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THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CLASS ON CHILD  
REARING IN IRAQ

By

Nasrine Abdul Rihman Al-Omar

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Nasrine Al-Omar

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between social class and some aspects of child rearing patterns, the relationship between different socialization practices to some behavioral manifestations of children as reported by mothers and to compare Basrah's class differences in child rearing patterns with those in Lebanon and the United States.

Basrah's class differences in socialization practices outnumbered similarities. In short, Basrah's lower class mothers were found to be more permissive than the middle class mothers concerning aspects of feeding, weaning, toilet training and infant indulgence practices. With respect to negative disciplinary techniques, both classes were non-permissive. So far as positive techniques of control are concerned, the middle class mothers were more rewarding than the lower class group.

On the issue of the relationship of socialization practices to children's behavioral manifestations few were upheld, while the rest were not.

Regarding differences found between the lower and middle classes in Basrah, Lebanon and the United States, the findings of this study were more similar to the Lebanese than to the Americans.

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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

"Child rearing refers generally to all the interactions between parents and their children. These interactions include the parents' expressions of attitudes, values, interests, and beliefs as well as their caretaking and training behavior" (32, p.457). +✓

The importance of childhood in affecting adult social and intellectual life was sensed by thinkers and philosophers a long time ago. Nevertheless, no effort was made to study children scientifically until the advent of Freud. The belief in the importance of childhood in the West was shown by the many advices given to mothers by authorities in popular magazines. Miller and Swanson (26), Sunley (39), Stendler (37), and Wolfenstein (46) analyzed the advices given to the mothers in some of these journals. They showed that these advices were contradictory over the years. There was a complete swing from one extreme to the other. These authors related the contradictions to the prevailing ideas of the nature of man and the cultural attitudes at each period. In summary, their surveys revealed that during the seventeenth century regularities in regimentation such as eating and toilet training were emphasized. Stern discipline which was aimed at breaking the child's will was prevalent (26, pp.9-11). As in the seventeenth century, the advice given to the mothers during the 1820's to the 1860's also emphasized regularity. Indulgence of the baby was denied to the mothers which was revealed

by advising them to leave the child crying without picking it up. This was felt to aid in breaking the child's will. Weaning was thought to be best carried out during the eight to twelve months period. Nevertheless weaning was to be done gradually. Toilet training must begin early. Spanking was popular (26, pp.6-12).

From 1860 to 1910 the swing from the previous prevailing advices was complete. Indulgence and permissiveness were the keynote in the advice given to mothers. Mothers were asked to feed on demand, shower their children with love, wean and toilet train late. Character development was emphasized during this period. The mother and the influence of the home constituted the most important elements in fostering good character development (37; 39).

In 1910 there was again a change from a sentimental indulgent attitude toward children to one of extreme regimentation and sternness. Mothers were advised to follow a rigid feeding schedule, wean and toilet train early and leave the child/cry <sup>to</sup> it out. There was a strong emphasis on punishment (37; 39).

The rigid approach to child training persisted till the 1940's then there was a complete swing to the other extreme of permissiveness. During this period there was an emphasis on personality development. Demand-feeding, late weaning and toilet training, love, and mothering were seen as a necessary atmosphere for emotional security which was important in personality development. There was an emphasis on self-regulation and understanding of the

child (37; 46).

Permissiveness is still prevalent today but with some limits put in order to prevent the child from getting beyond control and tyrannizing the parents (46).

The scientific study of child rearing practices was given attention only lately. The main impetus to the empirical study of children came from Freud. Through psychoanalysis, experimental studies of children have multiplied. Nevertheless, except for a few, most of these experiments were done on American children (31, p.2).

Anthropologists - especially the psychoanalytically oriented - started to study child rearing patterns in different part of the world. Among these are Whiting and Child who studied seventy five different primitive societies. They derived their information from ethnographic reports found in the cross cultural file at ;the Institute of Human Relations (45).

In the United States until recently - 1957 - adequate empirical study about child rearing practices was absent, and most of the information was derived from pamphlets and magazines (32, pp.8-9). Sears and his colleagues did much to fill this gap. Through a standardized interview they secured information about child rearing practices from 739 American mothers living in the city of Boston. The purpose of their study was to find out about the child rearing practices of two socio-economic classes - middle and lower - the effect of certain child rearing practices on the behavior

of children and the influence of the mother's personality in selecting which kind of child rearing practices she uses (32, p.7).

Studies of Arab children are few in number. Among them are the study of Granquist in a Palestinian village called Artas (14) and Ammar's study (1) of child rearing in an Egyptian village called Silwa. In 1961 Prothro published a study about child rearing in Lebanon. His subjects were 468 (31, p.37) mothers selected from Beirut and the Beqaa valley and representing the three sects of Sunni Moslems, Greek Orthodox and Gregorian Christians (pp. 29, 30). The purpose of his study was the same as that of Sears (pp. 23-26).

As for the study of child rearing practices in Iraq, nothing yet has been done. The present study is an attempt to investigate the following:

- 1) The relationship of social class to some aspects of child rearing patterns, mainly, feeding, weaning, toilet training, infant indulgence, and disciplinary techniques. This includes only differences between two socio-economic classes, middle and lower.
- 2) The relationship of different child rearing practices to some behavioral manifestation of children as reported by the mothers.
- 3) An attempt is also made to compare class differences in socialization practices in Basrah with those in Lebanon, and America.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter the four areas of child rearing practices we are concerned with will be defined. Feeding, weaning, and toilet training will be interpreted both psychoanalytically and according to Dollard and Miller's learning theory. Furthermore, evidence supporting and contradicting the psychoanalytic notions will be cited. ??

#### Feeding

##### The Nature of the Hunger Drive

Since the hunger drive is capable of arriving at a sustained level of stimulation and because the infant is dependent on its mother to reduce its hunger drive, the eating situation may serve as the basis of much social learning (28, p.137).

##### Methods of Handling Infant's Feeding

Infant's feeding can be handled in several ways. The infant can be fed on a rigid schedule which is defined as feeding at exactly every three or four hours without giving in when the infant cries. On the other hand, a child can be fed by following a flexible schedule which means feeding a little earlier than the assigned time if the baby insists by crying (38, p.75). A third method of handling infant's feeding is feeding on demand. Demand feeding is defined as feeding the child whenever he cries or asks to be fed.

Psychologists have different points of view concerning the

advisability of schedule and demand feeding. According to Watson, the father of behaviorism, schedule feeding is desirable to be maintained from birth. This will help to condition the child to have food at certain hours of the day, thus establishing good habits in him (23, p.382).

Freud held the opposite point of view. According to him the baby should be nursed from the breast and fed on demand, otherwise his later personality will be damaged. Freud believed that the first five years of the person's life are very important in shaping his personality. He divided development into several stages and called the first stage the oral phase.

#### The Oral Personality

Freud believed that the method of feeding and the experiences the child encounters during the oral stage of development may have a profound effect in shaping his later personality. A person may be fixated at the oral stage of development. Fixation is achieved either by oral indulgence or frustration. Fixation at this stage of development leads to certain personality attributes in adults who have shared the different experiences associated with feeding. The consequences of oral indulgence in infancy are feelings of optimism and self-assurance provided that the later environment does not thwart the individual's security. Furthermore, oral frustration manifests itself later on in an oral character. The oral character



is characterized by "pessimism, dissatisfaction, suspiciousness, impatience, passivity, strong craving and demands for sympathy, support, and protection from others" (28, p.143). These people are believed to be emphasizing oral activities such as eating, drinking and smoking (28, pp.143-144).

#### Dollard and Miller's Interpretation of the Feeding Situation

By applying learning principles, Dollard and Miller interpreted the feeding situation in a direction similar to Freud's assertions. According to them, when the hungry infant is fed without being frustrated the feeling of relaxation and well being will be attached to the mother who is the source of food. Since the mother represents the world at large, the positive feelings the infant associates with the experience of eating and which he attaches to the mother will generalize to others. Later these feelings will produce optimism and sociability in him. The opposite of the above will take place if the child is frustrated in relation to feeding. He will be low on sociability later on. Frustrations in relation to food may occur if the child is stuffed with food when he is not hungry or if he is not fed when hungry (11, pp.132-136).

#### Research on the Consequences of Methods of Feeding

Many psychologists carried out studies to prove or disprove Freud's hypotheses concerning the importance of breast-feeding versus artificial feeding, self-demand versus schedule feeding and

the influence of the length of the period of sucking on the behavior of the child. Some of their results confirmed Freud's hypotheses while others did not.

Hoefer (16) and Rogerson's (30, p.3) studies showed that the feeding experiences of infants effect their later childhood behavior tremendously.

While the results of the above two studies support Freud's hypotheses concerning the relationship between early feeding experiences and children's behavior, others yielded the reverse findings. Among these studies are the following:

The results of Sears et al. study in the United States showed that there was no association between breast-feeding, length of breast-feeding, and later behavior of children like feeding problems, and emotional reactions to toilet training (32, p.76). Likewise, no connection was found between whether infant-feeding was scheduled or self-demand and feeding problems (32, p.96).

The study of Prothro in Lebanon also showed that the practices of infant's feeding were not related to feeding problems in children (31, p.83).

Other investigators like Faber and Sutton (30, p.4), Peterson and Spano (30, p.6), Fredeen (13), Newton (29), and Sewell (34), showed that no direct cause and effect relationship exists between feeding experiences during infancy and later childhood behaviors.

From the above review, we can see that the results are contra-

dictory. No definite evidence has yet been found to support or disprove Freud's psychoanalytic theory of feeding. Orlansky reviewed many studies concerning feeding processes, and concluded that there is no direct one to one relationship between childhood experiences in feeding and later behavior. One should consider other factors such as the class position of the parents, the personality and the attitudes of the mother, the personality and attitudes of the child, the child's constitutional endowment, the whole social and historical situation in which the individual is placed, and physical and environmental factors (30).

Honigmann too emphasized the importance of considering feeding techniques as a reflection of cultural attitudes and beliefs (17, pp.243-248). According to him "infant feeding bears a systematic relationship to the cultural configuration and mediates learning" (17, p.244).

In sum, the research on the consequences of infant's feeding experiences neither supports psychologists such as Freud, and Dollard and Miller nor contradicts them. It has been shown that no direct cause and effect association can be maintained between techniques of feeding and children's behavior.

### Weaning

#### Definition

Weaning denotes relinquishing a habit of securing food by sucking and shifting to another mode of getting it (32, p.69). To Sears

Sears

+

et al., "weaning involves five main things. The child must learn to like to drink the same food he formally got by sucking. He must learn to want solid foods. He must learn the manipulative skills required for eating them - biting, chewing, and the use of fingers and utensils, as well as drinking from a cup. He must learn to do without being held while he is eating" (32, p.69).

#### Methods of Weaning

Psychologists ~~also~~ differ concerning the age at which weaning should take place, as well as the process of weaning. Watson favored early and abrupt weaning. The reverse attitude was held by the psychoanalysts. To Freud, long nursing and gradual weaning ensure optimal oral experiences (28, p.143). Dollard and Miller held Freud's point of view concerning the process of weaning. According to them abrupt weaning produces fear, apathy and lack of sociability in the later personality of the infant (11, p.134). + ✓

#### The Oral Stage of Development

The Freudian psychoanalysts also maintained that frustration over weaning and not having enough nursing experiences result in fixation at the oral stage of development which later produces the oral character described above in connection with feeding.

