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A Survey of Maternal Instinct of Contemporary Feminists Based on the Theories of Simone De Beauvoir's Homogeneity and Heterogeneity

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Abstract:

*A survey of *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir, known as the mother of feminists, shows that she was trying to reject maternal instinct. She considers maternity a kind of slavery for women and demands that women not get married and particularly avoid having babies to end the patriarchy system if they want to succeed in their lives. Some of the feminist movement activists disagreed with her views; consequently, there emerged a gap between them. Some of them believed that maternity is a privilege for women that cannot possibly be reached by men. They maintain that women are born to be mothers, something which is in their nature. In recent years, following Simone de Beauvoir, Elisabeth Badinter once again posed the issue of maternal instinct and rejected it. Her views were criticized by some feminists including Sarah Blaffer Hrdy who believes that during pregnancy and having babies, women's bodies exude hormones indicating maternal instinct. Furthermore, several authors currently rejected what feminists had said earlier and represented a new figure of mothers. They present a mother not as a passive person who is away from social activities, but as an active one in different areas while doing things concerning their children. However, since being a mother and giving birth to children have got limitations, in recent years, efforts have been made to provide coordination between the job condition in the society and the condition of pregnant mothers or those having babies to be able to compromise between motherhood and freedom so that they prosper scientifically, educationally, economically and politically.*

Keywords: *Feminism, maternal instinct, Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex*

1. Introduction

Maternal instinct according to general understanding of public is considered equal to maternal love and devotion but in fact has a different definition. People usually mention Maternal instinct when they intended to express the hardship and challenges any mother will undergo in protecting their children. Yet, there are other definitions and interpretations in the fields of literature, social and empirical sciences, psychology, and philosophy for this concept. Regarding to the numerous encyclopedias instinct is defined as a kind of natural or internal tendency in living organisms which will be resulted in certain type of behavioral reflexes and are innate rather than acquired in human. In other words, instinct is a kind of natural reflection towards a specific action and there is no logical intention in doing so. However, there are people who consider instinct a type of mutual reflection shared between animals and humans to survive. Instincts such as eating, sleeping, and sexual desires are among the major instincts. But could maternal instinct be considered as one of such; since it involves in taking care of a child?

If so, is this peculiar instinct innate in every female's body? Or could it be an acquired one affected them from a social behavior? If it is innate, can we say it's the same tendency girls have from their very young ages to watch after and take care of their dolls and their siblings equally? Or can we say their instinct appear after conceiving in the body of a mother-to-be? If we accept this is an innate instinct hidden in all females, then why some women do not like to have children to such extent this dislike resulted in hatred? If we accept the instinct will appear in all women after conceiving had taken place, how can we justify filicide, child abuse, or the dislike of women to take their children into their bosom? Can we say maternal instinct and maternal devotion are actually the same in nature? Or these are two different concepts?

In this research, we are looking for the similarities and differences regarding the idea of contemporary feminists mostly based on the theories expressed by Simone de Beauvoir in her famous book "*The Second Sex*"¹.

2. Feminism and Maternal Instinct

Women rights and defending it is one of the most frequent disputes of our time. Research on the historical aspect and background of this problem proves it has great importance; not only affected many of the social and political changes but had a critical role in the process of these changes which consequently resulted in the appearance of the three groups of feminisms. Each of these groups had their own particular concern and studies show sometimes there was great differences between their fields, goals, and programs to the

¹ De Beauvoir, S. (2015). *The Second Sex*, Random House

extend in many cases they stood against each other. Therefore, there is no one particular definition regarding each of the trio. Among these differences, we can mention the recent case of maternal instinct. Dr. Daphne Demaroff, PhD in psychiatry of Harvard and Berkley universities CA.; has published a book entitled “*Maternal Desire*”² and discussed the case on 10 chapters. She expresses: one of the goals of feminism in the recent 25 years was to remove the sacrificing and devoted mother concept.... tremendous changes occurred because of our ability in controlling conception due to the abundance of education and economical sources and inferred the right and choice of becoming a mothers to women in a unexpected way.

