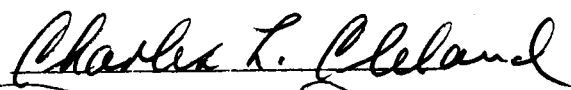


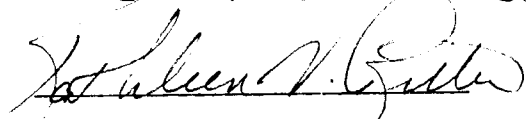
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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Younis Mahmoud Fattah entitled "The Role of Rural Women in Family Decision Making in Iraq." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

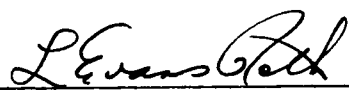

Donald A. Clelland, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance






Accepted for the Council:


Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

THE ROLE OF RURAL WOMEN IN FAMILY
DECISION MAKING IN IRAQ

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Younis Mahmoud Fattah

August 1981

3053632

This dissertation is dedicated to
the spirit of my mother, Aziza Khaleel
Al-Azow, who passed away when I was out-
side of Iraq, struggling to increase my
knowledge.

Mercy from God on her spirit.

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ABSTRACT

Despite the importance of the changing role of women in the modernization of the Middle East, little research has been conducted. The goals of this study were to provide descriptive information on task and decision making patterns within rural Iraqi families and to provide explanations for the variation in the degree to which wives participate in conjugal decision making.

Questionnaires were administered separately to both husbands and wives in 200 randomly selected farm families in Baghdad Province. Nearly 200 items in the questionnaire were used to measure the variables specified in 20 hypotheses. The hypotheses were tested on six distinct types of conjugal decision making as determined by factor analysis: farm, financial, social tie, entertainment, child training, and child-rearing. The method of analysis was multiple regression. Hypotheses were derived from three theoretical perspectives: resource, individual modernism, and task allocation.

The task thesis, that decision making power follows from task allocation, was strongly supported by our findings. In addition, our data indicate considerable diffusion of power to scopes beyond the areas of task allotment. Most especially, in rural Iraq, participation in heavy farm tasks seems to engender decisional participation in nearly all areas of family life.

"Resource theory," the thesis that conjugal power is dependent on resources possessed by spouse or family, received only minimal

support in this research. The production of sons, the maintenance of strong kinship ties by the wife, and the limitation of such ties for the husband were resources which increased the decisional participation of wives. However, the resource variables most often found to be of consequence in previous research had no impact or contradictory effects in rural Iraq. These variables include education, literacy, income, level of living, years of marriage, and absence of young children.

The individual modernism perspective fared somewhat better than the resource perspective when applied to our data. Support for the hypothesis that a modern nuclear family orientation produces greater conjugal participation for the wife was particularly notable. The positive impact of high achievement orientation among wives was also an important finding. Otherwise, however, the impact of modernism factors was scattered and sometimes contradictory. The effects of change orientation and an equalitarian attitude toward women were slight.

Most importantly, the effect of the array of psychological modernism variables is partially offset by the very strong importance of the wife's participation in heavy farm tasks as a source of conjugal power in most areas of family life. Since greater participation in these tasks is largely a consequence of traditionalism, ongoing modernization of rural agriculture may provide forces which limit decision making participation by the wife. Greater participation by the wife in financial tasks is the only task which is positively affected by factors of modernization. Still, on balance, it is

likely that psychological modernism will continue to grow and that it will enhance the position of the women in a rural society which today remains quite patriarchal.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

According to an Iraqi political report (January, 1974:185),

. . . the liberation of the Arab woman and her release from her antiquated economic, social and legal bonds is one of the main aims of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party. For without such a liberation, the Arab woman would not be able to participate fully in society as an economic and legal equal to the man.

Iraqi rural women play an important role in family life through their responsibilities for taking care of, bringing up and preparing the next generation, cooking, and organizing the house. Also, women play an important role in farm work, in raising vegetables and animals alongside their husbands. In spite of this important role, women are held back or ignored. Therefore, the gap between rural men and women is still great. For these reasons, the Iraqi leaders of the Revolutionary Movement of 17-30 July, 1968 and the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party have worked to make changes at the root in the rural areas, changes aimed toward emancipation and equality of women regarding rights, duties, and equal contribution in a desirable socialist society.

