A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLE OF STORY TELLING IN CHILD REARING PRACTICES OF SELECTED LEVANESE POPULATIONS

BY

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STORY TELLING
IN
CHILD REARING

BY

RITA A. TABOURLAN
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Chapter I

The Development of Stories and Children's Interest in Them

1. Introduction: Origins and development of stories.

Stories, which are a result of the socialization of men, passed through different stages before reaching their present form. According to Cappe (1) first of all sounds evoked a certain rhythm which brought out different feelings such as mystery, fright, astonishment, admiration and expectation. Later, when ceremonial feasts and other important happenings occurred in the tribal life, men became aware of the need to narrate and tell what took place. After this first step of putting into words what happened historically, the next step was that of putting into words what should happen; this was mostly related to the values of the tribes and the expectations of the people. This descriptive aspect and moralistic function stands out as being the motive which pressed many people to write.

a. Antiquity

Along with the interest in the theme men started to be interested in the literary form that was best suited to convey their meanings, and thus the two major concerns, namely theme and form were introduced. As the years passed certain people began adopting storytelling as their major concern. During antiquity, Homer, one of the most outstanding writers of the time, produced the famous Odyssey where

he relates adventures that occurred in enchanted islands, emphasizing the point that whenever hospitality and generosity, two sacred qualities of the time, were not practiced, maledictions fell on the land.

b. The Bible

The next brilliant source of unique and eternal stories is no doubt the Bible, says Cappe(2), pointing to the fact that it is one of the most celebrated books in the world. Made up of the Old Testament with its innumerable stories, and the New Testament relating parables in a very simple literary form, the Bible has been pleasant for both young and old people at all times.

c. Romans

Another source of stories has been wars and their results. Thus the Romans who were powerful conquerors, after winning large areas of land brought back to Rome slaves from all parts of Africa and Arabia; these can well be imagined "... chuchotant entre eux des histoires du pays d'ou ils ont été arrachés, des histoires qui adoucissent leur exil et leur peine"(3) (... whispering among themselves stories of the country from which they had been driven away, stories which soften their exile and their grief), while the daughters of the kings imprisoned in the houses of the conquerors were telling the Roman children stories they had brought with them from Greece, Egypt, Palestine or Gaul.

d. "Romanis"

"Romanis", who believed they were the descendents of the Egyptian

(2) Ibid, p. 19
(3) Ibid, p. 20
Pharaohs, had travelled in so many countries, such as Turkey, Algeria, Spain and Finland, that whenever they reached a monastery or a castle they were welcomed for the mere fact that during their travels they had had experiences and seen things; so that from the king to the young children all were eager to hear them.

e. Middle-ages

During the Middle-ages while in Europe the clowns and troubadours told stories they had gathered on their ways in the East the nomads told their own stories during the long nights. Thus the crusaders on their way to the sacred lands came into contact with people of different countries be it West or East, and therefore had the opportunity to hear a great many stories which, when they returned to their respective countries, they told their families and friends.

f. Stories become children's stories

For several centuries stories and dramatic productions were created for adults, and children were regarded as "incidental hearers or onlookers"(4). Later some of the books that were originally written for adults were shortened and simplified so that they would be fit for children; examples of these are Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's travels and the Chinese novel Monkey, which are better known now as children's stories. Certain writers however introduced by themselves the divisions in their books and Joseph Jacobs, in his collection of fairy tales has a first part at the end of which appears a notice "'Oyez, Oyez, Oyez'". The English Fairy Tales are now closed. Little boys and girls must not

read any further" (5). Thus, while certain stories were adapted for children others that were shared by all ages, such as most of the European fairy tales which were printed and illustrated for children to read or adults to read to children. Frank (6) says that when the printing of the first secular books started the church opposed it for they believed that it would give people unnecessary ideas. Thus till the Nineteenth Century in Europe and America children did not have access to secular books, and when they did these were censored by the parents.

The development of literature that was primarily meant for children did not come about without reason but was due to the "revolutionary social philosophies and political movements" (7) that came into Western Europe toward the end of the Eighteenth Century changing the adult's image of the child. Up till then children were thought of as incomplete adults, but after these revolutionary movements occurred writers started to think of children as emotional beings having imagination, and therefore started to write stories meant for children. The outcome of this has been a growth of production in children's literature which now occupies a significant place together with adult literature.

(5) Ibid
(7) Mead & Wolfenstein, op cit., p. 233
2. Interest of children in stories and their use in child rearing.

a. Story telling.

(1) Face to face

Story telling, besides its uses as a means of entertaining children, keeping them quiet during feeding or teaching them certain elementary facts, affects their language development a great deal. "A language experience which preschool children enjoy is listening to stories and nursery rhymes"(8), an interest which, according to Jersild(9), first appears when the child starts manipulating books of pictures and identifies with certain pictures. He believes that even before they can understand the words children like to be read to, most probably because of the enjoyment they get out of facial expressions and the sound of the flow of words.

The stories that two year olds enjoy best are usually simple stories about familiar objects and animals. At four years they already begin to be interested in stories rich in sense and action about familiar persons, such as the milkman and the mailman who come into their expanding environment. Thus any stories about things they see, touch or hear, or action they engage in, becomes fascinating to them. They appreciate stories where animals make their characteristic noises and where engines such as steamboats make their particular sounds. At five years Strang(10)

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(10) Strang, op cit, p. 225
emphasizes the fact that children start getting fond of factual realistic stories, for they "... do not appreciate the unusual until they are acquainted with the usual". At this age the best stories that can be made up for them are compilations of the different isolated experiences they have such as the milk they drink, the cow they see and the milkman that delivers the milk.

In general stories for preschool children, Strang\(^{(11)}\) says, should be about incidents that occur in their own lives with no complication in plot or in sentence structure which would otherwise confuse them. She brings out the fact that while telling stories to children a drop in interest can immediately be noticed when descriptive and explanatory passages occur, while interest awakens once more when the action is resumed. Although humor should be present in these simple stories one should be careful to avoid using absurdities, for children who are not yet acquainted with the ordinary forms of behavior would not find them funny; what appeals most to children is finding statements about a cow in a wagon or another unusual place, characters bumping together or encountering surprises.

In order to increase the literary appreciation of preschool children Baldwin\(^{(12)}\) proposes the technique whereby they are read or told certain verses or stories, and then encouraged to retell them on their own; while Cappe\(^{(13)}\) believes that the only children who grow

\[\text{(11)} \text{ Ibid}\]

\[\text{(12)} \text{ Baldwin, B. & Stecher, L. The psychology of the preschool child. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1925, p. 219.}\]

\[\text{(13)} \text{ Cappe, op. cit., p. 52}\]
up to be good appreciators and judges of literature are those who were told stories when they were young.

While parents and teachers start telling fewer stories to children as they grow older and are able to read all alone, one story telling source remains for them to turn to at any age: the radio.

(2) Radio

In the United States of America up to 1929 radio programs for children were entirely made up of bedtime stories. Around 1931 several programs for children had already been designed and almost at any hour, according to Hurlock(14), children could find several programs appealing to them. Thorpe(15) in his report of a study by Eisenberg on radio listening by three thousand New York City children, states the fact that on the whole the time given to radio listening is more in winter than in summer, in the afternoon and evening hours.

As to the interest in radio programs, like in reading, preferences differ; around eight to nine children enjoy less the programs on fantasy, make believe, nursery rhymes and stories on simple childhood experiences. Boys at that age show a preference for tales of adventure and conquest while girls prefer programs on sentimental stories concerning home life, fairy tales and adventure stories about heroines. Parents, Thorpe(16) writes, report that the time children spend listening to the radio is very

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(16) Ibid
profitable for they become interested in their homes and family relationships, improve their food habits, and develop certain desirable character traits. The Eisenberg study also investigated the desirability of radio listening. It was found that "about ten percent of the children attributed "acts of disobedience, stealing, setting of bad examples, mischivousness, and fears to the radio programs"(17). But the final result of the study gives evidence that the desirable effects of radio listening outweigh its undesirable effects.

Merry and Merry(18) report that the reason why many children come to prefer adult to juvenile programs has been obtained from an analysis of the radio scripts. The preparation of the scripts for children's radio programs requires great skill and is exacting because the material used should be authentic, the action should offer suspense and excitement otherwise the program does not maintain the children's attention. Children's radio programs have been criticized on the grounds that they could possibly diminish children's reading interest, but according to Frank "library circulations and sales of children's books continue to have a healthy growth"(19).

In Lebanon children's radio programs are not numerous, (once a week) but were prepared with great care in the days of the late Haboubas

(17) Ibid

(18) Merry, F. & Merry, R. The first two decades of life. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950, p. 521

(19) Frank, op.cit, p. 319
Haddad who was for several years the person in charge of them. It has been judged that although the language she used was half way between the dialect and the literary language her "contes étaient parmi ceux qui contribuait le mieux à l'enrichissement du vocabulaire enfantin" (20) (her fables were among those that contributed best to the enrichment of children's vocabulary.)

Whether stories are told face to face or over the radio, an important factor is knowing how to capture and retain the interest of the children and create for them the atmosphere that is best suited for their enjoyment of the stories; for this one does not need only to have a good memory and to be able to retell faithfully, but also a certain talent by which to create interest and retain the attention of the audience. It should be mentioned here that the voice and its intonations are also important in this respect. In relation to the previous points Cappe (21) says that the stories enjoyed best by children are not those that come out of books but those that result of our experience and that of the children, thus she presents the cases of Jean Brunhoff, A. A. Milne, Heinrich Hoffman, Trim and La Coline who first told stories spontaneously to their children, and due to their success, had them printed later on. Some of these stories are: "Babar", "Winnie the pooh", "The king Nusscraker and poor Reinhold" and "Pierre l'Ébournie".

b. Story reading

(1) Formation of habit

Story reading has at first a supplementary effect to


(21) Cappe, op cit, p. 77-78
story hearing, but later in age, it becomes a pursuit in itself. At an early age children start showing their interest in books chiefly by looking at the pictures. "Even as early as eight months some children learn to recognize pictures and they react to them as to realities."

(22) Terman and Lima (23) the reading habit is formed during childhood and youth mainly due to the encouragement of elders, and is used by the children to satisfy their curiosity and desire for wish fulfilment, as well as the tendency to imitate, which are said to be the three fundamental characteristics of their nature.

As far as curiosity is concerned, one source that answers questions about religion and death is the Bible, whose stories, well told, are enjoyed by most children. The second motive relating to the choice of books is the desire for wish fulfilment; this may be an unconscious desire. When the child reads, Terman and Lima (24) believe that he does not do so for entertainment only, but so as to satisfy his desires mainly by the "process of empathy." Because the first wishes are usually concerned with food, fairy tales about ice cream, ginger bread and other edible matters are usually very well liked, and the child's sympathy is greatly aroused when in the stories the children have nothing to eat. Later as the child grows and his self assertive and masterly tendencies develop a noticeable liking for stories related

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(22) Merry & Merry, op cit. p. 509


(24) Ibid, p. 21
to fabulous wealth and grandeur occurs. The third motive which is satisfied through the readings of the children is the desire for imitation of the elders whose behavior is taken as a model in many ways.

(2) Age and sex differences.

Children of different ages and sex do not enjoy the same stories, and this fact is stressed by most of the writers who deal with children's stories. Hurlock (25) writes that as early as one year children already start being interested in books of pictures, particularly about animals and familiar objects that are printed with bright colors, and like to be told simple stories about what is happening. Merry and Merry (26) however, believe that the first interest of children in books is not before eighteen to twenty months, although the type of stories they describe as being preferred is the same. Finally, Thorpe (27) fixes around two years as the beginning of children's interest in books. This seems to show that there is still a matter of controversy about the age at which children first start to be interested in printed story books, although there is no disagreement as to the kind of books that are first enjoyed.

When they reach three years of age children are already well acquainted with daily routines and are said to like to hear about activities that fall within their comprehension; these include stories on animals and objects that move such as trains, boats, cars and planes.

(25) Hurlock, op cit, p. 366
(26) Merry and Merry, op cit, p. 509
(27) Thorpe, op cit, p. 612
Merry and Merry (28) write that the child becomes less and less egocentric as he grows older, and at four usually his interest shifts to what people are doing and why they are doing it, and with this broader interest, imaginative stories and simple fairy tales tend to fascinate him.

At the beginning of primary school children are found to enjoy better stories made up of small episodes that are linked together, while at the end of this period their interest in plots starts to appear. Child psychologists such as Terman and Lima (29), Merry and Merry (30), Mead and Wolfenstein (31), Thorpe (32), and Strang (33) agree, that up till five years of age children are mostly read to and their favorite types of stories apart from the themes are the jingles, songs, lullabies and nursery rhymes. It is due to their appreciation of rhythm that young children love the "Mother Goose" jingles better than anything else write Terman and Lima (34); thus though they may not yet understand the meaning of the verses, they are captivated by the rhythm and rhyme these offer.

Wilson (35) as well as Witty, Coomer and McBean (36) from their

(28) Merry & Merry, op cit, p. 510.
(29) Terman & Lima, op cit, p. 31
(30) Merry & Merry, op cit, p. 510
(31) Mead & Wolfenstein, op cit, p. 232
(32) Thorpe, op cit, p. 612
(33) Strang, op cit, p. 224
(34) Terman & Lima, op cit, p. 31
(35) Hurlock, op cit, p. 366
(36) Ibid, p. 367
research on the story preferences of first grade children found that the
most popular stories were Little Red Ridinghood and Cinderella; the
second group of writers also found that next came a variety of stories about
animals, wild or tame, real or fanciful, after which they indicated their
choice for fairy tales and stories of real children. Around six and
seven years, Terman and Lima (37) write that fairy tales, myths and legends
are greatly enjoyed although these should be kept short and be written
in "direct discourse".

"At eight years, children show the greatest interest in fairy tales. It is interesting to see that this is practically universal" (38). At
this age the stories of Grimm, Andersen, and the Oz books become a source
of fascination, because the child starts to live in a world of imagination
which makes the fanciful more appealing to him. However interest in stories
about real life also starts and among the favorites are included stories
of the life of children in other lands as well as rational explorations
of the real world. Nevertheless it should be recognized that children
around eight years get away from time to time into a world of their own
fashioning.

Around the ninth or tenth year a critical attitude awakens in
children who are thus said to stop being passive and receptive towards
what they are told or read, as a result of which they abandon their
feelings towards the fairy tales and become interested in more realistic
themes. In late childhood reading interests in the most part are related
to the satisfaction they can give to the spirit of adventure which becomes

(37) Terman & Lima, op. cit., p. 34
(38) Ibid
quite strong at that age. "As the child is carried into an imaginary world created for him by the book, he imagines himself doing the things he would like to do but which, in every-day life, he may not be able to do."

(3) Reasons given for the differences in reading interest.

Reading interests are not homogeneous and around the ages of six, seven and eight Thorndike and Henry\(^{(40)}\) have reported marked sex differences. While boys, Hurlock\(^{(41)}\) and Jersild\(^{(42)}\) say, at these ages start to show their preferences for adventure, mystery, detective, sports and travel stories, girls better like subjects about real life "with a flavor of romance."

Terma & Ilma\(^{(43)}\) report G. Stanley Hall's outdated theory where he suggests that this sex difference may be due to the atavistic tendencies; thus boys revert to huntsmen while girls revert to the primitive women who domesticated animals. Jersild\(^{(44)}\) on the other hand believes that it would be a mistake to assume that these differences in interest and choice are entirely free and a sign of "natural inclinations". He says that "children learn what they are supposed to be interested in, in reading as in other matters"\(^{(45)}\), this is due to the fact that they are

\(^{(39)}\) Hurlock, op cit, p. 367.  
\(^{(40)}\) Ibid  
\(^{(41)}\) Ibid  
\(^{(42)}\) Jersild, op cit, p. 518  
\(^{(43)}\) Terman & Ilma, op cit, p. 68  
\(^{(44)}\) Jersild, op cit, p. 518  
\(^{(45)}\) Ibid
influenced by the content of the books that they are given to read. He reports that it has been observed that children's books emphasize that boys should develop different interests from girls and generally the different sexes quickly pick up these hints. Boys finally come to appreciate displays of strength and physical combat while girls prefer qualities related to kindliness, coquetry, social prestige, and unselfishness.

Merry and Merry\(^{(46)}\) report that from a survey on 7879 children from kindergarten to grade eight the choice of favorite books was in line with adult standards; but in relation to reading interest they say it should be recognized that brighter children read more than average children and that their interests are in advance on their chronological age, while subnormal children, cannot, and usually do not, read very much but prefer to depend on other sources for hearing stories.

