lasso, branches torn from trees or a bunch of nettles. For acts considered more serious, children in these South American populations are put in net bags made of agave fibres, hung from the support poles of the shelter and spun until they become sick or faint (Gutiérrez & Muirden, 1950).

Using the perspective of economic equality, considered the norm of social life in hunter-gatherer societies, we can foreshadow the evolution of physical punishment by observing the historical process of global economic development. The graph of the evolution of socio-economic inequality between people in relation to global economic growth signals a significant non-linearity (Figure 3). To represent this evolutionary discontinuity in economic inequality in socially stratified societies, we use the simplified graphical interpretation of the correlations between the degree of socio-economic inequality and the level of economic development (Ember, Ember & Russett, 2009). We observe that the historical variation in economic inequality overlaps with that described in Figure 1 with respect to the evolution of physical punishment of children. The presence of equality is associated with the absence of violent methods of controlling children. And the emergence of the normativity of corporal punishment in agrarian human societies, where inequalities in the production and accumulation of economic resources and in the power of social roles are generated, is followed in recent decades by the intensification of economic development and the valorisation of the modern concept of human rights. Furthermore, it was noted the progressive transformation of this cultural pressure to punish children through acts of violence into a process of renormalization of positive discipline, by discouraging the use of physical violence in the upbringing and education of children through information, education and law.

Figure 3. Similarity of the distribution of socio-economic inequality and corporal punishment of children in relation to the level of economic development (Graph modified from Ember, Ember & Russett, 2009)

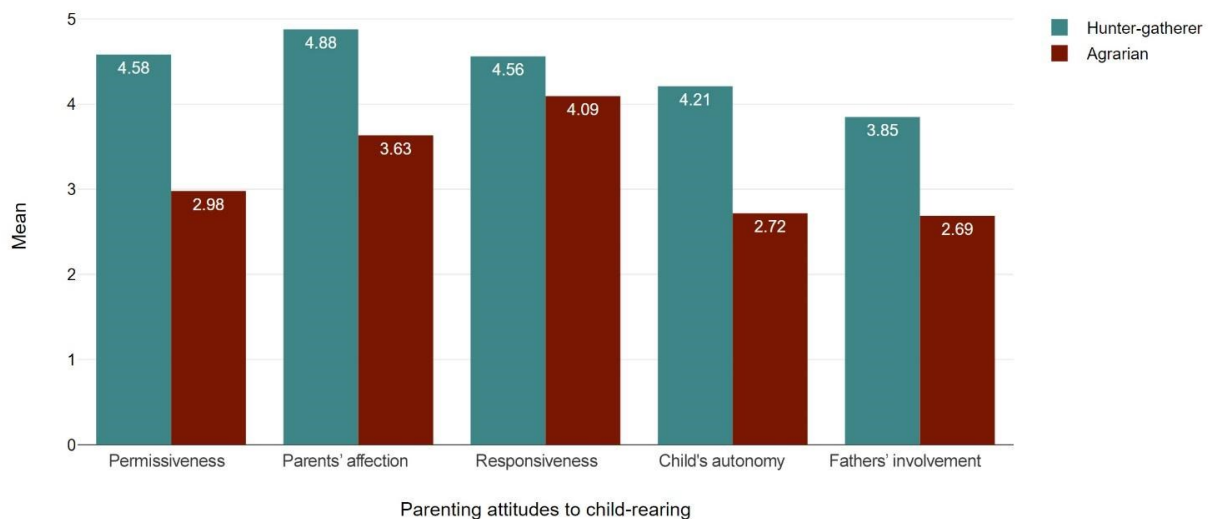


We consider the very low level to the total absence of corporal punishment in most egalitarian societies to be an example of a statistical universality of parents' indulgence towards children's behaviour expressed by their refusal to use any form of violence against children. This cultural trait has marked the evolution of human childhood in the environment of evolutionary adaptation specific to pre-agrarian societies. The non-violent nature of parent-child relationships, inherent in the globally extended hunter-gatherer societies, is suspended by the emergence of cultural violence dictated by the structural reorganization of agrarian, pre-industrial and industrial societies. Returning to the attribute of the universality of relating to parents with understanding and respect for the inherent dignity and vulnerability of children means regaining the natural right of children not to be subjected to physical punishment, even if this has meant creating a positive right to regulate the prohibition of corporal punishment through international conventions and nation-state laws. This perspective contrasts with the cultural typology of agrarian societies in which corporal punishment is a common technique of disciplining children and which is characterized by a belief in the efficacy and necessity of physical punishment and by the treatment of children as the property or reflection of parents. This social construction of childhood also incorporates the view that the needs and individuality of the child are secondary to social norms and the desire of parents to maintain their reputation and status within the community. This picture differs markedly from the absence of corporal punishment in hunter-gatherer societies which reflects a belief in the inherent worth and dignity of children and a recognition of their vulnerability and dependence on adults for protection and guidance.