Simone de Beauvoir’s “*The Second Sex*” was a really a revolutionary book and brought fort for women recognition of their identities and illustrated the differences between femininity and motherhood. Although, prior to the event the women had started their career in positions considered being manly and equally had decided to reduce the numbers of pregnancy. However, there were several people among them who had a clear justification about their goals and activities. In fact, de Beauvoir proved they should individually decide whether they wish become a mother or not by removing holiness from motherhood concept. She asserted the motherhood issue in a scientific way and explained the choice should discuss from biological, historical, psychological, mythological, and legal aspects as well. She shattered the bases of dominance of the idea of maternal love over women and discouraged the concept of persuasion women to serve their children and families for such purposes as reproduction and nationalistic values. De Beauvoir believed being a “bad mother” could only be justified by lack of maternal instinct and claimed considering such instinct innate in women will resulted in nothing but pain and suffering for those lacking it.

According to her, limiting the significance of women to a means of reproduction is actually degrading and decreasing their human values to the level of animals and what they perform for survival. In de Beauvoir’s view the ability of reproduction makes women to become slaves to men and consequently resulted in the belief of superiority of men. Soon her idea started to gain attention and were discussed in scientific and psychological circle. Yet her ideas were daring enough so that made many thinkers of the age to review their own thoughts. Another very illuminating sources in feminism is considered to be *The Feminine Mystique*, a book published by the American feminist writer and activist Betty Friedan. She believes the concept of motherhood had been imposed upon women in order to limit them to household activities so that to deprive them from their rights and abilities.

It is worth mentioning, since the start of women campaign to become united in their fight against all unjust treatments; there always were disagreement as a sort of gap among all feminist groups and consequently they were unable to reach a certain definition about their theories and political discussions neither about feminism nor a maternal instinct.

Therefore, from historical aspect feminism is divided into three separate periods each of which was under the impression of a distinguished movement with very different feminine demands as followings:

- The first wave started in early years of 1800 and ended about the last year of 1930’s which expresses the first universal women campaign protesting against sexual injustice. In this period, their fundamental demands were right of voting, education as well as having a career.
- The second wave brought great changes and started in mid 1960’s and continued up to late 1970’s. During their second phase feminist activities concentrated on the right of having babies, abortion, and birth control methods. Furthermore, putting an end on violence against women was one of the serious issues of the phase.
- The third wave started in 1980’s and still goes on. After gaining their right and partial equalities, women start fighting for their presence in cultural and artistic activities. They wanted to prove they are not less talented than men in such fields and the reason why they have been pushed aside in fact is the impression of numerous social concepts about women.

The importance and attention given to the issue of motherhood and maternity actually started in the second period and gained the attention of many of the theoretician. Although, motherhood and feminism always stand opposite generally according to the activist of the movement marriage and motherhood are considered as means of suppressing women. She mentioned there is a fundamental gap between all feminist groups which most of the time is ignored. The activists in their movement fall into two major groups.

3. The Differentialists and the Universalists

- The differentialist believe in the differences of male and female sexes and assert that motherhood is a privilege for women and although out their writings consider it a superiority over men and accepting the fact that men can never bear children. They rely on the fact there is an exceptional biological relation between a mother and her child because they have such a natural and closer bond than the men. The group also believe because of the certain instinct, almost all women possess, they are much sacrificing trainers. The opponent group believe such concepts socially will result in the spread of demands over women to carry out their duties as protection for their husbands and children and consequently enforce the idea of male superiority in protest to which the feminist roared. Among the most eminent activists of the later groups are Antoinette Fouque⁵, Sylviane Agacinski⁶, Hélène Cixous⁷, and Julia Kristeva⁸. Agacinski believe that motherhood should be interpreted as an ability and it must claim power. Julia Kristeva suggests the younger generation of feminists must value the ability of being a mother. Daphne Demaroffe in her book “*Maternal Desire*” explains: To this date many ideas have been expressed about motherhood and in fact over almost any book self you can find several issues of magazine dealing with the subject. You also can watch or listen to stations broadcasting something on the subject and giving advice as solution, as one kind of confession or else on the subject. Yet, one problem had not been dealt fully and it is the desire of women to become mothers. The desire of being a mother is not equal to bare children but it is the desire to take care of them and of course there is a great difference between their tendency and the force and impose to carry out mother duties. Maternal instinct, desire of becoming a mother is in fact an enthusiasm for training children and to have mutual relation with them.

