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CHILD CARE IN MIEH-MIEH

By

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## ABSTRACT

### CHILD CARE IN MIEH-MIEH

This is a descriptive study of child rearing practices in Mieh-Mieh, a village in south Lebanon. The purpose of the study is to investigate practices in this rural area and compare them with urban practices of a similar group in Beirut. The findings are related to developmental theories.

It includes a brief review of literature dealing with theories of socialization, discussing the relationship between child care and personality and tracing trends in child care mainly in the west.

From the psycho-analytic point of view, the individual is looked upon as an energy system that may become constructive or destructive depending on the experiences provided along the way of development. It regards growth as a process of moving from one stage to another, and character as the result of the specific experiences in the different stages. According to Adler, the striving of the individual is brought about by his sense of inferiority. Jung emphasizes the goals of the individual as well as his past experiences. He stresses the child parent relationship in personality development. Allen explains growth as a discovery of one's role, relating oneself to other members of his family and group. From a socio-psychological point of view, the individual is in society not apart from it. Society modifies his behavior, but he too may have the power to influence society.

Theories of child rearing practices and their influence on personality



development are also reviewed. Child care methods have had different interpretations as to their favorable or unfavorable influences on personality. The significance of different practices related to - mothering, nursing experiences, weaning, toilet training and restraint and mother - has been studied. Attempts have been made to verify theories on the experimental level, but relatively few findings are conclusive.

A brief survey is given of changes in child care related to theory. Until 1910 child care practices were naturally permissive with dependence on religion for character formation. By 1920 an awareness of science as a source of guidance in child care started. Watsonian theories led to restrictive practices that dominated until 1940. Then a definite swing in the permissive direction based on concern for personality and adjustment took place.

In Mieh-Mieh, the findings indicate that permissive tendencies prevail. Where differences exist in the city they are in the direction of restrictiveness more characteristic of practices before 1940 in the west among the middle class. This study assumed that where differences are present, changes in the city are due to contact with the west through medical care and other means. In basic value systems little difference appears between the city and the village. This implies that the change is superficial.

An attempt has been made to relate the findings on early childhood experiences to adult tendencies in the culture, with due recognition that later experiences as intervening factors are absent in the study.

Relationships have been suggested between greater restriction in the city and aggression; lack of conformity to rules in both places and disregard of law in adulthood; prolonged dependence in childhood and lack of independence in adulthood; family solidarity as experienced in early childhood and lack of social responsibility outside the family unit; family solidarity giving individual security and greater readiness for acceptance of cultural expectations.

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## INTRODUCTION

Some years ago when the writer was in high school, she was faced with a problem. While the school was offering practical training in Home Economics in the best possible way, the writer was at a loss as to how much she could apply in her community. She was sure if she had her own home it could be no different from any other home in the village in spite of her education because she found it difficult to apply. She was especially troubled by the child care course. She could not see how it could be possible for her to hear a child cry and not pick him up and comfort him, or how she could keep a baby on a feeding schedule when she hardly ever kept one herself except in boarding school. Little did she know that the swing to more permissive child care had already started in the west, but had not reached her school. It was a great relief to discover later in college that the rules she had been taught were not laws of child care, but theories that could change and are changing. She was even more happy to discover that each culture has its dignity and its history and that the difference between one culture and another does not have to be one of forwardness or backwardness as indirectly she had been led to believe. Nor is it essential to change everything to improve home making and child care. It was a relief to discover all this.

With that in mind the writer was happy to undertake the study of child rearing practices in her village. It was revealing to review literature on socialization and on theories of development, to find what is known, and how much is not known yet. She also became aware of the need for knowing more about what exists in the way of customs and practices in caring for children. For in the course of time she had changed from being critical of

of local practices to being more appreciative for all that village life can offer a growing child. It became evident that neither criticism nor appreciation can be well founded without a scientific investigation of what there is. The purpose of this thesis is to study the existing practices and find out as far as possible why they exist and to see why they continue when they are no more useful. This study is only a preliminary investigation that might lead later to a more critical evaluation of our practices. Such an evaluation will not be made in this thesis as it is beyond its scope, and because we have few proved findings in regard to theories of child training and personality development. While at the present we are not ready to make such evaluation, it may become possible when we have more studies of anthropological nature dealing with child care such as "Growing Up in an Egyptian Village" by Hamed Amman, or "Coming of Age in Samoa" by Margaret Mead, and when we have more specific findings on the importance of early childhood experiences in personality development.

In this study we have a detailed presentation of child care practices in Mish-Mish. They have been compared with practices in Beirut in order to find out if any changes emerge with urbanization, and if they do, what direction they take.

Chapter I - Theoretical and Historical Background

## CHAPTER I - THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### Theories of Socialization:

The process by which the child becomes a typical member of the society into which he is born is the process of socialization. Physiological functions may mean different things in different cultures. In a stable culture a high degree of uniformity in character is passed on from generation to generation. No personality, however, is completely molded to the will expressed in the social code, not even under constant pressure. "Even if external molding is outwardly successful there is much tension within. Culture meets the needs of man with varying degrees of success. Furthermore, what the culture can do to the individual depends on the stuff he is made of." (1)

The developmental process cannot be studied without reference to the social forces that influence development. Children are born into a society and a specific culture. Social differences in the rearing process enter a child's life from its very beginning. Society may influence the child in two ways:-

- 1- It continually brings pressures on the child's ways to modify them toward more mature behavior.
- 2- Socialization includes the child's efforts to reach out and make

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(1) G. Murphy, Personality, p. 905

the cultural ways his own. The child becomes socialized in part because he wants to grow up and be independent like adults in his society. (2)

The child soon learns to differentiate between acceptable and unacceptable behavior. "Through a system of reward and punishment the child learns good from bad, as defined in his culture." (3) Goals and values are passed on through child training. "But values do not persist unless they work economically, psychologically and spiritually; and to this end they must continue to be anchored, generation after generation in early child training." (4)

Social pressures thus exert their influence in molding the personality. This is done in four ways:-

- 1- By signals and taboos: Restrictions depend on a variety of symbols, One society uses facial signals another words and threats. The individual becomes sensitized to a particular system of signals, so much so that he is unaware of signals that carry approval or disapproval.
- 2- "The value system of the individual begins in a large part with canalizations that are referable to the current modes of satisfaction which society provides for each need." (5) Society acts

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(2) W.E. Martin & C.B. Stendler, Child Development, p. 214.

(3) Ibid, p. 217.

(4) H. Ammar, Growing Up in an Egyptian Village, p.8.

(5) G. Murphy, op.cit., p. 904.



not by adding something but by molding something that is already there, giving it characteristic directions.

- 3- The impulsive life of the individual can be qualitatively changed to some extent, by emphasizing the legitimacy of one kind of satisfaction and the illegitimacy of another. Society can fuse and pattern the needs and consequently change their quality.
  
- 4- "Because of this third process the ethos, the predominant feeling tone, depends upon the cultural process through which the individual goes. Not only are the impulses molded but the inner core and the flow of feeling into the cognitive outlook are likewise shaped." (6)

Children in the same culture have similar socializing experiences at about the same time. Socialization proceeds at a rapid rate during the first six years. While the child is learning to satisfy his needs, he discovers his dependence on society to satisfy these needs. He becomes aware of the demands of society and the limits it sets to his behavior. The child begins to want to grow up, to be independent, and the drive for independence pushes him toward adulthood and conformity to adult standards.

In the next part socialization as it is related to developmental theories will be discussed.

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(6) Ibid.

Socialization from a Psycho-analytic Point of View:

Here Freud's point of view as written shortly before his death is expressed. Psycho-analytic theory has found it useful to postulate a structure of mental life. It includes three parts:-

- 1- The id underlies activity that is solely devoted to obtaining the satisfactions of those needs which the child possesses from the time of birth, if not from the beginning of life itself. The child seeks to meet his primary basic needs without any consideration of outside factors. But a stage is reached where society does not tolerate such activity, and it is at this point that the demands of the child are countered with demands of the society or the external world. (7)
  
- 2- The ego: There comes a time in the young child's life when parents begin setting limits to his activities and his demands. The child soon learns that he cannot ignore these demands nor revolt successfully against them. He must make the best of the situation. "He learns that in order to receive satisfaction, he must adjust his demands both in kind and amount in accordance with external conditions." (8) With increasing experience he succeeds in obtaining satisfaction for his own needs and yet adapting to the external demands. "Some part of that structure previously assigned completely to the satisfaction of the individual's needs now takes

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(7) W.E. Martin & C.B. Stendler, op.cit., p. 311.

(8) Ibid, p. 312.

on the job of acting as an arbitrator between inner needs and external demands. To the extent that this structure develops or is potentially capable of developing, the organism may be said to have an ego." (9) A major part of growing up is the development of an ego. "Only to the extent that ego development takes place can a person hope to attain the degree of independence that characterizes adulthood." (10)

- 3- The super-ego: A part of the individual mental structure takes the function of indicating those solutions to problems which are socially acceptable. The process of socialization is most closely identified with super-ego development.

While the id is the biological inheritance of the child, the super-ego is his social inheritance. The ego plays the role of integrator. Those divisions of mental structure are interdependent, and their harmonious functioning is essential. Neither the id nor the super-ego is realistic. It is the ego that forms a bridge between the demands of man's nature through the id, and man's society through the super-ego. It is the ego that makes rational men. The major task of socialization is a balance between forces. This is done through the development of a strong ego, a reasonable super-ego with recognition of the nature of the id. (11)

Freud looked upon the human being as an energy system. Energy can be used by the individual for constructive activities, to establish greater

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(9) Ibid, p. 313.

(10) Ibid,

(11) Ibid, 316.

integration or it may be used as destructive power. A creative person is encouraged in the constructive use of his energy. His energy is not lost in settling conflict between his id and his super-ego. With freed energy the ego can build constructively from the materials of his physical and social environment. (12)

#### Types of Mental Activity:

Conscious behavior is the simpler form of behavior; it is the one that requires less energy. The more complex form of mental activity is the unconscious motivation. The ego, influenced by the super-ego refuses to recognize the source of motivation of certain behavior. Therefore, what a person admits as a source of motivation and what his true motivation is, may be two different things. "If we are to help the child keep maximum amount of energy available for rational and constructive behavior we must make it possible for him to admit freely his motives at all stages in the process of socialization. If we can furnish that kind of accepting environment we make it unnecessary for him to cover up." (13) So long as his motives are open to him and to the agents of socialization in society it will be easier to train and teach him.

#### The Development Process:

"What is the process by which the individual develops an ego that supports the kind of existence and behavior required by the society in which

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(12) Ibid, p. 318.

(13) Ibid,

he lives." (14) Freud saw this as a series of fixed stages. "Fixed in the sense that every individual regardless of society, culture, and specific environmental conditions, attained maturity as a socialized person only by moving from one stage to another in a rather inevitable sequence."(15)

In the beginning, distinctions are not very clear to the child. He seeks the satisfaction of his needs and for a while they are met without hesitation. Soon he begins to differentiate between himself and the outside world. He sees the possibilities of manipulating people to his advantage. This stage Freud calls the period of narcissism. At this stage the child is a tyrant but tyrants are tolerated for a time.

Before long the child realizes that he is dependent upon other people and they exert demands. Soon he transfers his love from himself to his parents. Thus he can expect their love and consideration. Here is where the oedipus complex begins and is followed by the process of identification with the parent of the same sex.

During the latency period identification has been completed, and the standards of conduct exemplified by the child's parents become incorporated into his mental life.

Puberty brings new interests, first closer friendships with one's own sex, this is known as the homosexual stage. But this stage does not bring social or biological satisfaction, and the normal individual moves

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(14) Ibid, p. 329.

(15) Ibid,

on to the heterosexual stage where he ultimately forms permanent affiliation.

Interference with the normal processes of development may occur in one of two ways: Fixation and regression. Fixation describes the case of a person who does not move from one stage to another, but remains at an immature level. In regression the individual goes back to an earlier stage upon meeting a problem that he cannot cope with. He thus regresses to an easier level of existence.

If a person is normal, he passes from one stage to another without delay, and his experiences along the way provide him with his character. "More specifically, then character is a result of specific experiences in each of the stages of development." (16) The child who had his demands fully satisfied differs from the one whose satisfactions were lacking at the different stages.

Freud's theory of development has some definite limitations. His theories about culture were different from those of modern anthropologists. He developed a cultural theory based on biological presuppositions. He did not have knowledge of comparative cultures. He firmly believed in the authority of the patriarchal family and he kept his Victorian attitude towards women and sex. His theory of the oedipus complex represents an inevitable biological stage of development. "Always he recognizes that culture plays a part, but he thinks of culture as the servant of biology... Although he lived until 1940, there is no evidence that his thinking was

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(16) Ibid, p. 336.

in any way modified by the findings of modern anthropology." (17)

Freud's cultural orientation differs from anthropological findings in two ways - First, "Much which is known today to culturally determine behavior in man was believed by him to be the expression of inalterable biological trends." Second, "He conceived of society as a static force developed as a mechanism for controlling man's instincts." (18)

Freud saw man becoming increasingly frustrated as he became more civilized. The function of society is to curb the biological instincts. "All that is cooperative in man, all that is creative, is purchased at the price of renouncing instinctual satisfactions. Man, therefore, must always be restless under the demands of society because his most fundamental urges are being repressed." (19)

#### Socialization from Adler's Point of View:

According to Adler the beginning of every life is fraught with a deep inferiority feeling. This feeling is the driving force from which every childish striving originates.

Thus socialization is determined, by the inferiority feelings of the child. Every child finds himself in a world of give and take, that

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(17) Clara, Thompson, Psycho-analysis, p. 134.

(18) Ibid, p. 136.

(19) Ibid,

expects adaptation and satisfied life. Early in life he recognizes obstacles to the satisfaction of his needs. He realizes that other human beings can satisfy their urges more completely and are better prepared to live. He over-evaluates the stature and importance of the adult. He develops a desire to grow, to become as strong or even stronger than all others. (20) A branching out of tendencies begins to appear rather early. "Whereas some children develop in the direction of the acquisition of power and the selection of a courageous technique which results in their recognition, others seem to speculate on their own weakness, and attempt to demonstrate in most varied forms." (21)

"The basis of educability lies in the striving of the child to compensate for his weakness. A thousand talents and capabilities arise from the stimulus of inadequacy." (22) Difficulties in facing the world are not caused just by the weakness of the organism, but also by the unreasonable demands of the environment. The laws of human society may be poorly comprehended by weak or defective children. Such children approach every new experience with fear and cautiousness, "removing themselves farther and farther from the truth and actuality with every contact, and succeed only in continually making fresh difficulties for themselves." (23) This may also happen when parents do not show normal tenderness to their children. The child's feelings may become so fixed that he cannot recognize and exchange love and tenderness for fear of being ridiculous. "Thus boundaries to the love life may be set in early childhood." (24)

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(20) A. Adler, Understanding Human Nature, p. 34.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Ibid., p. 35.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Ibid., p. 38.



On the other hand education accompanied by too much tenderness is equally disturbing. A pampered child attaches himself to one or more persons and refuses to be detached. His love becomes a struggle to attain tenderness by any possible means. He may try rivalry, tale-bearing and other similar means against his siblings or peers. He enjoys their misdeeds that his righteousness may become more apparent. "The child may develop himself in an evil direction, in order to arrive at his goal, or he may become a model child with the same goal in view." (25) The pampered child may also be utterly unprepared for life because he has never had the opportunity to meet and conquer difficulties. These children tend to think more of themselves than others, and have a tendency to become more pessimistic.

"The impressions which storm in upon every individual from the earliest days of his infancy influence his attitude throughout his life... The child's psychic activity becomes increasingly permeated by his social relationships. The first evidence of the inborn social feeling unfolds in his early search for tenderness, which leads him to seek the proximity of adults. The child's love life is always directed towards others, not, as Freud would say, upon his own body." (26) This social feeling remains throughout life, it may be changed, colored, modified, broadened until it reaches not only the family, but the clan, the nation and the world.

Jung's Theories:

Jung like Adler was another pupil of Freud that parted from him.

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(25) Ibid., p. 40.

(26) Ibid., p. 42.

He did not agree with many of Freud's sexual theories, but he did not disagree openly. In dealing with neurosis he recognized as early as 1909 the influence of the neurotic difficulties of parents on children. The child is in a peculiarly affective state. "The more sensitive and mouldable the child the deeper the impression" (27) Jung observed the subtle interaction of child and parent. He gave the libido the general meaning of life force. He denied that sexuality was an important factor in early childhood. "Jung sees sexuality as beginning to be a factor in the later years of childhood-pre-puberty and then from puberty onwards, he grants sex a very important role." (28) He stresses the biological and the sexual less, and the parental tensions and influences more on the child's developing personality.

He speaks of the individual as having four main characteristics: thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition. "In men, thinking and sensation are usually the conscious characteristics and feeling and intuition are repressed. In women feeling and intuition are uppermost." (29) Jung also spoke of two character types the extravert and the introvert, both of these are influenced by one of the four main characteristics. Jung believed that people needed a religious attitude, this to him meant respect for the dignity of human life.

One other concept should be mentioned here, that is the concept of the persona. "Jung thought that the individual in the course of his life

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(27) C. Thompson, Psycho-analysis Evolution and Development, p. 162.

(28) Ibid., p. 164.

(29) Ibid., p. 167.

tends to put on like a mask the attitude which is expected of him... It acts as a sort of protection of the inner persons." (30) This is his concept of the persona.

Jung emphasized the goals of the individual along with his past experiences. He also emphasized the importance of child-parent relationship. This implies importance of the present and the future as well as the past.