Parental attitudes - permissiveness, affection, responsiveness, respect for the child's autonomy, and father involvement

As expected, all five parental attitudes included in the analysis scored higher in egalitarian societies than the results of agrarian cultures (Figure 4). The most pronounced disparity between the two types of cultures is related to the lenient nature of parental care (4.58 versus 2.98), with parents in hunter-gatherer groups being more permissive in dealing with their misbehaviour or initiatives, both in early childhood and later in puberty or adolescence. Moreover, children in these societies are even encouraged by their parents to explore and learn from their own experiences, and when rules are broken, they use positive methods to correct mistakes and reinforce good behaviour. The same large difference is found when comparing the values that the two cultures place on children's autonomy (4.21 versus 2.72).

Figure 4. Distribution of parental attitude scores in child rearing



The *overindulgent attitude towards children's behaviours*, even those considered risky, on the one hand, and the autonomy enjoyed by children in hunter-gatherer societies when deciding how to spend their time (playing, imitating adult activities, getting their own food or exploring), on the other, are mutually conditional. They are encouraged to explore the surroundings of their groups' temporary camps, to decide what activities they will engage in, and to learn by trial and error rather than by being directed to learn by adults, thus gaining strong problem-solving skills and a deep connection with other children or adults in the community. The same correlation is found in the case of children from agrarian cultures, whose level of parental intolerance of children's disobedience is correlated with the lack of independence of children burdened with responsibilities from the age of five. The relationship between children in agrarian societies and their parents is characterized by discipline and control; the benefits sought being linked to social order and the need for

continuous production and accumulation of resources. In both types of societies, these two variables, parental permissiveness and children's autonomy, show the strongest positive correlations: egalitarian societies $r = 0.63$, $p = <.001$; agrarian societies $r = 0.69$, $p = <.001$.

In hunter-gatherer societies, men and women contribute equally to obtaining food and other resources, and the division of labour is based more on biological differences, with men responsible for hunting, fishing and group protection, while women are more likely to be involved in gathering and childcare. Fathers play an important role in the upbringing and socialization of children, as protectors, sources of information and new experiences, passing on important cultural values, skills and traditions. Their role also extends to supporting mothers, with fathers in some populations spending several hours with newborns daily, much more than we find for fathers in contemporary European or North American societies (Konner, 2010). The graph above shows that the average involvement of fathers (3.85, N=65) in egalitarian societies corresponds to the high frequency of closeness (level 4), with fathers being the second most important person in community members' interactions with the child. Of the 65 cultures for which information is available, in 16 cases (level 5), – the father spends, with great attention and affection, at least a quarter of the total amount of time that the mother spends caring for the child, playing with the child or showing affection towards the child. In contrast, in agrarian, sedentary and socially stratified societies, the division of labour stems from rigid and socially constructed gender roles that refer to tasks and responsibilities based on expectations and social norms associated with male or female status. In this case, men are responsible for agricultural work, which takes them away from home for long periods and limits their ability to engage in childcare. The resulting value (2.69, N=29), which is lower than in egalitarian societies, signifies rare or occasional moments of interaction with children, with women being socially prescribed the tasks of childcare. The shift to sedentary life and agriculture brought changes in power dynamics in the family and human communities, and the emergence of patriarchy and male dominance can be traced historically to this period. As societies became more complex and hierarchical, men gained greater access to resources, political power and social status, while women were often assigned subservient positions (Goldberg, 1993).