Individual differences should never be disregarded in the choice of books for children, because they exist and are so great that often a book which appeals to one child will hold no interest to another. Parents, teachers and librarians should be aware of these differences, write Terman and Lima, in order to provide each child with a reading that would best satisfy his needs. "The more one studies children by exact methods the more one is impressed by the individuality of interests.\(^{(47)}\) Individuality does not only appear in the interests but also in the different meanings that each child extracts from a book, which usually is what he needs most at the time.

\(^{(46)}\) Merry & Merry, *op cit*, p. 513

\(^{(47)}\) Terman and Lima, *op cit*, p. 46
(4) Comics

(a) Popularity

Merry and Merry(48) say that comics date back 3500 years, but they started their influence in the United States around 1900 with the introduction of the first comic book and continued to have an increasing influence till it reached the tremendous appeal it now has. "According to a Fortune poll sixty-five million people read comic strips, and it is estimated that between fifty and sixty million of all ages and from all social level read comic books."(49).

Burton(50) gives two reasons as to why comics appeal to such a great public. He says, first, they can be read and understood with great ease because their vocabulary is very easy and they are accompanied with pictures both of which render the reading and understanding task easier. Second, they appeal to more senses than straight reading; There is no need for imagination, and even lazy imaginations can find out what images represent for they are particularly obvious, like when characters have evil faces or bulging biceps.

Merry and Merry(51) report a survey conducted in Hudson, New York from which it was deduced that the appeal of comics decreases with age; thus from eight to fifteen years of age, ninety-three percent of the

(48) Merry & Merry, op cit, p. 514

(49) Ibid


(51) Merry & Merry, op cit, p. 514
population read comics; from sixteen to seventeen, seventy-two percent, from eighteen to thirty-four, twenty-seven percent, and over thirty-five ten percent; which means that if comics have a disadvantage, this seems to exist mainly in relation to the influence it has on youth.

The same writers also say that comics are read not because they are funny but because they give a realistic picture of American Culture. The characters' pictures appear to be real and the stories are full of thrill and suspense, for a person who feels inferior or frustrated reading comics may act as a releasing factor of the conflicts he is experiencing be it at home, school or at work, because of the identification he can experience with the comics characters. From Hill's study about the reason why children (grade four to six) liked comics the following statement was obtained "... they (comics) are exciting, mysterious, and thrilling, full of action and fighting; because they tell interesting stories and present characters that have bravery, strength, beauty, and unfailing ability to master difficulties". (53)

(b) Content analysis

Comic strips and books have been content analysed by several teachers, psychologists and others each of whom tried to bring out the factors which, according to his work, seemed to be outstanding. Burton, for one, reports that comic characters are usually either supermen or

(52) Hurlock, op cit, p. 373
(53) Ibid
(54) Burton, op cit, p. 74
simpletons and that there are either good or bad with no intermediate stages so that one can tell by looking at the pictures who is supposed to be represented. This statement obviously contradicts what Merry & Merry reported about comics being a realistic picture of American culture. Burton also says that people with authority such as mayors, senators, teachers, parents, policemen are pictured as stupid or sadistic and are inevitably humiliated, which is of course quite appealing to children who are so much bothered by adult authority. Spiegelman et al (55) in order to find out the significance of the criticisms directed against comics, content analyzed a sample of three week's comic strip animal sections. They found that in fifty percent of the strips animal figures appeared, these ranging from horses and dogs to donkeys and fish described in situations that are usually depicted as more "skewed towards reality". As to the extent to which cultural patterns are depicted in relation to ethnic groups, he says that comics do reflect cultural patterns of acceptance and rejection regarding ethnic groups.

(c) Vocabulary

One common objection raised against comics by parents and educators is that children learn "undesirable words from them". Hill (56), in order to verify this objection raised against the vocabulary used by comics, analyzed for four weeks sixteen comics that were among the most popular. He found that only one percent of all the words used were slang. There was, however, a slight tendency for children to prefer those comics

(56) Hurlock, op. cit., p. 373
employing the greater amount of slang and other distortion\(^{(57)}\). Lahman and Witty\(^{(58)}\) after a study they did in relation to the vocabulary used in Sunday funny papers concluded that the language used was "indecorous and incorrect".

Thorndike\(^{(59)}\) on the other hand, after a careful tabulation of all the works used in copies of detective comics, action comics, "Superman" and "Batman", found that an average issue of these periodicals contained about ten thousand words, including more or less difficult vocabulary. This prompted the author to write "it appears that the comics do provide a substantial amount of reading experience at about the level of difficulty appropriate for the upper elementary or even high school child"\(^{(60)}\).

Thorndike also found that a great number of the vocabulary used consisted of standard English words and only a minimum consisted of slang. Hill\(^{(61)}\) after having done several studies and having compared them to Thorndike's findings says that he doubts that comics could hurt a child's vocabulary attainment, but rather believes that they would build his vocabulary.

(d) Advantages and disadvantages of comics

Because of the obvious popularity of comics it is almost

\(^{(57)}\) Ibid


\(^{(59)}\) Ibid, p. 73

\(^{(60)}\) Ibid

\(^{(61)}\) Ibid
impossible to keep children from reading them, but it should be recognized that comics, in the final analysis, have as many advantages as disadvantages. Strang's evaluation of comics which Hurlock believes to be excellent is the following as far as advantages of comics are concerned: first, comics have now become a kind of modern American folklore; second, they help the child's need of overcoming the difficulties and limitations due to his age and ability, and encourage him to have a sense of adventure which real life denies; third, they help the readers to experience mental catharsis and release their feelings of inadequacy or insecurity; fourth, they allow children having limited reading ability to experience an enjoyable form of readings; and finally, they present the child with a wide variety of words and topics which he could encounter in other readings, provided he read the text. As to the disadvantages Strang gives the following arguments: first, reading comics may not leave any more time for other desirable types of reading; second, poor readers get the stories merely by looking at the pictures without making any effort to read the text; third, because the adventures portrayed in comics are not real, children do not get "closer to real life" (through reading the material); fourth, children cannot make any progress as far as reading skill is concerned by reading only comics; and fifth, from an artistic point of view, most comics are of inferior quality.

According to Burton the reason why public opinion is so much directed against comics is because of a book published by a New

(62) Hurlock, op cit. p. 374
(63) Burton, op cit. p. 73
York psychiatrist, Frederic Westham, where he says that "comic books promote, among other undesirable outcomes, illiteracy, unwholesome states of mind and a delinquent behavior" (64). An example which may be used as an illustration to this point is that of a boy who jumped from an apartment house window wearing a Superman cloak. Naturally it was deduced from this incident that children identified themselves with the Superman; but Riesman (65) reports that "... one of the very few sophisticated studies we have of any sort of reader - shows that perhaps the majority of children do not identify themselves with Superman or other potent wizards of the comics" (66). Bender and Lourie (67) in an article about comics conclude that the horrible scenes portrayed in comics do not upset well balanced children as long as the reason for the threat and torture is clear. Nowadays comic magazines are coming to be edited much more carefully. Some of the editing companies employ experts in art and psychologists so as to be able to produce better magazines that come up to meet the needs of the children and the expectations of their parents and teachers.

(5) Illustrations

Illustrations and pictures are a necessary and valuable supplement to books and magazines made for children because "they help to

(64) Ibid


(66) Ibid

(67) Hurlock, op cit, p. 372
clarify the content, and make experiences concrete and real" (68); that is why books devised for very small children are usually made up of more pictures than words. For many children the illustrations are as important if not more important than the text, and Collinet (69) writes that Cappe is justified when she says that pictures enlarge the meaning of the text because "l'enfance des individus est pareille à l'enfance des peuples; toute d'imagination et de sensibilité: l'une et l'autre n'accident aux enthousiasmes et aux aversions salutaires qu'a travers l'image" (the childhood of individuals is like the childhood of people; all imagination and sensitivity neither one nor the other reach the reality which is above, the enthusiasms and salutary aversions, but through the picture).

Pictures in a way seem to allow children to interpret and add to the text what they believe the pictures mean, and at the same time they are valuable because they can stimulate the interest of children to read what the text contains. However one should be careful, gradually to decrease the number of pictures because an unlimited use of them may finally become harmful, for the child will be encouraged not to read but only to look at the pictures, and these are too concrete. Collinet (70) having done a study on the size of books that are preferred found that children below nine years of age prefer books that are big

(68) Merry & Merry, op cit., p. 509


(70) Ibid
in size for the mere fact that they contain more illustrations. After nine years the preference for large and small sizes becomes equal (fifty percent) although it has been noticed that even children of twelve or fourteen usually look first at the pictures when they are handed a book.

(6) Environment

Both Merry and Merry(71), and Terman and Lima(72) emphasize that the home environment is one of the most essential factors in order to cultivate reading tastes. If at home parents do not care for reading and do not encourage the child to do so there are very few chances that the child will develop an interest in reading. Besides the home other factors enter into the formation of a reading habit; these are the school environment, the social and economic status of parents and the training the children are subjected to. Environment on the whole does not only effect reading habits but also determines the type of books read. Terman and Lima emphasize the point that "the child who is reared in a home where only good literature is read and discussed is really fortunate"(73).

A final reason which is discussed by Terman and Lima(74) in relation to factors influencing reading interest is the temperament and emotional endowment. Children, like adults, they classify into "tough minded" and "tender minded" and say that a story which would make one child dissolve into tears would leave another unmoved, and that a moral story which would teach one child a desirable trait would only irritate another.

(71) Merry & Merry, op cit, p. 513
(72) Terman & Lima, op cit, p. 48
(73) Ibid
(74) Ibid, p. 49
Chapter II

Influence of Stories and Their Cultural Aspect

1. Influence of stories in child rearing.

Collinet writes, "Une ame d'enfant est si sensible qu'un rien peut la troubler" (75) (A child's soul is so sensitive that any trifle can disturb it) and in accordance with this statement he proceeds to say that since the child has a tendency to deviate from the right path he should gradually be given the right books so that he would grow to like honest, serious, and useful readings. However he also emphasizes the point that children and adults do not interpret the same stories in similar ways. Children empathize with the heroes portrayed in a series of adventures, and through this empathy come to suffer and rejoice with them; that is why, he finds it advisable not to offer them demoralizing and depressing stories. As to the moral found in stories Collinet (76) believes that they do influence the child; and Strang (77) adds that fairy and folk tales give a sense of awe and wonder that is lacking in the modern realistic world.

a. Development of story content

From the Victorian age till now books for children have greatly changed, mainly because of the change in social values; then they were highly moralistic while now they are more imaginative and include mystery

(75) Collinet, op cit, p. 137
(76) Ibid, p. 138
(77) Strang, op cit, p. 225
and adventure stories where heroes and heroines go out exploring foreign lands. From an analysis of children's stories of earlier days Sward and Harris (78) found that children were portrayed as immature people, constantly guided, rewarded, and punished by adults; while in contemporary stories they found that children solve problems that would baffle even adults.

b. Factors related to the influence of stories

In her book Cappe (79) discusses several of the factors that enter into stories and could possibly influence children. As far as fiction is concerned, she says that some of the most elementary rules of morality and law are embedded in certain stories and become part of a child's knowledge much before he has to use them.

Speaking of the danger of the frightening aspect of fairy tales, she says that children can very well stand up to it provided the stories are not used especially for the purpose of frightening them; because in good stories the reasons of the fright are usually properly dealt with and appear to be unnecessary even in cases such as the story of the "Petit Poucet" Cappe believes that the fact of being abandoned by his parents in the forest is not meant to frighten children but better teach them about human deficiencies. Thus with the use of fairy tales one could therefore teach children to differentiate between good and bad.

As to the magic aspect of the stories Cappe says that these would

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(78) Sward, B. & Harris, D. A study of children's literature. J. educ. Psychol., v. 42, 1951, p. 164

(79) Cappe, op. cit. p. 30-45
not encourage a normal child to extreme dreaming, because this particular magic acts in different ways in the stories and is not always encouraging. She agrees that children should have access to what is true but, because of their age, she believes that the best way to have them assimilate truth is by presenting it to them in the form of myths. A quotation of Didalet stresses this point "La verite entre par des images, sans meme qu'on s'en doute"(80) (Truth is understood through images without one being aware of it). In relation to whether fiction encourages lying Cappe(81) believes that the point is not existant, because stories are not all moral or hypocritical, but on the contrary teach that for better life and happiness people should help each other even though there are certain difficulties.

Finally Cappe points out her belief that stories have a definite influence on the vocabulary and verbal fluency of children saying: "Je crois tres sincerement que, si l'art et l'habitude de raconter des histoires aux enfants etaient d'avantage exerces, nous aurions moins a nous plaindre de la navrante pauvrete de notre vocabulaire"(82) (I believe very sincerely, that if the art and the habit of telling stories to children were exercised more often, we would not have to complain of the distressing poverty of our vocabulary).

c. Use of stories in education

The point remains as to whether stories have any influence in

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(80) Cappe, op cit, p. 45
(81) Ibid, p. 43
(82) Ibid, p. 58
education. According to Cappe (83) if teachers would learn how to put into interesting imaginary productions what they want to teach children they would be much more successful, particularly in primary schools. Besides their use for conveying ideas, stories could also be used to break in between classes so that children would from this friendly conversation enlarge the horizons of their real culture. However while telling a story the teacher should be aware of the group he is addressing, because unless children are familiar with certain objects they cannot understand nor appreciate them.

In relation to this Strang (84) reports the case of a teacher who observed that the same story awoke great interest in one group of children and none in the other group of the same age. The reason for this was that the story she told was about a journey and while one group had had the experience of journeys (since they were refugees), they understood and enjoyed the narration, which left the other group unmoved. Swift (85) finally reports that for the religious education of children specialists prepare materials in such a way that they could be used as stories, for it is believed that in that way they become more appealing to children.

(83) Ibid, p. 56-57
(84) Strang, op cit, p. 225
2. Cultural aspects of stories and story telling.

   a. Grimm's collection and nationalistic aspect of stories.

   In the year 1773, Hender(86) aroused for the first time interest in folk literature by writing an essay related to it. Once the idea originated the Grimm brothers became interested in it, and in 1805 they started collecting children stories from old German folklore. These soon became known not only in Germany but also throughout the civilized world due to a series of translations that finally reached the natives of the South Seas and Africa.

   The reason for this outstanding popularity is no doubt due to their interpretation of the folk stories. They were themselves gifted with a "childlike wonder" and "... at the same time had a rare ability to pass on their own enthusiasm to children"(87). They knew that children like stories with a beginning, a plot, and an ending with a "clean cut moral", and they tried to apply this knowledge to the stories they collected. They were also aware of the fact that children are interested in knowing about how people lived in the past, and are attracted by subtle humor, and fantasies related to food such as houses built with sugar and cake, so they took care while writing the stories to include some of these elements in them. They obtained the folk stories from children, grandmothers, peasant women, waggoners and others, living in the Hess, Hanau and other areas.

   German society at their time had clear divisions such as the


   (87) Ibid. p. 215
royalty, the aristocracy, the military, the professionals, the merchants, artisans and peasants. The Grimms made these distinctions very clearly in their fairy tales, showing the love and reverence that was due to the king. They also showed that on the whole virtue is rewarded and sin punished, although certain exceptions occur in the cases of heroes who get away by lying and cheating.

From a content analysis of the stories Snyder (88) brings out the fact that the fear and hatred for the outsider which is "characteristic of tribalism and modern nationalism" is among the obvious themes of these fairy tales, as can be seen in the descriptions given of stepmothers who performed evil deeds to do away with their stepchildren so that their own children would acquire the family fortune. But in the stories it is made clear that these wicked stepmothers are finally punished for disrupting the family. The nationalistic aspect that Snyder sums up from this analysis is that "She is an alien in the home, an outsider, a foreigner in the state. She must be hated and eliminated because she will throw the accepted order into chaos with her new ideas and foreign attitudes and methods" (89).

b. Story telling in an Egyptian village.

Ammar in his book "Growing up in an Egyptian village" (90) brings out the point that children's stories as seen by adults are thought of as being demonic and having no practical value. It should be made clear

(88) Ibid, p. 217
(89) Ibid, p. 220
that the village Ammar is referring to is a very religious one where
story telling is regarded as a "dissipated leisure" form. From the
people he interviewed, Ammar found that hardly any of the fathers
admitted that they told stories while mothers reported doing so
occasionally. This he explains by the fact that fathers if they told
stories would be brought into intimacy with their children, and this is
not to be encouraged for it might harm the "ideal paternal respect."