Allen's Interpretation:

Allen emphasized the roles appropriate to the biological group: Clarification of role is essential for the child's understanding of his place in society. In adapting to differences in roles the child discovers himself. The individual functions in a role, but cultural influences in the form of laws, taboos, rituals and customs, give direction and meaning to the emerging self. (31) As the child grows he discovers roles appropriate to his changing status. The family defines the roles prescribed by the culture to its individual members. These definitions shift and change from culture to culture. In some cultures roles have a more fixed status than in others. In modern culture the parent has more choice in the way of living a role than in a primitive culture. The family has been the social institution which defines roles through living experiences and relationships among its members.

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(30) Ibid., p. 168.

(31) F.H. Allen, Psychotherapy with Children, p. 31.

The child grows by discovering his role as an individual and relating himself to other members of his family or group. It is a process of separation and integration. The mother can help the child discover his separateness, and the fact that the sources of his needs lie within him, and he is capable of satisfying them. "Growth cannot be viewed merely as a biological process because of the very nature of the totality which characterizes the reality of the child. But it is a biological process within a framework of relationships and events which gives meaning and direction to the emerging self of the child." (32).

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(32) Ibid., p. 42.

Socialization from a Socio-psychological Point of View:

In the psycho-analytic approach the influences of society and culture were neglected. It lay its emphasis upon the individual, his nature and his behavior. According to Freud even the end of the process is found in the individual and his nature. This individual is influenced by extra-individual forces, but they do so in certain inevitable ways. "Progress or lack of progress, under given conditions, is defined by the nature of the individual. He is what he must be." (33).

Studies of varieties of culture reveal that individuals do not make predetermined responses to given environmental conditions. Members of different societies differ and the question then arises how do such differences get established. As human beings share the same nature then those differences must be due to differences in societies which have influenced the growing children. A fuller explanation of the process of socialization requires that the individual be considered as well as the society in which he grows. The nature of the child, the nature of society and the interaction between the two must be studied. This approach to the problem of socialization is known as the socio-psychological approach, a term used by <sup>Eric</sup> Fromm. (34)

The individual is in the society, not apart from it, As the society modifies the individual so does the individual modify society. His influence

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(33) W. E. Martin, & G.B. Stendler, op.cit., p. 346

(34) Ibid., p. 341.

may be small, but never the less it is a mark. Thus the individual is not just a system of forces always subject to another society, but he too works in changing society.

The individual tries to meet the demands of society, and conforms through taking on the appropriate behavior expected. Expectations of society change as the individual grows and the child modifies his behavior. This is done through learning, society being the teacher and the child the learner. Society is not just one teacher, but many: mother, father, siblings, peers, teachers, church, clubs etc. The child must learn the right responses and when and to whom to make them. Here learning which involves people in interaction is indicated. This is called social learning. "The child learns not only the right responses to make but also experience in, and attitudes toward interpersonal relationships. Whether he learns to trust or distrust people, whether he learns to cooperate or compete with them, whether he learns to be independent of or dependent on them, whether he learns to exploit others for his own benefits, all these attitudes toward people are as important outcomes in the socialization process as are such behaviors as manners, rituals laws and customs .... How the child has learned to relate himself to other people will determine in what ways and under what circumstances he employs these behaviors. The mark of the socialized individual lies ultimately in the nature of his interpersonal relationships. These will be determined by the kinds of interactions he enjoyed in the process of being socialized." (35)

Why does the individual give in to the demands of society? While most people are docile learners on the whole, they may resist socializing

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(35) Ibid., p. 349.

influences at times. The individual soon finds his dependence on society for meeting his biological needs. Society meets his needs only if he meets certain terms. Upon performing the social learnings required the individual is rewarded by being given adult status. Learning what to do, what not to do, learning skills and competence, learning to recognize rewards and punishments, become important. (36)

#### Studies of Child Rearing Practices:

The theories discussed so far may vary in their interpretation of growth and socialization, but there seems to be little doubt that those early years are significant for personality development. It follows, therefore, that the practices used in child rearing have some bearing on the socialized individual. It is not always clear what influences they may have, and theories of child care may give directly opposite interpretations to the same practice. In this section child rearing practices and their significance will be presented from different points of view. Common practices related to feeding, weaning, experiences connected with elimination, restraint and motion, and mothering will be discussed. Mothering will be taken first.

#### Mothering:

J. B. Watson in his book, "Psychological Care of Infant and Child", has made definite statements regarding the relationship between mother and

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(36) Ibid., p. 350.

child. To begin with, he questions the value of the home for bringing up children. "It is a serious question in my mind whether there should be individual homes for children or even whether children should know their own parents. There are undoubtedly much more scientific ways of bringing up children which will probably mean finer and happier children." (37) He goes on to say that the home we have with us and the behaviorist has to put up with it, but his task is to try to get the mother to take a new view of her responsibility. He strongly condemns mothers who lavish affection on their children. Speaking of the mother "picks the infant up, kisses and hugs it, rocks it, pets it and calls it 'mother's little lamb' until the child is unhappy and miserable whenever away from actual physical contact with the mother. Then again as we face this intolerable situation of our own creating, we say a child is "spoiled." And spoiled most children are." (38) Referring to the mothers in the 1920s he says that the mothers have had a Renaissance, a preparation for a change of mores. The mother is asking herself, "Am I not almost wholly responsible for the way my child grows up? Isn't it just possible that almost nothing is given in heredity and that practically the whole course of development is due to the way I raise it." (39) He goes on to say, "Mothers just don't know, when they kiss their children and pick them up and rock them, caress them and jiggle them up on their knee that they are slowly building up a human being totally unable to cope with the world it must live in." (40) This means that parents, whether they know it or not,

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(37) J. B. Watson, Psychology<sup>and</sup> Care of Infant and Child, p. 5.

(38) Ibid., p. 14.

(39) Ibid., p. 15.

(40) Ibid., p. 44.



start intensive training at birth." (41) In speaking of the dangers of too much mother love Watson recommends the following:-

"There is a sensible way of treating children. Treat them as though they were young adults. Dress them, bathe them with care and circumspection. Let your behavior always be objective and kindly firm. Never hug and kiss them, never let them sit in your lap. If you must, kiss them once on the forehead when they say goodnight. Shake hands with them in the morning. Give them a pat on the head if they have made an extra\_ordinarily good job of a difficult task. Try it out. In a week's time you will find how easy it is to be perfectly objective with your child and at the same time kindly. You will be utterly ashamed of the mawkish sentimental way you have been handling it." (42) "I sometimes wish that we could live in a community of homes where each home is supplied with a well trained nurse so that we could have babies fed and bathed each week by a different nurse..... Somehow I can't help wishing that it were possible to rotate the mothers occasionally too." (43)

As extreme as this point of view may sound, it did influence the child care practices in the nineteen twenties and thirties. Swinging to a completely different point of view we find Ribble's stress on mothering.

According to Ribble, the cohesiveness of a child's personality is dependent upon an emotional attachment to the mother, This cathexis for the mother grows gradually out of the satisfactions it derives from her. Three

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(41) Ibid., p. 46.

(42) Ibid., p. 81.

(43) Ibid., p. 83.

types of sensory experience contribute to the formation of the attachment:-

- 1) Tactile sense
- 2) Kinaesthetic
- 3) Sound (44)

The new born infant gets kinaesthetic satisfaction from being held, moved about and fondled by the mother." The touch of the mother has definite biological implication in the regulation of the reflexes connected with breathing and the nutritive functions." (45) Even the full development of the nervous system is dependent on stimuli that provide movement. The sound of the mother's voice is another factor that enters into the mother child attachment. It was found that mothers who make a practice of speaking softly or singing to their infants while holding them have a much better relationship to the child. (46) Frustration of the sound and sight of the mother produces fearfulness and restlessness. Harsh and Schrieckel, in their book "Personality", affirmed the same view. "By gentle feeding, cuddling, and rocking a mother can relax an infant to facilitate digestion and perhaps aid neuro-muscular tonus. By playing and talking she can stimulate perceptual learning. And by providing a pleasant, quiet environment in which the infant's needs are promptly satisfied can contribute to a serene disposition."(47)

According to Ribble's studies children who have inadequate mothering may develop one of two reactions:-

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(44) J.M. Hunt, Personality and Behavior Disorders, Vo. II p. 631.

(45) Ibid., p. 632

(46) Ibid.,

(47) C.M. Harsh & H.G. Schrieckel, Personality, p. 73.

- 1- Negativism: Characterized by refusal, hypertension and rigidity of all the body muscles, breath holding, shallow breathing and constipation.
- 2- Regression: When put to the breast the infant makes a few sucking movements then falls to what appears to be sleep, but it has the quality of stupor.

This appears to be the result of too much frustration or too little peripheral stimulation.

"It seems clear from these reactions that inadequate mothering is an actual privation which may result in biological as well as psychological damage to the infant's organism." (48)

#### Nursing Experiences:

Breast Vs. bottle feeding: Some studies show the superiority of breast feeding for physical and mental health over bottle feeding, while other studies show no relation of this factor to development. In a study by Rogerson of 169 children who were studied seven years before in a London clinic, certain observations were made. "Those artificially fed during infancy had experienced more feeding difficulties, poorer health, and greater restlessness during infancy than those breast fed during infancy ... At the age of seven a great proportion of the artificially fed showed poor appetite,

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(48) J. H. Hunt, op.cit., p. 635.

poor sleep, enuresis, fears, nervousness, and poorer showing in schools than the breast fed." (49) In another study Hoefler and Hardy in Illinois studied 383 children, 7-13 years old, physical and mental tests, correlating their rating with breast feeding. The results showed that children who were artificially fed were on the whole inferior physically and mentally to the breast fed. They were more poorly nourished, more susceptible to disease, and slower in learning to talk and to walk than the breast fed children. (50)

Orlansky goes on to say that the inference that the ill health of the artificially fed is due to their feeding cannot be made so conclusively, for there is evidence to the opposite.

Faber and Sutton in their studies of 42 babies at Stanford University clinic arrived at the following conclusions. "The bottle fed had better health and fewer diseases than the breast fed group. Accepting the psychosomatic criteria that physical and psychological health are apt to be correlated this study would seem to show that artificial feeding need be in no way inferior to breast feeding in promoting the emotional well being of the infant." (51)

It is pointed out that the psychological position of the mother must be recognized before one or the other is recommended.

Length of breast feeding: Hoefler and Hardy found that the highest

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(49) H.Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personality", Psych. Bulletin, (Jan.1949)

(50) Ibid.,

46: 1 p.3.

(51) Ibid., p.4.

ratings in muscle tone, physical and mental development, walking at an early age, were registered by infants who had nursed 4-9 months.

Pearson in a study of 72 problem children at the child guidance clinic found that children breast fed less than 6 months or more than 10 months were more maladjusted at school and displayed timidity and nervousness with greater frequency than the breast fed up to 8 or 9 months.

On the other hand Maslow and Szilagi-Kessler gave a security insecurity inventory to students at Brooklyn college. "The highest security scores were obtained by the groups who were breast fed little or not at all and by those who were fed at the breast for over a year." (52)

Peterson and Speno's studies on nursery school children, concluded that there is no relation between duration of breast feeding and the child's personality at the nursery school level, nor with adjustment at the pre-adolescent stage. However, Levy saw a definite relationship between the nursing of the child and the mother's attitude. Factors of rejection tend to shorten the nursing period, while factors favoring over-protection tend to lengthen breast feeding.

Self-demand<sup>Vs.</sup> Scheduled Feeding: In some cases self-demand is recommended, "the parent who responds to the clock rather than to the behavior of the child is from the child's point of view not responsive at all." (53) On the other hand, it is maintained that scheduled feeding tends to promote

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(52) Ibid., p. 6.

(53) Ibid., p. 8.

healthy personality development in the child, and this is still fairly widespread in the medical profession.

Sucking and effects of restricted sucking: According to Ribble in her studies "The evidence indicates that sucking experience is important for the structural development of the face and jaws, for digestion, for the general well being of the child, for development of alertness toward factors outside the child's own body, for the age at which speech appears, and for the facility of the speech function." (54) A poor sucking response appeared invariably in the unwanted infant.

Favorable effects of unrestricted sucking:-

- 1- Deepened breathing.
- 2- Increased well-being shown by prolonged and generalized relaxation after period of unrestricted sucking.
- 3- Gastro-intestinal functions were consistently better and more regular.
- 4- Eye focus, grasping for objects, vocalizing and speaking started earlier.

"Presumably the fostering of these early developed skills by unrestricted feeding should provide an advantage in making later adjustments." (55)

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(54) J.H. Hunt, op.cit., p. 637.

(55) Ibid., p. 639.

Effects of Restricted Sucking:

- 1- Excessive restlessness and periods of exaggerated crying, with hypertension or muscular rigidity, reduction in sucking activity but resulting in excessive thumb sucking.
- 2- Limiting meals, diminished impulse to nurse or even a stuporous condition.
- 3- In a few of the infants the sucking impulse disappeared completely, the child had to be tube fed.

"It appears that the entire organism may be effected by sucking frustration in these early months. Possibly those two types of reaction, excessive restlessness and excessive lethargy are prototypes of the primary mood swings which become differentiated later in the course of development."(56)

Weaning:

As new oral activities become differentiated the sucking impulse naturally wanes. Vocalizing and biting may take the place of the primary sucking activity. "When weaning disrupts a series of satisfactions which the child has been receiving with regularity from infancy, it would be surprising if he did not react emotionally to this deprivation." (57) In that

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(56) Ibid.,

(57) H. Orlansky, op.cit., p. 9.

case one may think that early weaning is preferable, but from the psycho-analytic point of view, the developing child ego is better prepared to withstand the loss of the mother's breast at a later age.

A contrary hypothesis is that it is not whether weaning comes early or late, gently or severely, that weakens or strengthens the child's sense of security but the entire situation must be appraised.

Experiences connected with elimination:

In some cases of children in foundling homes which were studied, the difficulty of constipation disappeared when they were taken from the institution and placed in homes. "The mothering activity appears to have been an important factor in reducing the general nervous tension of these children and in so doing it removed the constipation." (58)

Investigation indicates that attempting to demand cleanliness from the infant before he can sit alone, before he has acquired at least a sign of language, or before having a strong emotional attitude to the mother paved the way for later emotional and behavioral disorders. In some cases, frequent diapering and insistent attempts to the child to evacuate on the pottie appeared to serve as a sexual seduction,<sup>and</sup> it has been followed by excessive nervous tension, which seems to be a factor in excessive masturbation. (59) "It is generally agreed that coercive toilet training arouses anxiety and defiance in the infant who may soil himself as a form of aggression

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(58) J.H. Hunt, op.cit., p. 641.

(59) Ibid., p. 640.



against the parent. He may feel guilty afterwards and protect himself by becoming obsessively neat and meticulous." (60)

The child brought up in a family where extreme value is placed on cleanliness has a more difficult conflict. Most pediatric authorities agree that the toilet training should not be started before 8 months to a year. It should be done by observing the child's rhythm and routines. Some of the emotion of shame and disgust ingendered around bowel and bladder functioning spread the sexuality since they involve the same organs. (61)

Clinicians find plenty of cases where unpleasant toilet training results in emotional disturbances or resistance on the part of the child. But, the permanent effect is questioned. However, parents usually continue using similar methods later on in childhood which results in cumulative effects. "Parental attitude is the key factor governing effects of training techniques." (62)

Huschka studied 213 problem children at the New York hospital regarding the imposition of bowel training. "She found that children who were coersively trained manifested undesirable responses such as constipation, fear and rage more frequently than children who were adequately trained, but there was no follow up to correlate these responses with any permanent effects on personality." (63)

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(60) C.M. Harsh & H.G. Schrickel, op.cit., p. 71.

(61) G.S. English & G.H.J. Pearson, Emotional Problems of Living, p. 43.

(62) C.M. Harsh & H.G. Schrickel, op.cit., p. 72.

(63) H. Orlansky, op.cit., p. 18.

Restraint and Motion:

In the study carried out by Dennis and Dennis the two infants (twin girls) showed normal development and behavior up to the ninth month. After that there was evidence of retardation in abilities which seemed to depend upon adult help and varied stimulation. Parents can aid muscle coordination by providing interesting stimulation and protecting the child against over-stimulation.

Movement restraint may be a by-product of institutional care of poor mothering. A mother may use restraint for her convenience or cleanliness; then she wonders why her child is distractable, destructive and disobedient. The case of a child, daughter of an artist who was caged in a bed room, is a good illustration. When the girl was taken to a psychiatrist she threw everything in sight. However, physical restraint need not result in hyperactivity and anti-social behavior. The Hopi child is quite satisfied as he receives much loving attention and is never left alone, although he may be swaddled firmly. He only shows resentment to binding after he learns to creep and walk. (64) It is therefore not restraint as such but frustration that counts.

"The training that affects motor learning may also influence traits of sociability and self confidence. .... If restraint or punishment are started early and consistently adhered to, it may force upon the child a trait of passive observation or even an inverted loss of interest in the

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(64) C.M. Harsh & H.G. Schrickel, op.cit., 78.

surroundings." (65) In this case the acquired traits of passivity or inattention may continue to later life, for they prevent the child from noticing social cues and learning new habits that would be more acceptable.

On the other hand there is the notion that once the infant is put in restraint, it accepts the restraint during the first few months, This explains the harmlessness of cultural patterns of restraint in swaddling. If the child is used to restraint it does not experience it as frustration, but if accustomed to freedom the same restraint becomes a frustration. "There appears to be no uniform emotional reaction on the part of the child to a uniform type of restraint, but rather various reactions which differ primarily in accordance with individual constitution and previous experience." (66) "When other satisfactions predominate an infant pays little attention to movement restraints. But when these restraints are perceived as a major frustration they may have, far reaching effects on personality." (67)

#### Infant Frustration and Aggression:

The infant is frustrated either by not getting what he wants when he wants it or by sensing an emotional tension in the mother herself. Refusing to eat, or vomiting may result as suicidal defenses if the environment at home has too much strife between husband and wife or otherwise. It has been known that some babies who do not have their needs<sup>met</sup> in the environment turn away from life, from sucking, from eating and from taking food.