The cultural and the economic backwardness of women is considered at the present time a serious obstacle to Arab modernization and renaissance due to the fact that it affects most aspects of life in Arab society. Also, it affects the raising of the second generation and the setting free of the Arab's abilities for excellent work and creation. It is impossible, therefore, to make fundamental changes and

modifications in the Arab society without some progressive changes in the present cultural, economic, and social conditions of the Arab woman.

To have a complete understanding of the woman's role in social and agricultural development, one has to examine her position within the family in rural society. According to various reports related to developing the role of Iraqi women toward modernity, it is necessary to discover the role of rural women in decision making (United Nations Funds-in-Trust, 1975). No one has done such a study in Iraq.

The objectives of this study are to determine patterns of decision making in rural Iraqi families and to explain the bases of variation in these patterns. In accord with the previously quoted statement and the Iraqi political report (Ministry of Planning, 1975), I intend to make a small contribution to the solution of the following problems:

1. The economic emancipation of Iraqi rural women.
2. The social emancipation of Iraqi rural women.
3. The liberation of Iraqi rural women from ancient laws.

Therefore, in this study I will examine ways in which the participation of rural women in decision making helps to liberate them from traditional obstacles. Thus I hope to contribute toward filling the gap between the real situation and the governmental goal of encouraging rural women to participate and accomplish their ambitions. The assumption underlying this proposal is that there is an organic relationship between the emancipation of rural women and the accomplishment of the goal of socialism (Barnoti, 1976).

As a contribution to sociology, the first goal of this study is to provide descriptive data on conjugal decision-making in rural Iraq. There have been few previous studies of the family in Iraq. Few such studies have been conducted in any developing countries. In addition, this study examines various types of conjugal decision making. Few previous studies have closely examined different types of decision making.

A second goal of this research is to explain variation in the relative power of wives (and husbands) in family decision making. By using multivariate analysis we go beyond most previous studies. In general, this study examines the impact of an array of modernization variables on decision making. Among these variables, are a number of measures of individual modernism. We know of no previous study of conjugal decision making which has examined the impact of such variables.

The third purpose of the study is to provide a comparison of responses of husbands and wives concerning family decision making. Explanations based on data derived from each are compared. Once again, such comparisons are rare in the previous literature.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

I. THE TRADITIONAL ARAB FAMILY

Literature on the traditional Arab family and the early impact of modernization is reviewed by Goode (1963) and Patai (1969). The ideal Arab family is described by Goode (1963:123-4) as follows:

Certainly the ideal Arab family was a large extended family under one roof. Ideally there would be no divorce, there might be a second and third wife, and all the wives would have many sons. These sons, in turn, would be married at a relatively early age to fertile women who would produce more sons. The father would continue to supervise the work of the family. The brothers would live in harmony, with some authority given to the eldest son. After the father's death, the eldest brother would continue to handle the family finances, but would deal equitably with all his brothers. If a married sister was divorced or widowed, or had trouble with her inlaws, she might from time to time be found in the household. Ideally, a man became a patriarch in his elder years, full of wisdom and authority; he would be supported by his married sons.

As we have suggested before, however, the facts of fertility, mortality, and finances have prevented all but a few men in most major civilizations from attaining this objective. High fertility societies have also been high mortality societies, so that by the time some children become of marriageable age, others have died. Again in contrast to the ideal, most families have both sons and daughters, and the daughters leave for other households. Most men do not obtain several wives, and the fertility of wives in polygamy is lower than that in monogamy. In any event, it takes great managerial skills to hold together a large menage, so that with increasing number the likelihood of fission, or conflict causing one or more subunits to break off, becomes more likely. Finally, but perhaps of most importance, in most of the great societies of the world, and of course in Arab countries as well, average wealth and income is small. Plots of land are tiny, and physically maintaining a large household in most Arab families has simply never been possible, in the past or in the present.

Traditionally, the whole of women's lives was dominated by a strong "modesty code," supported by both the "great tradition" (Islamic law and Quaranic ethics) and the "little tradition" (village custom and belief) of Middle East culture (Antoun, 1968:671). Wives were subordinate to their husbands and were expected to be quite submissive (Nahas, 1954). They were subject to a strict "virginity-fidelity-son producing ethos" (Keddie and Beck, 1978:25). Failure to produce a son resulted in a loss of status and, usually, to the taking of a second wife by the husband. The father exerted authoritarian control over the children. Sex roles were sharply segregated in all areas of life. The wife was assigned the task of running the house and carrying out secondary farm chores.