Story telling in this particular village included also reports
of the events that happened in the village or to the children, and while
on the average children heard stories around one hour a week it should
be made clear that not all the children listened to them and even knew
what stories or fairy tales were. From a number of children of both
sexes studying in compulsory schools who were interviewed by Ammar
quite a few admitted that they "knew no stories of any kind" (91). This,
he explains by the fact that parents in general tolerate a little story
telling and do not consider it to have any educative value; this is why
they accept its happening at nights only in so far as it would not
endanger the "puritanic atmosphere" that prevails in the community.
Ammar collected stories from the children and he reports that they hardly
even knew all the text of the stories, and those who knew them usually
told them in an "almost identical way".

Before starting to narrate the story children begin by saying
"there existed (feeh) while adults began by saying "It happened and in
the past many a thing happened" (92). As to the ending the young boys

(91) Ibid. p. 162
(92) Ibid. p. 163
usually end off by saying "I've been to your house and come back, I've eaten the hen before the cock" (Ruht 'indakum wijeet, akalt al farikha gabl addik).

From an analysis of the manifest content of the texts of the stories Ammar says that many of the norms, attitudes, social expectations and religious aspirations of the community are described in them. As to the latent content, by which Ammar means the Freudian and other psychoanalytic interpretations, he says that he could find in the tales some "Oedipus reflections", not meaning by that that he found evidence of infantile libidinal desires, but some aspects of interpersonal relationships, namely the "attitude towards authority".

An analysis of children's stories of the Egyptian village in terms of Kardiner's formulations (which will be discussed later), allowed Ammar to find relevant and useful grounds for attempts to understand the problems related to the development of personality in that particular community. Finally an analysis of the themes of the stories brought out three basic trends. First the recurrence of themes related to food, particularly meat; second some reflection of the Oedipus myth; and third the appearance of themes on the necessity of revenge in order to "clear one's name" from shame, which, according to Kardiner, "are indications of emotional tensions of people who oscillate between uninhibited self glorification and constant anxiety of being outdone and humiliated".

(93) Ibid.
(94) Ibid
(95) Ibid, p. 164
(96) Ibid, p. 164
c. Story telling in Lebanese villages

Freyha(97) in a chapter of his book about Lebanese village life, discussed the Lebanese folklore related to songs, rhymes and stories. He says that usually these are told by the mothers either during the day while the children gather around her or at night when they are in bed. He too brings in the point that before a story the story-teller starts by what is called a "farsha" which, in a way, is very similar to the beginning that Ammar reports is used in Egypt. Its general meaning is as follows: "It happened, and in the past it happened, now we will speak and after half an hour we will sleep etc."(98) and after this introduction the story teller proceeds with his story.

One of the most popular types of stories told to Lebanese children, Freyha(99) says, is when one happening leads to the other and the story teller keeps on linking them to each other till the child falls asleep, or it really gets too long that the story is concluded by repeating the first lines.

d. Cultural differences

From the reports about these three countries and their particular stories and story telling habits, one sees that there definitely are certain cultural aspects that are related to this particular experience;


(98) Ibid., p. 214

(99) Ibid., p. 215
such as their degree of acceptability in a culture, the form used to
tell the story, the themes that relate to the culture, and in the
analysis of the content which brings out the underlying sources of
the manifest life of the community.

Because of these differences one is led to believe that stories
since they differ could be used as projective materials that would give
insight into any particular culture.
Chapter III

Projective Aspects of Stories

1. Works of imagination as projective devices

Besides their use as a means of entertainment for children and adults, stories have been found to contain certain informations which appropriate analysis can bring out.

One method that has been used in order to get this information is content analysis. In relation to this, the research conducted by Child and his co-workers (100) is a very good illustration. These have analyzed 914 stories to find out which characters are portrayed in the stories, the behavior of these characters, the circumstances that surround the behavior, the consequences of the behavior and finally the type of story. After which they discuss the possibility of identification of the children with these characters.

Another important possibility in relation to stories is that they may act as projective devices. As a result of this fact, several reports illustrating the theories related to the different ways this aspect can be used will be presented. But before these are reported it is necessary to make clear the projective aspect of stories.

a. Popular works project needs

"Popular works of imagination in certain respects resemble projective devices" (101); that is why it is possible to obtain from popular stories the fears, needs, wishes, norms, and sources of stress of a particular community. However, bearing in mind the fact that some of the folk tales that are popular now originated in the past or may have been borrowed from another culture, it might be argued that they do not project the aspirations of the borrower.

Honigmann (102) believes that these two objections against considering stories as projective devices are not valid, because the mere fact of maintaining and recounting a certain tale means that it bears a certain significance, for one only retains and tells with pleasure works that possess meaning in so far as his own character is concerned. As a result of this it often happens that people reinterpret some of the borrowed tales so as to give them a more familiar meaning and touch, and this has been found to be the case in several instances when a culture has borrowed a certain tale.

Talland (103) in his report of the cultural differences in serial reproduction writes that an appropriate method for studying the effect of

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(102) Ibid, p. 129

(103) Talland, G. Cultural differences in serial reproduction. J. soc. Psychol., v. 43, 1956, p. 75-81
norms that are shared within a group is that of serial reproduction designed by Barlett\(^{(104)}\). This method assumes "that perception and remembering are constructive processes, that the same attitudes determine what is perceived and what is reproduced"\(^{(105)}\).

Therefore the larger the number of people who are reproducing a certain material the larger the cumulative effect of their biases. Which means that when different cultures are represented, the distortions that will appear will be due to their attitudes, expressions, habits of thought and biases.

It is thus reasonable to suppose that any type of creative product, such as films, plays, or stories if successful and popular, contain "themes that appeal to existing needs and aspirations of the community"\(^{(106)}\). As a result of this relationship, it is believed by Honigmann\(^{(107)}\) that expressive products are related to "character structure". A particular folk tale told by an informant often relates to his present difficulties in the village or with his family.

Now that the reasons why stories can act as projective devices have been presented the different illustrations and experiments reported about them will be discussed.

b. Latent content of a lullaby

Mead and Wolfenstein\(^{(108)}\) in relation to the idea of projection

\(\text{(104) Ibid, p. 75}\)
\(\text{(105) Ibid}\)
\(\text{(106) Honigmann, op cit, p. 129}\)
\(\text{(107) Ibid}\)
\(\text{(108) Mead & Wolfenstein, op cit, p. 232}\)
bring out the point that some lullabies that are quite popular contain threats to the infant, as in the case of the Rockabye baby, viz "when the bough breaks, the cradle will fall and down will come baby, bough, cradle, and all" (109).

In these cases they believe that the verses act as a release of the hostility of the mother toward the baby, but as the baby cannot understand the words he is pleased by the tone while the mother, holding the infant in her arms, reassures herself that such a catastrophe cannot happen to her own child.

c. Free association and stories

Free association which is used with adults as a means of getting to unconscious fears, wishes and needs, according to Morgan (110) can be used with children too, provided certain modifications are made. Because a child, due to his inability to understand certain words, cannot be given satisfactorily a free association test he can instead be told a story or a folk tale and then be asked to retell it, in which case "the changes from the original which he makes may indicate some personality trends in the child" (111). Or he may be told a story and be asked to indicate his feelings about its characters and events, or finally be asked to make up a story which will probably bring out his emotional stresses.

A projective test specially devised for children eight to fourteen

(109) Ibid
(111) Ibid, p. 564
years of age is the "Michigan Picture Test" (112). This test is made up of a series of "non-traumatic" pictures which were judged to produce material which is due to the unresolved needs of the subject, rather than factors in the "interpersonal situation". This test therefore allows the measurement of the emotional reactions of children. The procedure which is involved is that of free association where the child is directed by the picture he is shown and asked to tell a story about.

d. "The consequence of wrongdoing"

Stories have also been used in order to find out what a child foresees will happen when he is presented with a hypothetical situation where something wrong is pictured as having been done by a child. Metreaux (113) reports to have used a story completion method in order to analyse the attitude of German children towards wrongdoing.

The story completion form used by Metreaux was devised by Anderson and Anderson (114) and was administered under their direction to hundred and fifty children aged ten and eleven. Metreaux concludes from her finding that children gave as indicators of the fact that they expected punishment such factors as: the culprit blushed, stammered and could not look at his mother; but they did not highly discriminate among the different kinds of punishment administered to them, that is, whether these were scolding, shouting, threatening, slapping, etc... To conclude


(114) Ibid
Metreaux relates her findings to the fact that in German education two important themes are present: "(1) the omniscience of parent and educator, (2) the high valuation of immediate, voluntary confession as a way of making good again." (115)

In German literature parents are always advised to punish the child immediately following a misdeed, and to give him an appropriate punishment. This, children seem to have learned, for they always emphasized that punishment would follow the discovery of the wrongdoing, although they were aware of the fact that if they exhibited obedience after the event was over they were usually forgiven or even rewarded.

2. A theory and a system: Murray and the TAT
   a. How it originated

   Such statements as "le style c'est l'homme" (116), together with literature related to the belief that writers and creators probably put their values, fantasies and personalities in their work, influenced Morgan and Murray (117) who asked themselves if it would not be possible to arrive at similar deductions, when an individual is asked to tell a series of stories. The result of this idea was that they developed twenty pictures which stimulate one's imagination. These they called "... Thematic (in reference to the themes that are elicited) Apperception

(115) Ibid, p. 317
(117) Ibid
(in reference to the perceptual-interpretative use of the pictures) Test, or TAT\textsuperscript{(118)}

Morgan and Murray\textsuperscript{(119)} believed that by using this procedure they would be able to "stimulate literary creativity" and as a result obtain fantasies that would uncover unconscious complexes. They say that their "test is based upon the well-recognized fact that when a person interprets an ambiguous social situation he is apt to expose his own personality as much as the phenomenon he is attending\textsuperscript{(120)}; because when the individual becomes absorbed by his effort to explain the objective occurrences, he becomes more or less unconscious of himself and as a result "defensively less vigilant".

At first the plan of Morgan and Murray was to present to the subjects their series of pictures and ask them to interpret the action and guess what preceded it and what the final outcome would be. With experience and time however, they found out that their subjects exhibited much more of their personality than they had expected when they were asked to create a dramatic fiction instead of guessing at the probable outcome; thus the original TAT took its final form.

b. The interpretation of the TAT

Holt\textsuperscript{(121)} says that the interpretation of the TAT has been a

\begin{itemize}
  \item [\textsuperscript{(118)}] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 182
  \item [\textsuperscript{(119)}] Morgan, C. & Murray, H. "Thematic Apperception Test." In Murray, H. \textit{Exploration in personality}. New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 530
  \item [\textsuperscript{(120)}] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 531
  \item [\textsuperscript{(121)}] Holt, \textit{op cit.}, p. 209
\end{itemize}
matter that has been greatly discussed and will go on being a matter of controversy because several systems of analysis have been worked out each of them having useful points in them. "The better known scoring systems have been developed by Murray, Stein, Tomkins, Wyatt, Henry, Bellak and Aron" (122), but none of them could be recommended as best for use in clinical practice because in each specific case the approach that would best fit should be used.

From the results they obtained Morgan and Murray (123) came to conclude that the source of the items of the plots usually came from books, moving pictures, actual events in which a friend participated, a subjective or objective experience or from the conscious and unconscious fantasies of the subjects.

c. Reliability and validity of the TAT

Because the TAT allows for the analysis of a "segment of human behavior" in a variety of ways, it is said to be difficult to apply to it the usual reliability and validity criteria. Insofar as reliability is concerned, there is no definite answer to the question yet.

Usually the simpler the scoring system the higher is the reliability obtained. It would be appropriate to mention here that the relatively simple scoring system devised by McClelland and his co-workers (124)

(122) Ibid, p. 210
(123) Morgan & Murray, op cit. p. 533
can be learned easily and used with a scoring reliability over .90. This scoring system will be discussed fully later on and will be used for the analysis of the stories that will be collected.

Any statement about the validity of the TAT should be made in relation to the following factors: first, the ability and experience of the interpreter, second, the scoring and interpretation system used, and third, the kind of prediction that the interpreter wants to make.

3. The psychoanalytic interpretation of stories.

   a. Narcissus

   Very important to Freud's theory is the development of the psychosexual instinct which he believed to follow three principal stages, namely: the oral stage, the anal stage and the phallic stage. The Greek myth Narcissus, which is the story of a young boy who seeing his own image in a pool, fell in love with himself, is a good illustration of the oral stage, and Freud has chosen the word Narcissism to refer to self-love. When Narcissism is very strong in a person he may derive satisfaction only by choosing a love object that will resemble himself. Thus Freud\(^{(125)}\) proceeds to explain the preference of homosexuality over heterosexuality by some individuals, and the reason why some men marry masculine women and some women marry feminine men. In terms of Narcissus people seem to love the reflected image of themselves.

\(\)\(^{(125)}\) Hall, C. A primer of Freudian Psychology. New York, New American Library, 1954, p. 75
b. Oedipus

Besides the Narcissus myth, Freud(126) also borrowed two other Greek myths' names, namely Oedipus and Electra. These he related to the last phase of infantile sexuality, namely the phallic stage whereby the child starts to be preoccupied with his genitals. He named the male phallic stage Oedipus, who is a prominent figure of Greek mythology who unwittingly killed his father and married his mother. Freud's explanation of the Oedipus complex is the following.

Before the phallic period the boy loves his mother who feeds him and cares for him but identifies with his father. With the increase of sexual urges, the boy starts to love his mother incestuously as a result of which he becomes the rival of his father, "this state of affairs in which the boy craves exclusive sexual possession of the mother and feels antagonistic toward the father is called the Oedipus complex"(127). Because this Oedipus complex creates in the boy the fear of being physically harmed by the father (castration complex) the incestuous desires and the hostility towards the father are repressed by the boy and the Oedipus complex disappears.

c. Electra

This myth relates to the female phallic stage and is the parallel of the Oedipus complex of the male. Electra is also a prominent Greek mythological figure who is said to have had a strong hatred of

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(126) Ibid, p. 109

(127) Ibid
her mother, and to have encouraged her brother to kill her.

This myth Freud\textsuperscript{(128)} found illustrates reality in the following manner. The female when she discovers that she does not have the genitals of the male is disappointed. As her first love object is the mother, when she discovers that she does not possess the genitals of the male, she blames her mother and starts to love her father who has the organs she misses, this is Electra complex, and is also called "penis envy". Therefore while castration complex marks the end of the male Oedipus complex, it marks the beginning of the female penis envy, which is only solved by maturation, that is when the girl realizes the impossibility of possessing the father.

d. Little Red Ridinghood

Several psychoanalytically oriented psychologists have analysed a variety of stories bringing out the sexual content. Among these, Fromm\textsuperscript{(129)} chooses the Little Red Cap, better known as Little Red Ridinghood, as an illustration of the Freudian view of the male-female conflict found in the "Oedipus trilogy". He explains the symbolism found in this fairy tale in the following fashion. The red cap is the symbol of menstruation, because the little girl has grown up and become a mature woman who is confronted with the problem of sex. "The warning 'not to

\textsuperscript{(128)} \textit{Ibid}, p. 111-112

\textsuperscript{(129)} Fromm, E. \textit{The forgotten language}. New York, Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1951, p. 240
run off the path so as 'not to fall and break the bottle' is clearly a warning against the danger of sex and of losing her virginity" (130)

As to the behavior of the wolf, Fromm explains that the wolf is sexually aroused at the sight of the girl, and therefore tries to seduce her by telling her to hear how sweetly the birds sing. Little Red Ridinghood follows the wolf's suggestion and goes deep into the forest, rationalizing in order to convince herself that she is not doing anything wrong and would please her grandmother by bringing her flowers. "This deviation from the straight path of virtue is punished severely" (131) and the wolf, pretending he is the grandmother, swallows the little girl thus appeasing his appetite, and goes to sleep.

Till here, Fromm says, the story has only a moralistic theme - the danger of sex - but it is more complicated than that, especially when one looks for the role of the man in the story. The male is portrayed as an animal and the sexual act as a cannibalistic one where the "male devours the female" (132). The hatred towards the male is exhibited at the end of the story; as the superiority of the woman is her ability to bear children; in order to make the wolf look ridiculous, it is described as having "... living being in his belly" (133)

Finally the wolf dies (this is interpreted as the punishment he received because he usurped the role of a pregnant woman) and the

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(130) Ibid
(131) Ibid
(132) Ibid
(133) Ibid, p. 241
huntsman who saves the women is the conventional father figure. This story Fromm concludes is the "triumph by man-hunting women, ending with their victory, exactly opposite of the Oedipus myth which lets the male emerge victorious from this battle" (134).