#### The Consequences of Age and Method of Weaning on Children's Behavior

Many studies have been carried out to test the psychoanalytic notion concerning the effect of frustration over weaning on the

child's personality. The following are some of them.

The results of Sears et al. showed that severe methods of weaning produced more upset over weaning (32, p.92). They also reported that mothers who started rather late in weaning completed their task more quickly (32, p.81).

Prothro in his study in Lebanon found that the break in infant indulgence which was experienced at weaning resulted in a greater concern with food on the part of the Lebanese children (31, pp.82-83).

The above studies demonstrate some of the effects of methods of weaning on some aspects of children behavior. Nevertheless other studies have shown the unfruitfulness of maintaining a direct cause and effect connections between methods adopted by mothers and children's behavior.

Sears et al. (32, p.92) and Prothro (31, pp.77-79) found that early as well as decisive weaning- weaning that occurred within three days - produced less upset in the child than late and indecisive weaning. Feeding problems were also found not to be related to the age at which weaning was initiated as well as to the difficulty in weaning (32, p.96). Furthermore, Prothro's results revealed that demand-feeding coincided with weaning difficulty (p.78). Upset over weaning was also found by him not to be related to difficult toilet training (31, p.80).

The results of Sears and Wise's study showed that late wean-

ing produced the greatest frustration in children. The children who were weaned early, however, showed less disturbance (2, pp.465-466).

Newton's (29) study also revealed that there is no direct cause and effect relationship between weaning experiences and later behavior.

The contradictory results remind us again of Orlansky and Honigmann's conclusions mentioned above with regard to feeding. Hence, one should always take into account other factors that may either enforce or cancel the effects of early weaning experiences.

### Toilet Training

#### Definition

The term toilet training means "training the child to forego his infantile custom of defecation when and where he pleased and to substitute elimination at a given time and in a given place" (18, p.304). +

Freud defines toilet training as a conflict between three main factors which are the ego of the child, his instinctual desires and the requirements of the outside world (27, p.195).

According to Dollard and Miller, the function of toilet training is "to attach anxiety responses to the defecation drives so that they will win out over the immediate evulsion response. These anxiety responses also motivate and cue off the next responses in the series, such as calling the parents, running to the bathroom, un-

buttoning clothes, and the like" (11, p.138).

The Nature of the Problem or the Training

Toilet training poses a problem from the standpoint of both the child and the mother. It represents the first major training the child comes across during his second year which interferes with his primitive habits. Moreover cleanliness training may arouse considerable emotions (18, p.304).

It is usually the first important experience the child encounters in regard to discipline and external authority (15, p.107). <sup>Freud</sup> + ✓

Toilet training is nothing but a modifier of behavior and a frustration. It neither satisfies a desire nor fulfills a need. The mother in the course of teaching cleanliness habits assumes a teacher's role and she expects some independence and responsibility on the part of the child (28, p.193). <sup>Must</sup>

The main problem in toilet training is the substitution of a voluntary control for an involuntary one (28, p.193).

According to Freud, toilet training imposes a problem because the act of elimination is a pleasurable one and results in the relief of tension (15, p.107). <sup>Freud</sup>

According to Dollard and Miller, the difficulty in toilet training stems from the fact that parents must work against a strong evulsion response to the bowel and bladder drives stimuli. The evulsion response must be weakened and instead other responses

must be learned such as calling the mother, undressing, going to the toilet ... etc. The real difficulty lies in teaching the child to suppress the evulsion response for a while and acquire or learn a series of other responses - enumerated above - before elimination (11, pp.137-138).

#### Initiation of Toilet Training

Psychologists differ concerning the age at which toilet training should be initiated. Watson believed in early beginning in order to condition the child, thus set good habits in him. On the other hand, Freud and Dollard and Miller held the reverse attitude. To them late initiation is necessary in order to insure physiological maturity.

#### The Relationship Between Toilet Training and Personality

Freud's Point of View:- The method used in toilet training and the attitude of the mother towards the act of elimination determine to a large extent the structure and development of the personality of the child. Strict and punitive methods will produce in the child messiness, irresponsibilities, wastefulness and extravagance in reaction to frustrating situations. Furthermore, the child may develop the characteristics of neatness, compulsive orderliness, disgust, fear of dirt, and strict budgeting of time and money. Constipation may also result.



Permissive methods of training and praising the child may result in a child valuing his feces greatly. This will motivate him later to create things in order to please himself or to please others. Other behavior may be produced such as generosity, giving presents and charity.

Placing great emphasis upon the value of the waste product may make the child feel that he has lost something of great value when he eliminates. This will cause in him depression and anxiety (15, pp.107-109).

The Anal Character:- The anal character in adulthood results from fixation at the anal phase of development which is produced either by using strict and punitive measure or by the child having extreme pleasure in controlling his elimination. This pleasure may be caused by much attention on the part of the mother at toilet time or by great concern if elimination is irregular. Three characteristics are shown in this type of personality: orderliness, stinginess and obstinacy (36, p.281).

Dollard and Miller's Point of View:- Early initiation of the training is likely to make the child frustrated and upset due to his inability to have voluntary control over his elimination since he is still immature physiologically.

Severe punishment, even when the child is mature may result in generalizing the feeling of pain and discomfort to the toilet, bathroom and elimination itself. This will make the child retain

his waste products. Since long retention increases the tension there is a possibility for loss of control to take place. As a consequence of this, loss of control will be reinforced. This is likely to make toilet training more difficult. Moreover, punitive measures which generate anxiety and frustration may cause these feelings to be attached to the mother. In that case, the child's later interpersonal relationships will suffer since interaction with the mother is a prototype to later interpersonal relationships.

Timidity and conformity may also stem from severe punitive measures in toilet training. Because of severe punishment the child may feel that the less responses he makes the better for fear of being punished.

Another consequence of punitive techniques in toilet training is the inability of the child to differentiate between the mother's dislike to his waste products and to himself. Hence, feelings of unworthiness, insignificance and sinfulness will be created in him (11, pp.136-140).

From the above review of both the psychoanalytic interpretation and that of Dollard and Miller it is apparent that in both of them there are many similar predictions of the consequences of severe handling of toilet training.

Research on the Consequents of Various Toilet Training Techniques on the Behavior of the Child

Unlike the area of feeding and weaning, the studies done by psychologists on the consequences of various

toilet training procedures are few in number. The data is too meagre to enable us to draw conclusions. Nevertheless, some of the findings of these studies are quite suggestive to merit consideration.

Among the recent studies done are those of Sears et al. in America and Prothro in Lebanon.

Sears et al. found that a late beginning of toilet training required a shorter period of time for completion than an early one (32, p.110). Moreover, mothers employing severe procedures when training their children in cleanliness habits were not able to complete that earlier than those using mild techniques (p.112). There was a significant relationship between severe toilet training and emotional upset in children (p.123).

Macfarlane and Honzig (28,p.199. p.201) Huschka (10; 19) and Despert (10) studied the effect of severe toilet training methods as well as early initiation of the training on the age of completion of control and children's behavior. Their results were in the direction of Freud's and Dollard and Miller's assumptions.

Some of the results of the Sears et al. study in America and Prothro's in Lebanon, showed distinctively different consequences on the children's behavior from the psychoanalytic predictions. Sears et al. results revealed that a rather late initiation (15 to 19 months) of toilet training produced as much disturbances as an early one (before five months). The least upset resulted when training was begun either between 5-14 months or after twenty months (32, p.113).

Prothro found that emotional disturbances in Lebanese children were less manifested among children whose training was initiated either quite early (before five months), or rather late than those whose training started between five and fourteen months (31, p.88). Moreover, he did not find any evidence for the anal character in the Lebanese culture, despite the severe toilet training practices prevalent there (pp.91-92).

Although some of the above findings are in favor of the psychoanalytic theory, one should take into consideration other factors that might have produced these results. Furthermore, since the data in this area is meagre it would be difficult to conclude anything. As in the case of feeding and weaning, Orlansky suggested that it is much safer to explain the "anal personality traits in terms of the cultural universe which gives rise to them" (30, p.21).

Some of the results of Sears et al. and Prothro have a bearing on this matter. They point to the fact that the personality attributes of the mother have a profound effect on the child's reactions to toilet training. For instance, Sears and his colleagues found that the characteristic of coldness in the mother combined with severe toilet training procedures produced more emotional upset on the part of the children (32, p.125). Contrariwise, severe cleanliness training did not result in disturbances in children whose mothers were classified as warm (p.125).

Prothro's results substantiated those of Sears for he also

found that cold mothers using severe toilet training techniques produced a significant amount of upset in children (31, p.90). Furthermore his results revealed that warm mothers using mild training techniques had the least upset children.(p.90). This relationship was not found in America.

It is worth noting that Sears et al. and Prothro's studies demonstrate for us the significance of the mother's personality characteristics which was greatly emphasized by Orlansky as well as by others.

In conclusion, it can also be said that no clear cut evidence has yet been reached to support Freud and Dollard and Miller's assertions on the consequences of early as well as severe toilet training practices on children's behavior.

#### Disciplinary Techniques

As far as the area of discipline is concerned, Freud's writings did not have any direct bearing on its consequences on the child's personality. Nevertheless, the importance of the techniques of control was sensed later by many psychologists who have conducted several studies to ascertain their point of view. Since one of the main concerns in this paper is to test some of Freud's assertions, no mention will be made of these studies in this section. The following is a brief definition of the various disciplinary techniques investigated in this study.

Discipline includes controlling and stopping of the undesirable actions of the child and helping him learn self control. Discipline also embraces providing the child with satisfying situations to stimulate his actions. Moreover, it encompasses directing the behavior of the child by showing him what to do and what not to do (32, pp.317-319).

The techniques of discipline are divided into two groups, positive, and negative. Furthermore, two classes of negative and positive procedures can be differentiated. In the first place we have the love-oriented techniques and secondly the object-oriented ones. The object-oriented controls have to do with material things, whereas the love-oriented techniques deal with intangible matters such as the love and affection of the mother. The following are the definitions of the various techniques of control.

**Negative control:** It is to stop or control undesirable actions of the child by inflicting punishment. Punishment refers to "creating an unpleasant situation for the child after he has done something he is not supposed to do" (32, p.325). It includes tangible controls like beating and spanking and intangible techniques such as deprivation of privileges, withdrawal of love and negative modeling.

Physical punishment denotes the inflicting of pain on the body of the child by the use of either any kind of material object, the hands of the parent or his legs, perhaps.

Deprivation of privileges refers to creating an unpleasant situation for the child by withdrawing something he values (32, p.337).

There are several forms of withdrawal of love. These forms are the following: "Looking coldly at the child, turning one's back, refusing to listen to what he is saying, telling him "I do not love you", putting him in a separate room and telling him that he cannot be accepted in the family circle until he will stop his misbehavior, using threat of separation, telling him that he is hurting his mother's feelings and telling him that only by being good the loving relationship between his mother and himself can be maintained" (32, pp.341-342).