The volume of empirical studies of the contemporary family in the Middle East during the past two decades has not matched Goode's (1963) early expectations. Allman (1978:xxxvii), in his review of the literature, notes that the expected "flood of research has turned out to be little more than a 'trickle'." A similar complaint is registered by Keddie (1979) in her review of research on Middle Eastern women.

There have been very few studies of the family in Iraq. Nahas (1956) and Harris (1958) discuss the changing middle class urban family in Iraq. Only one study of the rural Iraqi family which is published in English could be located: Fernea's (1965) ethnography of an Iraqi village. The following section on the role of women in the rural Iraqi family is drawn from government publications and the author's personal knowledge.

II. THE IRAQI CONTEXT

Iraq is an agricultural country. Its area is approximately 43,492,000 hectares, of which approximately 11,760,000 hectares are agricultural and 4,264,000 hectares are pastures.

Agriculture is a major component of Iraq's gross national product. In spite of the growth of industry, it is second only to oil. Agriculture is the source of income for approximately 75 percent of the work force.

It seems reasonable to assume that the traditional role of women has had both positive and negative consequences for agricultural production. Although the Iraqi government has worked to improve the lot of rural Iraqi women, they are still faced with a number of social and psychological obstacles.

To have a complete understanding of the role of the rural Iraqi woman in social and agricultural development, one has to examine her position within the family and in rural society, as well as her role in the process of agricultural production. The following account is based largely on Al-Atia (1977).

The Iraqi rural society is strongly bound by a heritage of tribal ties and customs. Sons are closely tied to the father's family. The woman's side of the family is relatively neglected. As Ibn Khaldoun emphasized, "the tribal spirit" is a major source of unity and solidarity. This spirit is deeply rooted in historic nomadic life in the desert. The nomads were dominated by the fear of invasion by other

tribes. It was common practice for defenseless groups to seek the protection of strong and powerful tribes.

Still today, sons are looked upon as a chain of continuity for the family. On the father's death, the eldest son takes over the family's responsibilities, and other members of the family are bound by custom to follow and obey his directives.

Marriage in rural society takes place at an early age, especially for the females. The married couple follows the directives of the husband's father. It is the husband, not the wife, who is important, as the latter automatically falls under the jurisdiction of the husband and his father, the family head.

Traditionally, the family represents an economic unity in agricultural production. All members of the family participate in the various agricultural processes, e.g. ploughing, planting, and harvesting.

The subordinate role of rural women is the result of several factors. Land ownership is restricted to men, as a father typically permits inheritance of agricultural land to the sons but not to the daughters, in spite of the fact that under Islamic inheritance rules the daughter is allowed to inherit the equivalent of half of a son's inheritance. Economic and social laws have discriminated against women. Land ownership has shaped most of the social relationships in rural Iraq as well as the relationship between the husband and wife. Today, widespread illiteracy helps to sustain tradition. Custom permits the husband to control the wife and to exploit her in agricultural

production, household tasks, and in the production of male children, which is the foremost desire of the husband. The wife has no important role in the economic and social affairs of the family.

Traditionally, marriage in Iraqi rural society is based on the beneficial interests of the larger family, not on the free consent of the conjugal pair. Under the marriage contract, the prospective husband undertakes to furnish the home and a form of dowry is paid to the prospective wife's family (Isabel and Dumoulin, 1972).

Marriage in Iraqi rural society may take several forms. One form is called "the exchange marriage" or "forehead by forehead." One family agrees to provide a female marriage partner to a second family in exchange for a female being provided as a marriage partner for a male in the first family. In this form of marriage no dowry is payable by either side. The present government has recently abolished "exchange marriage."

A second type of marriage in Iraqi rural society sometimes occurs when a family has produced only females and no male. A poor farmer may then marry one of the females without paying any dowry, with the provision that the prospective husband must provide help and labor on the family farm land.

A third type is a love marriage which is based on consent between any male and female--a "modern marriage."

Islamic jurisprudence permits a man to marry up to four women, provided that he maintains equality among them. Having more than one wife is not unusual in Iraqi rural society, although equality does not

necessarily follow. The multi-wife practice provides more labor hands for agricultural production and harvest, as well as a means for filling the idle time of the husband in a rural environment where recreational means are not abundant.