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(65) Ibid., p. 52.

(66) C.M. Harsh & H.G. Schrickel, <sup>op.cit.</sup> p. 78.

(67) G.S. English & G.H.J. Pearson, op.cit., p.33.

Some believe frustration may also be associated with separation from the mother. The symptoms that result from such frustration may be as follows:-

- 1- Anxiety symptoms: Frequent crying, restlessness, insomnia, vomiting and diarrhea.
- 2- Feeding disorders, ranging from simple refusal of food to prolonged vomiting.
- 3- Negativistic, antagonistic behavior to the parents. (68)

There is no society that does not offer some form of restraint, thus some form of frustrating situation. The child's experiences are a mixture of both frustrating and satisfying experiences. The balance is usually influenced by the cultural patterns and the particular home situation. How can we decide to what extent a situation is frustrating, is the problem. And when agreement is reached that a given experience is frustrating we still cannot assume that it results in aggressive responses.

#### A Critical View of the Bio-psychological Theories:

Orlansky objects to Ribble's approach. This is especially seen in the following quotations. "It is unfortunate that such an influential writer has not attempted to draw a line between her empirical findings and her personal opinion." And "It seems to us, that Ribble takes too hysterical a view

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(68) G.S. English & G.H.J. Pearson, op.cit., p. 33.

of the neonate's organic and psychic resources." (69) Also, he objects to the insistence upon the need of the tactile stimulation being necessary for the infant's mental and bodily health.

Sewell, in his article "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child", presents other results contrary to Ribble's findings. He says that psycho-analytic assumptions have not been adequately tested, and that the Freudian studies were clinical with reconstruction of training experiences. This reconstruction of infantile experiences may be erroneous. It is serious that many pediatricians, clinical psychologists, family counselors, and others have accepted and strongly advocated the systems of infant care of the Freudians. "Thus they emphasize breast feeding, a prolonged period of nursing, gradual weaning, a self demand nursing schedule, easy and late bowel and bladder training, frequent mothering, freedom from restraint, freedom from punishment, sleeping with the child and so on. They have assumed that these practices will promote the growth of secure and unneurotic personalities." (70) Few are the studies, says Orlansky, which systematically explore the relationship between infant discipline and personality.

Sewell organized and carried out a study of 162 children of old American stock, in an old American community. They were children from parents of the same occupational group, Only children from unbroken and never broken homes were selected. Mothers were interviewed. Interview cards included: Manner of nursing, nursing schedule, weaning, bowel training, bladder training, punishment for toilet accidents, and sleep security. The

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(69) H. Orlansky, op.cit., p. 12.

(70) W.H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child"  
The American Journal of Sociology, Sept., 1952, p. 15.

data was analyzed, and following is a summary of the conclusions.

"None of the training experiences was significantly related to any of the major personality adjustment." (71) It is possible that the significant matter is not the practices themselves but the whole personal social situation in which they are expressed, including the attitude and behavior of the mother." "The findings indicate that none of the disciplines was significantly related to childhood personality adjustment as measured in this study. Consequently, considerable doubt is cast upon the general validity of the Freudian claims and the efficiency of the prescriptions based on them." (72)

The same controversy is carried on in Pinneau's criticism of Spitz' findings and conclusions regarding hospitalism. "From a study of several groups from contrasting environments, Spitz concludes that infants as a consequence of being separated from their mothers, develop psychological disorders. These disorders are supposedly manifest in both "mental and physical symptoms. A careful consideration of these studies indicates that they were so planned and carried out that they could give neither positive nor negative evidence for his hypothesis." (73) Pinneau concludes, "The writer does not doubt the potential advantages of maternal as compared with institutional care .... As yet, however, we do not have convincing evidence, based on scientifically controlled investigations, as to many of the major

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(71) Ibid., p. 158.

(72) Ibid., p. 150.

(73) S.R. Pinneau, "Infantile Disorders of Hospitalism"  
Psychological Bull. Sept., 1955, p. 447.

problems in this area." (74)

Recent Changes in Child Training:

While no definite conclusions have been reached concerning the relationships of child rearing practices to personality development, theories have left their mark on habits of child care. Thus theories that have appeared to have some value have caught the interest of parents who are interested in the welfare of the child, and who have a high regard for scientific knowledge. However, this knowledge may still be unproved. There has been an interesting change in child care practices over the last six decades in the United States. It will be of interest to note the change in relation to developing theories.

It will therefore be appropriate to conclude this section on the theoretical background with a summary of the article, "Sixty years of Child Training Practices," by C.B. Stendler, as published in the "Journal of Pediatrics", January 1950.

Stendler has tried to follow the trends of child training recommendations as given in three popular women's magazines, -"Ladies Home Journal", "Woman's Home Companion", and "Good Housekeeping". Articles dealing with child rearing were analyzed with two purposes in mind:- 1) to examine the contents of the articles and see the changes in the kind of material dealt with over the past sixty years. And 2) "to see what was being advocated as good child training procedures during each period studied. An

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(74) Ibid.,

attempt was also made to relate these changes to social and intellectual trends of the times." (75)

The following is a check list of the topics looked for: 1) Physical development, 2) Specific behavior problems, 3) Infant disciplines, 4) Character and personality development, 5) Developmental stages, 6) Sex education, 7) The place of father, and miscellaneous.

A second check list was made for recording what was advocated as good child training practice for each decade.

1. Guiding character or personality development.
  - a) Discipline (reward and punishment).
  - b) Provide a good home influence.
  - c) Ignore undesirable behavior.
  - d) Look for the causes and plan accordingly.
  - e) Invoke divine aid.
  - f) Feed properly.
  - g) Miscellaneous.
  
2. Infant discipline:
  - a) Tightly scheduled - cry it out -
  - b) Loosely scheduled.
  - c) Self regulate, "mother".

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(75) C.B. Stendler, "Sixty Years of Child Training Practices",  
Journal of Pediatrics, Jan. 1950, p. 123.



Findings of this Study:

In 1890 mothers were interested in problems of child rearing. Moral character was emphasized. "Practices were designed to produce children who would exemplify the Victorian ideals of courtsey, honesty, orderliness, industriousness and generosity; character not personality was the focal point." (76) Good character was to be developed through the influence of the home. It was believed that character was developed by imitation. Informal teaching by the mother setting an example was of basic importance. Mothers occupied a position of importance. Articles dealing with infant feeding advocated a loosely scheduled procedure.

At the turn of the century character development, and a good home influence were still discussed in articles, Love of the mother was still a very important factor in caring for the child.

In 1890-1910, articles included a good deal of reference to God and his help in bringing up children. "Reference to God rarely appeared after 1910."(77)

After 1910 character was still important in the child rearing practices, but how to bring it about was a question. No more did the articles advocate depending on mother's love and good home atmosphere, but now on discipline represented by punishment. "Mothers were admonished to insist upon obedience at all times, and if temper tantrums resulted, they should be ignored."

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(76) Ibid., p. 125.

(77) Ibid., p. 128.

Together with a more severe attitude toward the child went a new taboo on physical handling." (78) Expression of love by physical manifestations was discouraged. "The child should not be handled, he needs his energy to grow on, his state should resemble uterine conditions.

Why the shift occurred is hard to explain. While child psychology had made a start before then, it had not yielded any experimental evidence which would lead to a change in practice, from a sentimental attitude toward children to one of regimentation and sternness.

In 1920 there was a sharp change in articles appearing in magazines—interest in physical development and specific behavior problems continued, but little mention was made of character. Articles on physical development were mostly devoted to nutritional problems. The following procedure was advocated:-

1. Rigid feeding schedule.
2. Early toilet training.
3. Let the baby cry it out.

Watsonian behaviorism was beginning to be felt. "Now scheduling was important in order that baby might be conditioned to feeding or sleeping or toileting at a particular time: everything done for him so regular that one can tell <sup>time</sup> by what is going on in the nursery." (79)

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(78) Ibid.

(79) Ibid., p. 130.

In 1930 character or personality development had revived but now with emphasis on personality: "Emotional problems of adjustment rather than moral problems claimed the attention of the writers." (80) The influence of J.B. Watson continued to grow in popularity in the 1930s. Prestige of science caused people to grasp for any scientific discovery, and to get away from Victorian ideas. The mother then was anxious to follow psychological theory for bringing her child up, especially if it recommended the exact opposite of what her grandmother did.

Articles on personality development rivaled with physical development articles in 1940. The majority of the articles was advocating self-regulatory permissive procedures. More articles emphasized that behavior is a caused phenomena. More writers pointed out that in guiding personality development, causes should be known before any treatment is prescribed. The child's need for love and affection in order to develop good emotional health was pointed out. The child needs to be accepted for what he is.

There has been a definite swing in child training practices from "an era in which the mother was taught that the child must have his physical wants cared for and then be left alone, must be fed on a rigid schedule, must learn to cry it out, must be toilet trained early and must not be spoiled by attention, we have come to a time when exactly the opposite advice is advocated. Today the mother is advised to feed the baby when he is hungry, to delay toilet training until he is ready for it, to see that the baby gets a reasonable amount of cuddling and mothering, to let the baby initiate weaning." (81) In both cases the mother was assured that she will have the

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(80) Ibid.

(81) Ibid., p. 122.

right kind of child, or a well adjusted personality as the trend moved toward that.

The question remains what is sound doctrine? Orlansky and Pinneau are of the opinion that we do not have enough scientific facts on the subject. This may mean that new theories must be used with caution and with due regard for individual differences in personalities of babies and mothers.

We may conclude with Stendler's conclusion- "The evidence from Child Development Laboratories and child guidance clinics would seem to indicate that there are certain general truths which have evidenced themselves in so many ways and over ~~also~~ a long a period of time that they may be accepted." We know for example:

1. That different aspects of behavior are related and that poor physical health may be caused by emotional difficulties.
2. We know that behavior is caused and that it has its roots in early childhood experiences.
3. We know that human beings have emotional needs, just as they have physical needs, and that these needs must be satisfied if the individual is to grow healthy in mind and body.

<sup>4</sup> "It would seem evident that children need to feel loved to thrive, but how the feeling of being loved is communicated to a young baby is a matter of speculation." (82)

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(82) Ibid., p. 133.

Traditional patterns of child care have had a reason for their existence. The origin of these practices may or may not be related to the values expressed by the mothers. It has been noticed in Mieh-Mieh that the mother stated a value quite often in relation to a practice. This was done even in cases where the practice appeared to have little significance. It will be of interest in this study to investigate the traditional village pattern as it compares with city practices in a similar group, to see if there are emerging new patterns, what direction they are taking, and to what extent they are influenced by western theories. While the sample selected is not ordinarily the group that will be affected by external influences to any significant degree because of lack of contact through books and other means, they may still be subject to contacts in general and medical care.

Chapter II - The Village Mieh-Mieh

## CHAPTER II - THE VILLAGE, MIEH-MIEH (x)

Mieh-Mieh is a village in south Lebanon, located on a hill four kilometers south east of Sidon. It is about 180 meters above sea level. The homes are built on the east slope of the hill with a clear view all around as the mountains are far away. The land is terraced like most land in mountain villages. The main trees in the area are fig and olive trees. Mieh-Mieh may be regarded as an average village, with customs and traditions common to other rural parts in Lebanon. Yet, it may have some unique features because of the many historical changes that have touched it since 1900.

Early in this century, it was very small with a population of about 600 inhabitants. In those days the people were mainly farmers. Some owned their land and others worked as peasants on the land of feudal owners. In 1907 the first outside group came to the village. It was the American Mission which built an orphanage for Protestant orphan boys between the ages of seven and fourteen. They were gathered from other parts of Lebanon. In 1912 the American Boys' School was built on the highest point of the hill toward Sidon.

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(x) Specific information of statistical nature or historical data has been acquired from the Mukhtar and from the father of the writer. As this is the village where the writer grew up, some of the information comes from her own experience. Other friends have helped her check dates and names.

In 1914 the First World War hit the village as much as it did the rest of Lebanon. It affected the two groups of its population in different ways. Those who owned and worked on their land belonged to what was called Willayat (This group was under the Ottoman Empire). They were drafted in the Turkish army, and were forced to go to war. It was a war they did not care to enter, since for them it had no meaning. Their resistance was in vain for they were forced to go to the front, and were badly treated. That made their deserting the army a common occurrence and more or less justifiable. The other group in the village belonged to Lebanon. They did not own their land, and had no obligation to go to war. That offered them a real advantage, for the men remained behind, worked and were able to buy more and more of the land from the landowners and the Willayat group. By the end of the war all the people in Mieh-Mieh owned whatever land they worked on. The war was not easy on the people. Ten died of starvation and nine men never returned from the front. Starvation did not cause more deaths, because the land was used right through the war years. Relief work began as soon as the war was over in 1918.

The village was the headquarters for relief work which was carried on by the Red Cross in it and other villages in the area. Two hundred orphans from other parts of Lebanon and Syria were gathered in the orphanage building previously mentioned. In 1919 the Red Cross handed over the work to the American Commission for Relief in the Near East, later called "Near East Relief", known to the village as the "White Star".

In 1922 buildings were added to accommodate about 1200 boys and girls who were brought from orphanages in other parts of Lebanon and Syria. A



great number of the children consisted of Armenian refugees. This was closed in 1925.

One or two years later the buildings were used by Gerard Institute, the Mission high school for boys. In 1936 the school was moved back to Sidon. The buildings were neglected till the second World War when they were used partly for the French Army, and partly for a concentration camp. In 1941 the British forces occupied the country; the village again experienced active war. The homes had to be evacuated for over three weeks, and the inhabitants took refuge in villages farther from the coast. Soon the British army made use of the buildings.

Toward the end of 1945, the army left Mieh-Mieh. The village had no outsiders until the influx of Palestinian refugees in May 1948. Again the buildings were used for U.N.R.W.A. quarters, and housing. About 3000 refugees have been annexed to the village since then.

The account given above may seem like the story of a set of buildings that have brought certain events into the village. Many changes of occupants have taken place. How much influence each group has had on Mieh-Mieh is hard to say. The village, however, seems to have kept its own pace, and has remained as a unit apart from any incoming influences. That may have been possible because of the geographical separation of the buildings from the village. The village has used any possible employment offered by these groups, but has remained independent economically.

At the present the population is estimated to be around 2100, with

about 325 families. This does not mean that all of them live in the village, for many have employment in other parts of Lebanon. Mieh-Mieh remains their home base no matter how many years elapse since they left it. Nearly every one in the village owns his home and some land. There has been a marked improvement in housing within the last ten years; many homes now have a running water, electricity and better toilet facilities.

Earlier the main source of income of the village was farming. Today it is supported by a variety of occupations, some in the village and others outside. There are still many farmers but their number is decreasing every year. There are a few shops, but Sidon is the real shopping center for the village. The village has its masons, carpenters, tailors and dress makers. Some of the men are in the Lebanese army; they live with their families wherever their base happens to be. Some are employed by the oil company in Zah-rani near Sidon, and quite a few are teachers either in government or private schools. It must not be forgotten that the village has a large number of laborers and poor people.

The predominant religion of Mieh-Mieh is Greek Catholic with a small minority of Protestants. It is often referred to as a Christian village.

As the child grows up, he has opportunities to play with any other child in the village anywhere in the open space. Their play consists of traditional games, marbles, hop scotch, kites, hide and seek, ball, etc. Quite often they construct their own toys. In some of the games boys and girls join in together, in others they naturally separate. The girls, for example, do not go looking for birds' eggs with the boys. Until about the

age of eleven or twelve, the children are left to their own preference to play with whoever they want to of either sex.

There are three elementary schools and one private school in the village. There are 170 boys in the government boys' school, 55 girls in the government girls' school and 71 boys and girls in the private school, making a total of 296 children in elementary schools. Not all children of school age are in school. Many boys continue to secondary schools in Sidon, while very few girls continue. It may be noticed from the above that more stress is put on educating the boys. That has always been true, and it accounts for the high number of secondary school graduates among the men, and the very small number among the women. It has been noticed during the last elections that 65% of the voting women could not sign their names, while in the whole village there are only 19 illiterate men.

While the children go to school, they carry on home chores in whatever occupation the family has. Girls work mostly at home and in general have more responsibility than the boys. The child shares in the social life of the family as well. He is taken on visits, sahras (traditional evening spent in different homes) and takes part on other social occasions. In the process, however, he may be completely neglected or left to his own initiative to entertain himself. If he stays with the adults he has to behave himself and keep quiet in their presence.

At the beginning of puberty girls cease to play much with boys. They must conform the lady-like behavior prescribed by the mother or other women of the village. Boys spend more time in groups in each other's homes.

The boys and girls may meet in coming together casually in homes, especially where there are boys and girls in the family. They also meet in Sahras, family gatherings, walks, and sometimes during work such as water-getting, picking figs or olives, or preparing food provisions for winter. Many of those are still special social occasions for the adolescents. Walks in the moonlight in groups are quite popular. If a boy is interested in a girl, nothing keeps him from calling on her in her home. This can go on for some time but not indefinitely. After a few months, he may have to make his intentions clear to the family.

Most marriages are based on mutual attraction and agreement rather than on arrangement by parents. To be sure the parents do the formal asking for the girl's hand, but the boy and girl are usually agreed before. If the parents do not consent, the couple elope. This is the general practice, there are however occasional convenience marriages arranged by the parents. Under no circumstances do the boy and girl marry without knowing each other and agreeing to the marriage.

The home is the center of all social life. There are no movie houses or any form of commercial amusements. There was never a coffee house in the village until the refugees came and it is used by them exclusively.