Negative modeling is to call the child's attention to an example of behavior of what not to do. In this case the child knows what he is not supposed to do but he is not directed to what the adults want him to do (32, p.347).

The positive sanctions also take the form of the tangible and the intangible. Approval, praise and affection are examples of intangible kinds of positive controls.

Positive modeling constitutes another type of the intangible positive technique of control. It consists of designating an example of the type of behavior the mother likes her child to gain (32, p.347).

One of the tangible techniques that may be used to re-

inforce the child's behavior is reward. Reward refers to giving material objects to the child such as money and candies (32, p.319).

The main function of reasoning is directing behavior rather than rewarding it. In general reasoning refers to "a labeling process by which a mother explains to the child exactly what it is she does and does not want him to do" (32, p.352).



### CHAPTER III

#### SOCIAL CLASS AND CHILD REARING PATTERNS

Social class is defined as "an aggregate of people with similar rank (prestige) in the community who may have intimate social access with one another" (17, p.317). +

Studies on social classes show that each class holds some sets of values, beliefs, goals, expectations.... that are different from the other. Since these sets are somehow reflected in the socialization practices which impinge upon the child and affect his personality, many psychologists held the belief that members of various social classes employ different child training practices. Although this belief was substantiated by many studies, some contradictory results have also appeared over the years.

This section includes a summary of the findings of several studies carried out in the United States for the purpose of testing social class differences in child training practices as well as explanations for the discrepancies evident among the results.

Davis and Havighurst (19) Ericson (12) and Swanson and Miller (26, p.124) found a greater tendency on the part of the lower class mothers to use breast-feeding more than the middle class mothers and to begin toilet training later. The opposite was reported by Maccoby and Gibbs (22) ~~for who~~ found that the middle class mothers are more likely than the lower class mothers to use breast-feeding and to begin toilet training at a later age. On the other hand, many +

other investigators (32; 21; 44) found practically no differences to exist between the two socio-economic classes in respect to toilet training and breast-feeding.

As far as severity of toilet training, the studies of Davis and Havighurst (19), Maccoby and Gibbs (22), Sears et al. (32, p.427), and White (44) seem to agree that the lower class mothers employ more coercive techniques than the middle class.

As far as demand vs. schedule feeding is concerned all the studies reviewed with the exception of one, reported more efforts at scheduling on the part of the middle class mothers. The exception to this tendency were Littman, Moore and Jones\* (21) who found no difference in scheduling between their middle class and lower class mothers.

Concerning weaning, again we find few exceptions to the general findings of no differences. In the first place, Davis and Havighurst (19) as well as Ericson (12) reported that the lower class mothers were more likely than the middle class to wean their children at a later age. Secondly, Maccoby and Gibbs\* (22) results were in the opposite direction, for they found a greater tendency on the part of the middle class mothers to wean their children later than the lower class.

With respect to the disciplinary techniques employed in training and controlling behavior by the two classes, the vast majority of the investigators reported the use of physical punishment

to a greater extent by the lower class rather than by the middle class mothers. However, the study of Littman, Moore and Jones (21) stands out from the rest for their results revealed the existence of no difference between the two socio-economic groups as far as the use of physical punishment is concerned.

With respect to reward, Davis and Havighurst (19), and Maccoby and Gibbs (21) reported that rewards are used to a greater extent by the middle than by the lower class mothers. However, Swanson and Miller (26, p.124) Littman, Moore and Jones (21) and Sears et al. (32, pp.430-432) reported no differences between the two social classes with regard to the extent of the use of reward. In fact, Sears et al. reported a slight tendency on the part of the lower class mothers to use more praise for good behavior than did the middle class.

Evidently, the above summary shows contrasting results. Bronfenbrenner (4) reviewed most of the studies, several of them are summarized above, that dealt with social class differences in socialization during the period of 1930 to 1955. He found that with the exception of the early studies like Davis and Havighurst and Ericson which emphasized the greater permissiveness of the lower class over the middle, the majority of the later studies ascertained the opposite. In interpreting the contradictory results, he posited the following explanations:


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- 1) There were lacks of comparability among the social classes studied by different investigators with respect to age of mothers, education of mothers, size of family, number of social class categories employed in each study and the number of cases in each social class.
- 2) Different measures were used in determining the socio-economic status of the families studied.
- 3) There was a lack of comparability among the various questionnaires used.
- 4) The samples in the majority of the studies were not selected randomly.
- 5) The differences in ethnicity, religious background, sub-urban vs. urban residence as well as strength of mobility striving were not taken into consideration in some of the studies. In this respect Miller and Swanson found no relationship between upward and downward mobility and child rearing practices (26, pp.148-151). Moreover, Maccoby and Gibbs reported that the difference in ethnic origins of the two classes cannot cause the difference in socialization practices (22). Sears, Maccoby and Levin results also ascertained that no relationship existed between differences in ethnicity, religious background and child rearing practices (32, pp.439-442).

Nevertheless, the contrasting results were found by Bronfenbrenner to be due mostly to the difference in the degree of exposition of the two classes to current information on child rearing practices in both the early (1930) and the later (1955) period. It is a widely known fact that middle class mothers read more books, pamphlets, magazines, listen to more radio talks on child care and related subjects, are more responsive to and have more contacts with pediatricians, nurses and the like. In the first chapter, we have shown that ideas about child rearing practices in the west fluctuated over the years. They swung from permissiveness to extreme non-permissiveness and back to permissiveness. Therefore, the contrasting results found between the two socio-economic groups during the period 1930 to 1955 may be due to the greater contacts of the middle over the lower class mothers with mass media of communication and with pediatricians.



## CHAPTER IV

### SAMPLING, METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The sample of this study consisted of 100 Iraqi mothers living in the city of Basrah. The following is a brief description of Basrah.

Basrah: Basrah, the only port in Iraq, is located in the southern part of the country. The total area of the district of Basrah is 18022 sq. km. which makes up 4.1 per cent of the total area of Iraq (48, p.38).

According to 1964 census, the population of the district of Basrah was 594440. So far as the sex ratio is concerned, the number of males was 298859 and the females 295581.

The district of Basrah is one of the most fertile parts of Iraq. It is the center of date plantation, for it has around 13399772 palm trees which makes up 16 per cent of the total number of palm trees in the world.

Besides the 85.000 tons of dates it produces per years, rice, cotton, wheat, sesame and barley are also cultivated (48, p.93).

The district of Basrah is also known for its oil production. It produces 17346733 tons of crude oil per year (48, p.150).

The city of Basrah is a commercial city. Being the only port in Iraq it has become the center of exportation and importation. The revenue of the port of Basrah was estimated to be 12414441 I DS. (48, p.150).

As for industry, the city of Basrah has only few industrial projects

based mostly on agricultural products.

Concerning literacy rate in Basrah district, it was found to be 20.1 per cent. But the rate was higher for males than females. For males it was 31.9 per cent against 8.4 per cent for females (48, pp.134-135).

As for religion, Moslems form the largest group in Basrah/ district, as in Iraq generally. The religious distribution of the population can be seen in Table 1.

TABLE I  
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS  
(1957)

Religious group	Number of Persons
Moslems	431034
Christians	7010
Followers of Saint John	1594
Jews	344
Yezedias	81
Others	35
Indefinite	47



The social strata in Basrah comprises few upper class business men and landlords. The middle class are predominantly doctors, lawyers, engineers, pharmacists, small land owners, government employees, teachers, merchants and employees in big companies. The lower class people which form the largest group, are peasants and low income laborers.

### Sampling

The sample used in this study included 100 Iraqi mothers in each group. divided into an equal proportion of Sunni and Shii/ All the mothers interviewed were living in Basrah and having children between 4-6 years of age. The child whose age was between 4-6 was the subject of this study. The mothers were not questioned about older or younger children.

Children who were twins, who came from broken homes (divorce, separation and death), who had physical and mental defects, whose parents are not natives of the community and who came from polygamous families were excluded.

The sample was picked up by securing names of mothers from friends who have given the writer an estimation of the socio-economic status of the families to be interviewed. Those mothers who met the criteria of this study were included. The writer was introduced to the mothers and appointments were made with them.

### The Interviews

The interview schedule which was that of the directed type was an adaptation of one used previously by Prothro in Lebanon which was itself an adaptation and translation to Arabic of a schedule originally constructed and conducted by Sears and his colleagues. It consisted of thirty eight items (Appendix I). Some of the questions in the interview asked about the family: number of children, household size and composition, education of parents, and age of parents. Most of the questions, however, aimed at securing information about the feeding, weaning, toilet training, and disciplinary practices used by the mothers.

The interviews were conducted at the homes of the subjects and lasted from forty five to sixty minutes. Cooperation was excellent. In fact, none of the mothers selected refused to cooperate.

After establishing rapport, the mothers were introduced to the nature of the study. They were assured that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions and all we were interested in was the way they brought up their children.

The answers were written as nearly verbatim as possible at the time the interview was going on. Suggestions were avoided.

Immediately after each interview, a socio-economic sheet was filled. This sheet included items pertaining to the location and construction of the home, number and sizes of rooms, availability

of running water, bathroom facilities, amount and kind of furniture, household appliances, books, art work, and electricity. Furthermore, the overall impression of the class-status of the family was recorded. The classification of the mothers according to the socio-economic-status coincided with the estimations given to the writer by friends.

### Some Demographic Characteristics of the Sample Studied

#### Socio-economic Status

The 100 subjects of this study were divided into fifty lower class and fifty middle class mothers. The criteria used in classifying the families according to their socio-economic status were occupation of the father, housing, education of the father, income and the general quality of the home environment.

The living condition of the middle class families were comfortable. Their houses were of modern construction and were located in modern suburbs. On the other hand, the living conditions of the lower class families were very poor. In the majority of cases the whole family lived in a house made up of one or two rooms which were sparsely furnished. All means that make living comfortable were absent. Only in a few lower class houses/running water and bathroom facilities available.

So far as occupation is concerned, the middle class fathers were doctors, lawyers, engineers, government employees, teachers and

merchants. As for the lower class fathers their occupations included bakers, chauffeurs, bus drivers, street vendors, factory employees and servants.

In both groups, none of the mothers were employed outside the home.

Education of Parents

An attempt was made to limit the educational status of the mothers included in the sample. Since it was very difficult to find a complete sample of illiterate middle class mothers, those who had more than eight years of schooling were not selected. Nevertheless, the majority of the literate middle class mothers did not go beyond the primary school. The information received about the education of the parents is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

REPORTED EDUCATION OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS IN THE TWO SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES

Class	Lower							Middle					Total	
	No. of years of school							No. of years of school						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	
Mothers	34	0	3	5	1	4	3	17	9	18	6	0	0	100
Fathers	22	3	0	2	2	2	19	1	0	3	5	22	19	100

Table 2 reveals that there was a class difference in the educational status of the fathers. None of the lower class fathers went beyond the primary school while three middle class fathers had only six years of formal education. Furthermore, only one father classified as middle class was illiterate whereas 22 lower class fathers fell in this category. In general the majority of the middle class fathers had above ten years of formal education. From the same table we can see that more illiterate mothers were found among the lower class than among the middle class group.