Currently, women comprise approximately 45 percent of the rural labor force. Statistics gathered in 1971 indicate that 94 percent of the female work force in agriculture is not remunerated. The age at which rural women begin work ranges from 7 to 15 (Al-Atia, 1977).

For rural males, work is seasonally concentrated, sometimes for as little as two months. Thus, in contrast to females who are continuously engaged in domestic work, rural males remain idle for most of the year. Yet the labor power demands of harvest require the contribution of women. Still the social status of a woman in rural society does not permit her to enjoy major participation in the process of decision-making as far as agricultural output is concerned. Traditionally, such decision-making is concentrated in the hands of men, since they have the final decision as to the disposal of agricultural products and the utilization of the proceeds of sale.

III. PROGRAMS FOR THE MODERNIZATION OF IRAQI RURAL WOMEN:

A HISTORY OF THE IRAQI RURAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

In order to promote the modernization of rural women, rural social life and agriculture, the Iraqi's government has generated a number of development programs. In 1969, the General Federation of Iraqi Women was established. Since that time, it has expanded into

all the provinces of the country and the number of branches has reached 18. Each branch has a number of sub-branches which are spread in counties and districts according to the area and population of the province.

The Federation's objectives are to change the economic, social, and political situations of women. It has opened literacy centers and provides services to women. On April 22, 1973, the Fourth Conference of the General Federation of Iraqi Women was held under the emblem, "Women's participation in the new society accelerates revolutionary social change." In the following years, the Federation recognized the significance of penetrating to the depths of the rural areas, it emphasized the importance of the participation of the women farmers, and it started cooperative farms. Moreover, in about 1973, the Iraqi Secretariat of Culture and Information was entrusted with a major role in improving the status of women. The various information media, meetings, training courses, and cultural celebrations were used to reach women in urban and rural areas (General Federation, no date).

In 1972, Iraqi Women's Farms were established and organized with the help of the General Federation of Iraqi Women. These farmers are working in three areas. One of them in Al-Shoala holds 831 donum (each donum equals 2,500 square meters). This farm is about 20 miles from Baghdad. Forty-two members operate this project. The second women's farm, Nethal al-Ba'ath, is a collective farm. It is located in Balad which is about 120 miles from Baghdad. It was established in 1972 also. The third farm is the Agricultural Cooperative of Fourteenth

July. It is located in Latefeya, which is about 50 miles from Baghdad. Two hundred and ten members operate this farm in its total area, 8,380 donum.

The purpose of the three farms is to promote confidence among rural women in their ability to farm as well as men. The farms also promote informal agricultural and home economics education for rural women (Barnoti, 1974).

In 1968 a new specialist department was established to provide extension services for rural women as a branch of the General Directorate of Agricultural Extension-Ministry of Agricultural and Agrarian Reform. In 1972 women who graduated from the College of Agriculture at Baghdad were appointed to work in that department. These women were trained in such areas as health and agriculture as well as in social, cultural, and organizational issues (the greater emphasis was on skills in planning and organizing programs).

Three villages were selected--Abu Ghraib, Fourteenth of July Project, and Al-mada'en--for the establishment of Rural Women's Extension Centers. A survey was carried out to identify emergent problems of rural women as a basis for planning. After analyzing the information that was gathered from the field survey of these villages, it was decided that a number of graduates of the home economics school should be appointed as Social Agents in order to train and educate rural women. Because of traditional restrictions, male County Agents had little contact with rural women.

Eventually, 219 Rural Women's Extension Centers were established

throughout Iraq (Noaman and Husan, 1977). New staff positions were added to these centers.

One such position is the female Agricultural Engineer, whose job is to educate rural women about agriculture and to provide training about how to use modern agricultural techniques. The number of Agricultural Engineers is one for each two to three centers.

In addition, female Sociological Researchers were appointed. Their function is to conduct research which generates economic and social development. In general, their duties are to promote agricultural and social modernization. There is one Sociological Researcher for each two to three centers.

A fourth position is the Literacy Teacher, whose responsibility is to teach rural women how to read and write and to increase general knowledge of modern life. These teachers are provided with simple buildings which are located in the villages.