Box 2. Cultural dissimilarity in parenting styles between hunter-gatherer and agrarian societies

Fathers' involvement. In the Aka tribes of the Congolese rainforests, fathers play a variety of roles in addition to providing food and protection, participating in childcare activities such as bathing, playing with children and carrying them. Fathers account for 22% of the total time newborns are held, while mothers account for 51% and other people, siblings or relatives, for 27%. Significantly, in the first 4 months of a child's life, the father/mother ratio is 0.43. In addition, pygmy fathers often have close emotional ties with their children and are highly involved in their socialization and upbringing in the community, receiving 11.5% of the child's attachment behaviours. This situation places them immediately after mothers as an important attachment figure for the child and ahead of any other person, equally contributing later, in middle childhood and adolescence, in the socialization and upbringing of children. "Mothers are much more likely to

provide food and carry the baby, while fathers are more likely to cuddle, kiss or bathe the infant while holding them." (Hewlett, 1991)

Child obedience. Parents in Gussi communities consider a "good" child to be one who immediately obeys the word of parents, other adults or older siblings, with children's initiatives viewed with disapproval and often punished with the cane. Thus, children's obedience must be trained from a very young age, sometimes as soon as a sibling is born. *"The child begins by carrying dishes of food from one house to another within the homestead. As time goes on, more and more errands of this kind are demanded of him. When the father wants to smoke a cigarette or the mother her pipe while sitting in the yard, any nearby child will be sent for a coal from the fireplace to ignite the tobacco. When visitors come, a small child is sent into the house for a stool. When a beer party is planned, children are sent to notify neighbours, and once it is underway they may be sent to other houses to borrow pots, kettles, and cups. [...] Disobedient or dawdling children are very likely to be caned by their parents or older siblings."* (Levine & Lloyd, 1966)

A parent's affection for his or her child refers to the emotional attachment that develops between a parent and child, characterized by ongoing physical contact, expression of feelings of warmth, love, and consistent caring behaviours. Research with subjects from contemporary societies has shown that there is rather a negative correlation between a parent's level of affection for their children and the use of physical punishment as a method of behaviour correction. Parents who use physical punishment tend to have lower levels of warmth and affection for their children, while those who rely on positive, non-violent forms of discipline generally have stronger and more affectionate bonds with their children (Brook et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2013). Ethnographic observations of egalitarian societies abound in descriptions of parents' affection for their children, defined as a positive interest in the child's immediate needs and attention manifested through hugs, caresses, nurturing gestures, and special ways of speaking to children under the age of two. Parents encourage prosocial behaviour by systematically reacting to aggression between children. Regardless of the difficulties in caring for children in natural environments, parents show total devotion to children whose childhood in these societies is generally devoid of responsibilities. With the exception of three cultures that offered children, in moderation, attention and signs of affection, in all the other cultures analysed, parents repeatedly and intensely expressed positive emotions towards the child and interest in the child's well-being, providing constant physical contact and breastfeeding, on-demand and at night, in the child's early years until the birth of a child. Thus, the mean for egalitarian cultures reaches the highest value compared to the other variables included (4.88), by more than one point compared to agrarian societies (3.63). In the case of agrarian societies, the variations between cultures are very large. There are societies in which children enjoy the affection of their parents all the time, whereas in others, the expression of attachment occurs only in the first two or three years of a child's life, with parents, especially fathers, being under social pressure in their communities to conform to social norms and expectations that limit the open expression of affection. Another explanation for this difference lies in the fact that in agrarian societies children are often seen as a workforce with responsibilities, contributing as adults to the family's livelihood, which implies a greater need for strict discipline.

Aggressiveness is perceived in egalitarian societies as a threat to inter-human relationships expressed through the attributes of social non-competitiveness and autonomy enjoyed by all, including children. Therefore, corporal punishment, as a technique of socialization of children, can be described from the perspective of associating its absence or presence with the values of parental attitudes, such as permissiveness, showing affection, availability to the child's immediate needs, respect for the child's autonomy and the father's involvement in the child's care and stimulation. In the hunter-gatherer societies sample, the Pearson correlation performed indicates a significant association between the absence of corporal punishment and parents' displays of affection ($r = 0.311$, $p = .004$) and, respectively, with the attitude of respect for children's independence ($r = 0.34$, $p = .003$). Although the results show a medium correlation, they confirm that in cultures that do not aim to control children's time and activities and obedience to parents, the use of punishment is no longer justified. Observation, imitation and personal experience underlie children's socialization, and the need to discipline the child in certain situations critical to children's safety often falls to the concern of the other members of the extended family or social group, thus keeping intact the bond between parents and their children, characterized by leniency towards their behaviour. Significant correlations also exist in relation to lenient attitudes towards children's displays ($r = 0.23$, $p = .04$), characterized by permissiveness and lack of punishment or disapproving reactions from parents, and the level of father's involvement in child-rearing ($r = 0.28$, $p = .025$).