Household Size and Composition

The average number of children among the lower class families studied was 4.42. As for the middle class, the average number was found to be 4.5.

As is seen in Table 3 the majority of both the middle class and the lower class mothers had between four and five children. Only a small minority had three and six children.

TABLE 3  
SIZE OF NUCLEAR FAMILY

Class	No. of Children				Total
Lower	3	4	5	6	50
Lower	10	14	21	5	50
Middle	7	16	22	5	50

Thirty one of the lower class families had relatives living with them at home as contrasted with ten middle class households. In both cases the majority of the relatives were from the father's side. Thirteen lower class families had the father's brothers and their wives living with them. This may point to us that the extended family system is still prevalent among the lower classes in Iraq. Table 4 contains the information about relatives living at home with both middle class and lower class families.

TABLE 4  
RELATIVES LIVING AT HOME

Class	No.	FaMo	FaFa	MoMo	MoFa	HusBr	Hus.Br.Wife	HusSis	MoSis	MoCousin	HusSis
Lower	19	24	11	5	2	14	13	14	5	1	3
Middle	40	2	0	2	0	4	1	2	2	0	2

No	=	No relatives.	HusBr.	=	Husband's brother.
FaMo	=	Father's mother.	Hus.Br.Wife	=	Husband's brother wife.
FaFa	=	Father's father.	HusSis	=	Husband's sister.
MoMo	=	Mother's mother.	MoSis	=	Mother's sister.
MoFa	=	Mother's father.	MoCousin	=	Mother's cousin.

Sex-ratio

Attempts were also made to control the sex-ratio of the children. The lower class children were divided into an equal proportion of boys and girls. On the other hand the middle class children were 23 girls and 27 boys.

Age of Parents

Table 5 represents a summary of the estimation of the ages of parents in both social groups as given by the mothers. Few mothers in both classes could not give an estimation of either their own age or that of their husbands. These mothers were not included in the tabulation.

TABLE 5  
NUMBER OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS IN EACH AGE DECADE

Class	Lower						Middle			
	Below 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
Mothers	2	22	11	2	0	0	8	33	4	0
Fathers	0	4	19	9	1	2	1	17	25	0

The average age of the lower class mothers was 26.9 and that of the middle class mothers was 33.1. This difference in the average ages of the lower class and middle class mothers may be explained by



the fact that on the average lower class girls marry younger than the middle class girls. Early marriage among lower classes is common in most areas of Iraq.

Concerning the average age of the fathers, for the lower class it was 36.8 as compared with 49.8 for the middle group. This result also reveals a tendency on the part of the lower class men to get married earlier than in the middle class men. Since the majority of the middle class males spend more years in school than the lower class men, it is very likely that they marry later. On the other hand, lower class men start to earn their living at a quite early age. Therefore, they marry younger more often than the middle class men.

There is an approximate difference of ten years between the lower class fathers and mothers. This discrepancy in age among the lower class parents is around seven years lower than that between the middle class parents for there is a difference of about 17 years between their ages. This also might be explained by the fact that the middle class fathers get married later than the lower class fathers and they tend to pick up much younger girls than themselves for the younger the girl is the more she is preferred.

## CHAPTER V

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter the findings on class differences in respect to feeding, weaning, toilet training, infant care and techniques of control will be reported and discussed in the light of knowledge known about the culture. The relationship of several socialization techniques to children's behavior will also be presented.

#### 1. Feeding

Breast-feeding: Early in the interview, the mothers were asked about whether they had breast-fed their infants or not. The replies of the mothers revealed that breast-feeding was practiced by all the lower class and by 82 per cent of the middle class mothers. In this respect <sup>significant</sup> no/differences were found between the two social groups.

Concerning the duration of breast-feeding, lower class mothers were more likely to nurse their infants for a longer period of time than did mothers from the middle class. The average length of breast-feeding for the lower class mothers was 16.12 months as compared with 14.1 months for the middle class. The difference between the two groups as far as length of breast-feeding is concerned was significant\* at the .05 level ( $\chi^2 = 9.806, df = 3$ ).\*\*

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\*Significant differences whenever reported in this paper were calculated by using chi-square.

\*\* For the purpose of applying chi-square, the data in Table 6 were grouped into 4 age categories.

Table 6 gives the replies of the mothers to the question of duration of breast-feeding.

TABLE 6  
DURATION OF BREAST-FEEDING

Class	No. of Months Breast-fed								
	Bottle <3 only	3-6	7-10	11-14	15-18	19-22	23-26	>26	
Lower	0	8	5	6	4	4	3	15	5
Middle	9	8	10	3	4	9	4	2	1

Among the nine middle class mothers who did not breast-feed, seven reported not having enough milk, one disliked the idea and one said that health problems prevented her from doing so.

One possible explanation for the preference of the middle class mothers for shorter periods of breast-feeding may be the factor of convenience. Using the bottle rather than the breast, may not confine the mother at home since it is possible for a servant or some other person to give it in case of her absence. However, when the 25 middle class mothers who had servants were compared with those without servants this explanation did not hold true.

Other factors that may have contributed to the middle class preference for shorter period of nursing is attitude/ and education. Being in more contact with mass media, pediatricians, magazines, and radio broadcasts, the middle class mothers attitude toward duration of nursing may have been changed towards preference of shorter periods.

Bottle-feeding: After discussing the matter of breast-feeding, the mothers were asked about whether they had used supplementary bottle-feeding. Since the middle class mothers are more well-off economically than the lower class, one would expect the former group to use the bottle more often than the latter for bottle feeding costs the lower class money beyond their means. Our expectations were confirmed for 80 per cent of the middle class mothers declared using the bottle whereas 46 per cent of the lower class group reported doing so. This difference was significant at the .001 level ( $\chi^2 = 12.39, df = 1$ ).

The data also reflected that the middle class mothers introduced the bottle at an earlier age than the lower class mothers. Fifty-nine per cent of the middle class mothers introduced the bottle when the baby was less than two months old, while only 34 per cent of the lower class did so. The difference between the two social groups was significant at the .05 level ( $\chi^2 = 8.60, df = 3$ ).

It was evident that those lower class mothers who did use the bottle, used it for a longer period of time than the middle

class mothers. The average duration of bottle feeding among the lower class was found to be 24.6 months as contrasted with an average length of 20.1 months for the middle class. But this difference was not significant. Table 7 gives the duration of bottle feeding among the two classes.

TABLE 7  
AGE IN MONTHS OF THE LENGTH OF BOTTLE-FEEDING

		No. of Months Bottle Fed			
Class	No.	3-14	15-22	23-26	26
Lower	24	3	8	8	7
Middle	10	15	8	10	7

It was evident from the responses of the mothers, that the majority of the lower class mothers who used the bottle, did not have enough milk themselves. So they were forced to practice bottle feeding despite their meagre income.

#### Feeding Schedule

When the mothers were asked about whether they adhered to any feeding schedule, 92 per cent of the lower class declared feeding their infants on demand, whereas 62 per cent of the middle class mothers reported doing so. A very small minority - 8 per

cent - among the lower class mothers attempted some sort of scheduling. On the other hand 38 per cent of the middle class people mentioned using a schedule of greater or lesser precision. The responses of both the middle class and the lower class mothers are presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8  
CLASS DIFFERENCE IN INFANT FEEDING SCHEDULES

Class	Degree of Scheduling Reported by Mothers		
	None	Partial	Regular
Lower	46	2	2
Middle	31	12	7

Evidently, there was a particularly marked tendency on the part of the middle class mothers to make more efforts at scheduling than the lower class. This difference was significantly greater than chance ( $\chi^2 = 10.10$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $df = 2$ ).

To sum up, lower class mothers breast fed for longer periods of time than the middle class, used the bottle less, and made less efforts at scheduling. However, no differences existed between the two classes in respect to breast feeding.

## 2. Weaning

The replies of the mothers to questioning about the age of the beginning of cup and spoon feeding show that the vast majority of the children had a quite early experience with a cup or a spoon, much earlier than the age at which weaning occurred. Nevertheless the middle class mothers were more likely to use the spoon at an earlier age than the lower class.

Ninety per cent of the middle class mothers introduced the spoon to the child at an age earlier than two months, while 70 per cent of the lower class mothers did so. The rest of the lower class mothers applied the spoon in feeding at an age which ranged between 2-7 months. The average age of the beginning of spoon feeding among the middle class was 1.8 months as contrasted with 2.3 months for the lower class. The difference between the two classes regarding the age at which the spoon was introduced was significant at the .05 level ( $x^2 = 5.06$ , /  $df=1$ ). As will be mentioned later, this finding may be associated with the fact that the middle class gave semi-solid and solid food to the child earlier than the lower class mothers. So they were bound to use the spoon to a significantly greater extent.

As far as the beginning of cup feeding is concerned, the vast majority in both groups started at an age which ranged between 2 and 7 months. The average age at which the middle class child had some experiences with cup feeding was 4.2 months as

compared with 4.5 months for the lower class. In this respect, no differences were found between the two socio-economic groups.

With regard to the early experience with semi-solid and solid food, early introduction was more marked among the middle class than the lower class mothers. The difference prevalent regarding the age at which semi-solid and solid food was introduced was significant at the .01 level ( $\chi^2 = 10.27$ ,/  $df=2$ ). This tendency (early introduction of semi-solid and solid food) on the part of the middle class may be attributed to their better economic conditions which enable them to purchase baby food for their infants more often than the poor people.

The time for the introduction of semi-solid and solid food for the majority - 74 per cent - of the middle class mothers ranged between two and six months. The type of food introduced first were cereals, vegetable (soup), mashed fruits and juices. Next, egg yolk, and baby vegetable and meat food were given. This situation was not prevalent among the poor class. Because of their very poor conditions, no supplementary food of most of the above mentioned kinds were given. Among the 48 per cent lower class people who introduced food other than milk at an age that ranged between 2-6 months, a piece of bread, fruits, and small quantities of cow's milk were given.

With regard to the average age at which the child started eating regular adult food a slight but not significant difference



prevailed between the two social classes. The middle class as well as the lower class mothers started introducing adult's food at about the same age but it was a little earlier among the middle class mothers. With respect to this, the average age was 17.4 months for the middle class as compared with 18.3 for the lower class.

The Process of Weaning: When the mothers were asked about their reasons for weaning the child, varied responses were given: the child was old enough, mother had much work to do, pregnancy, no milk, mother's sickness, inconvenience, and child's sickness. However, the majority specified the child's maturity and pregnancy as the sole major reasons for weaning. In this respect, the middle class mothers were more likely than the lower class to declare that the child's maturity was the reason. Further, they were less likely than the lower class mothers to give pregnancy as a reason. The difference between the two groups concerning the above two reasons - child's maturity and pregnancy - was significant at the .01 level (for maturity  $\chi^2 = 7.07$ ,  $df = 1$ ; for pregnancy  $\chi^2 = 8.61$ ,  $df = 1$ ). This difference might be attributed to the fact that since the middle class mothers are more educated and are in more contact with mass media and pediatricians, they try to space pregnancy more than the lower class mothers. So weaning among them may be due more to the maturity of the child rather than to pregnancy.