IV. MODERNIZATION AND THE FAMILY ROLE OF RURAL IRAQI WOMEN

Certainly, one of the goals of rural development programs sponsored by the Iraqi government has been the emancipation of women. Among sociologists, it is generally accepted that in the Middle East, as elsewhere, modernization is accompanied by the gradual emancipation of women, the decline of the extended family, and the erosion of patriarchal control (Nahas, 1954; Goode, 1963; Prothro and Diab, 1974). It should be noted, however, that this supposition is not universally accepted. Bossen (1975) and Keddie and Beck (1978) indicate that the

relationship between modernization and the liberation of women is not a simple one. Certain aspects of modernization strengthen some types of the control of women, at least temporarily. One goal of this research is to empirically examine the impact of modernization on rural women's roles within the family, specifically their power in family decision making.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I. RESEARCH ON CONJUGAL DECISION MAKING

Although theories concerning families have always recognized the importance of the authority dimension, a sharp theoretical and empirical focus on power within the family did not emerge until the work of Herbst (1952, 1954). Research by Blood and Wolfe (1960) initiated a new research paradigm in family studies, that of conjugal decision making. Subsequently, this research has multiplied. For reviews of this literature the reader is referred to Scanzoni (1979) and to Cromwell and Olson (1975). Most of the numerous studies have been conducted in the United States. Few have been carried out in developing countries. Examples of the latter are Cromwell et al., (1973) (Mexico), Hawkes and Taylor (1975) (Mexico), Mack (1978) (Nigeria). The only study of conjugal decision making in the Middle East was conducted in urban Turkey (Fox, 1973). Because this study emphasizes the impact of differential resources (educational level and occupational skills), it has little bearing on the study of rural Iraqi families, which have minimal variation in such resources.

Despite the proliferation of studies of conjugal decision making, most have focused on a small number of independent variables. The emphasis has been placed on differential resources (occupational prestige and income, education, wife's employment, stage in the life

cycle). The use of these variables has resulted in what has been called "resource theory." Most American studies indicate that higher resources enhance the husband's power; likewise, greater resources in the hands of the wife increase her power. But most studies in developing countries (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967; Buric and Zecevic, 1967; Fox, 1973; Cromwell, et al., 1973) indicate a negative relationship between male resources and decision making power. Rodman (1972) suggests that the latter results are to be expected in systems of "modified patriarchy" but not in strong patriarchal systems, in which differential resources may be expected to have little consequence. Since rural Iraq may be described as in a stage of transition to modified patriarchy, it is reasonable to propose that a moderate negative relationship between resources and husband's power may be found.

Few studies of conjugal power have used social-psychological variables. Centers et al. (1971), have demonstrated the importance of authoritarianism and suggest the examination of other social-psychological variables. Perhaps the most obviously relevant attitudinal variables for our purposes are varieties of psychological modernity. Although individual modernism is a widely researched (Kahl, 1968; Suzman, 1973; Jukeles and Smith, 1974; Inkeles, 1976), if controversial (Armor and Schnaiberg, 1972; Rau, 1980) topic in studies of developing countries, none of the research on conjugal decision making has examined the impact of these variables. One of the purposes of this study is to examine the impact of an array of psychological modernity factors on conjugal power.

II. GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

As Scanzoni (1979:302) indicates in his review of the literature, multivariate analyses of conjugal decision making are quite rare. Fox's (1973) use of multiple classification analysis is one of the rare exceptions. The major goal of this research is to provide multivariate analysis of the sources of variation in rural Iraqi conjugal decision making, drawing upon the accumulated body of research for the identification of relevant structural and psychological variables.

This research also is intended as a contribution to general knowledge of family decision making patterns in two additional areas. First, although even the earliest studies (Blood and Wolfe, 1960) show wide differences in the level of the wife's participation in decision making across different issues, few studies have carefully analyzed decision making by type of issue. Rather than attempting to explain the variation in generalized conjugal power, in this study, we examine the sources of conjugal power across a variety of power "scopes" (Dahl, 1960), drawing particularly on the work of Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1968). Other studies which indicate considerable variation in the concentration or sharing of power by issue-area include Burchinal and Bander (1965), Centers et al. (1971), Kandel and Lesser (1972), Fox (1973), Cromwell et al. (1973), Hawkes and Taylor (1975), Cromwell and Cromwell (1978).