Table 3. Correlations of corporal punishment with parental attitudes - hunter-gatherer societies

	r	p (2-tailed)	Valid cases	Significance level
Permissiveness/ control & corporal punishment	0.23	.04	N = 78	0.05
Affection & corporal punishment	0.31	.004	N = 81	0.05
Responsiveness & corporal punishment	0.08	.54	N = 66	0.05
Child's autonomy & corporal punishment	0.34	.003	N = 75	0.05
Fathers' involvement & corporal punishment	0.28	.025	N = 65	0.05

The concept of parental responsiveness refers to the extent to which parents are attentive and respond promptly to children's needs and cues, an attitude that creates strong attachment bonds and helps the child acquire self-confidence and necessary social skills. Referring mainly to children 0-3 years old, dependent on their mother's care and under the care of other adults, older siblings or the whole group, parental responsiveness is a universal cultural trait that is found in both cultures with similar mean values (4.56 - egalitarian societies; 4.09 - stratified societies). In the case of certain hunter-gatherer cultures (Aka, Bofi, Inuit, Manus or Warao), multiple instances of fathers' responsible

participation in responding immediately to signals of discomfort or distress when in the proximity of children are described. Exceptional responsiveness in these egalitarian societies involves prolonged physical contact through long periods of carrying, significant eye contact throughout the day, playful interaction with children, and breastfeeding on demand for periods of between two and four years, which is difficult to find in agrarian societies, where fathers have to spend more time on subsistence activities. However, we did not find a positive and significant correlation between corporal punishment and parents' behaviour to respond immediately to children's needs and requests ($r = 0.08, p = .54$), with significant associations between indulgence, display of affection, autonomy enjoyed by children, fathers' involvement in children's socialization, on the one hand, and extremely low incidence of corporal punishment, on the other. By contrast, in agrarian societies, the association is strong, with parents' interest in supervising their child's social experiences and reacting to any positive or negative events related to the child obviously much higher ($r = 0.42, p = .023$).

Table 4. Correlations of corporal punishment with parental attitudes - agrarian societies

	r	p (2-tailed)	Valid cases	Significance level
Permissiveness/ control & corporal punishment	0.81	<.001	N = 45	0.05
Affection & corporal punishment	0.75	<.001	N = 36	0.05
Responsiveness & corporal punishment	0.42	.023	N = 29	0.05
Child's autonomy & corporal punishment	0.62	.001	N = 41	0.05
Fathers' involvement & corporal punishment	0.55	.004	N = 25	0.05

We find very high correlations between the five attitudinal forms of parenting and corporal punishment as a primary method of correcting children. There is a very high positive correlation between the use of corporal punishment and parents' lack of leniency towards their children ($r = 0.81, p = <.001$), and a high correlation, respectively, with activity control and the imposition of tasks under threat on children ($r = 0.62, p = .001$). Parents in agrarian societies are less lenient and harsher towards children's non-compliance with rules set by the parents or community norms, thus resorting to physical punishment that will become intergenerationally transmitted tools. Also, attitudes of emotional neglect and reduced expression of affection towards children and limited father involvement in child rearing correlated strongly with the choice of physical punishment for behavioral discipline ($r = 0.75, p = <.001$, respectively $r = 0.55, p = .004$). In contrast to egalitarian societies where the father plays an important role in the socialization of children, in agrarian societies he is of little relevance, his role being predominantly that of sanctioning children's mistakes and

disobedience in carrying out the tasks imposed on them. The agrarian father, together with the mother, is a key initiator of cultural integration and the acquisition of specific skills to ensure economic resources for the family.

Discussion and conclusions

Based on the understanding of culture as a holistic concept comprising *cultural values* (fundamental principles and collective ideals about right and wrong), *beliefs* (moral beliefs or beliefs stemming from observation and knowledge) and *practices of a culture* (symbols, traditions, rituals, behaviors and social structures), the idea of a subculture of corporal punishment cannot be supported, regardless of the prevalence of violence or the material complexity of a society. Therefore, a culture of violence against children becomes impossible to imagine, the instrumentalization and generational perpetuation of violence in parenting practices would reduce the chances of survival of societies described in this way. Attempts to represent such human societies as dominated by violence as a cultural ideal have existed in the history of anthropology. For example, the Yanamamö culture of the Amazonian forests has consistently been invoked by anthropologists as a society of "fierce people" (Chagnon, 1983), in which violence was the behavioural pattern and generalized warfare the social pattern. Rigorous analyses of ethnographic representations revealed the sensationalist and unscientific nature of this description, which in fact reflected cultural ethnocentrism motivated and reinforced by the Hobbesian-inspired perception of the "primitivism" of man's original nature (Bandura, 1989).