Methods of Weaning: As far as methods of weaning are concerned, again several varied ways were given: dabbing the breast with (bitter substance) saber/and other bitter substances, putting water and salt in the bottle instead of milk, hiding the bottle, dabbing the breast with red chemicals such as nail polish and lipstick, putting on the breast pepper and coffee.

Fourty per cent of the lower class mothers dabbed the breast with bitter substances, whereas 28 per cent of the middle class group did so. In this respect, the difference was not significant. None of the middle class mothers put red chemicals and pepper on her breast, while 10 per cent of the lower class mothers did so. Furthermore, as many as 14 per cent of the middle class and 12 per cent of the lower class mothers withdrew the breast or the bottle suddenly. Concerning the gradual withdrawal of the breast or the bottle, 19 middle class mothers described themselves as employing gradual withdrawal first by substituting the cup for one meal then for the second until the child was weaned completely. In contrast 7 lower class mothers did so. In this respect, the difference between the two social groups was significant at the .02 level ( $\chi^2 = 6.28$ ,  $df = 1$ ).

With respect to the length of the period of weaning, the data did not reveal any considerable variation between the two socio-economic groups. However, the middle class mothers to some extent, were more likely to spend more time in weaning than the

lower class mothers. Among the middle class the length of the period of weaning ranged between one and 90 days with an average of 13.1 days. As far as the lower class mothers are concerned, the range was between one and 60 days with an average length of 9.4 days. Despite the slight difference, however, the great majority in both classes spent at weaning a period that ranged between one and seven days.

Emotional Upset at Weaning: Concerning the effect of weaning on the child, 46 per cent of the lower class mothers reported that their children responded favorably to weaning, while 60 per cent of the middle class group declared so. The rest of the mothers in both social classes mentioned little, some, or much unfavorable reactions. The data did not reveal any significant differences.

As mentioned in the second chapter, Freud maintained that frustration over weaning as well as not having enough nursing experiences will result in many unfavorable emotional reactions plus personality maladjustment on the part of the child. On this issue, the results of this study were varied. Some of them were in the direction of Freud's assumptions. Others seem to hint at the unfruitfulness of these assertions.

In the first place, the relationship between the length of breast-feeding and upset over weaning was examined. Of 33 children weaned before 11 months, 6 children encountered much

difficulty at weaning while 27 showed no such upset. On the other hand out of 39 children weaned at an age later than eleven months, 17 children responded unfavorably with much upset, whereas 22 did not have any difficulty. The difference was significant at the .05 level ( $\chi^2 = 4.20$ , /  $df=1$ ). Therefore, the longer the period of weaning the greater the emotional upset. According to many writers like Sears et al. and Prothro, the above finding can be accounted for by the principle of learning. The theory maintains that longer nursing periods establish a well ingrained habit which is harder to break than a weakly formed one. Thus, one would expect to find much emotional upset on the part of the child who had been nursed for a long period of time than the one nursed for a short while.

The relationship between feeding schedule and upset over weaning was also investigated. Prothro suggested that nursing for those fed on demand might be "a solace for many kinds of unhappiness" (31, p.78). On the other hand children nursed on a schedule may learn "other comforts than the mother's breast" (p.78). Hence, children fed on demand were expected to respond unfavorably to weaning to a larger extent than those fed on a schedule.

Among the 53 children who manifested no upset over weaning, 41 were fed on demand and 12 on some sort of schedule. Among the 32 children who encountered some and much upset 25 were

fed on demand, whereas 7 followed a schedule. This data revealed that the relationship between feeding schedule and upset over weaning was not significant. So Prothro's explanations mentioned above did not hold true.

As far as the relationship between severity of weaning methods and upset over weaning is concerned, no significant association was found too. Severe methods were not linked to much upset over weaning.

Another test was carried out for the purpose of examining whether decisive weaning - weaning that occurred within one to three days - produced less upset than indecisive one - weaning that took place in more than three days. Of 14 children weaned decisively, 9 encountered no upset, while 5 showed much. Of 40 children weaned indecisively 20 had no upset as opposed to 20 who manifested much. Evidently, no relationship was revealed between indeciveness and upset over weaning.

Regarding the relationship between the experience of weaning and children's behavior like feeding problems and emotional upset at toilet training, one was upheld while the rest showed no associations. No relationship was found to exist between feeding problems and age at weaning. Moreover, difficulty in weaning was not linked to feeding problems during childhood. Nevertheless, a largely significant relationship at the .01 level ( $\chi^2 = 8.18$ ,  $df = 1$ ), was revealed between difficulty in weaning and difficulty in toilet training for both groups.

These contradictory results assert the conclusion of Orlansky, mentioned in the second chapter, where he showed that there is no direct cause and effect relationships between childhood experiences and children's behavior.

To sum up, no differences existed between the two classes regarding the age at which the cup and adult foods were introduced and the length of the process of weaning. On the other hand, the middle class mothers were more likely to wean, introduce the spoon, feed baby solid and semi-solid foods at an earlier age than the lower class people.

Feeding Problems:

As was found in Lebanon, few mothers - 24 per cent - declared that their children manifested feeding problems during childhood. The rest - 76 per cent - mentioned no such problems to exist on the part of their children. Furthermore, no significant class differences were revealed. The responses of the mothers to the question of feeding problems are shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9  
FEEDING PROBLEMS

Class	Yes	No
Lower	9	41
Middle	15	35

When those mothers whose children manifested feeding problems were asked about what would they do in such a situation, 21 per cent reported doing nothing. No class differences were revealed.

Feeding problems were not linked either to age at weaning, difficulty in weaning or to severe toilet training practices.

### 3. Toilet Training

Several questions that get at the matter of toilet training were posed to the mothers. As far as the method of toilet training is concerned, there seems to be one basic procedure followed by the mothers irrespective of class. The vast majority - 98 per cent - declared that they used to note the baby's rhythm of bowel movement, then hold him between the arms for the purpose of letting him defecate on the ground in case of the lower class or he was held in a sitting position on the potty in case of the middle class. Furthermore, a special word - like sound was repeated by the mothers during the process of bowel movement. This technique went on until the child learnt to signal his need by using the same special word-like sound which was repeated over and over again by his mother.

Evidently, the Iraqi mothers began toilet training their children early. The average age for beginning cleanliness training was found to be 5.8 months.

The average age for initiation of the training was 4.8 for

the middle class group as opposed to 6.8 among the lower class people. As Table 10 shows, a great difference was noted between the two socio-economic groups. The statistical test applied to the data (chi square) revealed that the difference was too great to be attributed to chance. On the whole, middle class mothers began toilet training their children at a significantly earlier age than the lower class ( $x^2 = 8.38$ ,  $p. < 0.02$ , /  $df = 2$ ).\* With the middle class emphasis on orderliness and cleanliness one would not be surprised at such a difference.

TABLE 10  
AGE AT BEGINNING TOILET TRAINING

Class	Age in Months				
	< 5	5-7	8-10	11-13	> 16
Lower	18	15	10	5	2
Middle	25	21	3	0	1

In spite of the early start (5.8 months on average), children's toilet training was not completed quickly. The average age for completion among the lower class was 23.08 months while that of the middle class was 19.54 months. This variation between the two classes was found not to be significant. Table 11 shows the age at the completion of toilet training in both classes.

\* For the purpose of applying chi-square, the data in Table 10 were grouped into 3 age categories.



TABLE 11  
AGE AT COMPLETION TOILET TRAINING

Class	Age in Months						
	< 12	12-15	16-19	20-23	24-27	28-31	> 31
Lower	4	6	16	0	13	3	8
Middle	3	18	7	1	14	3	4

As far as the disciplinary techniques employed during toilet training, it was found that 60 per cent of the lower class mothers did nothing, while slightly less than half - 46 per cent - of the middle class mothers reported so. In this respect the difference found between the two classes was not significant. Evidently, this finding was linked to the early age of the initiation of the training. The vast majority - 90 per cent - of the mothers declared that no disciplinary techniques were used in toilet training when the infant was very young.

An approximately equal proportion, 28 per cent lower class and 26 per cent middle class mothers - beat the child when he was old enough to comprehend what was expected of him. In this respect too, 7 lower class mothers scolded, whereas 14 middle class did so. These differences were not statistically

significant. A significant difference prevailed between the two socio-economic groups concerning the use of explanation ( $x^2 = 11.45$ ,  $p. < .001$ ,  $df = 1$ ). None of the lower class mothers employed reasoning and explanation during training whereas 12 middle class did so.

Concerning the matter of soiling or lapses after training was completed, only a small minority, 6 lower class and 7 middle class mothers, did nothing. With respect to beating, no statistically significant differences was obtained, for 72 per cent of the lower class and 52 per cent of the middle class mothers employed beating. As far as explanation is concerned, again it was shown that none of the lower class mothers used it as contrasted with eleven middle class mothers. This difference was significant at the .01 level ( $x^2 = 10.21$ ,  $df = 1$ ).

#### Emotional Upset at Toilet Training

Upset over toilet training was another thing on which the mothers reported different reactions on the part of their children. Evidently, the great majority - 71 per cent - described the process as easy. As Table 12 shows, however, great differences existed between the two socio-economic groups on this matter. The poor children were significantly more likely than the middle class children to manifest much upset over cleanliness training ( $x^2 = 6.35$ ,  $p. < .05$ ,  $df = 2$ ).

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF CHILDREN EMOTIONALLY UPSET AT TOILET TRAINING

Class	Degree of Upset		
	Easy	Slightly Difficult	Very Difficult
Lower	29	10	11
Middle	42	3	5

As has already been pointed out, severe toilet training practices were not linked to feeding problems during childhood. However, upset over weaning was shown to be associated with difficulty in toilet training.

So far as the relationship between emotional upset at toilet training and the age at the start of the training is concerned, the evidence did not point to any significant association. The relationship between age at beginning of the training and emotional upset is shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AT BEGINNING TOILET TRAINING AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN SHOWING UPSET

Degree of Upset	Age in Months				
	< 5	5-7	8-10	11-13	> 13
No Upset	31	26	10	2	2
Much Upset	7	4	2	2	1

With respect to the association between emotional upset at toilet training and severity of the training, it was clear that the relationship was not significant.

Bed-wetting

From the standpoint of the child, night dryness is fairly more difficult to maintain than daytime dryness. Sleep may disrupt the control achieved during the day when the child is fully conscious of the full bladder signal. In posing the question of the age at which complete night dryness was achieved, the replies of the middle class mothers were quite different from those of the lower class. Table 14 shows the number of children who achieved night dryness at successive ages in both social classes.

TABLE 14  
AGE AT THE COMPLETION OF NIGHT DRYNESS

Class	Age in Month							Still Wet the Bed
	< 12	12-17	18-23	24-29	30-35	36-41	> 47	
Lower	1	3	6	8	3	8	14	7
Middle	1	20	7	6	3	3	6	4

As revealed in Table 14, the middle class children stopped bed-wetting at a relatively earlier age than the lower class children. The average age at which the middle class children achieved night dryness was 24.5 months as opposed to an average age of 35.2 months for the lower class children. The difference was found to be significant at the .01 level ( $\chi^2 = 14.20$ ,  $df = 4$ ).\* Relatively few mothers - 11 - reported that their children still wet their beds.