Second, although even some of the earliest studies (Kenkel and Hoffman, 1956; Heer, 1962) reported discrepancies in husbands' and

wives' reports on decision making, few studies have rigorously analyzed these differences. This problem may be particularly acute in developing countries (Cromwell et al., 1973; Mack, 1978). Thus, in this study, the analysis is based on independent reports of husbands and wives.

CHAPTER IV

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

I. THE THEORETICAL MODEL

Previous literature on family decision making has placed only limited attention on explaining variation within samples. The explanatory variables which have been developed include social status, rural-urban, ethnicity, age, stage in life cycle, authoritarianism, and national culture (Centers et al., 1971), and very few others. This research is based on a theoretical model of conjugal decision making which incorporates the relevant hypotheses and variables from previous studies and an array of hypotheses drawn from psychological modernization theories.

A. The Dependent Variables

Beginning with Blood (1958), Wolfe (1959), and Blood and Wolfe (1960) conjugal power was conceived as measurable by perceptions of who makes decisions in various aspects of family life or who ought to make such decisions. It must be noted that subsequent research has cast doubt on the validity of these measures when compared with actual behavior (cf. Olson and Cromwell, 1975; Scanzoni, 1979). Nevertheless, variants of these measures will be used in this research because of the difficulty of obtaining behavioral measures. However, it is doubtful that such reports of decision making should be regarded as strong

indicators of "power" if the latter is defined as the ability to carry out one's will even against the opposition of others (Weber, 1946). Reports on decisions do not clearly indicate whose will is dominating the outcome. But reports on decisions can still be viewed as rough indicators of the degree of equality between husband and wife. The dependent variables in this research are measures of the degree of the wife's participation in conjugal decision making. It is assumed that greater participation by women is an indicator of increasing emancipation from the bonds of patriarchy. Although we will at times refer to conjugal "power," it should be kept in mind that we are not using the term in its precise sense. And although we will at times refer to "family" decision making, it should be kept in mind that the referents are decisions made within the context of the nuclear household by the husband, the wife, or in combination, that is "conjugal" decisions.

Previous research clearly and consistently indicates that conjugal decision making is multidimensional. But the various dimensions have rarely been statistically determined. And the various dimensions have rarely been subject to separate rigorous explanatory analysis. An exception to both of these comments is the research of Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1968). Following this work and other literature, this study examines six types of conjugal decision making: farm operation; household maintenance; child rearing; finances; entertainment; and social relationships.

B. The Independent Variables

As indicated in the review of previous literature, the most common theoretical orientation underlying studies of conjugal decision making is "resource theory." This theory simply states that the relative power of a spouse is dependent on resources. In the Iraqi context, "modern" resources which may be expected to enhance the position of the wife are literacy, years of schooling, monogamous marriage, a "love marriage" rather than an arranged marriage, and knowledge of the larger world through mass media or organizational participation. In the context of the Middle East, we expect that the possession of such resources by the husband will result in greater inclusion of the wife in conjugal decision making (cf. Rodman, 1972). We also propose that greater family resources, income, and relative affluence will stimulate greater participation by the wife. "Traditional" resources which may be expected to enhance the position of the wife include extended family ties, years of marriage, number of children, male children, and lack of the restrictions of young children. Such traditional factors as extended family ties, many wives, arranged marriages, and traditional types of farming should serve to strengthen the dominance of the husband.

A variant of resource theory might be labeled "task theory," the proposition that whoever carries out a task is likely to make decisions in the task area (Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1968). The appropriate task areas which have been included in the model are farm chores, household maintenance, family finances, and child rearing.

As indicated in previous studies, possession of resources has different consequences in Western and developing societies. A theory of modernization is implicit in interpretations of these differences. The theory holds that in developing countries, increased resources in the hands of the husband will benefit the wife. The hypothetical reason for this development is that such resources help generate psychological modernism (Inkeles and Smith, 1974), which incorporates a positive orientation toward greater equality for women. Presumably, such modern orientations are a functional adaptation to the requirements of development, including an expanding use of female labor power in the society at large, if not on the farm.