Riesman (135) also, gives a psychoanalytic explanation of the Little Red Ridinghood. He says that she gets off the track during her trip and is taught about the beauties of nature by the wolf, a statement which is "a hardly veiled symbol for sex" (136) and proceeds saying that the story appears to be a "cautionary tale" but it really deals with the real passions of men, under a cover of a fantasy.

Both Fromm and Riesman analyse the same story but not in exactly the same way if we leave out the importance they give to sex. This is most probably due to the fact that there are no definite rules of analysis, so that each psychoanalyst interprets the tales in his own way.

e. Cinderella

Rubenstein (137) analyses in the Freudian way another very popular children's story, Cinderella. He starts by saying that the reason why the defenders of psychoanalysis turned to myths and fairy tales is because

(134) Ibid. p. 241
(136) Ibid. p. 240
(137) Rubenstein, B. The meaning of the Cinderella story in the development of a little girl. Amer. Imago., v. 12, 1955, p. 195-205
at the beginning they encountered very bitter attack, and because fairy tales were a good source they turned to their analysis to support the theory. Thus he says that Franz Ricklin\(^{(138)}\) in his review of large groups of fairy tales coming from different countries found that they all had psychosexual themes, and most portrayed a cruel stepmother and "the sexual pursuit of the daughter by the father"\(^{(139)}\).

Rubenstein\(^{(140)}\) analyses Cinderella in the following manner. The stepmother he refers to as the sexual rival of Cinderella, and the reason why Cinderella accepts her fate, to the doubtless fact that she will finally win the prince and frustrate the bad mother and sisters. As to Cinderella's wish who asks her father to bring her the first twig that strikes his hat during his travel, it could be related, "at least in part to the penis envy and phallic aspirations"\(^{(141)}\). Finally the reason Rubenstein\(^{(142)}\) gives for the father breaking one after the other, the pigeon house and pear tree where Cinderella is hiding, is that by doing so the father is trying to prevent Cinderella's marriage to the prince. (This part of the story is part of the Lang version of Cinderella and not the Perrault version).

f. A note on these interpretations

From these psychoanalytic interpretations of different myths

- \(^{(138)}\) Ibid, p. 197
- \(^{(139)}\) Ibid
- \(^{(140)}\) Ibid, p. 197
- \(^{(141)}\) Ibid, p. 201
- \(^{(142)}\) Ibid, p. 202
and fairy tales we see that for each one, Freudians find a suitable explanation in terms of psychosexuality, treating this material, like dreams as a source that contains latent sexual content. But it may be a fair criticism if one says that the psychoanalysts twist the fairy tales as they wish, and for their analyses do not always depend on the meaning, but on particular words such as "twig" that Rubenstein (143) believes could relate to penis envy.

4. The interpretation of stories in terms of Achievement Motive

(n Achievement)

a. n Achievement in deprivation and satiation.

McClelland and his colleagues performed a series of experiments on the "projective expression of needs" under different conditions. In one experiment on the effect of need achievement performed in 1949 they (144) gave a test of creative imagination to two groups of subjects. One having experienced a success (satiation) and the other a failure (deprivation).

The results they obtained showed that in cases where there is an aroused need for achievement the number of times the characters in the stories are described as wanting to get ahead increases. The authors of this experiment say "common to all is the notion that the feeling of success depends on the gratification of this drive, and

(143) Ibid, p. 204

failure results from its frustration"(145), therefore it would be expected that people who have experienced failure or frustration would have a heightened need to achieve.

Again McClelland together with Friedman(146), because they were aware of the lack of an acceptable method for measuring human motives, tried to develop one, by combining the methods of free association, fantasy and other imaginative processes with the experimental method, thus arousing motivation in a laboratory situation by manipulating external conditions such as hours of food deprivation.

Once "changes in imaginative stories associated with experimentally produced increases in achievement motivation were noted"(147) it has been possible to estimate the strength of a person's motivation to achieve a certain goal, by counting the number of the "achievement-related responses" in the stories he produced. An important point to bring out in relation to the n Achievement scores is that they are not only applicable to a selected portion of a community, but are not culture bound either. Thus "a significant increase in mean n Achievement score has been obtained between stories written under conditions of low achievement arousal even among the Novajo"(148)

(145) Ibid, p. 250
(147) Ibid, p. 244
(148) Ibid
b. "n Achievement" in folktales

McClelland and Friedman (149) in order to determine the n Achievement score of a culture decided to use the folktales of that particular culture for the following reasons: One, it would have been time consuming and expensive to obtain actual stories in the field. Two, by obtaining stories in the field it would have been very likely that they would have obtained "Americanized" stories, while folktales present a pure reflection of the common thought patterns of a number of individuals" (150).

Based on these assumptions Friedman, Whiting and Roberts (151) collected twelve stories from each of eight American Indian cultures, and scored them for n Achievement. They report that the major difference between the scores of these stories and others obtained from college students was the infrequent evidence on the part of the eight cultures to show long term achievement involvement.

The achievement scores were later compared with information about the "nursing, toilet training, sex training, independence training and aggression control" (152) and it was found that independence training relates most closely to what is called achievement training. Thus a child who is forced to "be on his own" is more achievement motivated

(149) Ibid, p. 245
(150) Ibid
(151) Ibid, p. 246
(152) Ibid, p. 247
than a child who is not given much independence.

The conclusions at which McClelland and Friedman arrived at from this study was that "a general emphasis on achievement in the culture influences both child training and the kind of stories which are told in the culture – particularly since the stories may often be used to educate the young" (153). And also that there is a significant relationship between severity of weaning and achievement. This they explain, saying that weaning severity and independence training have been found to correlate positively by Whiting and Child (154) in a study that related to these points conducted on the same American Indian cultures.

The implications that McClelland and Friedman summarize from their study are the following:

(1) It shows that folktales of any culture can be used as diagnostic material to obtain the motivation of its members, therefore it may also be possible by analysing the stories produced by one individual to diagnose his tendencies in motivation.

(2) Achievement motivation usually appears in fantasy.

(3) Cultures which consider achievement important are likely to stress early independence training which will result in higher achievement motivation levels.

(153) Ibid, p. 249

(154) Ibid
c. "The Achievement Motive"

(1) In general

As a result of five years of research on the different aspects of achievement motivation McClelland and his co-workers (155) published a book called "the achievement motive" which is based on the "assumption running through most contemporary theories... that motives are "deficit" tensional states which energize organisms until relief is obtained or "equilibrium" is restored" (156).

In this book the authors explain fully the scoring technique they have devised for measuring the achievement scores of stories or folktales. This will be explained fully in a later chapter.

The three important factors to take into consideration so as to gain control of the "situational cues" that elicit n achievement are, according to McClelland et al (157): One, the instructions given to the subject, two, the task they are asked to perform, and three, the success and failure that are induced through the manipulation of the announced norms.

(2) In child rearing

An important aspect of n Achievement, is in relation to child rearing practices as has already been discussed in relation to the n achievement in folktales. So as to study this McClelland (158) asked thirty college students to tell their life histories to a psychiatrist.

(155) McClelland, Atkinson, Clark & Lowell, op cit
(156) Ibid, p. 78
(157) Ibid, p. 139
(158) Ibid, p. 276
who would later classify them into different categories of parent behavior such as casualness, autocracy, democracy, indulgence, acceptance and rejection. The most interesting finding from the correlations of the ratings obtained with n Achievement is that "sons who felt their fathers had rejected them had higher n Achievement scores than those who felt their fathers had loved and accepted them." (159)

These data before being finally interpreted need more experimentation, write McClelland et al., because first their theory deals only with the area of achievement training, whereas these variables cover general attitudes in all areas of training, and second their theory "would argue that high achievement motivation would develop as much from positive affective changes connected with independent strivings as from negative affective changes presumably associated with general severity of upbringing." (160).

Another set of scores related to the traits that sons attribute to their parent, shows that those sons who perceived their fathers as being friendly and helpful had a low n achievement score.

All children in all cultures have to learn to walk, talk and other skills of this type, but the degree of pressure exerted by the parent on the child to master these skills early differs. "The more they insist on early mastery the more the child thinks in achievement terms, the greater the effect from meeting or failing to meet achievement statements and so on." (161). Therefore the more a child is forced to

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(159) Ibid. p. 279
(160) Ibid. p. 280
(161) Ibid. p. 289
master these skills early the higher will be his achievement motivation, as a result of which his parents will seem rejectant.

The variables that have been found as being important for n Achievement scores are the "severity of training" and the "age of beginning training". Thus the hypothesis started with as to independence training and achievement motivation McClelland et al say is justified, stating that "achievement motivation in boys is associated with stress on independence training by their mothers" (162).

d. Reasons for the choice of n Achievement method in this research

Now that an overview of two major methods for the analysis of stories have been presented, it would be appropriate to state why for the present research the n Achievement method devised by McClelland will be used rather than the psychoanalytic analyses.

The apparent advantages of the method of McClelland are the following:

(1) He has a definite scoring system that he explains fully and that can be learned by anybody and applied with an inter-scoring reliability of the order of .90.

(2) Several psychologists have already used the method successfully in a number of fields relating achievement motivation to deprivation, satiation, fantasy etc.

(3) McClelland has already performed an experiment relating the n Achievement scores with child-rearing practices, therefore he has established a precedence.

(162) Ibid, p. 304
The reasons why the psychoanalytic method will not be used are:

1. Freud gives no particular scoring system, thus leaving each person to interpret the stories as he wants. This necessarily must prove to be very unreliable in the long run, for while one person may interpret certain factors as being the important ones, someone else may think some other factors to be the main clues that deserve psychoanalytic explanations.

2. Psychoanalysts use stories to support their theory while McClelland uses them to relate them to child-rearing which has more practical value.

3. Any analyses in terms of psychoanalysis will rigidly follow the path of sex explanations and thus limit the study which might otherwise lead to more profitable findings.

In short while McClelland uses the method of analysing the manifest content of the stories, psychoanalysts choose to analyse the latent content and are therefore inferring certain facts which might not be actually true.

5. Reasons for the choice of the topic

All this background information points out one important point, that stories whether imaginary, fairy or in comic form do have an important role in child-rearing and in the formation of the child's personality. The reason for the choice of the topic of this thesis was not only due to the fact that stories are part of children's life and experience, therefore ought to be interesting, but also aimed at the following points:

1. To find out whether Lebanese children hear any stories
2. To find out whether these Lebanese children hear mostly Western or "Arab" stories.

3. To gather a collection of the popular and less popular Lebanese stories, that might otherwise due to Western child literature be completely forgotten.

4. To find out how much story telling occurs and the differences between upper and lower classes.

5. To find out the preference of children if any.

6. To find out the radio listening habit.

7. To find out the story reading practice of the sample.

8. To find out whether reading is encouraged by parents.

9. To find out whether the traditional beginning forms of stories are used.

10. To find out the amount of achievement motivation of the stories.

11. To find out what the stories indicate in terms of child-rearing practices.

12. To find out whether any sign of children being deprived or rejected exist.

As the present study is only a preliminary one it will only give the answers to part of the questions that a more complete study may cover. Among the other questions that may also be investigated are:

1. Whether the stories told to Lebanese children are children's stories or stories for adults that children overhear.

2. Are the most popular stories in Lebanon the same as those of Europe or America.
3. What is the amount of comic reading of Lebanese children.

4. How much are illustrations liked.

5. Why do parents tell stories.

6. Are stories told in school.

7. Do the stories have any influence on children.

8. Are the Grimm fairy tales popular in Lebanon.

9. The social and religious aspirations described in the manifest content of the stories collected.

10. Who are the characters portrayed in the stories, is identification made easy.

11. Are the findings of this research at all similar to Child's findings of the analysis of stories in textbooks.

12. Are there any variations in the stories that may be due to cultural needs.
Chapter IV

Description of Experimental Method

In order to investigate the role of story telling in child rearing practices of selected Lebanese populations the following method was used.

1. Collection of stories

The first step of this study was to collect stories from different sources, such as individuals who knew several stories, children's radio programs, books that reported certain Lebanese or Armenian stories and finally books where lists of the titles of some popular stories were found. The preliminary collection of stories was made up of what were thought to be Lebanese (Arabic) and Armenian stories and totalled one hundred and twenty-one. Because some of these were similar or proved to be unknown during the pre-test, the number of stories used for the first interview was brought down to seventy-two.

During this collection of stories it was found that several stories that were thought to be original to one culture were really common to more, and several stories were quite similar as to the general theme but differed as to the descriptions and characters.

2. The questionnaire.

The second step was to devise a questionnaire so as to get relevant information from the parents in relation to the story telling practices and other child rearing factors. This questionnaire was made rather short because the whole interview would otherwise have been too long and might have harmed more than benefited the research in the long
run. So only these questions that were thought to be of primary importance were chosen. In the final form after a pretest on eleven parents was conducted, the questionnaire consisted of the following points.

1. Information about the parents.

   Name, age, religion, relationship (of the child to the interviewee), age and sex of the children.

2. Information about story telling practices.

   Who tells stories to the children at home? When during the day are these stories usually told? Which stories (according to the parent) are the ones the children prefer? Do the children ask for any stories, if yes, at what age did the parents start telling the stories and at what age did they stop to do so? Do you (the parent) spend any time with the children playing or speaking, apart from story telling? Do the children read any stories and do they prefer them with illustrations? Do the children listen to the children's program over the radio?

3. Information about the stories told.

   In this third part the parent was given the following instructions:

   "I have here a list of stories. I will tell you their outlines. In case you know them and tell them to your children, say so, in case you don't, do not worry because there are very many and nobody can really know them all. Please, when you know a story tell me whether you have heard it or read it, and whether or not you tell it to your children."

After this, the list of stories was read and for each story the answers given were recorded by the interviewer. Once the list of stories was over the parent was instructed as follows:
"Now you have heard my stories, are there any other stories which you know and tell your children and that I don't know?" In cases where the parents said they knew extra stories and were willing to tell them, these were recorded in summary form by the interviewer. In cases where they did not know any more stories they were thanked for their cooperation.

3. The sample: Description and choice

In order to have a fairly wide sample of the Lebanese population living in Beirut it was decided to take two of the major religious groups in Beirut, namely Greek Orthodox and Moslem, and one group, for comparative purposes which has a different culture and history but which is now accepted as a Lebanese group, namely the Armenian Gregorians, whose members also form a large single group of the Beirut population. As the groups chosen are known to live more or less independently in certain quarters of Beirut, the division of the sample was made in terms of these geographical areas.

The Greek Orthodox, both upper and lower classes, were taken from the Ashrafieh and Nousseibeh areas; the Moslems, both upper and lower classes, were taken from the Basta area and a very few from the Nousseibeh area. The Armenians were taken from the Nahr area for the lower class, and the Has Beirut area for the upper class. It should be made clear that the judgement of a family being upper or lower class was made subjectively by the interviewer. Thus were called lower class those families who live in one or two rooms and whose house and appearance looked poor, while the upper class were the families who live
in large apartment houses and had servants.

In order to be sure that the questions asked were directed to a real child only those parents were interviewed who had at least one child in the age range three to seven years (so that their story telling experiences might still be fresh in their minds), and those who had not intermarried with other groups.

4. The interviews.

In order to be accepted in the families and to establish good rapport it was necessary to find each time a person willing to introduce the interviewer to a family that fulfilled the requirements of the study. It should be made clear that the persons who introduced the interviewer did not know what the aim of the study was so they could not have introduced her only to people who knew or told stories.*

The interviewer did not cover each area at one time but interviewed parents in any of the chosen areas as she found people to introduce her. There was no definite time when interviews took place. In general it was more or less dependent on the time of the person who was to introduce the interviewer and the time which the parents found most appropriate.

The duration of the interviews as such fell into three categories.

*In relation to this point the following exception occurred. Miss Hala Kibriti, to whom I am very thankful for having introduced me to several Moslem homes, because she knew that I was interested in families who told stories to their children, first took me to families whom she knew might tell stories. Accidentally I became aware of this fact and to remedy this biased sample and because I needed more Moslem families she later took me to all the families she knew had children. Therefore the final result was that I had interviewed first those whom she knew told stories and next all the other families she knew, which is just the same as having interviewed these families in a random fashion and probably takes care of the biased one.
The first group, those who told no stories, usually did not need more than ten to fifteen minutes. The second group, those who told stories, usually took around thirty to forty-five minutes and the third group, those who cared to mention new stories, took around sixty to ninety minutes.