The difference between the two classes with respect to the age at which children achieved night dryness might be explained on the grounds that since the lower class people have very poor living conditions, their children may suffer from many health problems which in turn may disrupt bladder control at night. Whether the above explanation is true or not it is certainly clear that the lower class children have bed wetting problems long after the middle class children.

Sixty one per cent of the mothers described some sort of irritable feelings like anger, nervousness, annoyance when discovering wet-beds. The rest - 39 per cent - felt nothing whatsoever. The difference between the two groups in this respect (feeling nothing) was small so it was attributed to chance factors. However among those who described an irritable feeling of the angry type, 18 were lower class and six were middle class mothers.

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\* For the purpose of applying chi-square, the data in Table 14 were grouped into 5 ages categories.

The difference was found to be significant at the .02 level ( $x^2 = 6.63$ ,  $df = 1$ ).

Regarding the disciplinary techniques used in training children to achieve night dryness, no consistently significant differences were shown. On the whole, 63 mothers reported doing nothing, 23 mentioned beating, and 17 scolding. However, only 6 middle class mothers declared reasoning with and explaining to the child about the ill-effects of bed-wetting. One lower class mother mentioned burning the child's hand in order to prevent bed-wetting.

#### 4. Infant Indulgence

Due to the Arab fondness of children and their emphasis and enthusiasm about large families, one would expect that the newly born infant would be greatly indulged irrespective of class. In order to get at the matter of infant indulgence several questions were posed to the mothers early in the interview. In the first place they were asked to express their opinion about the following question "Some mothers believe in the necessity of carrying an infant when he cries, while others believe they should let him cry lest he become accustomed to being picked up, what is your opinion about this?" In reply to this question, it was quite evident that the middle class mothers had a different point of view from the lower class. The answers of the two groups are given in Table 15.

TABLE 15

## THE OPINION OF MOTHERS ABOUT INFANT INDULGENCE

Class	Always Pick Up	Sometimes	Feed	Leave	Valid Reason
Lower	29	15	13	6	0
Middle	7	6	0	27	9

From Table 15 we can see that unlike the middle class, more lower class mothers were of the opinion of always picking up the baby when he cries. This difference was significant at the .001 level ( $\chi^2 = 19.14$ ,  $df = 1$ ).

The same tendency on the part of the lower class mothers was apparent in regard to feeding the crying baby. It is interesting to note that nine middle class mothers expressed the opinion of picking up the child only when there is a valid reason or a genuine need, whereas none of the lower class did so.

When the mothers were asked about whether they actually picked up the baby when he cried, the same trend prevailed on the part of the lower class mothers. The middle Class mothers were less likely than the lower class mothers to always pick up and feed a crying infant. In this respect they differed significantly (in case of always picking up  $\chi^2 = 16.8$ ,  $p. < .001$ ,  $df = 1$ ); in case of feeding  $\chi^2 = 17.9$ ,  $p. < .001$ ,  $df = 1$ ). The replies of the mothers are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16  
INFANT INDULGENCE - ACTUAL BEHAVIOR

Class	Always Pick Up	Leave	Sometimes	Feed	Valid Reason	Only When Hungry	Only When Sick
Lower	27	1	22	24	0	0	0
Middle	7	12	16	4	12	1	1

When asked about their behavior at night, the majority in both groups - 45 lower class and 44 middle class mothers - mentioned feeding a crying baby. However, all the poor mothers responded by always picking up, whereas 16 middle class mothers did so. This difference was significant at the .001 level ( $\chi^2 = 48.52, df = 1$ ).

The attitude toward responsiveness which might be influenced by education may account for the difference between the two groups. Being in more contacts with mass media, radio broadcasts, pediatricians and publications about child care, the middle class mothers may be more aware than the lower class mothers of the fact that always picking up the crying baby is bound to spoil him. However, the non-existence of a difference between the classes as far as feeding a crying infant at night is concerned may be due to the fact that a crying baby always disturbs the sleeping others.



Another question was asked for the purpose of getting at the matter of indulgence. This question dealt with whether the mothers had time to spend with the child other than the time spent taking care of him, as in feeding and bathing. Again, differences were found between the two groups. The middle class mothers were more likely to spend time with their children than the lower class mothers. This difference was not due to chance and it was significant at the .02 level ( $x^2 = 8.49$ ,  $df = 2$ ). The results are given in Table 17.

TABLE 17  
AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT WITH THE CHILD

Class	None	Little	Some
Lower	3	20	27
Middle	0	8	42

In general, the lower class mothers were more responsive to a crying baby during the day time but did not differ from their middle class compatriots concerning the degree of responsiveness at night. Unlike the lower class people, the middle class mothers had more time to spend with the child other than the time spent taking care of him.

## 5. Techniques of Control

In chapter one, mention has been made that the techniques of control are of two types, positive and negative. The positive sanctions include praise, affection and material rewards such as money, food, presents and the like. On the other hand, negative controls imply the infliction of pain. The pain inflicted may be either tangible such as physical punishment or intangible like withdrawal of love.

Reward: The series of the questions in the interview on the matter of disciplinary techniques began with an inquiry about whether the mothers had any system of rewarding the child. In this aspect, there were enormous differences between the two socio-economic classes. Slightly more than half of the lower class people disclaimed any use of reward. In contrast, only 18 per cent of the middle class mothers reported not using rewards. The difference is distinctively too great to be attributed to chance ( $x^2 = 15.66, p. < .001/^{df=2}$ ). The answers of the mothers are shown in Table 18.

TABLE 18  
EXTENT OF USE OF REWARDS

Class	Reward	Occasional	No
Lower	0	24	26
Middle	5	36	9

The significant difference between the two social classes may be explained on the grounds that the better economic conditions of the middle class group enable them to buy presents and reward their children to a greater extent than the lower class people. Other variables may be their slightly higher education and continuous contact with mass media, radio-broadcasts and magazines which emphasize the importance of rewards.

Another aspect of positive sanctions discussed was whether praise is necessary for encouraging children for good behavior or not. There was a slight tendency on the part of the lower class mothers to feel that praise and encouragement were unnecessary. But the difference was not shown to be significant. The responses of the mothers are given in Table 19.

TABLE 19  
THE EXTENT OF THE USE OF PRAISE

Class	Praise	Sometimes Praise	Never Praise
Lower	17	13	20
Middle	21	16	13

In response to questioning about the kinds of rewards used for reinforcing good behavior, no significant class differences were found concerning the use of praise. The same per-

centages of mothers in both groups - 36 per cent - reported using it.

As far as rewarding the child with material goods is concerned, a significant difference was revealed between the two socio-economic groups ( $x^2 = 26.52$ ,  $p. < .001$ ,  $df = 1$ ). The middle class mothers were more likely than the lower class group to reward the child for good behavior by giving him presents. Likewise, food was used as a positive reward to a significantly greater extent among the middle class mothers than among the lower class ( $x^2 = 5.654$ ,  $p. < .02$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Ten lower class mothers stated using it in contrast to 21 middle class.

With regard to other kinds of rewards no clear differences were revealed. Money was used by four lower class mothers, and one middle class. Furthermore, love and affection was given by three lower class and seven middle class mothers. Clothes were used as a present by one middle class mother. Finally three lower class and two middle class mothers took the child out as a way of rewarding him.

### Punishment

Physical Punishment: Physical punishment or beating is the primary negative disciplinary technique in Basrah irrespective of class. Ninety-four per cent of the mothers in both groups claimed using it to some extent or the other. Only 10 per cent of the middle class and 2 per cent of the lower class mothers

stated not using beating at all.

On the issue of the use of physical punishment by the father, 16 poor mothers and 18 middle class mothers stated that their husbands never employed it in controlling the child. The rest - 34 lower class and 32 middle class mothers - reported the use of beating on the part of their husbands. No difference prevailed concerning this matter.

From Table 20 we can see that the majority, irrespective of class, did not believe that beating is effective. Rather, the majority of these mothers reflected that beating was a sort of an outlet for their own feelings in most instances. As far as class differences are concerned, the middle class mothers were significantly more likely to report the ineffectivity of physical punishment than lower class mothers ( $\chi^2 = 4.935$ ,  $p. < .05$ ,  $df = 1$ ).

TABLE 20

MOTHERS FEELINGS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVITY OF  
PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT

Class	Effective	Not Effective
Lower	14	34
Middle	8	42

As is shown in Table 21, the majority of the children responded to beating by crying. Few displayed hurt feelings.

Likewise few reacted aggressively. No consistent class differences prevailed.

TABLE 21  
CHILDREN'S REACTIONS TO PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT  
AS REPORTED BY THE MOTHERS

Class	Get Angry	Cry	Scream	Get Hurt	Get Aggressive	Get Nervous	Attack Parent	Submit	Miscellaneous
Lower	7	44	9	5	13	0	2	0	1
Middle	4	37	6	9	7	5	1	6	9

In the course of the interview and after discussing physical punishment, the following question was posed to the mothers "Do you explain to him the reasons for punishing him?" As shown in Table 22 the middle class mothers were more likely than the lower class to respond to this question in the positive. In this respect the difference was significant at the .05 level ( $\chi^2 = 4.59, df = 1$ ).

TABLE 22  
REASONING COMBINED WITH PUNISHMENT

Class	Reason	Do not Reason
Lower	29	21
Middle	39	11

Threatening: In response to the question on the use of threat as a disciplinary measure all the lower class mothers declared doing so, whereas 31 middle class mothers admitted its use. The difference between the two classes was significant at the .001 level ( $x^2 = 21.05$ ,  $df = 1$ ). This difference may be due to the fact that the lower class mothers are more busy with household tasks, so they are more bound to postpone punishment and substitute threatening for the time being.

Mothers were also asked about whether they have always carried through with the threat and the reasons for not doing so. The majority of the mothers reported that on most occasions they failed to carry out the threat. But this tendency was slightly more marked among the lower class mothers than among the middle class group.

As shown in Table 23, different reasons were given for not carrying through with the threat. Nevertheless forgetting and cooling down were given more often by the lower class mothers than by the middle class group. These differences were significant at the .001 level ( $x^2 = 19.42$ ,  $df = 1$ ;  $16.08$ ,  $df = 1$  for forgetting and cooling down respectively) and may be accounted for by the fact that the attitude of the middle class mothers is influenced by mass media of communication, thus, making them more consistent as far as carrying through with threat is concerned. Another factor may be their better educational status.

TABLE 23

REASONS FOR NOT CARRYING THROUGH  
WITH THREATENING

Class	Forgetting	Child Behaves	Cooling Down	Mother Feeling Sorry for Child	Mothers Love and Affection	Child Runs Away
Lower	25	19	27	0	0	3
Middle	8	15	9	6	6	8

Withdrawal of Privileges: Withholding privileges is a disciplinary technique infrequently used by the Iraqi mothers as a means for controlling and training the child. Twelve lower class as well as 16 middle class mothers claimed its use.

In the interview, the mothers were not asked about the things the child is deprived of. Nevertheless few lower class mothers volunteered the answers by declaring that soft drinks, sweets and fruits were withheld in reaction to the child's misdemeanor. Moreover, ten middle class mothers gave the following answers: four deprived of t.v., five withheld food, one soft drinks, six prevented the child from going out, two withdrew play things and money.