² De Marneffe. d. (2005). *Maternal Desire*, Publisher : Back Bay Books

- The Universalists or generalists are a group many believe the most eminent figure among them is Simone de Beauvoir. They do not accept the biological differences could have resulted in behavioral and sexual differences; and say the universal aspect of human being is the most important quality. This group consider problems arouse under the influence of society and culture and conclude such problems are subject to changes. The universalist asserts the equality between the two sexes of male and female could only have been reached through demolishing the traditional and old patterns of the society. They believed motherhood throughout history been expressed via patriarchal view and male concept in all fields of religion, art, medicine, psychology was dominant and as the result women abilities been ignored and they themselves somehow suppressed. According to this group, motherhood is slavery and will prevent women from improvement. Beside Simone de Beauvoir, Élizabeth Badinter and Christine Delphy are great supporters of the mentioned concept. Élizabeth Badinter among all theoreticians expressed more facts about maternal instinct and by publishing many books tried to deny the existence of such an instinct.

4. Simone de Beauvoir and Maternal Instinct

Simone de Beauvoir, regardless of her very controversial theories about motherhood, is the one among the French feminists referred as “the mother” of the movement. She is one of the pioneers of feminism and her famous book *“The Second Sex”* believed to be the Bible of the movement. In this book, she rejected such case as maternal instinct in women and protested the concept of mother and motherhood explaining it is the main reason women have been deferred from improvement. According to de Beauvoir children deprive women from carrying outside activities such as political and social ones and consequently force them to spend more time dealing with children and household matters and accordingly waste the best years of their lives and therefore it is slavery. Since de Beauvoir was a philosopher and an Existentialist as well as a feminist writer in *“The Second Sex”* she explained according to her “human is not been borne but becomes a woman” and therefore the girls accept certain kinds of cultural roles because of the impact of their society. She believes the current cultural structures including motherhood prevent women from becoming financially independent and remain under the dominance of men. One of the chapters of her book was entitled “mothers” where she discusses the concept of motherhood in women. She starts the chapter by defending the right of abortion and shifts to problems women encounter having unwanted pregnancy as well as the danger of secret abortions and consequently condemn the entire laws of the time considering abortion illegal. According to her a fetus is nothing but “an unwanted human tissue” and in this respect, humiliates not only the value of a child but being a mother either. She refers to fetus in an odd way and tries to prove that a female body form biological point is not ready to accept the embryo and explains that a fetus is nothing but a useless flashy mole in female body who tries to repel it out via vomiting:

“This useless flashy mole produced by body is an alien in her body and gets bigger day after day inside the mother. The pregnant woman is trapped by a species that forces its existence on her and she even becomes alien with herself and feels frightened and vomiting is the expression to show this alienation. Part of this nausea is due to the gastric secretion and the changes happened at the time. Yet, this reaction becomes very important when we cannot observe this reflex in other mammal species. The fact proves the nausea and vomiting is due to psychological motivation that occurs in female human beings and differ from one species to an individual. Even if a female is willing to have a baby in early stages despise it. emphasizes this fact that in some pregnant women anxiety and nausea is due to the rejection of the child in their bodies and if will admitted the gastric problems will be increased....All symptoms such as thirst, lack of appetite, and hatred is the body expression to indicate the doubt and dislike of keeping the embryo.”

Simone de Beauvoir explain even the newborn infant will not bring positive sensation to the mother. In addition to the hardship of labor she experiences an eagerness to accept the newborn part of her body but soon she realizes the fact the infant is an independent being and this brought depression and hopelessness to the female.

Although, the mother had spent the pregnancy with this creature yet have no mutual sense with it. Furthermore, during the months of pregnancy the women would have imagined the baby in her fantasies and actually enjoyed doing so; but after delivery she realizes this being is real and far from her imaginations and the truth brought much depression to her. According to de Beauvoir there are many women who immediately start a very close relation with their newborns and start breast feeding them yet there are others who cannot accept the fact and the astonishment and carelessness of the early hours linger on them for a long time. In fact, she asserts some babies appear attractive and unique to their mother while many became the source of hatred. Elements such as fear of accepting a new responsibility, the entire hormonal and physical changes, problems regarding her relation with the husband provides such strange emotions in her towards the baby. She finally very seriously rejects the maternal instinct and writes:

“These examples are sufficient to prove there is no such thing as the maternal instinct and the word is not an appropriate one to express human behavior. A mother’s behavior will be justified through the method of accepting the new condition and as mentioned such conditions are very much prone to change. However, the truth is if these changes will be proper and suitable, the mother would be enriched by the child.”