The interview was more or less informal and when the parents felt like asking questions in the middle of the interview they were allowed to do so. Also if parents reported that they remembered another story while the list was being read to them, they were allowed to tell it for the obvious reason that they might forget it if they were asked to wait till the end, or might be hurt not to be heard immediately.

In a few cases the interviewer went alone to the houses, in these cases she was usually either introduced by a person beforehand or by a neighbour whose name was used as an introduction. From the sample on the whole the Greek Orthodox group proved to be the easiest to obtain together with the Gregorians, and the most difficult group was the Moslem group. This may be due to the fact that the interviewer knew more Christian people than Moslems but may also be the result of Moslem families being resistant on the whole to the idea of introducing a stranger in their own homes.

It should be made clear however that the great majority of the parents welcomed the interviewer and were very cooperative and in only one or two cases did they behave rudely. It took around a month and a half to finish all the interviews.

5. Relevant uncontrolled variables.

Some of the variables that were not controlled owing to the limited exploratory nature of the study are the following:
One of the requirements of the study was that the parent should have at least one child between the ages three to seven. While in some cases this child was the first in other cases he was the last. When the mother had, for instance, one child aged three, she would usually be quite young herself and would not know stories to tell her child; however when the child was the last of a large family he usually had brothers and sisters much older, and his mother might tell them she had no more the patience to tell stories any longer, or else reported that his siblings took care of him. This led to difficulties for these children were not always available for interview. Therefore it would have been advisable to have a controlled size of family, and this was beyond the means of the present study.

A second uncontrolled variable was the treatment of the different sexes. The interviews were carried out in relation to children in general and in any future study it would be interesting to ask the parents about their treatment of the different sexes.

A third variable that could have been controlled if the study had continued and a retest carried out is the factor of memory. Parents might have said "yes" to stories they did not know, or forgotten to tell stories which they did know. In the cases where the interviewer felt that the parent was unusually good at knowing stories she tried to check by asking from time to time what the end of the stories were. This happened in two cases and it was found that the parents really knew the stories and finally contributed many more.

Finally, while in some cases the parent was all alone during the interview in other cases there were the children or other visitors
present. This, if it had any influence, was felt to be more advantageous because first the children did remind the parent that she knew and had told them the stories, and also helped for the addition of the stories which were not yet on the list. As to the times when more than one person was interviewed it was not apparent that the fact of one person knowing more stories than the other created any disturbance. The usual reflection was "I am going to send my children over to you." It should be made clear however that whenever there was more than one parent being interviewed the guest was usually invited by the parent and was a close acquaintance of hers so they could not really feel very ego-involved and say "yes" to stories they did not know.

6. Statistical analysis

Once the data related to the different questions concerning the story telling habits is collected it will be treated statistically so as to determine whether the differences obtained are due to chance or are significant.

To test the degree of significance of the data the null hypothesis will be applied. This hypothesis assumes that there is no difference between two populations and that any observed difference is due to chance or "sampling fluctuations", unless they are proved to be statistically significant in which case the null hypothesis is rejected and the differences obtained accepted at the degree of confidence that the test of significance gives.

In order to test the significance of the proportions obtained among the different groups the standard error of the proportions will be computed first. Each distribution has its own mean and standard
deviation and these may differ in the different groups. To obtain the standard error of the proportions the following formula will be used:

$$
\sigma_{pq} = \sqrt{\left(\frac{1}{N_1} + \frac{1}{N_2}\right)}
$$

where \( p \) stands for the proportion of people showing a certain characteristic, \( q = (1 - p) \) is the proportion of people who do not show that characteristic and \( N \) the number of cases in the samples.

Once the value of the standard error is known the critical ratios will be computed. The critical ratio determines how large \( D/\sigma D \) is, and whether it allows the null hypothesis to be rejected. If \( D/\sigma D \) is very large (more than 4) it is probable that it was not due to chance and therefore one is justified by saying that a real difference exists among the two populations and the observed difference is not a chance variation from zero.

The critical ratios that will be computed will be between groups, such as the Ashrafieh and Moussaitbe (Greek Orthodox) upper and lower classes, or within groups such as Moslem upper to lower class.

In order to test the significance of the differences in means obtained in the scores of \( n \) Achievement the \( t \) test will be computed the following way:

$$
t = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{\sqrt{\left(\frac{N_1 \sigma_1^2 + N_2 \sigma_2^2}{N_1 + N_2 - 2}\right) \left(\frac{N_1 + N_2}{N_1 N_2}\right)}}
$$
because the Ns are small.

In case of the t test too the degree of significance will be found thus allowing us to conclude whether the difference in means of the two populations tested is due to chance or really exists and can be accepted at a certain degree of confidence thus rejecting the null hypothesis.

The t test will be done to test the mean differences of the religious groups such as Moslem and Greek Orthodox, the class differences that is upper class to lower class and finally the religion and class differences as for instance Moslem upper class to lower class.
Chapter V

Analysis of Data

1. The sample

Table 1*: Distribution of the sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U.C.</th>
<th></th>
<th>L.C.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>% of</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>% of</td>
<td>% of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sub sample</td>
<td></td>
<td>sub sample</td>
<td></td>
<td>total sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>54.55</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30.55</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27.78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.O. Ash.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.O. Mtbe</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>52.00</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greg. Arm.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>48.89</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>51.11</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The abbreviations appearing in table 1 and all the following tables stand for the following: G.O. for Greek Orthodox, Ash. for Ashrafieh, Mtbe. for Mousaitbe, Greg. for Gregorian, Arm. for Armenian, L.C. for Lower Class and U.C. for Upper Class.
Table 1 shows the sample according to religion, social class (upper and lower) and residential location. Out of the 180 parents that were interviewed, 55 were Moslem, that is 30.55 percent of the total sample, 75 (41.67 percent) Greek Orthodox of which 50 were from Ashrafieh and 25 from Mousaitbe and 50 that is 27.78 percent of the total sample were Armenian Gregorians.

2. Amount of story telling.

In relation to the amount of story telling the sample was divided into the following three groups:

G 1 - group 1: no story telling

G 2 - group 2: told "conventional" stories

G 3 - group 3: told "original" and religious stories.

Thus group 1 stands for the group of children which is not told any stories at home, group 2 is that group which is told stories that the parents have either read or heard and which are usually known to more than one parent, and group 3 is the group which did hear stories, but these were either religious (which would reflect more the missionaries' than the Lebanese culture and therefore were not included in group 2) or invented by the parent at a particular moment when the child insisted on a story (and the parent knew none), or when the parents wanted to teach the child something through a story and invented one which suited his purpose.

Table 2 shows the amount of story telling among the Moslems, Greek Orthodox and Armenian. The upper classes and lower classes were grouped together in this table because in all the groups but the Armenian group the amount of story telling between the upper and lower
Table 2: Amount of story telling among the Moslems, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Gregorian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>UC N</th>
<th>LC N</th>
<th>Total N</th>
<th>% of sub sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>G1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>47.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>65.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-O Ash.</td>
<td>G1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>58.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-O Mtb.</td>
<td>G1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greg. Arm.</td>
<td>G1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>70.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>G1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>27.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 1: Percentage of story telling among the Moslems, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Gregorian samples.
classes was not significantly different. Only in the Armenian lower class parents is there a great difference, where of the 25 parents interviewed 14 told no stories at all. It should be made clear however that most of these parents who said they did not tell any stories gave as a reason that the children heard stories at school, and told them to their parents at home.

Another excuse that most lower class parents gave for their not telling stories was "I do not know how to read, so where can I get the stories from?" This statement was most probably a rationalization for in each case where there was a friend of the parent present, the friend would say, "Have you not heard stories from your mother when you were young?" And the parent would answer, "Yes but..."

An examination of table 2 also shows that from the 180 parents interviewed more than two-thirds (72.78%) do tell stories to their children whether "conventional" or "original" and religious stories. The important finding however is that fifty percent of the parents tell "conventional" stories, these will be analysed later as to their achievement motivation content.

As the critical ratio obtained from the proportions of the upper and lower classes of the Greek Orthodox groups was not significant these groups were combined and the critical ratio of the Moslem and Greek Orthodox upper to lower classes was computed. This also being not significant the critical ratio of the Armenian and Greek Orthodox groups was computed leading once more to a non-significant difference. It may be concluded, therefore, that there is
no significant difference in amount of story telling among the upper and lower classes of these Lebanese populations. Therefore, a child born in a lower class family has just as many chances of being told stories as a child born in an upper class family.

3. Do the children ask for stories?

Now that we know that both higher and lower classes tell stories to their children it would be interesting to know who initiates these story telling sessions, that is whether the children ask for stories or whether the parents impose the story telling sessions.

From table 3 one can see that generally it is the child who initiates the story telling sessions by asking for a story, and that in 66.67% of the cases when he asks for a story he is told one. In few cases, 7.78%, the child is reported not to ask for a story but to get one; this may account for the four cases where the mother reported that she told stories to calm down the children when they are too noisy, and the two cases where stories are told at study time.

The other point that appears in table 3 is in relation to those 12.78% families in which the child asks for a story and does not get one. This may be due to one of two reasons: either the mother or other members of the family do not know of any stories and therefore cannot tell one to the child, or they may be rejecting the child and are not interested in him. Because a 1/8 of the total sample seems to fall in this category it may be desirable to conduct a further investigation to clear this particular point because there is a general agreement among all child psychologists that childhood
Table 3: Percentage of the times when the children ask for a story and when they are told one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Child asks for story</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>Is a story told</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>58.18</td>
<td>7.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>10.90</td>
<td>23.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-O</td>
<td>Is a story told</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>74.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ash.</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-O</td>
<td>Is a story told</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>84.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nthe</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greg.</td>
<td>Is a story told</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm.</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Is a story told</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>7.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>12.78</td>
<td>12.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
experiences and later personality development are related.

Child rearing practices which are part of the experiences of infants, prove till now, to be a field where a great deal of controversy exists. Ribble(163) and Spitz(164) two psychoanalytically oriented psychologists from their researches on infant behavior, found out that these needed a great deal of "mothering", and that they should be attended to and treated affectionately in order to become normal individuals, or else they will develop reactions such as negativism, regression and depression.

Pinneau(165) presents a very detailed criticism and points out all the weaknesses of Spitz's study, as well as all the factors which he believes would have been different if the study was not limited in this way. Other reviews by Orlansky(166) and Bowlby(167)


have also been done in relation to child rearing practices, but in each case certain conclusions are arrived at which are not agreed upon by others. A recent study conducted by Dennis and Majarian (168) gave results which cleared many of the points that were till now a matter of controversy.

Murphy (169) in his report of the experience of children says that these "expand" together with their "expanding imagination." At first a child does not distinguish between fantasy and reality and at three years stories such as the "Little Red Ridinghood" or "Snow White" may produce anxiety while at four years they may become a source of delightful entertainment. "The period between four and six, thus, is a period of clarification of the distinction between reality and fantasy experiences" (170). It is only through the interrelationship of the adult with the child, that feelings such as aggression and violence in fantasy can be assimilated by the child as well as anxiety experiences related to fantasy.

Murphy (171) by hypotheses from McFarlane's research on adjustment, stresses that, children who till three have assimilated

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fear inwardly may once their language develops have more overt reactions "through the releasing influence of communicable and objectified fantasy. Nursery rhymes and fairy stories are, from this point of view, a traditional and culturally accepted method of stimulating this externalization of formerly internal reactions in the child" (172). Therefore the fact of spending time with the child, telling him stories has the effect of forming his personality. Up to the age of six, the basic features that form a child's experience according to Murphy (173) are the following.

1. The experience with parents and adults, which will allow him to adjust to authority and learn the accepted patterns of behavior.

2. The experience with peers which makes children aware of their sex, as well as of aggression, friendliness and other social techniques.

3. The experience with their own bodies and the reaction they get from others.

One can conclude from all this that the mere fact of rejecting a child is in general said to be harmful for his personality development.

The related fact of not telling him any story might harm him, in so far as his experience with adults is concerned, and naturally the formation of his personality as a result.

In relation to whether the children ask for stories, the question as to when the parents first start telling stories was also

(172) Ibid

(173) Ibid, p. 676
Table 4: Percentage of cases at the different age levels of the first time a story is told.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>UC</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 1 $\frac{1}{2}$</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 5 $\frac{1}{2}$</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 6 $\frac{1}{2}$</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 7 $\frac{1}{2}$</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 2. Percentage of cases shown according to the age at which a story is told for the first time.
asked. The results to this question appear in table 4. From table 4 we can conclude that the parents usually start telling stories to their children when they are three to three-and-half years of age. The general trend being from two to four and a half years with few cases (six in all) that start telling stories before two years and fewer cases (three in all) that start after six and a half years. Apparently as soon as the child is able to understand what his mother is telling him she is encouraged and starts telling him stories. In relation to this question it would be interesting to find out who is the person who first initiates the story telling sessions, the child or the mother. In one or two cases the mother reported that her child never asked for a story for he had never heard one, this possibility remains doubtful until further investigation shows that it is true.

4. Who tells the stories at home.

The obvious fact that appears from table 5 is that those children who hear stories at home in the great majority of cases hear them from their mothers in both the upper (76%) and the lower (71.41%) classes. From the critical ratios obtained it can be concluded that there is no significant difference among the upper and lower classes of the Greek Orthodox (Ashrafieh and Nousaitbe), the Moslem, and the Armenian groups.

The reason why in table 5 only the "mother" is mentioned as a category as to who tells the stories and the others are combined and called "other" is because in each case namely father, grandmother, aunt, sister, maid or governess there were very few cases mentioned to form an important category.
Table 5. Percentage of the number of times the mother and "other" are reported to tell stories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mother % of sub class</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Other % of sub class</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70.00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-0</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>63.63</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ash</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>70.53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-0</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>69.24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtbe</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greg</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>91.66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>76.00</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LC</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>71.41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 3: Percentage of cases where mother or other are reported to
tell stories

Percentage of who tells stories

Mother other
Moslem
Mother other
G-O Ash.
Mother other
G-O Ntbe
Mother other
Arm.
An interesting point from table 5 in relation to the story telling practices among the upper classes is that, although most if not all the upper class families have maids or governess, the mothers reported that they usually were the ones who told the children stories and not any one else which may be different from popular opinion of upper class mothers. Also in relation to this may be brought out the advantage that upper class children have in hearing stories that educated mothers think fit for children rather than what maids may think is a good story for children.

5. Do children listen to the radio?

For children who are not told stories at home and ask for stories, as well as for the other children, a good source to turn to is children's radio programs.

The percentage obtained in table 6 show that those children whose parents do not tell them stories often listen to the radio. Thus from the upper class Arab children who do not hear stories only 6.35 percent do not listen to the radio. For the lower class Arab children the percentage is 8.96 percent just a little higher, this may be due to the absence of radios in some of the poorer homes, as a result of which children could not very well listen to the programs.

In relation to the radio programs the Armenian group stands aside for the following reasons:

1. In general the Armenians do not excel in the Arabic language and would not think of encouraging their children to listen to Arabic radio programs. As to the French children's radio program it has been mentioned in 24 percent of the times.
Table 6: Percentage of the different groups in relation to whether they listen to the children’s radio programs or not.

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2. Besides the preceding reason the lower class Armenians have a very valid reason for not listening to the radio programs. In very few cases did the lower class Armenian families have a radio at home so the children obviously could not listen to the programs.

Because the critical ratios obtained from the upper and lower classes of the different groups were not significantly different in the case of the Arabs (UC to LC)(both Greek Orthodox and Moslem), it can be concluded that the null hypothesis can be accepted. In the case of the Armenian upper and lower class the critical ratio obtained is significant at the .01 level therefore one can conclude at the .01 level of confidence that the difference shown by the different proportions is not due to chance, which allows us to conclude that the upper class Armenian children listen to children's radio programs much more than the lower class children.

6. Do children read stories?

A final source to which children may turn if they want to get at stories is to read them. From table 7 the following information concerning the reading habit of the sample interviewed can be inferred.

First that almost half of those children who do not hear stories at home read some if they can.

Second that in both the Greek Orthodox and the Armenian groups there is a significant difference among the upper and lower classes (beyond the .001 level) which allows us to say with a high degree of confidence that the differences obtained are not due to chance. We are therefore justified in concluding that the upper class children on the whole read much more than the lower class. The reason for this may be
Table 7. Percentage of the different groups in relation to the reading habit.

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</table>
that upper class children can afford to buy books while lower class children cannot.

Third in relation to the Moslem group as the critical ratio obtained between the upper and lower class was not significant it would be expected to find the same proportion of reading habit among both classes of the particular group interviewed, that is the null hypothesis is accepted.