From this conceptual perspective of culture, the concepts of *cultural context* (Whiting, 1980) and *cultural learning environment* (Whiting & Edwards, 1988) are particularly relevant to a correct understanding of the cultural significance of physical punishment in the socialization of children. They refer to all dimensions (macro and micro) of the varied contexts of the child's daily life determined by factors such as, the individual (age, gender, social status), the family (parenting practices, socio-economic status), the activities in which the child is involved (play, education, work) and the social relationships (with members of the biological family, extended family or social networks or structures with which the child interacts). Contemporary socialization models have taken this view further, formulating the *developmental niche theory* of the child, with its own characteristics and competencies under the non-arbitrary influence of the cultural context (Super & Harkness, 1986). According to this theory, the child's environment consists of three subsystems:

- the physical and social context,
- the cultural practices of care and protection, and the current community activities aimed at the child's upbringing, and
- the so-called parenting ethno-theories expressed through the caregivers' belief or knowledge system that reflect social, empirical or normative expectations (Raghavan, Harkness, & Super, 2010).

The complexity of socio-demographic contexts will give rise to different interactional mechanisms within the social group. Thus, a parent's decision to use physical

correction in disciplining a child will not be the invariable response to the frequency or severity of violence in a society; but will result from their own culturally determined understanding of their parental responsibility and the usefulness of punishment in eliciting submissive behaviour in children, in a social context where strict role distribution is a condition of securing the means of subsistence and cultural integration.

The universality of "carefree" childhood (Konner, 2005) in hunter-gatherer societies helps to substantiate and validate the theoretical model of the "near-universal" character of the absence of physical punishment in these human groups, providing the example of a universal "expressed in the negative" (Brown, 1991), which we can qualify as a near-universal-negative. Thus, from an evolutionary point of view, the pattern of positive, non-violent discipline practiced by parents in egalitarian societies with regard to the vulnerable period of childhood can be seen as a product of the interaction between biology and culture in the evolution of child care, protection and behavioural guidance. The continuity of this phenomenon was "suspended" ten millennia ago with the sedentarization of human societies and the invention of agriculture, which caused a reversal of the fundamental patterns of hunter-gatherer cultures (egalitarianism, autonomy and resource sharing), with consequences for the child's social status and child-rearing methods. Under unavoidable societal pressures, dictated by other survival strategies in which obedience, property, and strong social stratification play key roles, including in contemporary history, social control of the child has meant, among other things, the use of corporal punishment, the high incidence of which dominates current parenting practices. Agriculture has not necessarily changed the basic tenets of parenting, such as responsiveness, display of affection, and cooperation in parenting, but rather has transformed the ecological and social contexts to which parents have adapted their parenting attitudes (Diamond, 2013).

Hunter-gatherer societies provide useful parenting benchmarks in today's complex society characterized by socio-cultural norms influenced by the process of globalization and the normative aspects of the fundamental principle of the best interests of the child. Some of the parental practices of hunter-gatherer societies, conceptually embedded in hunter-gatherer childhood, correspond to the recommendations of contemporary psychologists and normative requirements for respect of children's rights (Chaudhary & Swanepoel, 2023; Narvaez et al., 2014; Bjorklund, 2021). For example, in the critical period of early childhood development and for an optimal attachment bond with family members, fundamentals are proven to be: affectionate behaviours and physical contact between mother or other adult caregivers, co-sleeping method (sleeping in the same room or in the same bed with parents), breastfeeding on demand and for periods longer than six months, continuous responsiveness to the child's biological needs before or immediately after the onset of signs of discomfort, and prioritizing engagement in communication or interactive and stimulating play. *Alloparents'* involvement, specific to both types of small-scale societies, where other people outside the nuclear family, such as relatives, friends, and other adults in the child's social circle, take on temporary child-rearing and care tasks, creating care networks with their own experiential resources and communication methods that can provide children with alternative or complementary social models and perspectives. Also, increasing children's autonomy by stimulating exploration, curiosity