Withdrawal of Love: As in the case of withholding of privileges, withdrawal of love was another infrequently used technique. Only 32 per cent of the mothers interviewed mentioned using it. There was a slight tendency on the part of the middle class mothers to



use it more often than the lower class group, but this difference was too small to be significant. In contrast to 19 middle class, 13 lower class mothers claimed using it.

### The Directing of Behavior

Directing of behavior implies showing or discussing with the child what he should and should not do. Under this section, positive and negative modeling as well as reasoning will be discussed in the light of the findings of this study.

Positive Modeling: The first question posed to the mother regarding positive modeling was whether she puts herself or her husband as a good example for the child. In contrast to 23 middle class mothers 6 lower class people answered this question in the negative. So it is quite clear that holding the parents as a good example was used to a larger extent by the middle class than the lower class mothers. This difference was significant at the .001 level ( $x^2 = 12.43$ ,  $df = 1$ ). The attitude of the middle class mothers which is influenced by mass media of communication as well as their slightly better educational status may account for the difference.

As far as other positive examples are concerned, 48 lower class people as compared with 39 middle class mothers reported pointing out to positive examples other than the parents as a technique for directing the child's behavior. The difference between the two classes was significant at the .02 level ( $x^2 = 5.65$ ,  $df = 1$ ). The infrequency of using the parents as positive

example among the lower class mothers may make them more likely to use other people.

With regard to the types of positive examples pointed out to the child, siblings, neighbors and friends were used more often than cousins, relatives, school mates and movie figures. As Table 24 shows, more tendency was revealed on the part of the lower class mothers to point out to siblings, neighbors and friends than the middle class mothers. However, this difference was not found to be significant.

TABLE 24  
 TYPES OF POSITIVE MODELS USED

Class	Siblings	Sister	Brother	Neighbors	Friends	Cousin	Relatives	Movie Figures	School Mates
Lower	16	5	1	36	35	4	3	0	0
Middle	7	2	2	27	27	5	3	1	1

Negative Examples: Pointing out to bad examples of behavior as a means for directing the child's behavior was shown to be a rather popular technique. Forty-one lower class and 36 middle class mothers mentioned using it. No significant difference prevailed between the two socio-economic groups concerning the use of negative examples.

Reasoning:

In reply to questioning about the use of reasoning the middle class mothers were more likely to respond in the positive than the lower class group. As is seen in Table 25, a significantly greater proportion of the middle class mothers than the lower class employ reasoning ( $\chi^2 = 31.47, p. \ll .001 \text{ df} = 1$ ). This difference may be due to the fact of the better educational status of the middle class over the lower class mothers and to their greater exposition to mass media of communication.

TABLE 25  
THE USE OF REASONING

Class	Reason	Do Not Reason
Lower	9	41
Middle	38	12

In general, the lower class mothers rewarded their children less than the middle class group, gave presents and food as positive sanctions less often, believed more in the effectivity of physical punishment, used less explanation when punishing, threatened more, used the parents as a positive example to a lesser extent, used other positive examples more often, and used less reasoning. As far as similarities are concerned, both classes used beating, praise, withdrawal of privileges, withdrawal of love and negative examples to about the same extent.

## CHAPTER VI

### COMPARISON OF BASRAH'S SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES WITH THOSE IN LEBANON AND THE UNITED STATES

The findings about social class differences in socialization practices presented and discussed in the previous chapter were obtained from interviews with 50 lower and 50 middle class Iraqi mothers living in Basrah at the time this study was conducted. In this chapter class differences shown between Basrah's socio-economic groups will be compared with those found in both Lebanon and the United States.

Next, the relationships prevailing between some aspects of child rearing practices and children's behavior will also be compared with those found in Lebanon and America by Prothro and Sears respectively.

#### Feeding and Weaning

The non-existence of class differences in regard to breast-feeding was borne out in the three studies (32, p.427; 31, p.71). Nevertheless, both our results and those of Prothro revealed (31, p.73) that the lower class mothers are more likely to breast-feed their infants for longer periods of time than the middle class mothers. This trend on the part of the lower class mothers was not found by Sears et al. in their study of American mothers (32, p.427).

As far as demand vs. schedule feeding is concerned, the three studies revealed a greater effort on the part of the middle class mothers to schedule feeding (31, p.75; 32, p.427).

With respect to the age at weaning, again we find similarity between the findings of this study and those in Lebanon (31, p.73). In both countries, the lower class mothers were more likely to wean their children at a later age than the middle class group. In contrast, Sears et al. did not find any differences between the two socio-economic groups in the United States (32, p.427).

#### Toilet Training

As opposed to the results of this study, both Sears et al. and Prothro found no differences to exist between the two social classes regarding the age of the beginning of toilet training (32, p.427; 31, p.87). In this respect, there was a greater tendency among the Iraqi middle class mothers to initiate toilet training at an earlier age than the lower class people.

With regard to the age at which toilet training was completed, both of the present study and that of Prothro showed similar results while Sears\* findings were different. The Iraqi two social groups as well as the Lebanese (31, p.87) did not differ concerning the age at which they completed toilet training their children. On the other hand, Sears et al. middle class mothers finished the training two and a half months later than the lower class people (32, p.427).

The non-existence of a class difference in the extent of the use of physical punishment when toilet training the children was borne out in the present study and Prothro's (31, p.87). Nevertheless, it was clear that the data of this study was in contrast to Sears et al. findings for they found that physical punishment was used more often by <sup>the</sup> lower class when toilet training (32, p.427).

### Disciplinary Techniques

Reward:- With respect to the differences between the two classes regarding systems of reward, the results of this study were in the reverse direction of Prothro and Sears' findings (32, pp.430-432; 31, p.103). No class differences were revealed in their studies as far as system of reward is concerned, whereas Basrah's middle class mothers showed a greater tendency to reward the child than the lower class group.

Praise was used to about the same extent by both the middle and lower class groups in Bastah. This finding was borne out in the Lebanese study, but in America the lower class mothers used praise to a slightly greater extent than the middle class group.

Basrah's middle class mothers were more likely to use tangible rewards than the lower class. The studies in Lebanon (31, p.104) and America did not bear out this difference.

Punishment:- No difference existed between the two Iraqi social groups with respect to the extent of the use of physical punishment.



On the other hand, both Sears et al. and Prothro found a greater likelihood among the lower class mothers to use physical punishment in the United States and Lebanon respectively (32, p.430. 31; p.156).

Concerning deprivation of privileges, no consistent class differences were revealed in this study. On the other hand, Sears et al. reported that deprivation of privileges was used more often by the lower class mothers (32, p.430-432).

In Basrah, withdrawal of love was found to be used to about the same extent by both classes. In this respect the results of this study are in the same direction as the American findings (32, pp.430-432).

#### Infant Care

The Iraqi lower class mothers were more responsive to a crying infant than the middle class group. Nevertheless, the middle class mothers had more time to spend with the child than the lower class people. These results were not borne out in Prothro's study for he found that no differences existed between the two classes as far as indulgence is concerned (31, p.61).

On the whole it seems clear that Basrah class differences are more similar to the Lebanese differences than to the Americans.

On the issue of the relationships of socialization practices to children's behavior, it was also revealed that similarities as well as differences existed between the findings of this study and those of Sears et al. and Prothro.

In the first place, the relationship between the length of breast feeding and upset over weaning was in the same direction in the three studies. It was evident that children weaned at an age later than eleven months manifested more upset over weaning than those weaned before eleven months.

Children fed on demand were found by Prothro (p.78) to show more upset over weaning than those fed by a schedule. This relationship was not found in the present study.

When the relationship between severity of weaning methods and upset over weaning was tested, the results of this study did not bear what was found in America. Sears found that severe weaning methods were associated with much upset over weaning (32, p.92).

In both Sears et al. (p.155) and Prothro's (pp.78-79) studies, indecisive weaning - weaning that occurred in more than three days - was shown to be linked to much upset at weaning. The data of the present study did not reveal such a relationship.

In the three studies, no relationship was found to exist between feeding problems and the age at weaning. Moreover, no association was shown between difficulty in weaning and feeding problems during childhood. However, the existence of a relationship between difficulty in weaning and upset over toilet training prevailed only in the present study.

In Lebanon, America as well as Basrah feeding problems were not associated with severe toilet training practices. In Basrah,

no relationships were found to exist between emotional upset at toilet training and the age at which the training was initiated as well as between emotional upset at toilet training and severe cleanliness practices. In this respect, it is worth noting the results of this study are in contradiction with both the Lebanese and the American studies, for Prothro and Sears et al. found that emotional upset at cleanliness training was linked to both the age at which the training was begun and to severe cleanliness techniques.

In sum, it is clear that no consistent results have yet been reached as far as the relationships of socialization practices to children's behavior are concerned. In this respect, the results of this study as well as Sears et al. and Prothro's, reflect the absence of a direct cause and effect relationship between aspects of child rearing and children's behavioral manifestations. It can be maintained, as Orlansky did, that there does not exist a direct one to one relationship between socialization techniques and children's behavior as reported by the mothers.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to investigate the following:

1. The relationship between social class and some aspects of child rearing patterns, mainly, feeding, weaning, toilet training and disciplinary techniques.
2. The relationship between different socialization practices to some behavioral manifestations of children as reported by mothers.
3. To compare Basrah's class differences in child rearing patterns with those in Lebanon and America.

The subjects of this study were 50 middle class and 50 lower class Moslem mothers living in Basrah and having children between 4-6 years old. The mothers were questioned only about the child whose age was between 4 and 6.

The interview schedule which was used was an adaptation of the one used by Prothro in Lebanon which was itself an adaptation and translation to Arabic of a questionnaire originally formed and conducted by Sears and his colleagues.

Basrah's class differences in child rearing patterns outnumbered similarities. Concerning the matter of feeding and weaning, the lower class mothers were found to breast-feed longer than the middle class group, feed on demand to a greater extent, bottle-feed less often, wean later and employ less gradual techniques in weaning.

On the other hand, no differences existed between the two socio-economic groups regarding breast-feeding and in reporting about feeding problems manifested on the part of their children.

With respect to toilet training, the middle class mothers began earlier than the lower class group, completed the training quicker, used explanation when toilet training more often and described their children to show less upset over the training. Furthermore, they claimed earlier achievement of night dryness on the part of their children than the lower class people.

As far as infant indulgence is concerned, the lower class group were more responsive to a crying baby during the day time than the middle class mothers, but had less time to spend with the child. However, both expressed the same degree of responsiveness to a crying baby at night.

Regarding disciplinary techniques, there was no class differences with respect to the use of physical punishment, withholding of privileges, withdrawal of love, negative examples, and praise. On the other hand, rewards, and reasoning were used more often by middle class mothers, but threatening and positive examples were employed to a greater extent by the lower class group than by the middle class mothers.

On the issue of the relationship of socialization practices to children's behavioral manifestation as reported by the mothers, few were upheld while the rest were not. The significant associations found were:

1. The longer the period of breast-feeding the greater the upset over weaning.
2. Upset over weaning was associated with difficulty in toilet training.