Related to the question of the reading habit the question as to the type of literature read was asked. Mothers often did not know the exact name of the book or magazine read, but in general the following were mentioned:

1. The Moslems read mostly some of the Arabic children's magazine such as "Dounia el-Ahdath", "Zarzour", "Sindbad", "Samir" and a few French books.

2. The Greek Orthodox groups on the whole read mostly French books of the "Bibliotheque Rose", "Bibliotheque Or", and "Tintin", together with some of the Arabic magazines mentioned for the Moslem group.

3. The Armenian children were reported to read mostly Armenian books and magazines, together with "Tintin" and French books mentioned for the Greek Orthodox group.

7. When are stories told?

Concerning the time during the day when stories are usually told table 8 shows that while among the upper classes it appears that almost half of the parents tell stories to their children at sleep time, the lower class parents do so in 75 percent of the cases. In relation to time of story telling it should be mentioned that the reason
for combining the different categories such as "at eating time", "when free", to "calm down" and to explain something "at study time" into one category called "Other" was due to the small frequencies that occurred in any one of these groups alone.

The proportions obtained for the time of story telling among the upper class and lower class seems to be consistent in so far as the lower class tell more often stories at "sleep time" in both the Greek Orthodox and the Armenian groups and this can be accepted at the .05 degree of confidence because the critical ratios obtained in this case are significant at the .05 level. In the case of the Moslem group however no significant difference was obtained among the upper and the lower class. Therefore the null hypothesis can be accepted.

A probable reason for the frequency of story telling at night by the lower class mothers may be due to the fact that most if not all of them have to work either at home or outside their homes all day, so they are only free in the evening and give part of that time to story telling.

In relation to the practice of telling stories at night Ammar (174) presents the theory of Hermant who believes that stories are usually told at night because after a day's work both the person telling the story and the listener are tired, therefore their critical powers and attention are not operating at their best. "Thus social activities that are considered inappropriate during the day seem acceptable at night; in the same way certain themes in stories are exclusively acceptable during

(174) Ammar, op cit, p. 163
Table 8: The percentage of times stories are told at sleep time or at other times.

<table>
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the evenings and are incorporated in the folktale"(175).  

While this may be true for the case of the Egyptian village Ammar is reporting about saying that stories as seen by adults "are considered to be demonic, and of no practical value"(176) it is not altogether true in the case of the Lebanese populations that have been interviewed,

(175) Ibid
(176) Ibid, p. 161
for besides the fact that stories are some of the time told at other times, none of the parents was reported saying that stories are of no value or demonic in nature.

8. Do the parents spend time with the child?

Of secondary importance in so far as story telling is concerned but as a by product of the investigation, information relating to whether or not parents spend time with their children whether playing or speaking has been obtained. This is of importance for those cases where the mothers reported not telling any stories and not spending any time with their children. This behavior on the parent's part may result in creating a rejecting atmosphere in the home where the infant feels unwanted or not cared for. The literature reported in relation to infantile rejection may be related to this particular case too.

The important difference in relation to time spent with the child seems to be between the upper and lower class of the Greek Orthodox group. The critical ratio obtained in this case is significant beyond the .001 level which allows us to conclude with a high degree of confidence that the differences obtained were not due to chance. Therefore it can be said that many more higher class parents spend time with their children than lower class.

This may be due to the fact that lower class parents do not have time to spend with the children, but this does not appear to be true, for in the Moslem and Armenian groups the critical ratio obtained is not significant showing that different samples from the same population will give similar results where upper class and lower class will not differ significantly from each other.
Table 9. Percentage of the different groups in relation to whether they spend any time with the child.

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<td>32</td>
<td>34.70</td>
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<td>LC</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>50.00</td>
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</table>
9. Do the children have any preferences?

One of the most important reasons for which this investigation was carried was to find out what are the popular stories that are common within and between the different Lebanese groups. But before discussing this final point the preferences of children in so far as stories are concerned is shown in table 10.

Table 10. The children's preference as to the stories they are told.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No Preference % of sub sample</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Moslem</td>
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<td>G-O</td>
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<td>Ash</td>
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<td>Arm.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The results are very varied on the whole between the upper and lower class, as well as between the different groups. This may be due to the fact that all the different "preference" categories such as stories relating to: kings, heroes, animals, adventure, moral, etc... have been combined and called "preference" for in no group was the frequency of any of these sub categories big enough to be considered alone.

The only conclusion that one might make from this table is that
children most probably do have preferences, but the best way to get them is by interviewing the children and not the parents.

10. Which are the popular stories?

From the list of 131 stories, the forty-one stories that appear in table II came out as being generally popular in one or more of the groups interviewed. The criteria used for popularity in this case was that 33.33 percent of the people who told stories in any one of the groups, reported to know and tell that particular story.

An important finding in relation to these stories is that almost half of the stories told to Lebanese children are well known Western stories. Among these are the following.

No. 21. Pierette et le pot au lait.
No. 37. Le renard et les raisins.
No. 38. Le lièvre et la tortue.
No. 39. La tortue et les deux canards.
No. 40. Le loup et l'agneau.
No. 41. Le renard et le corbeau
No. 44. La cigale et la fourmi
No. 46. Grimm's - The fisherman and his wife.
No. 51. Aesop's - The man, his son and the donkey.
No. 55. Snow white
No. 56. Little Red Ridinghood.
No. 58. The sleeping beauty.
No. 61. Cinderella.
No. 65. Blue beard.
No. 66. Le petit poucet.
No. 70. Le chat botté.
No. 100. La cigogne et le loup.

It should be made clear that some of these stories are not necessarily Western in origin but have only been preserved by the West. It should also be mentioned that some of the other popular stories may also be Western in origin.

The important factor in relation to these stories is that Lebanese children are quite familiar with Western stories and less familiar with the Lebanese or Arab stories. This may be due to either or both of the following reasons:

1. Lebanese children through the education they receive have more opportunity to come into contact with Western stories.

2. Lebanese stories tend to be forgotten because they are not always available in the same form as the Western stories. If this is so, then the hypothesis as to the Lebanese stories slowly disappearing would be accepted.

An observation related to this point, is that out of the 131 stories the majority of those that were not reported as being popular, were collected with the understanding that they are Lebanese stories, which adds to the previous statement that many of the Lebanese stories are much less known than the Western stories.

Another point that appears from table II is that usually those stories that are Western are less well known by the lower classes in all groups. Thus the only Western stories that the lower classes reported to know are: Le renard et les raisins, La tortue et les deux canards and Grimm’s The fisherman and his wife.
Table 11. Frequency distribution of the popular stories in the different groups.

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Results as to parents reporting that they had read or heard a story but had not told it to their children have also been obtained. Thus while the Moslem group parents reported in all cases, but for one story, that they knew and told the stories they knew, in the Ashrafieh, Mousaitbe, and Armenian groups several parents reported that they knew some of the stories but either did not care to tell them, or had forgotten them and would later on tell them, or that their child was still too young for that particular story. In relation to this it can be said that there is no consistency as to the stories they knew but did not tell and in most of the cases it is due to the fact that the parent had forgotten the story rather than did not want to tell it to her children.

11. Conclusion of the analysis of data.

From the analysis of the data obtained by the investigation of story telling among selected Lebanese populations the following conclusions were arrived at:

1. Both upper and lower class parents in all groups tell their children stories.

2. Usually it is the child who starts the story telling sessions by asking for a story. In very few cases is he frustrated by not being told one.

3. Within the upper and lower classes of the Moslem, Greek Orthodox and Armenian groups the mother is in general the person who tells stories to her children. However in the combined group of Greek Orthodox and Armenian the difference obtained was shown statistically not to be due to chance factors, therefore it can be concluded that more often than
among the Greek Orthodox group in the Armenian group the mother is the
one who tells the stories to the children.

4. In general all Arab children (Moslem and Greek Orthodox) listen
to the children's radio programs, while among the Armenians only upper
class children do so and this difference was shown to be statistically
significant at the .01 level.

5. Almost half of the children who do not hear stories at home, read
some if they can. But although in the Moslem group both upper and lower
class children read in similar proportions, among the Greek Orthodox and
Armenian groups the upper class children read more books than the lower
class children and this difference was shown statistically not due to
chance factors.

6. Stories are told either at night or at other times during the day.
The proportions for the Greek Orthodox and Armenian groups are significantly
different in relation to time of story telling and this difference was
shown statistically not to be due to chance factors. Thus in these
groups the lower class mothers seem to tell stories generally at night
while upper class mothers tell them at other times too. In the Moslem
group no significant difference was found among lower and upper class
parents in relation to time of story telling.

7. Usually upper class mother spend more time with their children.
Among the Greek Orthodox group and this was shown to be statistically
significant at the .001 level. However among the Armenian and Moslem
groups this difference among classes was not found.

8. Almost half of the stories that were reported as being popular among
the Lebanese groups that were interviewed, are stories that are Western or
have been presented by the West.
Chapter VI

Analysis of the Stories in Terms of n Achievement

Now that the factors relevant to story telling have been discussed an equally important factor, that related to the analysis of stories in terms of n Achievement will now be reported. Because of the advantages of the McClelland need achievement scoring system that has already been discussed, the analysis of the stories that were popular will be done in terms of the achievement motivation they contain. But the first point will be to give a complete review of the scoring system that will be used.

1. The scoring system.

McClelland and his co-workers(177) have devised a scoring system which is quite straightforward to use once its principles have been mastered.

The three important categories that exist in this scoring system are the following.

a. "Achievement Imagery (AI)." Score ±1

   This category is the only one which justifies the scoring of stories into the other sub-categories discussed later in this chapter.

   Achievement imagery is scored when stories contain a reference to an achievement goal which is defined as "success in competition with some standard of excellence"(178). It should be made clear

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(177) McClelland et al., op cit, p. 106-138

(178) Ibid, p. 110

- 97 -
however that the story character may fail to achieve this goal, but the mere fact that he is motivated and is trying to achieve some standard of excellence allows one to score the story as achievement motivated. Also in certain stories where this criterion is not explicitly stated, if there is sufficient evidence to be able to infer that competition with a certain standard of excellence is involved again one is justified to score the story as AI.

The feeling that competition with some standard of excellence is involved is shown when the primary concern of the character is winning or doing a task as well or better than another person, or just doing it well.

The three categories of achievement that would be scored as AI are: first, when there is competition with some standard of excellence, second, when the individual is involved in a unique accomplishment and third, when there is long term involvement.

b. "Doubtful Achievement Imagery (TI)." Score 0

Whenever stories contain some reference to achievement but fail to meet the criteria for Achievement Imagery they are scored as "Doubtful Achievement Imagery" and as a result are not scored for all the other sub-categories. The T symbol for doubtful was chosen because in general stories that are scored as doubtful are those where a task is involved the solving of which is routine.

c. "Unrelated Imagery (UI)." Score -1

Stories which do not show any reference to achievement goal are scored UI, and necessarily all the sub-categories are not scored. The main difference between TI and UI is that while TI contains some
reference to a task being involved UI fails to show any reference to achievement.

After these three major categories are decided upon and if the story is scored as Achievement Imagery the following sub-categories should be looked for.

a. "Stated need for achievement (N)". Score +1

This category is scored when in the story one individual states that he wants to achieve a goal. The expression that show that a need exists is when the individual wants, hopes, is determined, or desires to achieve a certain goal. "Need is not inferred from Instrumental Activity"(179). It is scored only when a definite statement about a character being motivated exists.

b. "Instrumental Activity with various outcomes (I+, I?, I-)". Score +1

Instrumental Activity is scored when a character in the story indicates either overtly or mentally that something is being done to attain a certain goal. Depending upon the outcome of this Instrumental Activity the story is scored as I+, I?, I- indicating thus whether the outcome is successful, doubtful or unsuccessful. To score a story as to Instrumental activity "There must be an actual statement of the situation and the final outcome of the story"(180).

c. "Anticipatory Goal States (Ga+, Ga-)". Score +1

Anticipatory Goal states are scored when an individual in the

(179) Ibid, p. 122
(180) Ibid, p. 124
story either anticipates attaining a certain goal successfully (G+) or failing to do so (G-). In successful goal attainment the individual is described as expecting to achieve, dreaming of himself as being able to achieve, etc... As to the negative anticipation of goal the individual is described as concerned over the fact that an invention will not work, expect the worst, or wonder if he will succeed.

d. "Obstacles or blocks (Bp, Bw)." Score +1

Whenever the goal directed activity is blocked, or there are obstacles that have to be overcome in order to attain a goal the story is scored as Bp or Bw. Thus Bp refers to obstacles that are located within the individual such as lack of confidence, inability to make a decision, etc... while Bw refers to some obstacle which is outside the individual that is located in the world at large, that is in the case where the family may be reported as too poor to afford a certain thing, etc...

e. "Nurturant Press (Nup)." Score +1

This refers to forces in the story which will aid a character who is engaged in achieving his goal. In Nup someone is reported as helping, sympathizing, encouraging the person who is striving for achievement.

f. "Affective States (G+, G-)." Score +1

Whenever there are emotional states that are associated with a goal attainment these are scored as G. Thus when one enjoys, is proud, satisfied, etc... of attaining a certain goal G+ is scored, while when one is discouraged, disgusted, mad, etc... of attaining a certain goal G- is scored.
g. "Achievement Thema (Ach. Th.)." Score +1

Whenever Achievement Imagery is elaborated in such a manner that it becomes the central theme of the story Achievement Thema is scored. The decision to be made in this case is whether the whole story is an elaboration of the "achievement behavior sequence".

2. The stories and their n Achievement scores.

Now that a full report of the scoring system has been given, the next step will be to give a summary of each story and its score.

Story 2.

There was a goat who had seven yearlings. A fox living nearby wanted to eat them, but as the yearlings did not let him into the house because his tail looked different from that of their mother the fox had to go to the "hairdresser" who requested a comb, as a result the fox had to go to the grocer, the miller, the brook, the seed, the dog, the "tannour", the forest and the blacksmith before he could get them each what they wanted and have his tail combed. Finally the yearlings opened the door and he ate them all. But when the mother goat came back and saw what had happened she fought with the fox, tore his stomach and the yearlings came out.

The n Achievement score for this story is 5 obtained as is shown in the table below. Similar tables will be presented for subsequent stories that are scored as AI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AI</th>
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<th>Ga+</th>
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*A kind of oven used in the mountains for baking bread.*
Story 7

A small bird pricks a rose who pricks her. The bird cuts the branch and takes it to the baker asking him to keep it for her but the baker burns it, instead she takes a loaf of bread to the butcher who cannot stop a customer from eating it, from the butcher she takes a sheep to a house where a wedding is going on, they cook it and eat it, from there she takes a drum to the house of the bride, they break it, so finally she decides to take the bride but the groom catches her.

They cook her, she sings, they prick her, she sings, they serve her, she sings, they eat her she sings, and finally the next day she comes out singing again.

TI score = 0.

Story 102

A husband and a wife decide that the first one who will speak will dip in the water the dry bread that had accumulated in the house, and eat it. They both sit silently till the wife gets bored and leaves to her mother's house.

Young boys seeing the door of the house open come in, take the husband, seat him on a donkey, take him to town, making a fool of him but he does not utter a word.

Finally as they pass beside the house of his in-laws, the wife sees him, comes and says:
- "What happened to you, are you crazy?"

Only then the husband opens his mouth saying:
- "The dip is on you."
Story 14.

A young girl every day cleaned her house, found a piaster, put it on the window sill and a thief came and stole it. So one day she went to the judge to see what she could do about the thief. He told her to put molasses on the window sill, pins and needles on the walls, sticks on the floor, a donkey behind the door, a snake in the pool and a cock on the lamp.

She did as she was told, and the next day the thief came, dirtied his hands from the molasses, and each of the other things hurt him till finally he looked up and said:
- "My God, what have I done to you" and just then the cock dirtied in his mouth.

TI score = 0

Story 15.

There lived a man who was very lazy. His wife annoyed him so much by telling him, "Go and work", that one day when he saw a lizard in a field he asked him, "Do you want me to plough the field for you?" The lizard who has a habit of nodding his head nodded and the man thinking the lizard said "yes", worked. Each day the lazy man did something till he finished harvesting and asked the lizard, "Will you pay me?" The lizard nodded his head once more.

One day, two days and no pay. So finally the man got mad, hit
the lizard with a stone which instead hit a tree that broke uncovering a treasure. These the man took and ran home to his wife.

TI score = 0

Story 12.

A wolf drank the milk that an old woman had just milked, so the woman cut his tail saying, "Go and get me milk, so I give you your tail back."