and creativity in initiating and organizing play activities in groups of children of different ages, in nature or using natural objects, allowing them to take certain risks, reasonable from the perspective of their physical safety, contributes to increasing resilience and developing cognitive, physical and social skills. Last but not least, focusing education on the intrinsic value of an activity in which the child is involved, rather than competition, reward or punishment, using specific, descriptive rather than general and critical feedback, eliminating any form of physical, humiliating or degrading punishment. In terms of agrarian parenting practices, these emphasize the social significance of discipline and responsibility in socially stratified societies of all kinds, including modern societies. While discipline can take many forms, including the reinforcement of positive behaviours, it becomes important for parents to set clear boundaries and expectations for their children. Parents can promote responsibility and self-confidence by encouraging children to take on age-appropriate tasks and commitments in the absence of adult control. Similar to hunter-gatherer societies, parents express concern for their children, valuing them as important members of their communities and potential contributors to the family's efforts for subsistence and survival, seeking to establish strong emotional bonds with them.

Therefore, bringing to the attention of childhood researchers and practitioners the attitudes and techniques of socialization of children in egalitarian and agrarian societies provides a useful historical-anthropological perspective. The reassessment of the condition of the child in the last century and the efforts of international institutions to promote the normative prohibition of all forms of violence against children has meant a return to features of the environment of evolutionary adaptation of human childhood that predate agrarian societies. The socio-cultural norms of the contemporary world predominantly validate the control and sanctioning of children's misbehaviour or undesirable behaviour through physical punishment. For this reason, the analysis of the cultural aspects that encourage positive discipline and allow for permissive and non-punitive parental relationships with children is likely to contribute to the foundation of the child's natural right to social participation and protection from all forms of violence, fundamental principles of the international architecture defined by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

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Annex 1. Attitudes of parents or other primary caregivers and corporal punishment

Culture	Type of society	Parents' attitudes					Corporal punishment
		Permissiveness/control	Parents' affection	Parents' responsiveness	Child autonomy	Fathers' involvement	
Abipón	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	4	5
Aché (Guayaki)	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	5	5	3	5
Agta (Aeta)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	3	5
Ainu	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	2	3	4
Aka	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	4
Aleut	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	5	3	3	5
Alutiiq (Eskimo)	Hunter-gatherer	4	4	4	3	3	3
Amahuaca (Yora)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5		4		5
Andaman	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	4	5
Aranda	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	4	5	3	4
Arapaho	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	4	4	4	4
Arawak	Hunter-gatherer	4	5		3	4	3
Assiniboine	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	4	4	3	5
Baka (BaYaka, Mbendjele, Suku)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Barama River Carib	Hunter-gatherer	4	5		3	3	4
Blackfoot	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	4	5	4	5
Bofi	Hunter-gatherer	5	4	5	5	5	5
Bororo	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	4	5
Canela	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	4	4
Chabu	Hunter-gatherer	4	5		4	3	3
Cheyenne	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	4	5	4	5
Chinook	Hunter-gatherer		5			4	5
Chipewyan	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5		4
Comanche	Hunter-gatherer	5	5		4	3	5
Creek	Hunter-gatherer	4	4	4	3	2	3
Crow	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	2	4
Delaware	Hunter-gatherer	4	4	3	3	3	5
Dorobo (Okiek)	Hunter-gatherer		4			3	4
Eastern Apache (Chiricahua)	Hunter-gatherer	4	5		4	4	4
Gros Ventre - Hidatsa	Hunter-gatherer	3	5	5	3	2	5
Hadza	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5

Innu (East Main Cree, Montagnais, Naskapi)	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	5	3	3	5
Inuit (Copper Inuit, Eskimo)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Island Carib (Kalinago)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5		5
Kaska	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	5	3	3	5
Koryak	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	4	5
Makushi	Hunter-gatherer		5	5			5
Manus	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Maori	Hunter-gatherer	5	5		4	3	5
Maricopa	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	2			5
Martu	Hunter-gatherer	5	4	5	5	3	5
Mataco (Wichí)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	4	5
Mbuti	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	5	4	5	5
Mi'kmaq	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	4	5
Miskito	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4		4
Munduruku	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	3	5
Nambicuara	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Nayaka	Hunter-gatherer	5	5		5		5
Nenets (Samoyed)	Hunter-gatherer	4	5		4	4	
Nivkh	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	4	5
Northern Paiute	Hunter-gatherer	3	4	5	3	4	4
Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	5	5
Nuxalk (Bella Coola)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5			4
Ojibwa (Chippewa, Saulteaux)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	4	5
Omaha	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	5	3	4	4
Ona	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	5	5
Osage	Hunter-gatherer	4			3		5
Parakanā	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	2	5		5
Pirahã	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	2	4		5
Pomo	Hunter-gatherer	5	5		5		4
Punan - Penan	Hunter-gatherer		5		5	5	4
Quinault	Hunter-gatherer	4	5		5		4
San (!Kung)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Semang (Batek)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Senoi	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5		4	5