Family life follows the patriarchal pattern, but mother and father join in family decisions. The family is a closely knit unit, its members are concerned about each other, and are responsible for each other from birth to death.

Chapter III - Sample and Procedure

### CHAPTER III - SAMPLE & PROCEDURE

The information on the child rearing practices in Mieh-Mieh came from mothers. Only those who met the following conditions were interviewed:-

1. They must have had a child at the time of the interview who was under six years of age.
2. They should have had little or no formal education.
3. The fathers should not have gone beyond elementary school in their education.

Twenty-five mothers were interviewed in Mieh-Mieh and for comparative purposes, 25 mothers who met the same conditions were interviewed in Beirut. As the village is entirely Christian except for the refugees, Christian mothers were chosen in Beirut.

In Mieh-Mieh eleven of the mothers had children under thirty months, and fourteen had children between 31 months and six years. In Beirut fifteen mothers had children under thirty months and there were ten with children of 31 months to 6 years.

The age range of mothers in Mieh-Mieh was from 23 to 45; in the city it was from 18 to 35, with a median of 34 in Mieh-Mieh and 29 in Beirut.

The number of children in the family ranged from 2 to 11 in the village and from 1 to 8 in the city.

In Mieh-Mieh friends and relatives helped the writer in contacting mothers who met the conditions. It must be mentioned here that it was difficult to find the last three mothers to complete the sample.

In Beirut again contacts were made with mothers from different parts of the city. The greater group came from Mazraah, but many were taken from Ras Beirut, Museitbeh, Wadi-Bu Jmeel, and Sakiat-el-Jenzir.

All the mothers that were approached were willing to help and very cooperative. In one case in Beirut the husband was rather skeptical and he sat through the interview. On the whole the interviews were a delightful experience, thanks to the hospitality and openness of the mothers. They showed interest and concern for better methods of child care.

#### Procedure:

The questionnaire prepared by the Cross Cultural Research committee on child rearing practices was used. The fact that the same questionnaire had been used previously in Egypt and Lebanon on different samples was a definite advantage.

#### Interview:

Mothers were interviewed in the following manner. First an appointment was made. Soon the mothers discovered from each other the purpose of the appointment. As the writer came near the house the mother was prepared, the door was opened, and a friendly, inviting atmosphere was prevalent. In

cases where men were present the questions about sex were postponed until the mother could be found alone. This happened sometime within the hour of the interview. The interview was often started with an introduction of what it is all about. The writer explained it simply, something like this: " I need your help for my study. We would like to find out what methods are used in our country in caring for children". The question often was followed by: " And why do you want to know that?" To that the answer was, " We believe that cultures have some reason for their practices. Our practices may be better suited to meet our needs than those which foreign books on child care recommend. We actually don't know, but we would like to have some basis to find out. And the only way we can begin is to investigate what we have. We cannot do very much without the help of mothers." Nearly always after this introduction the mother was quite ready to begin, especially as she realized there was no right or wrong answer. Many times the baby was at the breast as the mother was interviewed. The mothers' answers were recorded literally as they came. There was leisurely give-and-take; sometimes it was difficult to come back to the questions after some extensive digressions. As the questionnaire moved from the simple every day care to the area of relationships, mothers generally showed a rise of interest. The interview took between one and two hours, or an average of about an hour and a half. It must be mentioned that a cup of coffee followed; thus the time required for the interview was never less than two hours in the village, often less in Beirut.

Method of classifying answers:- This was complicated for all the questions were open-ended. A classification system was devised on the basis of the answers. In doing this, not only the answers in this study were taken into consideration but also those found in the other studies that were carried



out in Egypt and Lebanon.

The answers were tabulated for the village, and for the city separately, and the tables are in the appendix. Results were recorded in terms of numbers of answers and percentages of those answers.

## Chapter IV - Study Findings and Discussions

## CHAPTER I V - STUDY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The questionnaire included significant areas of child care. Practices related to every day physical needs of the child as well as practices related to inter-relationship with others were investigated. The study started with feeding and weaning.

### Feeding and Weaning:

This subject was not only familiar to the mothers but quite easy to discuss. They realized soon that they could answer the questions, and that only they could give the information. Starting with these familiar subjects caused the interview to proceed smoothly.

The majority of mothers both in Mieh-Mieh and in Beirut breast feed their babies. It may be of interest to note that the percentage of breast feeding (92%) is identical for both places. When mothers were asked if they enjoyed nursing their babies, a sparkle came to their eyes and their answer was a definite affirmation, with the exception of 8% in the village who did not enjoy it and 4% who found no difference. Everyone of the city mothers said that she enjoyed it. On this subject many wanted to expand more and explain. They spoke of how they missed the nursing of the baby if they were alone all day, several mentioned the fact that the milk flows at the thought of the baby if they were away. Some said that it broke their heart to wean a baby. Weaning, as may be noticed later, starts late. Generally they made more personal comments to the interviewer in a way that meant, "you must be a mother to understand." It was not difficult to sense

a surge of tenderness as the mothers discussed this subject.

Most mothers, 68% in Mieh-Mieh, and 72% in Beirut prefer the sitting position for breast feeding. That often was accompanied with a statement of value, "It is better for the baby", they said. As to the way the baby nurses, fast or slow, there does not seem to be any special tendency, nearly equal numbers were obtained for both.

To the question, "Did you have a regular schedule for feeding", 85% of the village mothers said "no". Half of the other 15% had the child determine his own schedule. None of the rest fed the baby at intervals longer than three hours. Here is where the first difference appeared with the city mothers. Of these 56% had no schedule and 44% had one. Of the latter 9% scheduled the feeding at four hour intervals, 23% every three hours and the rest were equally distributed between two and a half hours and self regulating schedule. In Mieh-Mieh only 28% of the mothers used the bottle at all, while in Beirut 64% used the bottle. In both cases either the mother or a member of the family fed the baby, except in the case of a working mother who had her child in an institution. She visited him at certain hours during the day. Those who used the bottle in the village were equally divided, half used fresh milk, and the other half used powdered milk. In the city 17% used fresh milk and 58% used powdered milk.

Weaning - The question was, "When did you start weaning your child?" This showed a marked difference between the village and the city. The village has 77% weaning after twelve months of age, 42% weaned after eighteen months. In the city only 40% weaned after the age of twelve months

and only 4% of those weaned after 18 months. In the city 48% weaned between 6-12 months while in the village only 23% weaned at this age. None of the village mothers weaned her child before the age of 6 months, while 12% of the city mothers did. When asked for the reason for weaning at the time they did, 40% of the village mothers said that he was old enough to stop and 36% gave pregnancy as their reason. In Beirut 40% of the mothers gave pregnancy as the reason and 24% said he was old enough to stop. Other answers were health of the mother, mother working, and the child did not care to continue.

"How did you get him off the breast?" Applying disgusting substance was the most mentioned single item. It was 40% both in the city and in the village. The purpose of this is to have the child decide on his own not to nurse. He is old enough to notice and turn away from the dirty looking breast with powdered coffee or ashes applied to it. In some cases quinine is applied; the child puts his mouth to the breast before he knows about it, and then turns away without ever wanting it again. Of all the disgusting things none was so bad as the hair mixed with some glue and applied on the nipple. This method was mentioned in a few cases. There were also other answers to this question most of them involving abrupt weaning, 79% in Mieh-Mieh, and 68% in Beirut said that they weaned their child in one day. A few mentioned gradual weaning, 4% in Mieh-Mieh and 22% in the city.

The greater number of the mothers said that they did not have any trouble in weaning their children. But, most of them 76% in Mieh-Mieh 66%

in Beirut, said that the child was awfully fretful for some time. In most cases it was a matter of days.

Solid Food: - "When did you introduce solid foods?" There were no mothers in the village who introduced solid foods before the age of three months and only 4% did in the city. A good number introduced solid food by the 6th month and 72% in both places had introduced it by the 9th month. A few introduced it as late as the 18th month. It consisted of food from the family dishes or food especially prepared for the baby. In the village a little over half the answers showed that the baby was given from the family dishes. Often soft food is used, or some of the harder food is given after it is mashed. In many cases the mother dipped her finger in the soft food and let the baby lick it, however, in many homes the spoon is used for that purpose. In the city more mothers said that they had special dishes prepared for the child such as finely cut fruits. The babies in general liked the solid foods, and mothers said that they demanded it in gesture while the family was eating, nearly all the children made no fuss about starting solid foods.

Speaking of children who nurse no more, they too seem not to follow a schedule. To the question "Does he get hungry between meals?", 96% of the mothers in the village said, "No, because he eats whenever he likes." This same answer was given by 60% of the mothers in Beirut. None of the mothers in either place said that the child gets hungry but is given nothing, or is kept to a schedule. In relation to food children are most often given complete freedom to help themselves to whatever there is in the house. This is especially true in the village.

"Does the child refuse to eat?" Only 4% of the village mothers, and 22% in the city said, "yes." The rest were about equally divided between, "the child refuses sometimes", or "he does not refuse at all."

"When he does not eat what do you do?" In the city there seemed to be no special tendency. In the village 44% said "leave him alone till he is hungry", and another 44% said "convince him through stories and gentle talk." Only 12% of the mothers in Mieh-Mieh said that they compel the child to eat through threat and punishment, while in the city 28% used this method.

"When does he eat best?" In Beirut 62% answered that he eats best one particular meal per day while in the village only 12% gave this answer. The more common answers in the village were as follows: 46% said that he eats well always when hungry, and 42% said that he eats well when he likes the food and is hungry. There was no special rule or restriction on what and how much the child eats, both in the city and in the village 72% of the mothers said that the child eats all he wants. Only a few mothers in the city said that the child has to eat all that there is on his plate.

It may be noticed in regard to some of the practices the frequencies of answers in the village and in the city are close or even identical. For example 92% in both places breast fed their babies. The affection related to breast feeding was equally expressed, both in the smile of the mothers as they answered and the explanation they gave the interviewer. Their answers were also similar in regard to having the baby in their arms or on their lap as they breast fed him. The first difference between village and

city mothers appeared in scheduling feeding time. About half of the city mothers spoke of a schedule while only 15% had one in the village. Even those who had a schedule in the village had a rather lenient one, three hour intervals at most, while in the city 32% scheduled feeding at 3 hour intervals or more. The milk used for supplementary feeding was mostly powdered milk in the city, in the village powdered and fresh milk were used equally.

More differences between the city and the village appeared in weaning. While 77% in the village weaned after the age of twelve months, in the city only 40% were weaned after that age. About half of the city children were weaned between six and twelve months, while 42% in the village weaned after 18 months. Abrupt weaning prevailed in both places, but gradual weaning was mentioned more often in Beirut. Most mothers in both places said that they had little trouble in weaning the baby, but there were a few days of irritability.

In introducing solid food 72% of the mothers in both places had started by the 9th month. However, more mothers in the city had given the child especially cooked food, or mashed fruits than in the village. In both places the child was allowed to lick from the family dishes, or was given a spoon for the purpose. The babies liked the solid food. More mothers in the village said that the child does not get hungry because he eats whenever he likes. More mothers in the city used threat and punishment to induce the child to eat. In the village there is a general feeling that the child must be given food in abundance, and must be able to help himself to whatever there is in the house. No mothers in the village mentioned any



problems related to feeding, while a few in the city did. There was, on the whole, more concern on this subject among the city mothers. To the mothers in Mieh-Mieh this did not present any problem.

Sleep:- On this subject the answers depend a great deal on the age of the child. The majority of the children asked about sleep between ten and eleven hours at night, and two or three hours during the day. The day naps are about the same for the village and for the city, but there are more in the village who sleep twelve to fourteen hours at night. This difference cannot be accounted for on the basis of age because more of the city children were younger, 15 were under thirty months as compared with 11 in the village. It may be due to the fact that all the family goes to bed early in the village. None of the children in either place sleep alone in a room or even alone with siblings in one room. It seems apparent that all of them sleep in the same room with the rest of the family. This is not surprising as it is the usual practice in villages and in low income families. Number of rooms may not be the only factor in this, for with families with many rooms available there does not seem to be a specific pattern as to who sleeps where.

In the village 61% of the children sleep in the same bed either with siblings, or with mother, while 43% in the city do that. More of the city children are in bed alone. This may be on account of the number who are younger than the village children. It has been noticed that often the youngest child is the one who sleeps with the mother in the same bed. This happens when he does not need a crib any more, and can not be safely placed with his siblings. When children sleep together in the village it seems

a hilarious big time precedes sleep.

"How does the child spend the hour before going to bed?" None of the village answers mentioned crying or irritability, while 20% of the city mothers gave that answer. In Mieh-Mieh 73% of the answers said that the child spends his time in playing, jumping and singing either alone or with siblings. Some of the favorite children's games in this regard are:-rolling on the mattresses on the floor from one end of the room to the other, summersaults, or playing feet which consists of their kicking each other playfully under covers in order to warm up on cold days. Only 35% of the city children played before bed time, the rest spent their time in the routine preparations for bed - eating, washing and so on.

Most families in both places used a faint light at night, either a kerosene lamp turned low or a faint electric light. Most children feel more assured when the light is on in case they wake up at night. In nearly all cases either the mother puts the child to bed, or he goes to bed by himself.

Special practices related to sleep: Swaddling is one of the most common practices, all the village mothers and 83% of the city mothers swaddle their babies. Half of the mothers in the village and 30% in the city said that the length of time of swaddling depends on the weather. More city mothers (45%) than village mothers (15%) swaddled four months or more. The rest swaddled their babies one to three months. The swaddling appears to some observers as a cruel way of restraining the child, for it must be remembered he is wrapped and tied rather tightly. Yet often mothers say

that he needs it for warmth or he needs it for support, for more comfortable sleep or even for straighter legs. The mothers are sure as they speak of it that it is ~~the~~ better for the child. Many of them said that in the summer the child does not need swaddling in the day time but he does at night. It may be appropriate to mention here that the interviewer has watched babies being wrapped and tied many times for many years, and she does not remember once that the baby did not cry and make a big fuss. One may say that the interviewer did not notice those who were quiet, that also may be true.

Rocking the baby and singing to him were common practices in Beirut and in Mieh-Mieh, but more mothers in the village rocked and sang to the baby than in the city. Pacifiers were not used much in the village; there is no information on the city in this regard. Drugs to put the child to sleep were hardly used at all in the village, while nearly one fourth of the group used them in the city. More of the village children sleep soundly, 80% as compared with 69% in the city. More of the city mothers reported that their children cried out at night. However, both groups mentioned that crying does happen occasionally.

The practices in the city and village in regard to sleep appear to be similar in several ways:- Children sleep in the same room with the rest of the family, the room is fairly lighted, and swaddling is practiced by all with the same reasons given for its value. In the village, however, children sleep longer hours at night, and more of them sleep with siblings or with mothers. In both places it was noticed the youngest child is the one who sleeps most often with the mother. There was less irritability

before bed time in Mieh-Mieh than in Beirut, little or no strain appeared, on the contrary it is a time that children enjoy. Swaddling in the city is carried on for a longer time with less consideration for the weather. More mothers in the city used drugs to put the baby to sleep, while in the village they are used only by one mother. On the whole, in sleep as in eating, there is a more relaxed atmosphere in the village than in the city.

Toilet Training:- This form of training is necessary in any culture. When does the mother begin training her baby? When does he begin responding to the demands of his mother? How early can he develop independence in this important area? What problems does the mother or the child face in this relationship? All those questions can be partly answered through the responses to our interviews.

In Mieh-Mieh 85% of the mothers began toilet training for their child some time by the sixth month, of those 35% started before the child was three months old. In the city only 30% started by the sixth month of whom 7% began earlier than three months. In the city the rest of the answers were equally distributed between seven to nine months and ten to twelve months. It was apparent that both in the village and in the city by one year every child has had his first lessons in toilet training. The practice in the village most used to start toilet training is holding the baby over the potty or outdoors, 77% of the mothers had this for an answer. It may explain the early start of training. Only 18% said that they put the child alone on the potty, and 5% said that they used some form of punishment. In the city 44% said that they held the child over the potty, 48% said that they put him alone on it, and 8% said that they used punishment. The punishment of

holding the baby's nose and saying "A'A'" meaning, dirty, was often mentioned.

"Did you take the child to the toilet at regular times?" Only one of all the answers in the village or city said "yes". With others it was either a straight "no" or "as I see the need arising". In this case the mother guesses at the time the child may need it. Nearly all the mothers said that they did not take the child up at night. Some mothers used reward through a smile to encourage the child when he did what he was supposed to do, but many did not use anything special. The pot was used by all except three of the mothers. In the village 58% of the mothers made use of it before the child was six months old, 7% of the answers corresponded with that in the city. The rest of the answers in the village were equally distributed between six to nine months and ten to twelve months. In the city it was different: 46% started its use between ages ten to twelve months and 37% between the ages six to nine months. About 80% of the village children were diapered less than one year. One sees often that the diaper is removed when the child is crawling around in the day time and used at night. In the city 56% were diapered longer than a year.

Some of the problems related to toilet training that were mentioned are bed wetting and playing with the feces. Around one fourth of the answers said that the baby played with his feces. This was true of both the city and the village. A little less than half of the children wet their beds at night. Eleven of the village children, and 15 of the city children are under 30 months of age. In day time 23% of the village children and 50% of the city children wet themselves. This however may be of no significance due to the

age differences of the children.