The wolf went from cow to tree, from tree to river, from river to children etc... till finally he found food and after satisfying the wishes of all got the milk to the woman who gave him back his tail.

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<tr>
<th>AI</th>
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<th>Ga+</th>
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Story 21. "Pierette et le pot au lait."

A peasant woman while carrying milk on her head to sell it at the market dreamed: "If I sell the milk I will have money to buy this, that and the other." At that moment she stumbled and the jug of milk fell and with it vanished all her dreams. The woman returned home where she expected to be beaten by her husband.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AI</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Ga+</th>
<th>Ga-</th>
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Story 23.

Once there lived a sultan who had a beautiful daughter called Sit Bdour. Finally the sultan found a suitable husband and wedded them. The next day, the bridegroom asked to leave Sit Bdour for at night a monster had appeared to him ordering him not to touch her.

Time passed, and each time that she was wedded, the husband left her the next day with some kind of an excuse, till finally they discovered that she should only be wedded to the Sultan Joseph.

In order to have him, Sit Bdour was supposed to weep for seven years. At the end of the seventh year of weeping she got tired and decided to let her slave weep for her. Then sultan Joseph came and thinking the slave to be Sit Bdour married her.

Sit Bdour after that went to Sultan Joseph night after night when he was asleep and told him her story; till finally he heard her and realized what the truth was and married her.

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Story 24.

An old man seeing a girl who was carrying molasses and "tahine" asked her to throw them and carry him. Next he obliged her to take him to her house, cover him and beat him. At his place the girl found gold.

The neighbour being jealous asked what had happened. Hearing the story, the next day she went out, found an old man in the street, obliged him to be carried to her house, covered him and beat him by
force but when she opened the cover she saw that the poor man had died.

TI score = 0

**Story 36.**

There was once a shepherd who was very mischievous. One day he started shouting, "Wolf, wolf, come for help" all the villagers came and found no wolf. A week later the same thing happened and again the villagers came to help.

Time passed and one day the wolves really came and no matter how much the shepherd shouted no one believed him, nor went to help him and all his sheep were eaten.

UI score = -1

**Story 37.** "Le renard et les raisins".

A fox who was very hungry, saw grapes that looked ripe, but were too high for him to reach. He looked and tried to reach them but could not; so he left saying, "they are sour and only good for stupid people."

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**Story 38.** "Le lièvre et la tortue".

A turtle challenged a rabbit to a race. The rabbit accepted but being sure of himself instead of running first to the goal roamed around eating, sleeping while the turtle was slowly advancing.

When he suddenly realized that she was close to the goal he
ran but it was too late for the turtle reached first.

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**Story 39.** "La tortue et les deux canards."

A turtle bored from staying always in the same hole decided to see the world. Two ducks volunteered to show her the world. They told her, "You will hold the stick with your mouth and we will do the same and fly, only don't open your mouth or else you will fall. The turtle accepted but on the way hearing people say, "come and see the queen of the turtles" she got so mad that she opened her mouth to reply, fell down and died.

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**Story 40.** "Le loup et l'agneau."

A wolf one day was very hungry and was looking for food. He went beside a stream and seeing a lamb said to her, "How dare you trouble this water." The lamb tried to give a reason, but the wolf was so mad that he took the lamb into the forest and ate her.

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Story 41.

A fox smelling cheese went into the forest where he found a crow holding a piece of cheese in her mouth. He paid her a compliment and the crow believing him opened her mouth to sing and the cheese fell down. The fox took it and ate it.

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Story 44. "La cigale et la fourmi."

The cricket having sung all summer went to the house of the ant in winter to ask her for bread because she was hungry and had nothing to eat. The ant however refused to give her anything saying, "You sang all summer then dance now."

TI score = 0

Story 46. "The fisherman and his wife."

A fisherman and his wife live in a small pigstye. One day the fisherman caught a fish who promised him, if he set him free, to give him all he wanted. The fisherman went home and his wife hearing this sent him to ask for a house, next for a castle, after which she wanted to become a king, to become a pope and finally to become the lord of the sun and the moon. The fish hearing this said to the fisherman, "Go home to your pigstye again."

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Story 51. "The man, his son and the donkey."

A man and his son were driving their donkey to town to sell him. On the way people started saying, "Look! they have a donkey and walk." The man sat on the donkey, this time people said, "Look! he is letting his son walk." They both rode the donkey, this time people pitied the donkey, so father and son went down and carried the donkey. People seeing this laughed at them and while passing on a bridge the donkey kicked, broke the rope, fell in the water and drowned. The old man and his son left thinking, "When we try to please everybody we please nobody."

UI score = -1

Story 55. "Snow White."

Snow White was a very kind and beautiful girl. The queen who was jealous of her, ordered a huntsman to kill her. The huntsman took pity on her and left her free in the forest where she went to the house of seven dwarves.

The queen hearing about Snow White being alive went to poison her. Snow White eating the apple presented by the queen died. The dwarves buried her in a glass coffin. A prince seeing her fell in love with her and kissed her. The kiss brought her to life.

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Story 56. "Little Red Ridinghood."

One day the mother of Little Red Ridinghood asked her to take a basket full of food to her grandmother who was ill in bed. Little Red
Ridinghood had accepted, but on her way was diverted by a wolf who ran to the grandmother's house, ate her and slept in her place.

When Little Red Ridinghood arrived at her grandmother's house, she immediately noticed that something abnormal had happened. Still the wolf managed to eat her, but huntsmen arrived, killed the wolf and set them free.

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Story 57. "Ali Baba and the forty thieves."

Ali Baba a wood cutter on his way one day saw a group of people who were standing beside a huge rock. One of them having said "Open Sesame" the rock opened and they all went in.

After they left Ali Baba did the same and saw a lot of gold and jewelry in the cave. He took some and sent home. His brother Casim came to know about the treasure and tried to do the same thing but he was caught and murdered by the thieves.

Ali Baba brought Casim home and got a shoemaker to sew his pieces together and they buried him. When the thieves went back to the cave they found that the body and sacks of gold had disappeared.

They finally found the house of Ali Baba. The next day the thieves hiding in huge oil jars came to the house of Ali Baba but Morgiane the servant, found out that thieves were in the jars and she
managed to kill all the thieves and their chief.

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**Story 58.** "La Belle au Bois Dormant."

At the christening of a princess one of the fairies who had not been invited wished that at fifteen the princess pricks herself with a needle and sleeps for hundred years. The wish came true and together with the princess all the palace went to sleep.

After the hundred years were over, a prince who was passing from there entered the palace out of curiosity and seeing the princess loved her and kissed her. The moment he did so the princess awoke and all the palace too, and the two young people got married.

TI score = 0

**Story 61.** "Cinderella"

Cinderella was a girl who lived with her step-mother and two step-sisters. They used to make her work like a maid and mistreated her a lot. One day the three were invited to a ball at the prince’s palace and while Cinderella was sitting by the ashes a fairy came and produced every necessary thing and sent her to the ball, after having obtained the promise of Cinderella that she will come back at twelve sharp.

While running away to come back, Cinderella lost her slipper.

The next day the prince who was in love with her and had determined to find her sent his minister to try the slipper on the foot of all the ladies of the kingdom. Thus finally found Cinderella and the prince
married her.

UI score = -1

Story 65. "Blue Beard".

One day Blue Beard, a very cruel man, decided to go abroad and
gave all the keys to his wife forbidding her to open one of the rooms.

Out of curiosity his wife opened the room and saw that it was
full of skeletons. In her fright she dropped the keys and while
picking them, stained her finger with blood. When Blue Beard came
back, from the stains he understood that she had disobeyed and decided
to kill her.

Finally the brother of the wife arrived and killed cruel
Blue Beard instead.

TI score = 0.

Story 66. "Le Petit Poucet."

Petit Poucet was the youngest of seven boys. As they were very
poor the father decided to lose them in the forest so as not to see them
dying from hunger. The brothers reached the house of an ogre who
decided to eat them, but while he was asleep Petit Poucet took the
ogre's boots off, wore them, ran into the house of the ogre, gathered
the treasures and took his brothers home where they were welcome and
they lived happily.

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Story 70. "Le Chat Botte."

A cat told his master, "Give me a pair of boots and I will make you rich." The master accepted and one day while the king and the princess were driving in the fields, the cat asked his master to make believe he was drowning.

Once they attracted the attention of the royal family who helped the man, the cat ran to the house of a very rich ogre and there managed to eat him, so when the carriage of the king arrived to the house of the ogre, he welcomed them saying that it was the house of his master. The king was so pleased that he gave his daughter to marry to the master of the cat.

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Story 76.

There was a man who always put water in the milk before selling it to his customers as pure milk. His children always tried to dissuade him to do that but he did not listen to them. One day as he was passing near a bridge the cow fell and drowned in the river. This is what happens to people who cheat others.

TI score = 0.

Story 86.

A chicken decided to grow wheat so there would be enough food for all the animals of the farm. She asked the cooperation of the donkey, duck, cow and all refused to help her.
Finally she cooked bread and all of the animals came to share it with her but she refused and gave them nothing.

Story 89.

A couple had seven daughters. One night when husband and wife were cooking some sweets for the next day, one of the daughters woke up, ate some sweets, and woke her sisters who did the same till finally no sweets were left. The next day the parents were so angry that they threw the girls in a well.

The youngest survived and worked as a gardener in a house. One day she decided to go to the ball at the palace and borrowed everything from the family where she worked. When the prince saw her he fell in love with her and asked her to marry him.

UI score = -1.

Story 98.

One day a poor boy brought back an egg to his mother. The mother was very pleased and encouraged him to steal. So the boy started to steal bigger and bigger things till one day he was caught. Before they executed him he asked the king if he could see his mother for the last time.

They brought him his mother. He asked her to put her tongue out and bit it. When the king demanded explanation the thief said,
"I was young and she encouraged me to steal, she praised me each time I took something home." The king hearing this ordered the mother to be executed and the son to be set free.

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**Story 100.** "La Cigogne et le Loup".

One day a wolf invited a stork for lunch and being sly put her food in a plate. The bird tried and tried but could not eat a thing with her beak.

Sometime later she invited the wolf and after preparing a delicious meal put it in a vase with a long opening. The wolf came very hungry but was unable to eat anything and went back home. He was caught at his own play.

UI score = -1

**Story 106.**

A young boy after having noticed that his grandmother was made to eat in a wooden plate, started to carve one himself. His father having noticed, asked the reason for this, and the son answered, "I am preparing a plate so you and mother can eat in it when you grow old." Hearing this husband and wife repented and accepted the old woman at the table with them again.

TI score = 0.

**Story 107.**

Jiha before going to town to sell his donkeys counted them
and found they were twelve. He rode on one, and on the way counted them again, this time finding eleven. He went down to make sure and found they were twelve.

A friend passing asked him, "What is the trouble?" Jiha told him the story, and the friend said, "You ass, did you count yourself in, when you were sitting on one or did you forget."

UI score = -1.

Story 110.

A stepmother was so jealous that she killed the son of her husband. His half sister was so sad that she gathered the bones and stayed awake all night crying on them.

To her amazement the next day the boy's bones had become a cock who every time gave her candies. The stepmother was so jealous that she wanted to get candies too but the moment the cock opened his mouth a snake came out and bit the stepmother.

UI score = -1.

Story 116.

A woman had two daughters. One pretty and one ugly. She disliked the ugly one so much that she asked her to go and get strawberries in the middle of winter. The girl went and in the woods found a house of dwarves. There she shared her lunch and while going out found strawberries under the snow and came home beautiful and gold pouring out of her mouth each time she opened it.

The mother jealous, sent her beautiful daughter who also ended in the house of the dwarves. But she behaved so rudely that they wished her to become ugly and spit frogs each time she opened her mouth.
This shows that good deeds are worth gold.

TI score = 0.

**Story 122.**

A woman disliked her old father-in-law so much that she made her husband put him at the door of the mosque to do away with him. Time passed and the man's son married and his wife told him, "Put your father at the door of the mosque."

On the way the son heard his father saying, "As I did to my father you are doing to me." The son asked for the story and hearing it returned his father home saying to his wife, "He will stay if you want, you can leave."

TI score = 0.

**Story 130.**

Fatmeh was a child who loved to play with matches. Her mother forbade her to do so. One day when the mother was out Fatmeh ran to the kitchen and started playing with the matches till she finally burned and when the mother came home she just found a heap of ashes.

UI score = -1.

Table 12 shows the scores obtained by each of the popular stories. These stories have been scored twice by the writer with a correlation of .94 between the two scorings and once by another person whose scores correlated .93 with the first person's scores.

The reasons why stories number 69, 72 and 94 have not been scored are as follows: Story 69 "Bri el Zeit" is not exactly a story, but the repetition of the same sentence over and over again no matter what the reaction of the hearer may be. This cannot be analyzed in terms of n
Table 12. n Achievement scores of the popular stories. A summary.

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achievement and has therefore been left out although a great majority of the parents knew it and told it.

Story 72 was related to religious stories. As there is a large variety of religious stories, and no specific information as to which religious stories are told, was obtained it was decided not to include any of them.

A point which might partly justify this omission is that religious stories were brought in by missionaries and therefore may tell more about the achievement motivation of these, than the achievement motivation of the people who retell them, because it would be unusual to reproduce differently one of the religious stories so that it would satisfy the needs of the particular person or community who retell them.

As to story 94 it was found by the interviewer that what was thought to be the name of one story namely "Shater Hassan" was actually the name of a series of stories. The interviewer collected three of these stories but is quite sure that many more should exist. Because of this it was decided not to include any of the "Shater Hassan" stories, which may in a further investigation be better dealt with.

3. Scores of the different groups in terms of n Achievement.

Now that each story has been scored in terms of n Achievement, the next step is to calculate the mean achievement of each class within each group in order to find out the class and group difference as to n achievement motivation, if any.

Table 13 shows the total n achievement score of each family within each social class of each group. In order to compute the means and standard deviations of the groups and social classes the Greek Orthodox
Table 13. Achievement score of the Moslem, Greek Orthodox and Armenian upper and lower classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Score Moslem UC</th>
<th>Score Moslem IC</th>
<th>Score Ash. UC</th>
<th>Score Ash. IC</th>
<th>Score Mtbe. UC</th>
<th>Score Mtbe. IC</th>
<th>Score Arm Greg.</th>
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groups of Ashrafieh and Moussaitbe will be treated together as one group.

From table 14 we can see that the means of the total Moslem 22.35 and Greek Orthodox 22.44 groups are almost equal while that of the total Armenian group 18.16 which is only made up of the upper class (since the lower class did not report telling any of the "popular" stories) is slightly less. Within each of the Moslem and Greek Orthodox the upper class means for score on n Achievement is higher than the lower class mean. This is also true for the total upper class mean 23.92 to the total lower class mean 17.52.

In order to find out whether these differences are significant the t test was computed for religion, class and, class and religion. These appear in table 15.

From table 15 we can conclude the following points.

1. There is no significant difference between the total Moslem group and the total Greek Orthodox group in n achievement as obtained from the analysis of the stories.

2. There is no significant difference among the total Moslem and the upper class Armenians in n achievement.

3. There is no significant difference among the total Greek Orthodox and the upper class Armenians in n achievement.

4. There is a significant difference among the total upper class families and the total lower class families. This difference can be accepted at the .02 level of confidence; one is therefore justified in saying that the upper class families tell their children stories which show more n achievement than the lower class families.

5. There is no significant difference among the upper class and lower
Table 14: Mean and standard deviations of the different groups and the different classes

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<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
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<td>Total Moslem</td>
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<td>22.35</td>
<td>11.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total G - O</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.34</td>
<td>12.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm. UC</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18.16</td>
<td>10.55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moslem UC</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24.67</td>
<td>13.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moslem LC</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20.36</td>
<td>8.80</td>
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<tr>
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<td>28</td>
<td>27.50</td>
<td>11.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total UC</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>23.92</td>
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<td>Total LC</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17.52</td>
<td>10.58</td>
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</table>

Table 15: t test results for the combined groups of religion, class and, class and religion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison</th>
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<th>Significance</th>
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<tr>
<td>Moslem - G-O</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>N. S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moslem - Arm</td>
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<td>N. S.</td>
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<td>G-O - Arm</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>N. S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total UC - Total LC</td>
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<td>.02</td>
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<td>Moslem UC - LC</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>N. S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>G-O - UC-LC</td>
<td>3.49</td>
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class Moslem families as to n achievement obtained from the stories.

(6) There is a significant difference among the upper class and lower class Greek Orthodox families in n achievement. This difference can be accepted with a high (.001) degree of confidence and it can be concluded that the upper class Greek Orthodox families tell their children stories that contain higher n achievement than lower class families.