Sirionó	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	4	4	4	5
Stoney (Nakoda)	Hunter-gatherer		5				5
Tehuelche	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Terena	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	4	4		4
Tícuna	Hunter-gatherer	4	4	4	3	3	4
Tiwi	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	4	5
Tlingit	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	3	4	4	4
Trumai	Hunter-gatherer	4	4	2	5	4	5
Tupinamba	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	5	5
Ute	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	4	3	5
Vedda	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	3	5
Warao (Guaraúno)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Western Apache	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	4	5	4	4
Western Woods Cree	Hunter-gatherer	4	5		4	3	5
Winnebago/Ho-Chunk	Hunter-gatherer		5	5			5
Xokleng (Kaingang)	Hunter-gatherer	5	5	5	5	5	5
Yahgan	Hunter-gatherer	4	5	5	3	4	4
Yokut	Hunter-gatherer	4	4		3		3
Yuki	Hunter-gatherer	4					5
Yurok	Hunter-gatherer	2		3	2		5
Abenaki	Agrarian		5	5			5
Akan	Agrarian	2	3	4	2	3	2
Alorese	Agrarian	1	2	1	2	2	2
Aymara	Agrarian	4	3	4	1	2	4
Azande	Agrarian	2	4	5	1	2	1
Bagísu	Agrarian	3	4		2	3	
Banyoro	Agrarian	4					3
Bemba	Agrarian	4		4	3		
Bena	Agrarian	4	4	5	4	3	
Bhil	Agrarian	2			2		2
Bofi (fermieri)	Agrarian	3			3		3
Canelos Quichua - Quechua	Agrarian	4	5	4	3	3	5
Eastern Toraja	Agrarian	3	5	5	2		4
Fon	Agrarian	2	4		1		2
Fox	Agrarian	3	4	5	4		4
Garo	Agrarian	4	5		4	4	4

Goajiro	Agrarian	2	1		2	3	1
Gusii	Agrarian	1	2	4	1	1	1
Havasupai	Agrarian	4	5	5	5		4
Hopi	Agrarian	3	4	5	3		4
Huron - Wendat	Agrarian	5	5	5	5	4	5
Iban	Agrarian	4	5	4	3		5
Inka	Agrarian	1			1		1
Iroquois	Agrarian	4	4	4	4	3	5
Kogi	Agrarian	1	3	2	2	1	2
Kpelle	Agrarian	3	4	4	2	2	3
Kuna	Agrarian	4	5	4	4		5
Kwoma	Agrarian	3		4		2	3
Maasai	Agrarian	3	3		2	2	4
Malekula	Agrarian		4	4		2	4
Mapuche - Araucanian	Agrarian	3	4			2	4
Maya (Yucatán Peninsula)	Agrarian	3	4	3	2		4
Mentawaians	Agrarian	4	2		4		
Ndyuka	Agrarian				2	4	
Nupe	Agrarian		4			4	
Otavalo Quichua	Agrarian	4	5	5	3	4	5
Ovimbundu	Agrarian	2	2	3	3		3
Pawnee	Agrarian	1			2		1
Rmeet	Agrarian	3			2		4
Rungus Dusun	Agrarian	4	5	5	3	4	4
Rwala	Agrarian	3			3		3
Saami	Agrarian	4			3		3
Samoans	Agrarian	2	2	3	1		1
Saramaka	Agrarian	3	4	4		2	2
Seminole	Agrarian	2	3		2		2
Shipibo	Agrarian	3	2		3	2	2
Teda	Agrarian				4		4
Tikopia	Agrarian	4	3	4		4	4
Tiv	Agrarian	3	3		4		3
Tonga	Agrarian	2	1	3	3	2	1
Tzeltal	Agrarian	3	4	5	3	3	3
Wolof	Agrarian	2		5	2	3	4

Yanoama	Agrarian	4	4	4	4	2	4
Zapotec	Agrarian	4	4		4		4