In the growing independence of the child in his toilet care, 85% of the Mieh-Mieh children began notifying of their toilet needs before the age of one year. In many cases, especially with younger children all they could say was "A'A'". In Beirut 63% of the children began notifying before the age of one year. "When did your child begin going to the toilet alone?" In the village only 16% of the children had not started yet, while in the city 64% had not started. The city children are on the whole a little younger than the village children. Of the rest who started there are differences, 44% of the village children started between twelve and eighteen months, only 4% in the city corresponded with that. By the age of two years 68% of the village children went to the toilet alone while only 4% of the city children were to do it. The rest of them took longer than two years. This difference between the two places becomes logical if one knows the toilet facilities of both groups. In the city the mothers referred to the dark toilets; the children are afraid to go there alone. Besides they are wide Arabic toilets and the children are afraid of falling in. This is also apparent because many of them use the floor of the bath room, rather than the regular facility hole. In the village the children go outdoors. Even if they have toilets those are used mostly by grown ups. As soon as the child can pull his pants down and balance himself in a squatting position, he is independent.

Of disturbances related to elimination, diarrhea was mentioned in 41% of the cases in the village and 48% in the city. Worms also were mentioned, especially in the case of children older than four years of age.

It appears that village mothers start toilet training for their babies earlier than city mothers do. Their method is to hold the child safely either outdoors or over the potty. This method is also used by the city mothers but not so frequently. More mothers in the city said that they started training the baby by putting him alone on the potty. All except three of the mothers used the pot. In the village it was used earlier. Children in the city were diapered longer, 56% were diapered longer than a year while that is true of only 26% in the village. One-fourth of the children in both places had played with their feces. More of the city children wet themselves in the day time. Again the age differences do not account for all of it, for those who wet themselves in the city were over twice as many as those in the village. Children in the village became independent earlier in taking care of their toilet needs than the city children. Facilities seem to have the greater influence in this matter.

Cleanliness:- Until 1949 there was no running water in the village. The water supply came from wells in and around the village, rain water, and a spring for drinking water about two kilometers away from the village. The difficulty of obtaining water had its consequences on the people and their animals and plants. The summer brought dusty dryness with very few living plants or gardens. Baths were taken less often than is possible now. This is the impression of the interviewer based on some observation. At present, even if mothers do not wash the child's feet, he may take a dip in the cement pool in front of the house. Water is much more available in nearly every home.

Most mothers said that they bathed their child every day up to the

age of one year. As the child grows older, they bathe him once or twice a week with hot water. In summer, the child is given more chance to play with water, and more frequent sponge baths. As none of the mothers had maids, they all bathed their children. One fact was not included in the questionnaire, but was commented on by the mothers. The washing of feet before going to bed is a common practice especially in the summer when children play on dusty roads or fields.

Regarding general health habits, only three children in the whole group used a toothbrush, one in the village and two in the city. Children's hair is combed not brushed. It is mostly combed once a day or as often as the mother or child feel like doing it. Washing hands before and after meals, showed some difference between the village and the city; 80% of the city mothers said their child had his hands washed regularly, and only 26% in the village gave that answer. Most of the village answers were, "sometimes depending on circumstances."

Does it bother you when your child plays with dirt?" It bothers most mothers, 80% of the village mothers and 72% of the city mothers. A few more mothers in the city said that it does not bother them.

"What do you do? How do you keep him from getting dirty?" Here again, the village mothers appear more restricting, 63% of the village mothers, and 46% of the city mothers said that they punish or scold the child to keep him from getting dirty. Many times the mother was asked by the interviewer "has that helped?" "Nothing helps", was usually the answer, "the child still gets himself dirty. What use is anything with him?" A



few of the mothers said that they kept him in the house away from the dirt. Others said, "we let him play freely and wash afterwards," this was given by 16% of the village mothers and 30% of the city mothers. It appears again that more village mothers are concerned about the dirt than city mothers.

Nearly half the children in both places did not resist cleaning. Usually the mother said; "The child loves to wash or to take baths." The rest of the mothers said that he resisted sometimes.

When did he start to wash his hands and his face independent of help?" In the city the greater number had not started - 76% as compared with 28% in the village. Of those who started, most of them began between the ages two and three years.

The mothers were asked about the general health of the child. Is he sick a lot?" 40% in the village and 50% in the city said "yes". Other answers were, "He is sick rarely", or "Not at all". In the village 30% said "not at all", as compared with 19% in the city. The most common sickness mentioned was gastro-intestinal disturbances or teething problems, usually the former one. A more detailed table of children's diseases and care is found in the appendix. A little over half of the mothers said that the child recovers in a matter of days. Most of the others said that the child is usually sick more than a week, and in one case in the city the mother spoke of the child as being more sick than well.

In summary, the mothers in the village and in the city bathed their children themselves. Tooth brushing did not appear as an established prac-

tice in either place. Children's hair is combed not brushed, it is often done whenever it seems convenient and the mother or child feel like it. In the city, washing hands before and after meals is much more regular than in the village, while more mothers in the village said that they are bothered if the child is dirty. In the village the child has a greater chance to become very dirty, as the dust is deep and he is outdoors most of the time. More city mothers said that they let the child play freely and wash afterwards. Children in the village start washing their own hands and face earlier than in the city. That may account for their lack of regularity in washing as appeared above.

Sex:- On this part of the interview, the interviewer explained again to the mother that this is important information and that she would like the simple, frank answer.

The mother was asked if she had any preference for having a boy or a girl before the child was born. As may be guessed the preference was for boys, 68% in the village and 72% in the city. There were some who said, "no preference", they were 24% in the village and 28% in the city. It may be noted that of all the fifty mothers asked only two in the village mentioned a preference for girls. Those two, the interviewer noticed, had already had a big family of six and seven boys. Many of the mothers who stated a preference for boys, expanded on the subject in the following manner:- "Any woman who tells you she wants a girl is lying", or "what mother would allow herself to become pregnant if she knew that she would have a girl?" Thus the percentage above does not convey the intensity of feeling on this subject. The mothers expressed the preference of the father in a milder

way. Only about half of the fathers in both places were reported by the mothers to have a preference for boys, while 44% in the village and in the city were reported as having no preference. But only three were mentioned as showing any preference for girls, two in the village and one in the city.

"Which of the children gets along better with the father?" It is of interest that here there was no notable difference. In the village the boys and the girls got along equally well with the father, and in the city the trend was more for girls to get along better with the father, but the difference was not significant.

The mother was then asked about herself, which of the parents did she get along with best? The answers were about the same in Beirut and in Mieh-Mieh. 54% in both places said that they got along best with the mother, of the rest 20% and 21% respectively said that one of the parents was dead. The greater number, 60% in Mieh-Mieh and 82% in Beirut, had the best understanding with their mother. Some said that they got along and had better understanding with the father and a few mentioned relatives.

"Which parent did you have most irritation with?" In the village 45% said the mother and 25% the father, in the city 19% said the mother and 43% the father. The rest said "neither". While many got along best with their mothers in the village still a large number had the most irritation with the mother. This was because the mother was the restricting parent, the one who decided whether her daughter will go on visit or not, on a trip, and what she will do. It is this side of the mothers' function that they found most irritating, it appeared in conversation.

Sex Information:- "Do you think you had enough information about sex?" This question referred to the period before marriage. On this it is difficult to know if a frank answer was given. The expected pattern has always been that the girl must be innocent and ignorant of the facts of life until she gets married. This may have influenced the answers, 80% in the village and 72% in the city said that they knew nothing at all. The rest had some information but said they should have known more. Only one in the village gave a straight "yes" as an answer. When asked if they thought they would have avoided some worries if they knew more, 66% in the village and 44% in the city said "yes". The other answers were distributed among "I don't know", "there were no special worries", and "no".

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"Would you be embarrassed to speak about the differences between boys and girls, how babies get born?" The answers were in the following manner:- 36% in the village and 52% in the city said, "no I give them the wrong answer". The mothers did not say this literally, but their answers to "Where the baby came from", show what is meant here. Some of the answers were, "We bought him", "we brought him from Sidon", "the mid wife gave him to us", to that one child annoyed with his baby brother said, "Then, why don't you give the baby back to her. Why doesn't she take him?" In a family of three boys, one of the boys had never seen a girl. When his little cousin came to visit them he noticed that she looked different. "Mother", he said, "what is the matter with my cousin, she looks different?" The mother replied that that was because she is a girl. The boy gave a sigh of relief, "Good" he said, "I thought she was sick." In both the city and the village 28% said that the children don't ask. A few gave "God created us", as an answer.

"Where do you expect the child to get his information?" In the village 30% said, "from nature". Here they meant that they will know by simply growing up. Five percent in the city gave that answer. Learning from friends was given by 37% in the city and 17% in the village. The rest of the answers were about equally divided between learning from school or from one of the parents, the total of those was 53% in the village and 62% in the city.

"How do you explain questions about animals?" 58% in Mieh-Mieh and 78% in Beirut said that the children don't ask such questions. Some of the children did not see animals very often. "They don't ask, they know", was given by 26% of the village answers and only 4% in the city. "I discourage such questions", or "I explain it frankly and simply", were given by one mother in each place. The matter of a frank true answer in relation to "Where babies come from", was given by only one mother in the village, and none in the city.

There is practically no difference between the rural and urban group in the pattern related to sex. Both in the city and in the village boys are preferred to girls. This was expressed strongly by both groups. The interviewer felt it was superfluous<sup>a</sup> question in some cases. This preference, however, did not continue long after the child's birth. The mothers who expressed a strong preference for boys added that the girls become very dear after they are born. They love them as well as boys. This appears to be true in relation to how the children who get along with the father. Boys and girls get along about equally well, but there is even a slight difference in favor of the girls.

Mothers in Beirut and Mieh-Mieh said that they got along with and had better understanding with their mothers.

The majority of women said that they knew nothing about sex before marriage. This may be due, as was mentioned previously, to the taboo about speaking about sex to unmarried girls. A sign of good behavior is that the girl be absolutely ignorant of sex matters. Some of the mothers may not have admitted what they knew. It may be well to mention here, that the subject of sex is often brought up among married women. The interviewer does not know much about men's conversation on the subject, but she knows that married women speak of it on every possible occasion. This is especially true in their early married life. The unmarried girl in the group is often told to go or is sent on an errand while the others indulge in their conversation. This is often amusing, because unmarried girls know what is going on and are often quite obliging to their elders.

Many of the mothers give the wrong information to the children regarding where babies come from. More than one fourth of the mothers said that the children don't ask. This could very well be because they seek information somewhere else. Many of the mothers said that they expected their child to get this information from nature and friends, but a larger number wanted the child to learn about sex from one of the parents or from school.

Motility:- "Has your child been more energetic than other children?" More than half of the mothers in both groups thought their child more energetic than the average. Some said he was average, and 8% in the village as

compared with 26% in the city said he was inactive.

"Did you have a lot of trouble in keeping him from being active and getting into things?" A little over half said "yes" in the village as compared with 77% in the city.

Most of the children could sit at the table and stay there till they finish a meal. More in the city (39%) than in the village (16%) said that it was hard for the child to sit at the table till the end of a meal. Here customs of families at meal time may make a difference. In the village sitting at the table is for the purpose of eating; when you finish you get up. More often than not family members do not wait for each other to finish eating. The interviewer is not sure of the dining customs of the group she interviewed.

"What kind of games does he like to play?" About half of the answers said that the child likes indoor quiet play, dolls, sand and water. This was mostly true of the younger children. The others enjoyed active games outdoors, and toys they make. Only 5% in the village mentioned any form of dramatic play. This was not mentioned in the city.

**Property:-** The homes visited by the interviewer varied in size from one room to many rooms. But, the home was not divided. Every room was available to everyone in the family. The mothers were asked if there were out of bounds areas in the home: 83% in the village, as compared with 37% in the city said that they had out of bounds areas. Those usually consisted of the wardrobe, bureau and occasionally the special reception room. When

during the conversation the mothers were asked if the children stayed away from these areas, their answer was often "No". The mothers in the village often said that the child can play outdoors. Why should he meddle with the things in the house?

"Do they have a place where they can do anything they like?" To this 92% of the village mothers said yes as compared with 63% in the city: 90% of the children in the village had a place to keep their things. The city was not very different: 80% of the children had a place where they keep their things. Often the mothers mentioned a cardboard box or a paper bag that the child hid things in. This was placed under the bed, on top of a wardrobe or in a tree where no one could find it. Many of the mothers showed approval and cooperation with the child in hiding his play materials.

In the village 92% of the children's property was shared by everyone in the family; in the city 52% shared their things with the rest. In one case in the city the mother said that the child had nothing at all.

As to allowance 64% in the village and 40% in the city said they give a specific amount per day or week. A little over half the mothers in the city said that they give no allowance, they supply the child's needs at home. This was true of 20% in the village. In the village, parents seem to give the child more freedom in spending his money. In 87% of the answers they said that they gave him complete freedom. Only 33% gave that answer in the city. Exactly half of the mothers in the city said that they told the child what to do with the money that they gave him.



"Do the children get paid by you for little tasks they do either in privileges or in money?" To this none of the village mothers said "yes", 46% said "sometimes", and 54% said "no they did not". In the city 23% said "yes", 45% said "no", and 32% said "sometimes".

In summary, in the village more mothers had out of bound areas for the child than in the city. The mother seems to depend on outdoor space to satisfy her child. 92% in the village said that the child had a place of his own where he does anything he likes, fewer in the city gave this answer. Most children in both the village and the city had a place to hide whatever toys they had. Toys were shared with other siblings. This was true of half of the city children, and 92% in the village. The child in the village has very little that is completely his own. But, the mothers showed respect for what the child makes for himself and for the child's freedom for spending his allowance. The city mothers were more restricting in this respect.

Interpersonal Relationship in the Family:- The child in his family is involved in numerous interactions. In this section the different interpersonal reactions are examined from two viewpoints: 1) What is given to the child by different members of the family, and 2) What the child gives back to mother, father, or siblings.

"To which parent can the child show his affection more easily?" The fathers appear to be favored in both groups, 44% of the village children and 56% of the city children showed preference to the father. About half of the rest showed no preference and the rest chose the mother. The mothers

may have been modest in their answers, but that is not likely because they explained their answers as follows: "The father", they said, "is away from home most of the day and the child misses him."

To the question, "Is one child favored over another child?" more than half the answers in both places were, "We favor no child over another." The rest said that they had no favoritism, but that they gave the youngest one special attention.

"What things does the child do with the father?" Most of the children like to play and take walks with the father, 66% in the village and 72% in the city gave that for an answer. Many others like to carry on conversation with the father. The children express their love for the father in doing things for him: 70% in the village and 68% in Beirut bring objects that the father needs without being asked. Most of the children spend time with the mother while she is taking care of their physical needs or accompany her as she goes about her every day tasks. Many of the children help their mothers freely on their own, and a good number obey her requests.

"How much time does the father have for the child?" The greater number of the answers clustered around one to two hours a day, 48% in the village, and 56% in the city gave that for answer. About one fourth of the mothers in both places said that the father spent three or more hours with the child per day. The mother is with the child nearly all the time: 80% of the village mothers and 92% of the city mothers spent most of their day with the children. The others, <sup>are</sup> either working half a day or most of the day outside home.

"What do you have most fun doing with the child?" Many of the mothers, 42% in the village and 51% in the city, said that they like playing with him, taking walks and telling stories. The next highest thing among the answers was bathing and dressing the child. Only a few expressed joy at feeding the child. Kissing him after a bath and when he wakes up happy was expressed with affection by several of the mothers. The fathers seemed to enjoy most bringing presents and food to the child. Next to that came playing with him, walks and general conversation. The mothers told with a smile how the father enjoys the child's speech and inquiries. As the mother discussed the last two questions, she beamed with affection. It appeared as though she thought, "Funny I haven't thought of this before."

"What things annoy you most?" Here most of the mothers looked pensive. There was no special pattern or agreement on what annoys them. The answers were distributed in the following order: - Destructiveness, crying, disobedience and stubbornness ranked highest. Dirty appearance and quarreling with siblings ranked about last. Few of the mothers, 14% in the village and 4% in the city said that the child did not annoy them.

"What things baffle you?" In the city the answers were more definite. Fifty-six percent said that the food habits and appetite of the child baffled them, and 26% mentioned bad temper. The rest mentioned nothing specific. In the village the things that baffle the mother most came in the following order:- Food habits, appetite and sickness, bad temper, lack of obedience and his questions and continuous activity. Of the village mothers 20% said that nothing baffles them.

"What do you praise him for?"- It is interesting that the frequency of the answers comes in the same order both in the village and in the city with only a slight difference in percentages. The things that the child is praised most for came in the following order:- 1) Obedience, 2) Being helpful and pleasant, 3) Neatness, 4) Eating well.

"What do you have to punish the child for?" A variety of answers was given. In the village the order of things that the child is punished for is as follows:

1) Disobedience and stubbornness	38%
2) When destructive and quarrels with siblings	22%
3) When he is dirty, wets or soils himself	19%
4) When he disturbs me or cries without apparent reason	12%
5) I do not punish him at all	9%

In the city the order was different. 60% of the responses were equally divided between the following two answers: "When he disturbs me or cries without apparent reason", and "when he is destructive and quarrels with siblings." Disobedience and stubbornness was next 23%, and, when he is dirty wets or soils himself, 17%.

"What works best for punishment?" Over half of the mothers in both places said that spanking or some form of physical hurt works best for punishment, and around 30% mentioned threat with different things or scolding. Very few mentioned deprivation of food as a form of punishment. When the

mothers were asked what they considered to be the severest form of punishment 61% in the village and 75% in the city gave spanking and physical hurt for an answer. Deprivation and scolding was the next severest punishment in both places.

"How does the child react?" The following was the order of the answers in the village:-

1. Sits quietly and asks forgiveness	34%
2. Cries or threatens the mother	28%
3. Obeys	21%
4. Does not care or continues with what he does	17%

The order of answers was quite different in the city:-

1. Cries or threatens the mother	61%
2. Sits quietly and asks forgiveness	21%
3. Obeys	18%

In the village the severest punishment is saved for disobedience and dirt. These were indicated as demanding punishment in 54% of the answers. The other things that deserved severe punishment were: quarrelling with siblings, disturbing the mother and crying continuously or being destructive. In the city the things most often punished are disturbing or bothering the mother, disobedience, quarrelling with siblings, and crying.