Such a concept in 21st century even by de Beauvoir who had rejected the maternal instinct and was able to convince many of her contemporaries still needs much research.

Regardless of her ideas and the fact she decided to remain childless; she admitted that once she was in love with her cousin and if she could many him most probably had children and was very attached to them. But her enthusiasm to continue her studies resulted in meeting Sartre whom was against having children and the view of any pregnant women made him sick!

Undoubtedly, friendship with such a man had affected her ideas. In fact, de Beauvoir accuses not the motherhood phenomenon but primarily the choice to become a passive mother and intentionally sacrifice all social responsibilities for the sake of the family and children. She wishes to see a fundamental change in life, activities and presence of all mothers as real citizen in social activities. De

Beauvoir believes that supporting this fact that only through becoming a mother a woman can be considered equal to men is a deceive. She also rejects forcing any mother and her child to be exclusively faithful to one another. She explains even the piety of motherhood has dominated by men; because only through marriage bearing a child would be accepted by the society. A single mother will always receive humiliation and consequently the case will have referred to social impact on motherhood:

“Many individuals consider motherhood being a pious right but it is not so. Women gained their voting right in a different way and when a young girl becomes pregnant without marriage she still has to tolerate much humiliation. Therefore, only through marriage motherhood considered to be honorable meaning when she is dominated by a husband. As the man is the head of the family and the main financial source, regardless of all her efforts the woman will be accepted as the secondary important individual to children and as a matter of fact the parent’s relation will be affected by the relation of children with their mother.”

Such ideas expressed in “*The Second Sex*” was accepted by great number of women because during the era the feminists were fighting for the right of “self-reliance conception” and their motto “having a baby if I wish and whenever I wish” was one of their fundamental goals.

Simone de Beauvoir goes on and writes: “one day may be, through collaboration, men will no longer be needed in the process of reproduction ... and reaching this stage is the real goal for women. “Among those feminists who thought in the same direction as de Beauvoir we can mention Schulamith Firestone. In her book “*The Dialectic of Sexes*”³ she explains that the biological nature of reproduction is the actual reason for dominating women and the cause of dividing the responsibilities regarding the matter of sex and believe “motherhood” should be omitted from lexicon as a word or concept. Firestone continues the existence of day cares and bottle feeding put an end for the need of a real mother. She asserts: “the most important wish of feminist’s social order is to free women from the concept of being a biological means for reproduction in whatever possible method.”

It is worth mentioning, this idea of de Beauvoir and Firestone was fiercely criticized by other feminist activists because they believed both had ignored the most important superiority women possess, the only characteristic differentiates them from men. Accordingly they say men had great achievements in almost all technological fields and if they will be able to invent a method as desired by de Beauvoir and Firestone; the women will lose all their grounds inside family, society, and the ability of reproduction as well and will be suppressed eternally.

Many of the contemporary writers are against this concept of rejecting motherhood. Among them we can refer to Monique LaRue the Canadian who writes in French. In an interview published in Canadian International Studies and Researches magazine explain how her own youth and reproductive period was under the influence of feminist propaganda against child borne and caused she herself decide not to have any children and thus the major motivation for the publication of her book is to protest against such radical ideas. She writes: “When I was 20 I had no intention to have children which now I believe was a radical notion. At the time we considered motherhood a sort of humiliation and slavery.”⁴ in her first novel she herself is portrayed as the protagonist, a mother and a writer and illustrate how she thinks and decide about her characters while doing household daily routine.

5. Controversies and Disputes over Maternal Instinct

Elisabeth Badinter, the French philosopher, sociological, writer, and feminist critic in her books and interviews rejected the maternal instinct concept as Simone de Beauvoir did; to the point that if nowadays among French intellectuals any reference to maternal instinct will immediately revive her name. In 1980, when she published her book “*L’amour en Plus*”⁵ discussed about maternal instinct and confirmed it is not but a more product of society. 30 years later in 2010 in her other book “*Le Conflit, La femme et la Mere*”⁶ she triggers a fight with the naturalists whom she believes for years defended the maternal instinct in their writings. Her intention is to convince the supporters of maternal instinct. All those women who decided to have children in fact fully sacrificed their entire life and energy to feed and take care of their children free of charge and so far, it is so natural if they wish to avoid the responsibility. Badinter mostly refer to the slow rate of reproduction and emphasizes that if one fourth of German females decided to have no children it is due to the fact they were active in other fields they were deprived of so far to flee from all the responsibilities imposed upon them. The Germans were successful in achieving their desired rights and advise other women to do so and disregard reproduction.