4. Interpretation of n Achievement scores in terms of child rearing practices.

As has already been reported in chapter three and will be more fully discussed here n Achievement scores were found to have important implications insofar as child rearing practices are concerned. McClelland(181) in his report on social consequences of achievement motivation reports the following points.

(1) He says that "recent studies of human motivation have demonstrated again and again that knowledge about one particular kind of motivation will enable us to predict varieties of behavior that we could not predict from knowledge of other motives."(182) Therefore he concludes that one should be careful about the type of motivation he is measuring because, according to it, the consequences related to human behavior and society will differ.


(182) Ibid, p. 42
(2) He reports a study by Winterbottom\(^{(183)}\) where it was found that sons who showed high achievement scores had mothers who expected them to do well when they were young. This conclusion is related to motivation to do well in sports or to be self reliant, and not to behavior such as cutting one's food or earning one's own spending money.

It is therefore suggested that rejection is not involved because the mothers showed positive interest in the independence of the child rather than rejection. "Winterbottom established here a link between a socialization practice, namely independence training, and a motive, namely the desire to do well"\(^{(184)}\).

(3) This socialization practice and desire to do well McClelland links to Weber's\(^{(185)}\) description of the Protestant revolt against the Catholic church. He believes that among the Protestant (Lutheran or Calvinist) since the people are allowed to read and interpret the Bible as they wish, it should increase their "need for independence training", because if Protestant parents were to prepare their children so that they rely on themselves in so far as religious matters are concerned they would stress their independence in seeking their "salvation". This leads Weber\(^{(186)}\) to describe the personality type produced by the Protestant Reformation as persons with high

\[^{(183)}\text{Ibid, p. 43}\]
\[^{(184)}\text{Ibid, p. 44}\]
\[^{(185)}\text{Ibid}\]
\[^{(186)}\text{Ibid}\]
achievement motivation and the descriptions he gives are that Protestant working girls seem to work harder and longer and save their money for long range goals, while Protestant entrepreneurs seem to come more often at the top of the business world although they do not have, like the Catholics, the initial advantage of wealth.

The hypothesis here is that Protestantism produces increased stress on independence as a result of which high achievement motivation results producing "vigorous entrepreneurial activity and rapid economic development" (187).

(4) In order to test the hypothesis that arose out of Weber's work in relation to religion and Achievement, McClelland, Rindlisbacher and de Charms (188) conducted an experiment on Protestant, Catholic and Jewish parents, and found significant variations.

From this McClelland concludes that "religion makes a significant difference, the Protestant and Jew favoring early independence and the Irish and Italian Catholics favoring later independence for their children" (189).

As to the influence of the sex of the parent in relation to the age at which self reliance is expected McClelland reports the research of Stodtbeck (190) who found that as one goes up the social scale, the standards of independence and achievement that fathers

(187) Ibid, p. 46
(188) Ibid, p. 48
(189) Ibid
(190) Ibid, p. 50
set for their son is higher.

This factor makes the son develop high achievement motivation, but because his father is so powerful in the family circle he has to be dependent on him. McClelland concludes that this "discrepancy between the father's preaching and practice may introduce a cyclical effect in the transmission of n Achievement from father to son which does not occur when the transition is from mother to son" (191) but he proceeds saying that his finding is not absolutely clear as yet.

In order to establish the hypothesis as to the sex of parent and early independence training as generally true McClelland believes that cross cultural comparisons are necessary.

Finally in relation to the hypothesis as to whether students with high n Achievement are more interested in business occupations than students with low n Achievement, McClelland reports a research on a group of college freshmen who were given the Strong Vocational Interest Blank and also tested for n Achievement. From the results obtained the answers of the top twenty percent in n achievement were compared with those of the bottom twenty percent and it was found that for some occupations consistent and significant differences appeared. These occupations are the following: Stockbroker, office manager, sales manager, buyer of merchandise, real estate salesman and factory manager. But again in relation to these results McClelland says that they leave much to be desired.

(5) Social change may also be due to n Achievement and in relation

(191) Ibid
to this McClelland reports the findings of Mead (192) concerning the Manu tribe which she studied twice with a twenty-five year interval between them. She says that whereas twenty-five years ago they were still scarcely touched by modern civilization now they seem to be living to the standard of Twentieth Century populations. They are concerned about the "best way of rearing children", they have learned how to operate modern machinery and organized a democratic government.

As contrasted to this Mead presents the case of the Usiai who have had the same influences as the Manus but do not show similar rapid modern civilization acceptance. This McClelland explains by the fact that the Manus, as Mead (193) reported in 1930, stressed early independence training of their children.

Although this suggests the hypothesis that modern technological society is greatly aided by the motivational structure McClelland believes that more studies are needed to test its reality.

All these points that McClelland reports as relating to achievement motivation degree to early independence training, but he makes it clear that "The study of human motives in the sense of accurately measuring them with due attention to their differences in kind and their social consequences... is just beginning" (194)

From all this information the most important conclusion that may be arrived at in relation to the child rearing practices

(192) Ibid, p. 58
(193) Ibid, p. 59
(194) Ibid, p. 62
among the Lebanese selected populations is that in general the upper
class families, who show higher n achievement scores, must stress
more early independence training than lower class families, and this
difference among upper class and lower class was found to be
significantly true for the Greek-Orthodox group.

Among the Moslem group however it seems that there is no
difference among the upper and lower classes as to n Achievement;
this may be explained that on the whole the Moslem group upper and
lower classes are conservative and as a result of it would stress
obedience and respect for old age rather than early independence.
An important point to bring out here is that when the total Greek
Orthodox and Moslem groups were compared they did not show any
significant difference.

Because only the upper class Armenians reported to tell
stories it is impossible from the present research to be able to
say whether there would have been any class differences, but one
thing that can be concluded from the difference between the means
is that the mean for the Armenian upper class is almost equal to the
mean of the total lower class (18.6 to 17.52).

From this it can be said that the upper class Armenians do
seem to be less Achievement motivated than the upper class Arabs
and therefore would not be likely to stress early independence
training, but no conclusion concerning the lower class Armenians
can be made.

In order to be sure that these conclusions hold true, the n
Achievement scores should also be related to child rearing practices
and independence training information which is not yet available for the particular groups studied in this research.
Chapter VII

Conclusions and Summary

1. Conclusion of the research findings.

From all the relevant information that was reported concerning the literature related to stories, such as their influence on children's experience, cultural aspects and means of analysing achievement as a result of their content, it can be concluded that stories do form one of the major influences in the experience of young children, and also the content of the "popular" stories can tell something about their achievement motivation and early independence training as a result.

In relation to story telling practices the parents that were interviewed fell into three distinct categories. Those that never told their children any stories, those that told "conventional" stories and finally those that told "original" stories and religious stories.

The important conclusion in relation to the story telling practices is that there is no significant difference in the amount of story telling in the upper and lower classes of the different groups that were interviewed. Therefore whether a child is born in an upper class or a lower class family he has just as many chances of being told stories, and the important experience of being told stories is shared by all Lebanese children whose families were interviewed. This finding, although important, gives rise to two related questions; whether the upper and lower class children hear the same stories, and whether the stories they hear show equal amounts of achievement. These questions will be answered below.

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Since children are told stories it is interesting to know who initiates the story telling sessions, the child or the mother. In general it was found that the child asks for a story and the parent tells him one in 66.67 percent of the cases. On the other hand are those children who ask for a story and do not get one 12.78 percent of the cases interviewed. From the literature related to infant deprivation and lack of "mothering" it has been concluded that rejecting the child does influence his personality development. It may be argued as a result of this that this second group of children are in a way rejected which therefore may have harmful effect on their personality development. Related to this point is the factor of the age at which children are first told stories. The age range where the majority (81%) of the cases fall is between two to four-and-a-half years, which is a reasonable age to expect since children are reported to start mastering complex speech forms at about that age.

When the child asks for a story the person who told it was the next question that was investigated. The results show that within groups there are no class differences and in each case the mothers are reported to tell stories. Between groups only among the Greek Orthodox and the Armenian was there a significant difference (at the .02 level) which allows us to conclude that more often among the Armenians than among the Greek Orthodox group do the mothers tell stories to their children. In relation to this point, the finding that mothers tell their children stories can be explained by the fact that children spend more time with their mothers than with anyone else; therefore it is not astonishing that these would tell them
stories in the majority of the cases. The important point to make in this respect is concerning the upper class mothers who, although in all cases had maids or governesses, reported that they told the stories and not the latter, which means that they do spend time with their children although the general belief is that they leave their children to the maids.

Most children like stories very much and because they cannot find someone to tell them stories all day they can turn to the radio, or read stories if they want to.

As to the question of whether children listen to the children's radio programs, both upper and lower class, Arabs (Moslem and Greek Orthodox) reported that they did to about the same extent. In the case of the Armenians the upper class children were reported to listen to the children's radio programs but not the lower class, a difference that was highly significant statistically.

The reason for these results concerning the radio listening habit can be explained by the fact that most, if not all of the Arab families interviewed had radios, and because the programs are in Arabic it is easy for the children to understand them. The Armenian lower class families on the whole did not have radios so they could not let their children listen to the programs. As to the upper classes, the handicap was not the possession of a radio but the language. Since children's programs are only broadcast regularly in Arabic and French it is practically impossible for children who do not understand easily either of these languages to be interested in the programs.
As to the question of reading habits, the first point that can be concluded is that almost half of the children who do not hear stories read some if they can. The second conclusion is in relation to class differences; thus among the Greek Orthodox and the Armenian groups the upper class children read significantly (.001 level) more than the lower class children, while among the Moslems there is no significant class difference. The reason that may explain the upper and lower class difference of the Christians is that in general the lower class is not wealthy enough so that children do not have the means to buy books or borrow them from libraries, so they have to be content with their school books.

The type of literature that Lebanese children read is, on the whole, books and children's magazines with the difference that Moslems read more Arabic books, Greek Orthodox read more French books and Armenians read more Armenian books.

Children are told stories but at what times are they usually told these stories? Among the lower class Armenian and Greek Orthodox, the results obtained from the statistical analysis are, that at the .05 level of confidence it can be concluded that the lower class mothers tell stories more often at sleep time. This may be explained by the fact that they usually are busy working or out of the home all day, so they only have free time at night. Among the Moslem group this difference was not found. As to upper class parents they tell as many stories at sleep time as at other times during the day.

Parents in general do spend time telling stories to their
children. A related question which was included so that in case they did not tell any stories, one could tell whether this is due to their being rejectant or just because they know no stories or dislike telling them, was whether they spend any time with their children playing or speaking. In relation to this the important difference seems to lie between the upper and lower class Greek Orthodox parents with more upper class spending time with their children than lower class parents (confidence .001 level).

Among the Moslem and Armenian groups this does not seem to be true since no significant differences were found. Because of this non-significant difference it may be concluded that the lower class Greek Orthodox parents may be rejectant since few spend time with their children. This may be shown to be true or may be rejected later if it can be proved that this group has high n Achievement that is - parents stress early independence training.

In relation to children's story preferences this research only allows us to conclude that there are preferences but because this needs a different and complete investigation no further conclusion related to this can be reported here.

The last point that was investigated was in relation to the "popular conventional" stories. From this question the following conclusions have been arrived at. First, almost half of the stories most frequently told to Lebanese children are either Western in origin or have been preserved only by the West and this popularity is in general more true among the upper classes than among the lower classes. This may be due to either or both reasons. Either Lebanese children
through their education have more opportunity to come into contact with Western stories, or Lebanese stories are slowly forgotten because they are not available in the same form as the Western stories.

Some parents reported knowing some stories but not telling them, the reason behind this may be that the parents have forgotten this particular story which was felt to be usually the case, or the child was still young for that particular story in which case he would hear it later on. In only a few cases did the mother report that she knew a story and did not tell it because she thought it would have a harmful effect on the child. For a more comprehensive answer related to this point a different investigation is needed.

A third which appeared from the analysis of the stories this time is in terms of n Achievement scores. Thus although there is no significant difference in n Achievement scores among Moslems, Greek Orthodox and Armenians, there is a significant difference (.02 level) among the total upper class n Achievement and total lower class n Achievement with a difference of 6.40 between the means. This allows us to conclude that upper class parents tell stories that show more n Achievement, as a result of which it may be said that they would also encourage early independence training since this has been found to be the case in studies reported by McClelland.

Another point in relation to this is that among the Moslem upper class to lower class there is no significant difference in n Achievement. This may be explained by the fact that Moslems are more conservative than the Greek Orthodox and therefore would not favor early achievement motivation and as a result early independence training.
The achievement scores also allow us to conclude that the reason why the lower class Greek Orthodox parents did not spend time with their children is not due to the fact that they stress early independence training since it was shown that the upper class had higher achievement scores and still the parents did spend time with their children. Therefore it may be true that the children are rejected by their parents, but this remains doubtful.

From all these findings the major conclusion is that even among some selected Lebanese populations there are differences as to story telling habits and early independence training not only between the groups but also within the groups. These differences in certain cases may be explained by social class differences and in other cases may be due to religious differences.

It would be appropriate to mention here some of the shortcomings of this research and the further possibilities related to this area.

1. A retest concerning the part about the stories known and told, would have allowed a correlation that would show whether the answers obtained were similar the second time the same parents were interviewed. This part has not been done because of the difficulty of interviewing the same parents again and, due to the time such a project would take.

2. In relation to some questions as to preferences concerning stories, and stories read, it would have been more appropriate to ask the children about these and not the parents who could not give definite results.

3. It would have been very interesting if school teachers were also asked about the stories they told in school for more than half of the
time children, after five, spend in schools. The opinion of teachers might have clarified some of the findings.

4. It would be very important for a similar research to be carried in some of the Lebanese villages so as to find the different stories that are told there and to see whether the story telling habits differ.

5. It would have also been interesting to analyse the stories in other ways than n Achievement for different conclusions could have been arrived at such as identification by the child with the characters in the story, the nationalistic aspect if any, etc...

2. Summary.

A review of the literature related to stories shows that they form one of the most important experiences in early childhood, and that their analysis in terms of n Achievement can be related to the early independence training of children. Before starting the research a number of Arab and Armenian stories were collected and a questionnaire was devised. Both of these were first administered as a pretest to eleven parents and the necessary changes were made before the real sample was interviewed.

In all hundred and eighty parents were interviewed, fifty-five Moslem, seventy-five Greek Orthodox and fifty Armenian of both upper and lower classes. These were divided into three categories, those who did not tell stories, those who told "conventional" stories and those who told "original" and religious stories.

Out of the hundred and eighty parents fifty percent reported telling the conventional stories while 27.22 percent reported not telling
any stories. It was found that there is no significant differences among the lower and upper classes as to story telling practices.

Usually the children were reported to ask for a story (66.67 percent of the cases) and adults reported that they told one. Only in 12.78 percent of the cases did the children ask for a story and did not hear one. The usual age range for the first time a story is told is two to four-and-a-half years.

As to the person who tells the stories, in the great majority of the cases for both upper (76%) and lower (71.41%) classes the mother is reported to tell the stories and it was found that no significant difference existed among the two classes.

A question relevant in so far as a different source where from stories can be heard is children's radio program. It was found that in general more than half of both the upper and the lower class children listen to the children's programs and these were proved not to differ significantly. Only the Armenian parents reported that their children did not listen to the radio particularly the lower class where no single report was made as to listening to the radio.

Besides hearing stories children can read some if they wish to. To the question related to the reading habits the Moslem upper and lower class were shown not to differ significantly while the Greek Orthodox and Armenians did differ. There were also language differences involved in the kind of books or magazines read among the three groups.

When are stories told, to this the seventy-five percent of the lower class parents reported at sleep time while the upper class parents reported as many cases at sleep time as at other times.
Besides the story telling sessions the parents were also asked whether they spend any time with their children and the results show that more upper class parents do so significantly more than lower class parents among the Greek Orthodox group, but not among the other two groups.

Children were reported to show preferences regarding types of stories but these were not reported with enough consistency in order to allow conclusions.

Finally parents were asked about the stories they told and out of a list of hundred thirty-one stories forty-one were reported to be "popular". Almost half of these are Western stories.

Out of these forty-one stories thirty-eight were analysed in terms of n Achievement (scoring devised by McClelland) and it was found that the total upper class parents told stories that show significantly (.02 level) higher n achievement scores than total lower class parents. And that no significant difference existed among the groups. The conclusion arrived at from this finding is that upper class parents might start earlier independence training than the lower class parents.
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