In the village the older child helps in taking care of the younger

one to a great extent, in 80% of the cases, as compared with 48% of the cases in the city. This may be accounted for in the fact that 16% of the city children had no older sibling, and on the whole the urban subjects were a little younger group than the village children. In most cases where help is given by the older child the younger one accepts it.

"Do they have fun playing together? How often?" With the exception of two cases in the village the answers were, "Yes, always" or "Yes, most of the time". This however, does not mean that they do not quarrel for they do, 95% in the city and 79% in the village said that the children quarreled, 5% more in the city and 13% in the village qualified the answer by saying that they quarreled sometimes. The quarrels in both places were over objects wanted by the two children at the same time.

In summary, the father appears to be favored by the children in both the city and the village. The explanation given in both places is about the same, it was because the father is away most of the day. Parents said that they have no favorites among the children, many, however, mentioned giving special attention to the youngest child. Most of the children in Mieh-Mieh and in Beirut enjoyed best playing and going for walks with the father. And most of them showed their affection to him by bringing him objects when he needs them. With the mother, the children like to stay around her while she works, and obey her demands in general.

Most of the fathers spend one to two hours a day with the children, and the majority of the mothers are with the child all the time. The mothers like playing with the children and going for walks. It is interesting to

note that the things that annoy mothers most in both places came in the same order: 1) destructiveness, 2) crying, 3) disobedience and stubbornness.

More mothers in the city said that they are baffled by the food habits of the child, 56% as compared with 36% in the village. This however ranked highest in both groups as a cause of worry.

The same order appeared for both places in regard to things the child is praised for: 1) obedience, 2) when he is helpful and pleasant, 3) His neatness, 4) when he eats well. About the same items appeared among the things a child is punished for. The one first mentioned in the village is disobedience and stubbornness. In the city the mothers expressed this more in the statement, "when he bothers me". The punishment estimated to be severest in the city and village is spanking or other physical hurt.

The child's reaction to punishment appears quite different between the city and the village. More children in the city cry and threaten as a result of punishment (61% as compared with 28% in the village who express that kind of a reaction).

More children in the village helped with younger siblings. This may be due to smaller families in the city group. Mothers in the city mentioned more quarrelling among siblings, 95% as compared to 79% in the village. It is, however, obviously high in the village too. This does not keep the children from enjoying each other for the majority of mothers said that the children enjoy each other most of the time. In 23% of the answers in the city mothers said that one child hurts his siblings, when angry with one

of the parents. This did not appear in the village.

The Child's Relationship with Peers and Adults:- In the previous parts of the study we have been concerned mainly with what is done to the child. In contrast, in this section, what the child does will primarily be discussed. This, however, is from the mother's point of view, for the child has neither been observed nor questioned on the subject.

"Who does the child get along with best." Only in the village was there any concentration in the answers: 47% said that the child got along best with siblings. Father and mother were mentioned least. Although previously more of the children seemed to express affection to the father, only 6% in the city mentioned the father as the one that the child seemed to get along with best. This may be explained in the next question. "What kind of things does he have most fun doing with them?" Play and going for walks was given in 76% of the answers in the village and 79% in the city. Going for walks is a literal translation from Arabic, it actually means anything from going for walks, to running around in the fields to taking trips. It mostly means running around with them.

When alone the children's play habits varied from quiet play, play with household objects, to making and constructing things on their own. Imaginative games with companions, that is dramatic play and active play with the swing or the like were mentioned least. The answers most often given is play with household objects near the mother. When with others the picture changes. Dramatic play is given in 36% of the answers in the village



and in 26% of the answers in the city. Play with sand, water or toys was given by 32% in the village, and 34% in the city. Active games seem to have less mention in this age group, only 18% in the village and 26% in the city spoke of running climbing and wrestling. A few of the mothers said that their child follows what the other children do. This was given by 7% in the village and 11% in the city.

"Are his friends older or younger than him?" A good number of the children play with older ones; this was true in 40% of the cases in the village and 38% in the city. About an equal number said that the child played with older and younger children. A few said that the children had older play-mates, but in no case were younger playmates mentioned alone. This is understandable as the children we are dealing with are pretty young themselves.

"Does he play with many or few?" In the village 56% said "many", in the city only 25% gave that answer. In the city 67% said "few" while in the village it was 46%. When asked about the number of the child's close friends, 64% in the village and 52% in the city said that the child had one or two friends. In some cases, 28% in the village and 48% in the city said that the child had no friends. In the village 8% had three or more close friends, while in the city none had so many.

"Does he play with boys or girls?" The majority of children play both with boys and girls this was true for 92% in the village and 87% in the city. In response to another question it appears that most of the children want to bring their friends home. "Is it convenient?" More mothers in

the village said that it is inconvenient for the child to bring his friends home, 37% as compared with 26% in the city.

"Does the child get into fights while playing?" "Yes, often", was given by 33% of the village mothers and 50% of the city. More mothers in the village said sometimes 67% as compared with 46% in the city. Only in one case did the mother say that her child did not fight.

"Where does the child play?" In the village there were mainly two places mentioned:- indoors or near the house in the garden or friends. 71% said that the child played in the garden or fields and 29% said that he played indoors. In the city 53% said that the child played indoors, another 18% that the child played in the street near the house and 29% said that he played in a garden.

"To what experiences has the child been exposed: books, magazines, movies, radio and organized group activity?" More children in the city (72%) listened to radios than in the village (36%). No children in the village went to movies, and only 11% in the city had been to movies. None of the children in the village or city had any books or magazines. When asked if the child belonged to any organized group 100% in the village and 88% in the city said "no". In the city a few of the children under 6 years of age went to school-12% gave this answer.

"What other adults other than parents does the child come in contact with?" Relatives and neighbors are given in 100% of the cases in the village and 97% in the city. Only in one case, in the city, did the mother say that

the child had no other contact with adults.

"What other adults are at home?" This question is of special interest, because the general impression often mentioned is that the grandparents live with the family, and the children are used to them. This did not prove to be true in this study, especially in the village, Only 12% in the village had one or two grandparents at home, and another 4% had a relative. 32% mentioned older siblings - those who have passed adolescence. In the city there are a few more relatives living with the family. 19% mentioned grandparents and 19% mentioned other relatives, making a total of 38%. The rest had no other adults with the family. Only 4% had an older sibling.

"Do other adults do things you don't approve of?" A good number said "yes". These consisted of favors the mother does not approve of, 32% in the village and 50% in the city, and punishment or scolding, 40% in the village and 31% in the city. The rest said, "No there is nothing special". It appears that more relatives in the village take liberties in scolding and punishing the child.

"Is your child attached to any relative especially?" The answers in the city and the village were very close, 76% in the village and 77% in the city said "yes". The answers were distributed in favor of a grandparent in the city and other relatives in the village. In three fourths of the cases this relative lived outside the home.

Another possible source of contact with adults could be with maids,

but none of the mothers in this group had maids.

In summary , play and going for walks and trips appear to be the child's favorite activities with the people to whom he is attached, ✓ who consist mainly of siblings in the village and of fathers in the city. In playing alone most of the children preferred playing with household objects near the mother. When with other children, dramatic play, and play with sand, water and toys were mentioned. The children in the village have more playmates, 56% in the village said that the child had many playmates. 64% in the village and 52% in the city said that the child had one or two friends. More in the city (48%) than in the village (28%) said that the child had no special friends.

Nearly all the children in both groups play with boys and girls, and most children want to bring their friends home. More village mothers find this inconvenient. The children in the village mostly play outdoors near the house or in fields. While a little over half of the city children play indoors, some play in the street and 28% play in the garden. The city children listen more to radios - 72% of them as compared with 36% of the village children. None of the village children went to movies, while a few in the city did. None of the children in the village or city have any books or magazines.

Aside from parents, children in both places come in contact mostly with relatives and neighbors. In only one case (in the city) the child had no contact with adults other than parents. Some of the families have relatives living with them, 16% in the village, while 38% in the city have

either grandparents or other relative living in the family. This difference is understandable in that rent is high in Beirut. But it may be noticed that even in Beirut the number of those having other relatives with the family is not very great. More families in the village have adolescent or adult siblings in the home. In both places mothers are somewhat annoyed with what some relatives do to their children. In the village the annoyance is more at with those who scold and punish the child. It has been observed in the village that uncles and aunts as well as grandparents take some responsibility for the discipline of the child, while more in the city are annoyed with favors the relatives give that the mother does not approve of. However, both answers were found in both places, and some of the mothers are not annoyed at all.

Most of the children in both places are attached to some relatives. In the city they are attached more to grandparents, in the village more to some relative. In most of the cases this relative lives outside the home.

Chapter V - Summary of the Child Hearing Practices

## V- SUMMARY OF THE CHILD REARING PRACTICES

Let us attempt a summary of the significant practices, and the apparent patterns that they form.

Mothers both in the village and in the city breast feed their babies for several months. The cases in which breast feeding was not practiced were few, and were due to physical causes. Only in one case did the mother limit breast feeding because she was working. The village mothers breast feed their babies for a longer period than the city mothers. More city mothers use a feeding schedule. Abrupt weaning is the practice in both places. There appeared in the village a more relaxed atmosphere in relation to food; the child eats whenever he feels like it, and as much as he wants. If he refuses to eat he is left alone until he is hungry, or he is induced to eat through gentle talk. While this is true to some degree in the city also, there are more urban mothers concerned about their child's eating.

Sleeping in the same room with siblings and parents is the common practice in both places. The room is generally faintly lighted. If one of the children sleeps with the mother it is usually the youngest one. Swaddling of the young infant is practiced by all, the difference is in the length of the swaddling period. City mothers swaddle longer and fewer of them said that swaddling depends on the weather. More of the city mothers used a kind of drug to put the child to sleep. In the village, children sleep longer hours at night. There is much less irritability at bed time in the village, here bed time appears to be a happy time.

All mothers use a pot for toilet training. In the village the mother start training the child earlier. She holds him firmly in her lap or near her. In the city toilet training starts later, but fewer said that they held the baby first to support him when he first starts. In the village diapers are removed about the time the child begins to crawl, in the city the child is diapered longer. The child becomes independent earlier in the village in taking care of his toilet needs. This may be due to the nature of the toilet facilities as was mentioned previously.

Mothers in both places take nearly all the responsibility for the care of the baby with some help from the family. The mother bathes the baby and takes care of this every day needs. In regard to every day cleanliness babies are given a bath every day till about the age of one year. After that it depends on the weather, the water facilities and the time of the mother. Baths for older children are given at least once a week. More mothers in the village said that they were bothered by the child getting dirty. This seems to be due to the amount of dust and dirt the child is exposed to in the village. Washing hands before and after meals is more regular in the city. City mothers show a tolerant attitude to the child's getting dirty. More said that the child should play freely, he can wash afterwards. Tooth brushing did not appear to be common in either place.

It is of interest to note that in the matter of sex preferences and sex education there appeared to be no noteworthy differences between the city and the village. Boys are preferred to girls, but mothers did not fail to add that girls become dear after they are born. The majority of the mothers reported that they knew nothing about sex before marriage. Sex is



a subject that is not supposed to be discussed with unmarried girls. Many mothers give wrong answers to children's questions regarding sex and where babies come from. One fourth of the mothers said that the children do not ask such questions. In the mothers' way of saying this, the interviewer could see the inhibition of the mother herself. A large number of mothers wanted the child to learn about sex from school and from books.

Children in the village and in the city have some place to hide things in or around the house. But more village children have a place where they can do whatever they like. Most children in the village shared toys with their siblings. Their allowance, however, is mostly their own. In the city fewer children have an allowance. This may be due to the age difference, but those urban children who had an allowance were mostly told by the mother what to buy.

The majority of mothers said that the father is favored by the children. The usual reason given is that the father is away. Children enjoy playing and going for walks with the father. They often show him their affection by bringing objects he needs. To the mother they show affection by obeying her demands and by staying around her while she does the house work. Parents in general mentioned special attention to the youngest child. Discipline matters were somewhat similar. Things that annoy mothers came in order of frequency as follows:- 1) destructiveness, 2) crying, 3) disobedience and stubbornness. The things that a child is praised for came also in the same order in both places: 1) obedience, 2) when the child is helpful and pleasant, 3) neatness, 4) when he eats well. When asked "when is the child punished", most answers in the village were "for disobedience and

stubbornness". In the city the answer was more vague, "when he bothers me", the mother said. The children's reactions to punishment also differ. More than half of the city children react by crying and threatening the mother. This answer was given in only 28% of the cases in Mieh-Mieh. More of the city children quarrel with siblings, and a number of them hurt siblings when they are mad with parents. This last did not appear in the village. More children in the village help with younger siblings.

With people they like especially, children enjoy going for walks and playing. Most children play quietly with household objects near the mother. When with others, children play more with sand and water or engage in some form of dramatic play. Nearly all children played in a mixed group of boys and girls. Most children want to bring their friends home. More village mothers show some objection to their bringing other children to the house. Children in the village have on the whole more playmates. All of them have outdoor space to play in. While over half of the city children play indoors, more than half of the remainder of them play in the street.

As to other educational experiences, none of the children under six years of age in either place have books or magazines. Twice as many city children listen to the radio as village children. A few of the city children have seen movies while none of the village children have.

Children on the whole are in contact with adult relatives and neighbors. More city children have adult relatives living at home with the family. But, in both cases, there are fewer families who have adult relatives in the house than is supposed by some people. In both places mothers expressed

annoyance at what some relatives do to their children. In the village the mothers are annoyed because relatives impose discipline and punishment on their children. In the city mothers are annoyed because of favors the relatives give the child. The city mothers want to have better discipline with the children.

Chapter VI - General Summary and Reflections

## VI- GENERAL SUMMARY AND REFLECTIONS

Child development theories have been changing. Improved methods of scientific research and increased anthropological studies have yielded many theories of child development. However, studies of this nature are still relatively few, and it has been difficult to generalize their findings. Such generalizations will become possible when we have enough studies of different cultures. While findings have remained tentative from a scientific point of view, nevertheless, they have influenced child care practices, particularly in the west. This was especially apparent in the restricting practices in feeding, weaning, toilet training and general care of the infant before 1940, and in the swing almost to the other extreme of permissiveness at the present. This influence has reached other cultures through books, magazines and medical care. There is evidence of such influence in the urban sub-group of this study. The village sample shows on the whole permissive tendencies while the city changes that have taken place are more restricting. This probably is due mostly to the pediatric care which is more available in the city, and other contacts with western practices.

At the present there is thought to be some relationship between early childhood experiences brought about by child rearing practices, and adult personality. This, however, is still on the theoretical level and very little is established experimentally.

In this study a detailed description of child care practices in Mieh-Mieh has been presented. While Mieh-Mieh is the center of the study,

a similar sample in Beirut has been included entirely for comparative purposes. It must be remembered that the Beirut sample is only representative of one sub-group, the Arab Christian mothers with little or no formal education.

It has been found that at the present time nearly the same patterns of child care exist in the village and in the city. Where differences occur, they tend to be more permissive in the village and more restricting in the city. In regard to food, for example, the village child is nursed longer, eats when he likes and what he likes, and is left alone if he refuses to eat. In the city children are weaned earlier, and more mothers have used scheduled feeding. There was hardly any mention of feeding problems in the village, several of the city mothers commented on specific feeding difficulties with their children. The every day routines of sleep, food, cleanliness and toilet training appeared to have less strain connected with them in the village than in the city. More city mothers used sedatives to put the child to sleep. The children had more regularity in washing and dressing. In the village the child sleeps longer at night and enjoys bed time.

There appeared to be more strain in regard to the children's reactions in the city, more feeding problems, more quarrels with siblings, more of the children hitting their siblings when angry with the parents, and more cried and threatened the mother when she punished them. It does appear that the more restricting circumstances in the city bring out more open aggression in the child.

Sharing appeared to a great degree in the village, the children shared their toys, slept in the same bed with siblings or parents, and many took care of younger siblings.

Village children had more outdoor space and more playmates. They had fewer outside relatives living with the family. More of them had an allowance and were free to spend it as they like.

The city children had more regularity in their routines and had more access to radios and movies.

On the whole the village mother appeared more indulgent, imposed very few restrictions on the child. She was disturbed if the child was punished or disciplined by relatives. More mothers in the city said that they punished the child because he disturbs them, and more were annoyed with relatives who gave favors to their child.

In the two places there appeared little regularity in every day schedules, and there was little conformity on the part of the child to family rules. When mothers said that they punished the child for disobedience or breaking rules, the writer asked "does he improve his behavior?" Generally, the answer was that the child does not improve. The mother's answer was given as if to say "who could ever expect conformity of children?"

While differences appeared, it has been found that the valuesystem of the mothers in regard to what the child is praised for and punished for remains the same in both places. In the questions about sex there was no

apparent difference in the two groups. This might suggest that the changes that have taken place are more on an external and superficial level, leaving the care of the value systems of mothers actually untouched.

It appears that the center of all the child's activity remains the home both in the village and in the city. The city has shown more evidence of change in the direction of restriction. If this is not followed by organized playgrounds, and clubs to provide space and outlets for expression, it might lead to greater aggression and delinquency.

One may be left with the question: "What influence do the child rearing practices in the Lebanese home have on personality development?"

The primary purpose of this study has been the establishment of a few basic facts. It is only on the basis of a wide scope of facts that fruitful hypotheses have been formulated. The study dealing with only a limited area and age group namely, early childhood, does not offer a wide coverage of facts. The question of the relationship of early childhood experiences to adult personality is a controversial one as brought out earlier in the review of literature. The writer finds it easier to conceive of personality formation as a continuous one where early childhood experiences create certain tendencies that may appear or disappear depending upon later experiences as intervening factors between childhood and adulthood. Those intervening factors are absent from this study. The reflections therefore will be relative to tendencies that are suggested by child care methods.