On the other hand no relationships were found between the following:

1. Degree of scheduling was not linked to upset over weaning. Children fed on demand did not manifest more upset than those fed on a schedule.
2. Severe weaning methods were not associated with upset over weaning.
3. Indecisive weaning was not linked to much difficulty at weaning.
4. Feeding problems were found not to be associated with age at weaning, difficulty in weaning and severe toilet training.
5. Upset over toilet training was not linked to the age at which the training was initiated as well as to severe methods of training.

With respect to differences found between the lower and middle classes in Basrah, Lebanon and the United States, the findings of this study were more similar to the Lebanese than to the Americans.

In sum, the results of this study as well as Prothro's revealed that the lower class mothers breast fed for a longer period

of time than the middle, scheduled feeding to a lesser extent, and weaned at a later age. Furthermore in both studies no differences prevailed between the two groups with respect to breast-feeding, age at completion of toilet training, praise and use of physical punishment when toilet training. However, this study differed from Prothro's in that Basrah's middle class mothers were found to initiate toilet training earlier, reward the child more often, use tangible rewards to a greater extent, being unresponsive to a crying child and having more time to spend with their children than the lower class mothers. Furthermore, both of Basrah's two groups used physical punishment to about the same extent. On the other hand Prothro did not find any difference to exist between the two classes regarding the extent of rewarding and the use of tangible reward, but he found that physical punishment was used more often by the lower class mothers.

Sears et al. class differences in socialization practices differed greatly from Basrah's socio-economic differences with few exceptions. In the first place the two studies agreed that breast feeding was used to about the same extent by both groups, as well as withdrawal of love. Moreover, the greater effort on the part of the middle class mothers in scheduling feeding was asserted in both studies. As far as differences in results are concerned, they were far more than those found between the present study and Prothro's. Sears et al. found no differences between the two socio-economic

groups with regard to duration of breast feeding, age at weaning, age of the beginning of toilet training, the extent of the use of tangible rewards. On the other hand Basrah's lower class mothers breast-fed their children for a longer period of time, weaned and began toilet training at a later age, and used less tangible rewards. Furthermore, the American middle class mothers completed toilet training later, used less coercive methods when toilet training, employed less physical punishment in controlling behavior, used less deprivation of privileges and praised less than the lower class mothers. Basrah's two groups did not differ with respect to the use of severe methods in toilet training, the extent of the use of praise, physical punishment and deprivation of privileges. However, Basrah middle class people completed toilet training their children earlier than the lower class mothers.



Significant Differences Between Basrah's Middle Class and Lower Class Mothers in Professed Child Rearing Patterns

Title	Table	Page	Chi-Square	df	Probability	Direction of Difference
Duration of breast feeding	6	40	9.806	3	< .05	lower longer
Use of Supplementary bottle-feeding		41	12.39	1	< .001	middle higher
Age at which the bottle was introduced		41	8.60	3	< .05	middle earlier
Infant feeding schedule	8	43	10.10	2	< .01	middle higher
Age at which the spoon was introduced		44	5.06	1	< .05	middle earlier
The age at which semi-solid and solid food was introduced		45	10.27	2	< .01	middle earlier
Reasons of weaning						
a - Maturity		46	7.07	1	< .01	middle higher
b - Pregnancy		46	8.61	1	< .01	lower higher
Methods of weaning						
a - Gradual withdrawal of the breast or the bottle		47	6.28	1	< .02	middle higher
The relationship between length of breast-feeding and upset over weaning		48	4.20	1	< .05	

<u>Title</u>	<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Probability</u>	<u>Direction of Difference</u>
The relationship between difficulty in weaning and difficulty in toilet training		50	8.18	1	< .01	
Age at beginning toilet training	10	53	8.38	2	< .02	Middle earlier
The use of reasoning and explanation during the process of toilet training the children		55	11.45	1	< .001	middle higher
The use of reasoning and explanation concerning the matter of lapses after toilet training was completed		55	10.21	1	< .01	middle higher
Children's emotional upset at toilet training as reported by mothers	12	56	6.35	2	< .05	lower higher
Age at which children achieved night dryness	14	57	14.20	4	< .01	middle earlier
Feelings of the mothers towards bed-wetting a- Anger		58	6.63	1	< .02	lower higher
Opinion of mothers about infant indulgence a - Always picking up	15	60	19.14	1	< .001	lower higher
Actual behavior of mothers concerning infant indulgence a - Always picking up	16	61	16.8	1	< .001	lower higher
b - Feeding	16	61	17.9	1	< .001	lower higher

Title	Table	Page	Chi-Square	df	Probability	Direction of Difference
Amount of time spent with the child	17	62	8.49	2	^ .02	middle higher
Extent of use of rewards	18	63	15.66	2	^ .001	middle higher
Giving material goods for rewarding the child		65	26.52	1	^ .001	middle higher
Giving food for rewarding the child		65	5.654	1	^ .02	middle higher
Mother's feelings about the effectivity of physical punishment	20	66	4.935	1	^ .05	middle higher
Reasoning combined with punishment	22	67	4.59	1	^ .05	middle higher
Threatening		68	21.05	1	^ .001	lower higher
Reasons for not carrying through with the threat						
a - Forgetting		68	19.42	1	^^ .001	lower higher
b - Cooling down		68	16.08	1	^^ .001	lower higher
Use of parents as positive modeling		70	12.43	1	^ .001	middle higher
Pointing out to positive examples other than the parents		70	5.65	1	^ .05	lower higher
Reasoning	25	73	31.47	1	^ .001	middle higher

APPENDIX I

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. First of all we would like to get a picture of the family. How many children do you have?
  - a. Are they boys and girls?
  - b. How old are they?  
(Is x older, younger or middle?)
  - c. Do you have any relatives living with you at home?  
FaMo FaFa MoMo MoFa FaBr FaSis MoBr MoSis \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Any one else, such as servants?
  - e. How many servants do you have?
  
- \*2. Now would you think back to when x was a baby. Who took care of him mostly then?
  - \*a. Did you have a special nurse to take care of x when he was a baby?
  - \*b. Who took most of the responsibility? You or the nurse?
  - \*c. Did any one else help you in taking care of the baby when he did not have a special nurse?
  - \*d. (If yes) who took most of the responsibility?
  
- \*3. What about now, who helps in taking care of x?
  - \*a. Who takes most of the responsibility?
  
4. All babies cry, of course. Some mothers feel that if you pick up a baby every time it cries, you will spoil it. Others think you should never let a baby cry for very long. How do you feel about this? Always pick up, leave, sometimes, pick up, feed.
  - a. What did you do about this with x?  
Always pick up, leave, sometimes, pick up, feed.
  - b. How about in the middle of the night?  
Always pick up, leave, sometimes, pick up, feed.
  
5. Did you have time to spend with the baby besides the time that was necessary for feeding him, changing him, and just regular care like that? None, little, some, much.
  - a. (If yes) tell me about what you did in this time. How much did you cuddle him and sing to him and that sort of thing?

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\* The answers to these questions were not included in the analysis because they were not clear cut.

6. Now would you tell something about how the feeding went when he was a baby?
  - a. Was he breast-fed? (If so) for how long?
  - b. (If not) what were your reasons for not breast-feeding the child?
  - c. (If yes) did you go directly to the cup or did you use a bottle?
  - d. When did you start using the bottle? For how long?
  - e. When did you start supplementing the breast-feeding? What did you use, bottle, cup, spoon.
  - f. When did you start introducing food other than milk to the diet of the child?
  - g. What were the kinds of food introduced and when?
  - h. When did you start feeding the baby vegetables and meat from your own table? Did he still get the bottle too? Did you let him to have everything you eat? About how old was he then?
  - i. As a baby was your child a good eater, or a fussy eater?
  - j. Did he ever refuse the breast? The bottle? Under what circumstances?
7. There has been a lot of talk about whether it is better to have a regular feeding schedule for a baby, or to feed him whenever he is hungry. How do you feel about this?
  - a. How did you handle this with x?
  - b. (If schedule) How closely did you stick to that schedule?
8. And how about weaning him (from the bottle) (from the breast) to a cup? When did you start this?
  - a. How did you decide it was time to begin this?
  - b. How did you go about this?
  - c. How did he react to being taken off the bottle (breast)?
  - d. How long did it take to get him to give up the bottle (breast) completely?
  - e. Did you stop suddenly or gradually?
  - f. Did you allow any relapses?
9. When did you start toilet training?
  - a. Bowel
  - b. Bladder
10. How did it go?
11. How did the child react to toilet training?
12. How did you handle the situation if the child had an accident after he had begun to understand what was expected of him?
13. When was he toilet trained completely?

14. What would you do if he had accidents after he had been completely trained?
15. What method did you use?
16. What disciplinary techniques did you use to train the child?
17. Could you tell me what you did if he wet the bed at night?
18. How did you feel about it?
19. What did you do when you found the bed wet?
20. When did he stop wetting the bed at night?

Now; we would like to know something about how you go about correcting x and getting him to behave the way you want him to, regardless of the particular kind of behavior that is involved.

21. Do you have any system of rewarding him for good behavior?
  - a. (If yes) What kinds of reward do you use?
22. Some parents praise their children quite a bit when they are good, and others think that you ought to take good behavior for granted and there is no point in praising a child for it. How do you feel about this?
23. In training x, do you ever say: Your daddy and mother do it this way? Do you say that? Under what circumstances?
  - a. Who else do you hold up as an example - his older brother (sister)? Grandparents? Other relatives? Playmates?
  - b. Is there anyone you mention as an example of what not to do? For instance - You are acting just like so-and-so - you would not want to be like him, would you?
24. How often do you spank x?
  - a. How about your husband? How often does he spank him?
25. How about when he was younger - say two or three years old. How often did you spank him then?
26. How does he act when you spank him - does it seem to hurt his feelings, or make him angry, or what?
27. How much good do you think it does to spank x?
28. Do you explain to him the reasons for punishing him?

29. Do you ever deprive x of something he wants as a way of disciplining him? If yes, How often? (Frequently or rarely)
30. Would you imagine now that you are scolding x for something he has done that you do not want him to do. What would you say to him?
  - a. What else might you say?
  - b. Do you warn him about what you might do if he does not behave? (For instance, how about warning him that he might get hurt? How would you say it?)
31. Is there any other kind of remark you make fairly often to x?
32. How often do you tell x that you are going to have to punish him and then for some reason you do not follow through?
  - a. What kinds of things might keep you from following through?
33. Do you reason with x?
34. What does your husband do for a living? (Is there another income? Does the mother work?)
35. Did your husband go to school?
  - a. What level of education did he reach?
  - b. How old is your husband?
36. Did you go to school?
  - a. What level of education did you reach?
37. How old are you?
38. (Fill out as soon as possible after leaving)
  - a. House made of....
  - b. Number of rooms and size.
  - c. Running water?
  - d. Bathroom?
  - e. Radio? Other appliances?
  - f. Amount and kind of furniture.
  - g. Books? Magazines? Art works?
  - h. General appearance of home (paint, repair).
  - i. Servants?
  - j. Location in town.
  - k. Over-all impression of socio-economic status (include occupation and education).

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