Since greater participation of the wife in conjugal decision making may be regarded as an aspect of modernization, behavioral and attitudinal components of individual modernity may be viewed as underlying factors which positively affect the more specific component of decision making. Such hypotheses have not been tested in previous research. From theory and research which have examined the dimensions of individual modernity (Stephenson, 1968; Schnaiburg, 1970; Armer and Youtz, 1971; Portes, 1973; Inkeles and Smith, 1974), we selected a set of factors which appear to be empirically distinct. The dimensions selected were those that logically seemed to be most closely connected to conjugal equality. The individual modernism components of our theoretical model which should have a positive effect on the wife's power include: a desire for independence from the extended family; a modern orientation toward the nuclear family; positive orientations

toward achievement, women's equality and change; and weak adherence to traditional religious values. These factors are viewed as underlying values. In addition, we included in our model a set of more specific psychological modernism variables, relative aspirations for farm improvement, community participation, and child development.

As shown in Figure 1, our theoretical model contains a wide array of predictors. These variables are arranged in stages, moving from left to right. The presence of each variable in the model implies a hypothetical direct effect on conjugal decision making. Except where indicated, the model projects a positive impact of a high score for a variable on the relative power of the wife. These hypotheses will be presented and discussed in the next section. A large number of indirect effects are also implied, only a few of which will be mentioned in the following section.

As a whole, the model may be viewed as a systematic approach to the impact of modernity on the conjugal decision making power of Iraqi rural women. Most of the resource variables are incorporated into the larger modernity paradigm. However, the model includes a number of contradictory components. Only one of the family tasks, financial chores, fits the modernity schema. In the case of farm chores, household maintenance, and child rearing, modernization should reduce the relative contribution of the wife and thus the power of the wife. Another set of contradictory components are those traditional resources which should increase the power of the wife, viz., strong family ties, and the production of a large number of children, especially males.