Nowhere, did the writer find family rules that the child was expected



to adhere to. Rules existed but neither the mother nor the child expected conformity to them. This might be the beginning of citizens who disrespect the law. It might account for the relative lawlessness that is apparent in our adult society.

It also appeared that the child takes sometime before he becomes independent in taking care of his simple every day needs. This suggests that the child forms habits of dependence on the mother and family that will make it difficult for him later to develop an independent life of his own. This would not give the skills needed by responsible citizens operating in an independent nation. Does the sharing of the same beds and the same toys make the village family more closely knit? To what extent can solidarity of the family, now giving individual security, and creating greater readiness for conformity be combined with social consciousness of citizens?

The girl is not wanted before and at birth, but as a child she seems to be accepted for her own worth as a person. How does this influence the position of women in the culture? Does society give the man a superior social role, and a protection to the woman to make up for the inferior role? To what extent is this protection assigned to her accepted by the woman as restriction, and to what extent as privilege? Would the satisfactions of the early years make the girl better prepared to accept restriction and even rejection?

This study could present other reflections to the reader, but it is not prepared to answer the many questions that arise. It is hoped, however, that the way has been prepared for subsequent studies which can seek more conclusive answers.

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Appendix I

Appendix I  
Part 1. Feeding and Weaning

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Were you able to breast feed the baby?	25		25	
1. No - - - - -		8		8
2. Yes - - - - -		92		92
2. When did you start weaning your child ?	26		25	
1. Less than six months - - - - -		-		12
2. 6 - 12 months - - - - -		23		48
3. 13 - 18 months - - - - -		35		36
4. Over 18 months - - - - -		42		4
3. Why then ?	22		25	
1. Pregnancy - - - - -		36		40
2. Health reasons or mother had no milk - - - - -		14		28
3. Mother was working - - - - -		-		4
4. Child did not care to continue - - - - -		-		4
5. The child was old enough to stop - - - - -		45		24
4. Did you have to supplement it with other food ?	25		25	
1. No - - - - -		16		4
2. Yes - - - - -		84		96
5. How did you get him off the breast? Did you use any special method ?	25		23	
1. Applying disgusting substance on the nipple - - - - -		40		39
2. Kept child away from mother - - - - -		8		13
3. Abrupt weaning with special diet - - - - -		16		4
4. Weaned gradually - - - - -		4		22
5. No special method just abrupt weaning - - - - -		32		22
6. What was the most comfortable position when you nursed the baby?	25		25	
1. Sitting up - - - - -		68		72
2. Lying down - - - - -		24		16
3. No preference - - - - -		8		8

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
4. Did not nurse - - - - -		-		4
7. If bottle fed, does anybody help you ?	25		25	
1. Maid or institution - - - - -		-		4
2. Mother or the family - - - - -		16		28
3. Mother alone - - - - -		12		32
4. Bottle not used - - - - -		72		36
8. Has your baby had a wet nurse ?	25		25	
1. Yes - - - - -		-		-
2. No - - - - -		100		100
9. Was it fun to nurse the baby ?	25		23	
1. No - - - - -		8		-
2. No difference - - - - -		4		-
3. Yes - - - - -		88		100
10. Was your child a slow or fast nurser ?	26		23	
1. Fast - - - - -		35		43
2. Average - - - - -		23		17
3. Slow - - - - -		42		40
11. Did you have a regular schedule ?	26		25	
1. Yes - - - - -		15		44
2. No - - - - -		85		56
12. If regular how did it go the first three months ?	4		22	
1. Fed every four hours - - - - -		-		9
2. Every three and a half hours -		-		-
3. Every three hours - - - - -		25		23
4. Every two and a half hours --		25		9
5. Schedule determined by the child himself - - - - -		50		9
6. No schedule - - - - -		-		50
13. If bottle fed, what kind of milk ?	8		24	
1. Fresh milk - - - - -		50		17
2. Powdered milk or condensed milk		50		58
3. Bottle not used - - - - -		-		25

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
14. When did you introduce solid food ?	25		25	
1. Before the age of three months - - - - -		-		4
2. Before the age of six months		44		44
3. By the age of nine months -		28		28
4. By the age of 12 months - -		16		8
5. By the age of 18 months or over - - - - -		12		16
15. What solid food was introduced ?	31		40	
1. Food from the family dishes		52		30
2. Finely cut fruits - - - - -		6		28
3. Dishes cooked especially for the child or biscuits - - -		42		42
16. Did he make any fuss about it ?	23		23	
1. Yes - - - - -		9		4
2. No - - - - -		91		96
17. Does he get hungry between meals?	25		25	
1. Yes, but is not given anything		-		-
2. Yes, but is given a small snack		4		28
3. No, because he eats whenever he likes - - - - -		96		60
4. No - - - - -		-		12
18. Does he refuse to eat ?	25		27	
1. Yes - - - - -		4		22
2. Sometimes - - - - -		48		41
3. No - - - - -		48		37
19. When he does not eat, what do you do ?	18		25	
1. Compel him to eat through punishment or threat - - - - -		12		28
2. Use games and competition with sibling - - - - -		-		-
3. Leave him alone till he is hungry		44		16
4. Change in the kind of food - - -		-		8
5. Convince him through stories and gentle talk - - - - -		44		28
6. Does not refuse - - - - -		-		20



	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
20. When does he eat best ?	24		24	
1. One particular meal per day or special place - - - - -		12		62
2. When he likes the food and is hungry - - - - -		42		17
3. After active exercise - - -		-		-
4. He eats well always when healthy - - - - -		46		21
21. When does he make the worst fuss ?			22	
1. When he does not like the food - - - - -		24		18
2. When tired and nervous or sick		29		32
3. At a particular time of the day - - - - -		-		9
4. When distracted by play - - -		-		9
5. He does not fuss at all (except in sickness) - - - - -		48		32
22. Do you expect him to eat everything on his plate ?	25		25	
1. Yes, he has to - - - - -		-		12
2. He is given approximately the right quantity - - - - -		28		16
3. He eats all he wants - - - -		72		72
23. Did you have any difficulty in weaning him ?	25		26	
1. Yes - - - - -		28		35
2. No - - - - -		56		65
3. A little - - - - -		16		-
24. What did you do ?	23		25	
1. Abrupt weaning - - - - -		65		32
2. Abrupt weaning but special care from father and siblings		22		12
3. Special diet - - - - -		8		36
4. Weaned him gradually or child weaned himself - - - - -		4		20
25. Was the child awfully fretful ?	25		24	
1. Yes - - - - -		76		66
2. No - - - - -		24		17

	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
		<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u> <u>Percentage</u>
3. A little - - - - -		-	17
26. How long ?	19		22
1. All his life - - - - -		5	9
2. 2 - 4 years - - - - -		-	-
3. A few months - - - - -		11	23
4. A matter of days - - - - -		74	59
5. Not irritable at all - - -		11	9
27. How long did it take you to wean him completely ?	24		22
1. One day - - - - -		79	68
2. One - two weeks - - - - -		13	18
3. One month or more - - - - -		8	14

Part II . Training in Sleep

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
28. How much does he sleep at night at present ?	26		28	
1. 8 - 9 hours - - - - -		12		14
2. 10 - 11 hours - - - - -		58		79
3. 12 - 14 hours - - - - -		31		7
4. More than 14 hours - - -		-		-
29. How long does he sleep in the day time at present ?	26		26	
1. Does not sleep at all - -		8		12
2. Sleeps one hour or less during the day - - - - -		23		18
3. Sleeps 2- 3 hours during the day - - - - -		58		58
4. Sleeps 4 hours or more - - -		11		12
30. Does he sleep alone or with somebody ?	28		28	
1. Alone in the room - - - - -		-		-
2. Alone in bed but in room with siblings - - - - -		-		-
3. Alone in bed but in the room with all the family - - - -		39		57
4. In the same bed with siblings		32		18
5. In the same bed with mother or father - - - - -		29		25
31. Light on or off ?	25		25	
1. Light - - - - -		-		-
2. Dark - - - - -		8		36
3. Faint light, electric or kerosene - - - - -		76		60
4. No difference - - - - -		16		4
32. Who puts him to bed ?	29		27	
1. Maid - - - - -		-		-
2. Other members of the family-		3		7
3. Mother - - - - -		62		56
4. Anyone of the above - - - -		-		-
5. He goes to bed by himself -		35		37

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
33. How does he spend the hour before going to bed ?	26		25	
1. Crying and irritable - -		-		20
2. Preparing for sleep, eating, washing and playing -		12		24
3. Playing jumping and singing alone or with siblings		73		32
4. Playing with toy quietly --		8		8
5. Spends time with parents either in active play or listening to stories - - -		7		16
34. Do you swaddle the baby ?	23		24	
1. Yes - - - - -		100		83
2. No - - - - -		-		17
35. How long ?	26		20	
1. Four months or more - - -		15		45
2. One to three months - - -		35		20
3. A matter of days - - - - -		-		-
4. Depending on the weather - -		50		30
36. Do you rock him ?	25		24	
a-				
1. No - - - - -		16		37
2. Yes - - - - -		84		63
36. b. Do you sing him to sleep?	24		23	
1. No - - - - -		25		35
2. Yes - - - - -		75		65
37. a. Do you use pacifiers ?	16			
1. No - - - - -		69		
2. Yes - - - - -		31		
37. b. Do you use drugs to put him to sleep ?	25		25	
1. Yes - - - - -		4		24
2. No - - - - -		96		76
38. Does he do anything to put himself to sleep ?	27		28	
1. Suck thumbs - - - - -		11		14

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
2. Suck artificial nipple or other objects - - -		15		-
3. Plays with toys in bed -		-		-
4. Sing himself to sleep or plays with hair - - - -		19		50
5. Does not do anything special		55		36
39. a. Does he sleep soundly ?	25		29	
1. No - - - - -		20		31
2. Yes - - - - -		80		69
39. b. Does he cry out in his sleep ?	23		26	
1. Yes - - - - -		-		23
2. Sometimes - - - - -		30		15
3. No - - - - -		70		62

Part III. Toilet Training

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
40. Does the child have constipation, diarrhea, dysentery ?	27		27	
1. Constipation - - - - -		-		-
2. Dysentery - - - - -		-		4
3. Diarrhea - - - - -		41		48
4. Other intestinal disturbances		-		-
5. No - - - - -		59		48
41. Does he have amoeba, worms ?	26		27	
1. Amoeba - - - - -		-		-
2. Worms - - - - -		31		44
3. Neither - - - - -		69		56
42. When did you begin training him?	26		26	
1. Less than three months - - -		35		7
2. Between 3 - 6 months - - -		50		23
3. 7 - 9 months - - - - -		12		35
4. 10 - 12 months - - - - -		3		35
5. Older than one year - - - -		-		-
43. How ?	22		25	
1. Punishment by refusing to change his clothes to show him it is wrong, or holding his nose till it hurts, or other - - - - -		5		8
2. Put him alone on the potty - -		18		48
3. Hold him over the potty first -		77		44
44. Has he played with his feces ?	27		26	
1. Yes - - - - -		26		27
2. Sometimes - - - - -		4		-
3. No - - - - -		70		73
45. Does he wet his bed in day time?	26		30	
1. Yes - - - - -		23		50
2. No - - - - -		77		50
46. Night time enuresis ?	29		30	
1. Yes - - - - -		28		40

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
2. Sometimes - - - - -		17		7
3. No - - - - -		55		53
47. Does he show any symptoms of local irritation ?	25		26	
1. Yes - - - - -		4		31
2. No - - - - -		84		65
3. Sometimes - - - - -		12		4
48. How old was he when he began notifying his toilet needs ?	26		27	
1. Older than two - - - - -		-		4
2. 13 - 24 months - - - - -		15		33
3. 10 - 12 months - - - - -		35		26
4. Less than 9 months - - - - -		46		11
5. Has not started yet - - - - -		4		26
49. When did he begin going to the toilet alone ?	25		28	
1. Later than four years - - - - -		-		-
2. 3 - 4 years - - - - -		-		4
3. 2 - 3 years - - - - -		16		28
4. 19 - 23 months - - - - -		24		-
5. 12 - 18 months - - - - -		44		4
6. Has not started yet - - - - -		16		64
50. Did you take to the toilet at regular times ?	26		25	
1. Yes - - - - -		-		4
2. No - - - - -		23		48
3. Regular as I see the need arising - - - - -		77		48
51. Did you take him to the toilet when he was getting restless ?	26		26	
1. Yes - - - - -		50		20
2. No - - - - -		23		58
3. Sometimes - - - - -		27		22
52. Did you use any reward or punishment ?	21		26	
1. Punishment and threat - - - - -		-		35
2. Reward in form of praise or smile - - - - -		67		38

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
3. Used nothing special ----		33		27
53. Did you take him up regularly at night ?	25		25	
1. Yes - - - - -		12		4
2. No - - - - -		88		96
54. How long did you diaper him ? When did you start using pants?	15		18	
1. Later than two years - - -		-		-
2. 19 - 24 months - - - - -		-		6
3. 13 - 18 months - - - - -		20		50
4. 9 - 12 months - - - - -		33		28
5. 6 - 8 months - - - - -		40		16
6. Less than six months - - -		7		-
55. Do you use a pot ?	26		25	
1. Yes - - - - -		92		96
2. No - - - - -		8		4
56. When ?	24		24	
1. Less than 6 months - - - - -		58		17
2. Six months to 9 months - - -		21		37
3. 10 - 12 months - - - - -		21		46
4. Later than one year - - - - -		-		-



Part IV. Cleanliness

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
57. How often is the child bathed ?	27		25	-
1. Once a week - - - - -		-		-
2. Twice a week - - - - -		3.5		-
3. Once every day till the age of six months - - -		15		20
4. Once every day till the age of one year - - - -		78		68
5. Once every day till the age of two years or more - -		3.5		12
58. Who does it ?	23		25	
1. Maid - - - - -		-		-
2. A member of the family - -		-		-
3. Mother - - - - -		100		100
59. Does he wash his teeth ? How often ?	25		25	
1. No - - - - -		96		92
2. Yes - - - - -		4		8
60. Does he wash his hands before meals ?	27		25	
1. No, mother washes for him -		26		-
2. Sometimes depending on circumstances - - - - -		41		16
3. Yes after meals - - - - -		7		4
4. Yes before meals - - - - -		-		-
5. Yes before and after meals -		26	26	80
61. When did he start to wash his hands and face independent of help ?	25		26	
1. Later than four years - - -		4		-
2. 3 - 4 years - - - - -		12		12
3. 2 - 3 years - - - - -		44		12
4. before two years of age - -		12		-
5. Has not yet started - - - -		28		76
62. Does he resist cleaning ?	31		28	
1. Yes - - - - -		36		39

		<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
	<u>No. of</u> <u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Answers</u> <u>Percentage</u>
2. Sometimes - - - - -		10	11
3. No - - - - -		54	50
63. Does it bother you when he plays with dirt ?	25		25
1. Yes - - - - -		80	72
2. Sometimes - - - - -		4	-
3. No - - - - -		16	28
64. What do you do ? How do you keep him from getting dirty?	32		30
1. Kept him in house away from dirt - - - - -		19	17
2. Punish him for dirtying himself - - - - -		47	33
3. Scolded him - - - - -		16	13
4. Praised and reward his cleanliness - - - - -		-	-
5. Used aprons to protect him and let him play - - - - -		3	7
6. Let him play freely and washed him when he needs it -		16	30
65. How often is his hair brushed daily ?	26		27
1. Rarely or not at all - - -		-	7
2. When the mother has time and finds it convenient - -		35	22
3. Once a day - - - - -		42	45
4. More than once a day - - - -		4	15
5. The child combs it when he likes - - - - -		19	11
66. Is he sick a lot ?	27		26
1. Yes - - - - -		40	50
2. Rarely - - - - -		30	31
3. Not at all - - - - -		30	19
67. When he is sick what is wrong with him ?	18		19
1. Gastro-intestinal disturbances -		44	52
2. Teething problems - - - -		34	21
3. Children's diseases - - - -		22	11
4. Respiratory diseases - - - -		-	16

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
5. Other - - - - -		-		-
68. How long does it take him to recover fully ?	14		14	
1. Sick more than well - - -		-		7
2. Over a week - - - - -		36		43
3. A few days - - - - -		64		50

Part V - Sex

	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
		<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u> <u>Percentage</u>
69. Did you have any preference for a boy or girl ?	25		25
1. Boy - - - - -		68	72
2. Girl		8	-
3. No preference - - - - -		24	28
70. Did the father have any preference ?	25		25
1. Boy - - - - -		48	52
2. Girl - - - - -		8	4
3. No preference - - - - -		44	44
71. Which is easier for you to get along with your son or daughter?			
72. Which of them gets along better with the father ?	22		22
1. We have children of the same sex - - - - -		9	36
2. Neither gets along with him -		-	5
3. Boys - - - - -		18	14
4. Girls - - - - -		18	27
5. Both - - - - -		55	18
73. Which parent did you get along with easier ?	24		24
1. One or both parents were dead - - - - -		21	20
2. Got along with neither - -		-	-
3. Father - - - - -		17	13
4. Mother - - - - -		54	54
5. Both - - - - -		8	13
74. Which did you have the best understanding with ?	20		23
1. One or both parents were dead		10	-
2. With neither - - - - -		5	-
3. Father - - - - -		15	9
4. Mother - - - - -		60	82
5. With relative instead - -		5	9
6. With both - - - - -		5	-