In “*L’amour en Plus*” Badinter through research in motherhood history in Western culture tries to express the case of motherhood was considered in a different aspect than in our time. She proves her point by referring to historical facts illustrating how in previous centuries children were not as important as they are today and since 18th century on word gradually their importance considered and in the 20th century they received extreme attention. According to her studies in previous centuries death of a child was not important and most of the parents abandoned their children or let them to the care of others. Badinter confirm when we talk about instinct we should focus on Europe as well as the entire world an also should take human life in all ages into consideration. Maternal Instinct is a new idea only of 200 years of age and therefore is under the influence of society and the dominant concepts of our time imposed upon women and have no factual and biological base.

On the other hand, Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, anthropologist, sociologist, and a member of American Academy of Science in a book entitled “*Les Instinct Maternels*”⁷ rejects this idea and claims maternal instinct exists biologically “such prejudicial ideas are not acceptable.

³ Firestone, S. (1990) .*The Dialectic of sexes*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York

⁴ An essay published in La Dues magazine and referred by Caren gold in Canadian International Studies and researches No.6.1992. p115, translate by author

⁵ Badinter, E. (2015), *L’amour en plus*, Edition 24, Paris

⁶ Badinter, E. (2010) *Le Conflit, La femme et la mère*, Edition Flammarion, Paris

⁷ Blaffer Hrdy, S. (2002) *Les instinct maternels*, Poyot,

Rejecting all the biological facts regarding maternal instinct originated from an ill-will although its intention is to defend feminist ideas.”⁸

She believes all the mentioned cases such as filicide or rejection of infant, by the protesting groups as proof for misconduct could be studied and concluded regarding the peculiar circumstances the mother had at the time. She points out the influence of two hormones l'ocitocine and Prolactine on producing a bond between the mother and infant and the significant impact of environment and society on maternal behavior exceptionally the maternal relative and of course the father. This pen clash between Badinter and Blaffer Hrdy according to the press was similar to a game of table tennis. It is worth mentoring none of the two concepts been accepted. There are certain people who are against Elisabeth Badinter historiographic methods and with examples from art and painting reject her theories that maternal instinct is a new concept and explain in the mentioned field (in the painting and other arts) maternal instinct or maternal love been portrayed so obviously and there is no necessity to prove it.

In a recent research carried by a group of American and Canadian neurologist they concluded the motivation to take care of a newborn is due to neurologic changes in human brain. This group started a research aided by pregnant women about the motivation of child care and recorded all the mental activities of the group through MIR technology. It illustrates after child borne the grey area of brain of these women underwent changes and actually increased. The grey area is where the emotions are controlled in human brain. In this grey area of brain a hormone referred as luck hormone is produced. The important results of the research published in the latest issue of the Behavior and the Neuron a technical magazine proving that the grey area of brain increased greatly only in several months. The growth of this section is a very rare phenomenon in human brain and according to the neurologist studies had not been recorded in any other cases.

Edwige Antier, the French writer, politician, and the pediatrician her book “*L'Éloge des Mères*”⁹ says maternal instinct exists and I witness cases of it almost every day among mothers delivered their babies. She expresses:

“Recent studies in biology and especially in neurology proves the existence of maternal instinct and this fact will not change if according to Elisabeth Badinter we use other words such as relationship, compromising or else to describe it. If in some cases we encounter a mother who denies it, the justification merely is she is in a very fragile and sensitive circumstances. Therefore, witnessing these exceptional cases should not have resulted in rejecting of such an instinct.”

In recent years, a pen clash was going on between Elisabeth Badinter and Sylviane Agacinski as the supporter of the two major groups of the *Differentialist* and Universalists. It triggered when Elisabeth Badinter a follower of Simone de Beauvoir expressed her ideas on “replacing mother” and Agacinski defended her own points on differences between male and female, rejecting Badinter ideas.