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
75. Which parent did you have most irritation with ?	20		21	
1. Father - - - - -		25		43
2. Mother - - - - -		45		19
3. Neither - - - - -		30		38
76. Do you think you had enough information about sex ?	25		25	
1. I knew nothing at all - -		80		72
2. I had some information but should have known more - -		16		28
3. Yes - - - - -		4		-
77. Do you think you would have avoided some worries with more information ?	24		25	
1. I don't know - - - - -		8		12
2. There were no special worries		13		16
3. No - - - - -		13		28
4. Yes - - - - -		66		44
78. Would you be embarrassed to speak about the differences between boys and girls, how babies get born ?	25		25	
1. Yes - - - - -		12		8
2. They don't ask - - - - -		28		28
3. No I give them wrong answers		36		52
4. No I give them the frank answer - - - - -		4		-
5. God created us etc .. - - -		20		12
79. Where do you expect your child to get his information ?	36		38	
1. His friends - - - - -		17		37
2. From nature - - - - -		30		5
3. From school - - - - -		26		28
4. From one of the parents - -		27		34
5. Other sources - - - - -		-		-
80. How do you explain questions about animals ?	26		23	
1. They don't ask such questions		58		78

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of</u>		<u>No. of</u>	
	<u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
2. I discourage such questions - - - - -		12		9
3. I explain it in a way that is not the complete truth - - - - -		-		4
4. I explain it frankly and simply - - - - -		4		4
5. They don't ask they know - -		26		4

Part VI - Motility

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
81. Has your child been more energetic than other children ?	26		27	
1. Slow - - - - -		8		26
2. Average - - - - -		34		19
3. More energetic - - - - -		58		55
82. Did you have a lot of trouble in keeping him from being active because he was getting into things ?	24		26	
1. Never thought of it - - - - -		-		-
2. Yes - - - - -		54		77
3. No - - - - -		46		23
83. Is it hard for your youngster to sit at table ?	25		23	
1. No - - - - -		72		65
2. Yes - - - - -		24		35
3. Still nurses - - - - -		4		-
84. Can he finish a meal without getting up ?	24		23	
1. Yes - - - - -		84		61
2. No - - - - -		16		39
85. What kind of games does he like to play ?	36		41	
1. Indoor quiet play - dolls, construction material, sand, water - - - - -		58		46
2. More active games, bicycles, outdoor games, swing etc. - -		16		22
3. Any kind of toys they have -		5		15
4. Toys they make or house hold object - - - - -		16		17
5. Dramatic play - - - - -		5		-

Part VII - Interpersonal Family

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
86. Which parent does the child mind more easily ?	25		25	
1. Neither - - - - -		-		-
2. Father - - - - -		52		60
3. Mother - - - - -		32		24
4. Both - - - - -		16		16
5. One of the parents is dead - -		-		-
87. Why ?	19		14	
1. Because he is afraid - - -		-		-
2. Because parent favors him -		11		36
3. Because parent is away more		47		36
4. Because he likes to please him - - - - -		-		-
5. Because he loves him - - -		42		21
6. Because parent is with him always - - - - -		-		7
88. Which parent can the child show his affection to more easily ?	25		25	
1. Father - - - - -		44		56
2. Mother - - - - -		32		20
3. Both - - - - -		24		24
89. Is the child favored or another child ?	24		22	
1. Yes - - - - -		4		-
2. No others are more favored -		-		-
3. We have no favoritism - - -		50		59
4. No favoritism the little has special attention - - - - -		46		41
90. By who ?				
91. What things does he do with the father ?	29		32	
1. Nothing - - - - -		-		3
2. Feeding - - - - -		7		9
3. Play and take walks - - - -		66		72
4. Carry on conversations with him - - - - -		27		16
5. Father is dead - - - - -		-		-



	No. of <u>Answers</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
		<u>Percentage</u>	No. of <u>Answers</u> <u>Percentage</u>
92. What things does he do for the father ?	30		26
1. Keeps quiet - - - - -		-	-
2. Obeys his demands - - -		20	12
3. Brings objects that the father needs without being asked - - - - -		70	68
4. Wait for him on his return home welcoming and showing affection - - - - -		10	8
5. Nothing special - - - - -		-	12
93. What things does he do with the mother ?	33		38
1. His every day physical care -		39	53
2. Play, walks and stories - - -		12	13
3. Carries on conversations -		6	8
4. Accompanies her in work or where she goes - - - - -		43	26
94. What things does he do for the mother ?	27		26
1. Nothing - - - - -		4	23
2. Obeys when she asks him to help - - - - -		40	46
3. Helps on his own - - - - -		56	31
95. How much time does the father have for the child ?	25		25
1. No time at all - - - - -		-	4
2. Father is away during the week comes home week-ends -		28	8
3. Less than an hour daily - -		-	-
4. One to two hours - - - - -		48	56
5. Three hours - - - - -		-	24
6. More than three hours - -		24	8
96. How much time do you have for the child ?	25		25
1. Mother works spends less than two hours with the child - - - - -		4	8
2. Spends half the day with the child - - - - -		12	-

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
3. She is with him most of the time - - - - -		4		-
4. She is with him all the time -		80		92
97. What do you have the most fun doing with the child ?	26		29	
1. When he obeys, is quiet or asleep - - - - -		8		7
2. Bathing and dressing him -		42		28
3. Feeding him or when he wakes up happy - - - - -		4		14
4. Playing with him, walks, con- versing and telling stories -		42		51
5. Nothing - - - - -		4		-
98. What does the father have the most fun doing with the child?	28		29	
1. Nothing special - - - - -		4		-
2. Feeding the child - - - - -		7		7
3. Bringing him presents and food - - - - -		18		14
4. Playing and walks - - - - -		43		45
5. Conversation - - - - -		32		34
99. What things annoy you most ?	28		27	
1. Destructiveness - - - - -		25		30
2. Disobedience and stubbornness-		14		22
3. Dirty appearance - - - - -		18		11
4. His crying - - - - -		29		22
5. Quarrelling with his siblings -		-		11
6. Does not annoy me - - - - -		14		4
100. What things baffle you ?	25		27	
1. His lack of obedience - - -		12		-
2. His food habits and appetite and sickness - - - - -		36		56
3. His bad temper - - - - -		24		26
4. His questions and continuous activities - - - - -		8		-
5. Nothing - - - - -		20		18
101. What do you praise him for ?	33		32	
1. Mother does not praise the child - - - - -		-		-

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
2. Obedience - - - - -		40		34
3. His neatness and cleanliness		18		25
4. When he eats well - - - -		12		3
5. When he is helpful and pleasant - - - - -		30		38
102. What do you have to punish him for ?	32		30	
1. When he disturbs me or cries without apparent reason - -		12		30
2. Disobedience and stubbornness		38		23
3. When he is dirty, wets or soils himself - - - - -		19		17
4. When he does not eat - - - -		-		-
5. When he is destructive or quarrels with siblings - - -		22		30
6. I do not punish him at all -		9		-
103. What works best for punishment ?	33		40	
1. Threat that mother will not love him or will not be mother any more - - - - -		-		5
2. Spanking and other forms of physical hurt - - - - -		61		55
3. Threat with different things or scolding - - - - -		33		30
4. Deprivation of food and some thing he likes - - - - -		6		10
5. Punishment does not work with him - - - - -		-		-
104. How does the child react ?	29		28	
1. Sits quietly and asks forgiveness - - - - -		34		21
2. Cries or threatens the mother -		28		61
3. Obeys what he is asked for -		21		18
4. Does not care or keeps on with what he does - - - - -		17		-
5. Punishment is not used - - -		-		-
105. What do you consider the severest punishment ?	26		24	
1. A threat of losing mother's love or tell father - - - -		4		8
2. Spanking and physical hurt -		61		75

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
3. Deprivation or scolding -		31		17
4. I do not punish with physical hurt - - - - -		4		-
106. What do you save it for ?	24		28	
1. When he disturbs the mother -		17		43
2. Disobedience and dirt - -		54		36
3. Quarrelling with sibilings - -		25		14
4. When he cries continuously or is destructive - - - - -		4		7
107. How much does your older child do for the younger ?	25		25	
1. Not at all - - - - -		8		4
2. A little - - - - -		12		32
3. To a great extent - - - - -		80		48
4. No other older child - - -		-		16
108. Does the younger accept this or resent it ?	23		20	
1. No - - - - -		4		-
2. Sometimes - - - - -		4		20
3. Yes - - - - -		92		80
109. Do they have fun playing together , How often ?	25		22	
1. No - - - - -		8		-
2. Yes most of the time - - -		48		73
3. Always - - - - -		44		27
110. Do they have quarrels ?	24		20	
1. Yes - - - - -		79		95
2. No - - - - -		8		-
3. Sometimes - - - - -		13		5
111. When ? Over what ?			22	
1. Each one wants the same object, the least thing - - -		88		68
2. One plays with the others property - - - - -		8		9
3. Quarrel over whose turn it is		4		-
4. Who should do the service to parent - - - - -		-		-

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of</u> <u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
5. Angry with parent hurts young one - - - - -		-		23

Part VIII - Property

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
112. Do you have things or areas out of bounds ?	24		25	
1. Yes - - - - -		83		37
2. No - - - - -		17		63
113. Do they have a place where they can do anything they like ?	25		24	
1. No - - - - -		8		37
2. Yes - - - - -		92		63
114. Keep their articles ?	21		25	
1. No - - - - -		10		20
2. Yes - - - - -		90		80
115. Is all property shared by everybody or each of them have things that are their own ?	26		25	
1. Yes shared - - - - -		92		52
2. No each has his own things -		8		28
3. Some shared others owned - -		-		16
4. They have nothing - - - - -		-		4
116. How much allowance ?	25		25	
1. No allowance mother or father buy things for them - - - -		20		52
2. Allowance depends on kind number of merchants coming near the house - - - - -		12		8
3. A specific amount per day or week - - - - -		64		40
4. Too young for allowance - -		4		-
117. Who gives it ?	22		22	
1. No allowance - - - - -		9		32
2. Others - - - - -		-		6
3. Mother or father - - - - -		91		62
118. How much freedom is spending it? Do they have to present an account ?	23		18	

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of</u> <u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. No allowance - - - - -		13		17
2. Mother tells him what to buy - - - - -		-		50
3. All freedom - - - - -		87		33
119. Do they get paid by you for little tasks they do in pri- vileges or money ?	24		22	
1. Yes - - - - -		-		23
2. No - - - - -		54		45
3. Sometimes - - - - -		46		32

Part IX- The Child's Relationship with Peers and  
Adults

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	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
120. Does the youngster report any dreams ?	25		25	
1. No - - - - -		72		92
2. Yes - - - - -		8		8
3. Sometimes - - - - -		20		-
121. Are his friends older or younger than him ?	25		26	
1. No friends - - - - -		4		8
2. Older - - - - -		40		38
3. Younger - - - - -		-		-
4. Of his age - - - - -		16		15
5. Of all ages, older and younger		40		39
122. What do families in your community do to protect the child from harm ?				
1. Charms - - - - -				
2. Baptism - - - - -				
3. Confinement at home - - - - -				
123. Who does he seem to get along with best ?	32		26	
1. Mother - - - - -		13		12
2. Father - - - - -		6		4
3. Siblings - - - - -		47		27
4. Other relatives - - - - -		28		23
5. Friends - - - - -		6		34
124. What kind of things does he have most fun to do with them ?	29		24	
1. Sitting with them - - - - -		18		17
2. Playing and going for walks -		76		79
3. Helping them - - - - -		3		-
4. Conversation and stories - -		3		4
125. What does he like to play when he is alone ?	30		34	
1. Play quietly - - - - -		37		20



	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
2. Play with household objects near mother - - - - -		37		47
3. Imaginary games with companions - - - - -		-		6
4. Making and constructing things - - - - -		23		18
5. Swing and active games - -		3		9
126. With others ?	28		35	
1. Too young to play - - - - -		7		3
2. Quiet play with sand water or toys - - - - -		32		34
3. Active games running, climbing and wrestling - - - - -		18		26
4. Dramatic plays - - - - -		36		26
5. Telling stories, conversing and making things - - - - -		-		-
6. Follows what the others do -		7		11
127. Does he play with many or few ?	25		24	
1. He is too young - - - - -		4		8
2. A few - - - - -		40		67
3. Many - - - - -		56		25
128. Does he have one or two close friends ?	25		25	
1. None - - - - -		28		48
2. One - - - - -		44		44
3. Two - - - - -		20		8
4. Three or more - - - - -		8		-
129. Does he play with girls or boys, or both ?	25		22	
1. Boys - - - - -		8		4
2. Girls - - - - -		-		9
3. Both - - - - -		92		87
4. Whoever is around - - - - -		-		-
130. At what age should boys and girls be separated ?	24		25	
1. From birth always - - - - -		-		-
2. Before the age of 6 - - - - -		17		4
3. 6 - 9 years of age - - - - -		29		56
4. 10 - 12 years of age - - - - -		37		16

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
5. Adolescence - - - - -		13		16
6. They should not be separated - - - - -		4		8
131. Does he like to bring his friends home ?	24		25	
1. Too young - - - - -		4		16
2. No - - - - -		4		8
3. Yes - - - - -		92		72
4. Sometimes - - - - -				4
132. Is it inconvenient ?	19		19	
1. No - - - - -		42		68
2. Sometimes - - - - -		21		5
3. Yes - - - - -		37		26
133. Does he often get into fights when he is playing ?	24		24	
1. Yes often - - - - -		33		50
2. Sometimes - - - - -		67		46
3. No - - - - -		-		4
134. Does he listen to radio ?	25		25	
1. No - - - - -		64		28
2. Yes - - - - -		36		72
135. Does he go to movies ?	26		26	
1. No - - - - -		100		89
2. Yes - - - - -		-		11
136. Does he read books and magazines, how ?	25		24	
1. No - - - - -		100		100
2. Yes - - - - -		-		-
137. Where does he usually play ?	31		28	
1. Indoors - - - - -		29		53
2. Near the home in street - -		-		18
3. Near the home in garden or public garden - - - - -		71		29
4. On the roof - - - - -		-		-
5. In the club - - - - -		-		-

	No. of <u>Answers</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
		<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Answers</u> <u>Percentage</u>
138. Does he belong to any groups organized or not ?	25		26
1. No - - - - -		100	88
2. Yes, school - - - - -		-	12
3. Yes, a club - - - - -		-	-
139. With what other adults does he come in contact ?	39		33
1. Maid - - - - -		-	-
2. Neighbors - - - - -		44	42
3. Relatives - - - - -		56	55
4. None - - - - -		-	3
140. What other adults are at home?	25		27
1. Maid - - - - -		-	-
2. One or two grandparents - -		12	19
3. Other relatives - - - - -		4	19
4. Older sibling - - - - -		32	4
5. None - - - - -		52	58
141. Do other adults do things that you do not approve of ?	25		26
1. Yes, favors I do not approve of - - - - -		32	50
2. Yes, punishment or scolding		40	31
3. No - - - - -		28	19
142. Is your child attached to any relative especially ?	25		27
1. Yes, a grandparent - - - -		32	44
2. Yes, an aunt or other relative or neighbors - - - -		44	37
3. No - - - - -		24	19
143. Within the home ? Outside ?	18		20
1. Home - - - - -		22	25
2. Outside - - - - -		78	75
144. Does your child have any difficulty with the servant ?	25		25
1. Yes - - - - -		-	-
2. No - - - - -		-	-

	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>No. of</u> <u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Answers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
3. No servant - - - - -		100		100
145. Does she do things the way your child likes ?				
1. No - - - - -				
2. Most of the time - - - -				
3. Yes - - - - -				

Appendix II

HEALTH TABLE - Appendix II

	<u>Rural</u> <u>Frequency</u>	<u>Urban</u> <u>Frequency</u>
<b>I. <u>Sickness:</u></b>	N-25	N-25
1. Measles	6	6
2. Chicken Pox	5	9
3. Dysentery	5	5
4. Simple Cold	5	-
5. Influenza	4	5
6. Grip	2	1
7. Boils	1	3
8. Sore Eyes	1	-
9. Eczema	1	-
10. Whooping Cough	-	6
11. Tonsillitis	-	4
12. Mumps	-	5
13. Typhoid	-	3
14. Fever because of teething	-	3
15. Asthma	-	1
16. Food poisoning	-	1
17. Malaria	-	1
18. Jaundice	-	1
<b>II. <u>Ages when Sickness Occurred</u></b>		
1. Before one year	7	10
2. Before two years	5	5
3. Ages 3- 6	4	11
<b>III. <u>Accidents</u></b>		
Did the child have any accidents?		
1. Yes	12	14
2. No	13	9
Kind of accident:		
1. Sprain	5	-
2. Burns	1	3
3. Electric Shock	-	2
4. Bite by Rat	-	1
5. Broken Shoulder Case	-	1
<b>IV. <u>Operations</u></b>		
1. Eye Operation	None	1
2. Ear Operation	-	1
3. Operation on finger	-	1

	<u>Rural</u> <u>Frequency</u>	<u>Urban</u> <u>Frequency</u>
V. <u>Immunization</u>	N-25	N-25
1. Typhoid Inoculation	5	3
2. Smallpox Vaccine	2	5
3. Diphtheria	1	4
4. Tetanus Shot	-	2
5. For Whooping Cough	1	1
6. For Plague	-	1
VI. <u>What do you do for the Sickness:</u>		
1. Take the child to the doctor	15	19
2. Take care of the child myself	10	9
3. Give medicines that I hear are good	7	12
VII. <u>How do you feel when your child is sick?</u>		
1. I do not sleep, I worry a great deal and cry	9	13
2. I do not worry, I take him to the doctor	7	2
3. I am a little disturbed but I pray	6	10
4. I do something traditional (for evil eyes, etc.)	1	1