6. Maternal Instinct: Innate or Acquired

In addition to the mentioned concepts of the *Differentialist* and Universalists another idea emerged, questioning whether maternal instinct is innate or an enquired one. Elisabeth Badinter explains in 17th century maternal instinct did not exist and mothers usually would abandon their children. However, this idea that mothers should love their children appeared in Europe since 18th century and consequently maternal instinct considered to be acquired as a result and under the influence of human culture and social values. As a respond to this claim of Elisabeth Badinter the American anthropologist and researcher Sarah Blaffer Hrdy in an essay explains maternal instinct is a divine gift in nature of all women. Through scientific investigations she proves maternal instinct activated due to the secretion of a certain hormone during pregnancy therefore it could not have been the result of external elements or the impose of cultural values of any society or even pervious centuries. None of these claims had been proved yet and the critics reject both of the ideas.

According to ideas expressed in “*La Revanche de L'amour Maternel?*”¹⁰ by Yvonne Knibiehler the French feminist historian who is an expert in women and motherhood historiography; in fact, human behavior is 100% natural and at the same time 100% the product of social influences. Meaning there is an equal portion of innate gift in any women as the portion she acquires form education or behavioral and environmental elements. She spent 30 years of her life researching about the history of motherhood in Western societies and believes motherhood should be considered as one of the basic elements in women identity. Among her published works “*History of Women and Motherhood in West*”¹¹ is worth mentioning. Knibiehler was born in 1922 and profoundly witnessed changes happened to feminism during three generations and explains about her personal ideas and that feminists accepted her among themselves with much problem because she strongly believes that maternal instinct acts as a pivot and is capable of turning the entire world.

There is no decisive conclusion or proof about the existence of maternal instinct and whether it is different from maternal devotion or if it is innate or acquired or even when it is activated in women body. Although almost in every field of study as empirical science, psychology, philosophy and ethic, sociology, anthropology or others we can find different comments on the case yet it is not easy to judge it from the feminist view. There have been several disputes about the dual nature of maternal instinct even among them.

⁸ <https://lesvendredisintellos.com/2012/03/23/elisabeth-badinter-vs-sarah-blaffer-hrdy-maternal-ou-pas>

⁹ Antier, E. (2001). *L'Éloge des Mères*, Robert Laffent, Paris, p54, translate by author

¹⁰ Knibiehler, Y. (2015) *La revanche de L'amour maternel?* eres, p.23, Paris, translate by author.

¹¹ Knibiehler, Y. (2000), *Histoire de mères et de la maternité en occident*, Puf, Paris,

7. Conclusion

The feminists believe child born is the main cause of women omission from all productive activities. They emphasize on the fact that social stresses on motherhood had consumed the entire female energies and limited them to the household tasks and consequently they have lost all their desire and ability to be part of social activities and somehow made way for patriarchy. On the other hand, many of the writers and researchers express the pressure feminists themselves put on women to persevere in participating in social, economic, and political activities put additional stress on them. Actually, women had never been under such stress and not experienced such a degree of responsibility. In this situation, they go through dual pressure and have to carry the same dual burden doing the household routine and taking care of children as well as carrying out these outdoor and social responsibilities.

However, those women with such dual responsibilities of having professional career and children to attend are under much greater pressure especially if their husbands will not be supportive enough. In fact, people will have their doubt about these women and regarding their demands ask themselves if it would not be appropriate to advise them to abandon their career and activities so they can live in peace with their families; or be supportive and encourage them to continue their professional activities, it is needless to say women will consequently find a way to satisfy their needs in both aspects. In recent years, it became obvious although in the beginning all issues on maternal instinct attracted the attention of women and led them to seek more social responsibilities; but the new generations do not agree with their steps. Presently, women in many countries try to compromise the two aspects of motherhood and their freedom through building a bridge between being a good mother and ability to achieve more grounds in scientific and economical fields. Having family and family life is an inseparable part of human life and maternal instinct is necessary for reproduction and survival of human beings.

The role of men should not have been overlooked in this case. As the researchers suggest men should take more responsibility in family matters and in training children they should be a perfect aid to their wives. On the other hand, the governments must provide facilities and better work condition as maternal leave, early retirement, flexible work hours, unemployment pensions and job security for women.

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