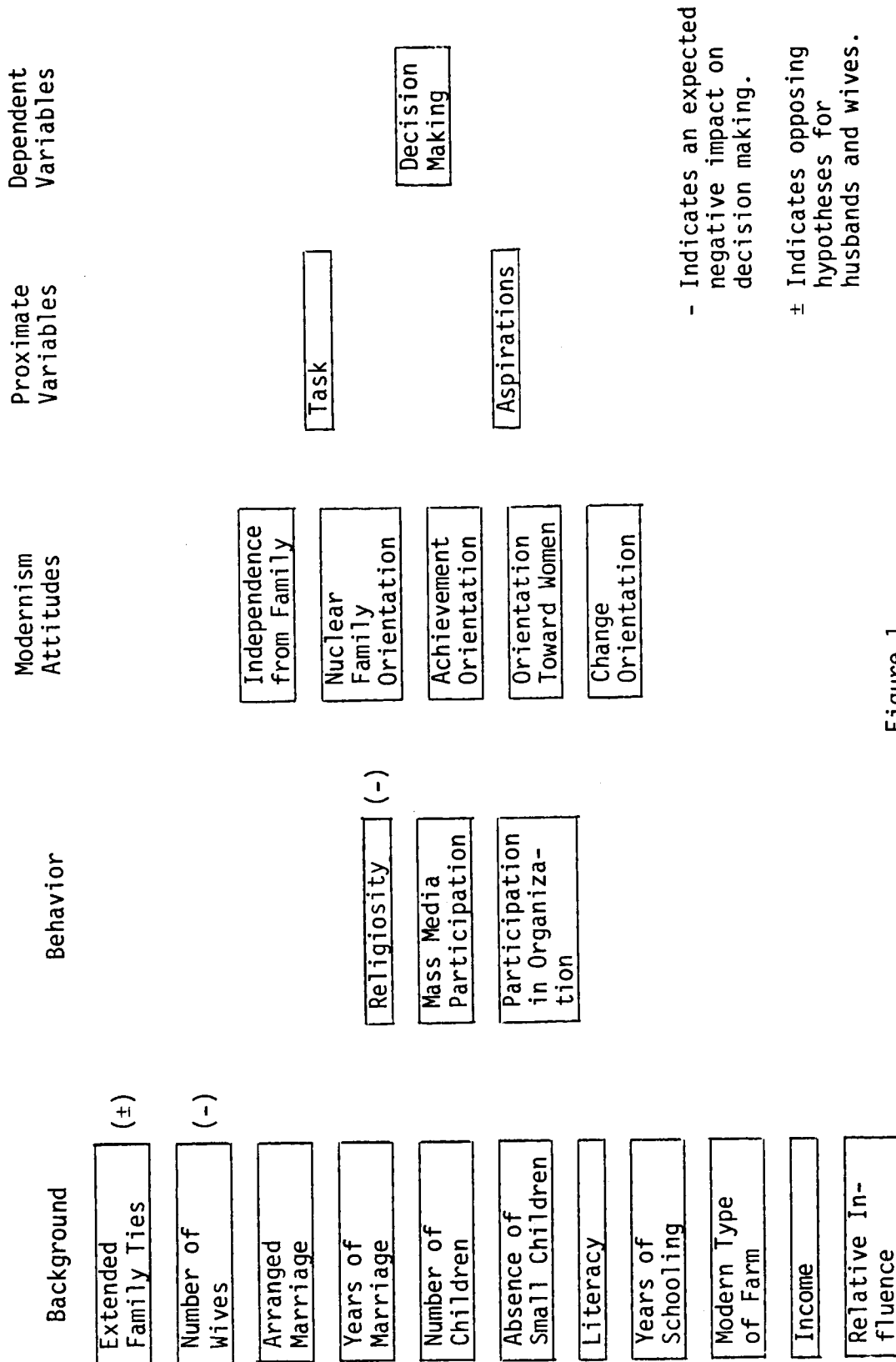


Figure 1

Explanatory Model of Family Decision Making in Rural Iraq

II. THE HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

In this section, I spell out the hypothetical impact of the variables in the model. With the exception of task involvement and aspirations, the impact may be partially or wholly mediated by other variables. If a hypothesis has been tested in previous research, I will discuss the findings after the statement of the hypothesis.

A. Resource Hypotheses

1. The greater the years of schooling (husband or wife), the greater the decision making participation of the wife.

2. Literacy (of husband or wife) is associated with greater decision making participation by the wife.

Research in developing countries provides support for the first hypothesis (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967; Fox, 1973). These findings are contrary to studies in the United States and France which indicate a negative or zero relationship (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1967; Centers et al., 1971; Reed and Knipers, 1976; Safilios-Rothschild, 1967; Michel, 1967).

3. The higher the family income, the greater the participation of the wife in decision making.

4. The higher the level of living of the family, the greater the participation of the wife in decision making.

Once again studies in developing countries provide support for the third hypothesis (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967; Cromwell et al., 1973) and studies in developed nations show no support (Wilkening and

Bharadwaj, 1967; Safilios-Rothschild, 1967; Reed and Knipers, 1976). Research on farm families in the United States shows a negative relationship between level of living and decision making participation by the wife (Wilkening, 1958).

5. The greater the number of years of marriage, the greater the decision making participation of the wife.

6. The greater the number of children, the greater the decision making power of the wife.

7. Presence of young children generally is a source of lower decision making participation of the wife (but is a source of greater participation in child rearing decisions).

All three of these hypotheses are supported by Safilios-Rothschild's (1967) Greek data. Only hypothesis 7 is sustained by United States studies (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Hill, 1965). In developed countries, more children results in less power for the wife (Heer, 1958; Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Michel, 1967; Centers et al., 1971). For the United States, Blood and Wolfe's (1960) research supports hypothesis 6, but subsequent studies do not (Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1967; Centers et al., 1971).

8a. The greater the extended family ties of the husband, the lower the decision making participation of the wife.

8b. The greater the extended family ties of the wife, the higher the decision making participation of the wife.

9. Arranged marriage is a source of lower decision making participation of the wife.

10. Modern forms of farming are sources of greater decision making participation by the wife.

11. The greater the religiosity, the lower the participation of the wife in decision making.

12. The greater the mass media participation, the greater the decision making participation of the wife.

13. The higher the participation in organizations, the higher the decision making participation of the wife.

Hypotheses 8 through 13 are logical extensions of resource theory in a traditional setting undergoing modernization. With the exception of hypothesis 13, they have not been tested in previous research. Wilkening (1968) provides some evidence that, among American farm families, organizational participation by the wife is associated with greater participation in decisions on entertainment but that greater organizational participation by the husband is associated with lesser participation by the wife in farming decisions.

B. Modernism Hypotheses

14. The greater the desire for independence from the extended family, the greater the decision making participation of the wife.

15. The more modern the nuclear family orientation, the higher the participation of the wife in decision making.

16. The higher the orientation toward equality for women, the higher the participation of the wife in decision making.

17. The greater the orientation to change, the greater the decision making participation of the wife.

18. The greater the achievement orientation, the greater the decision making participation of the wife.

19. High aspirations of particular types are associated with high participation of the wife in decision making in the areas of concern.

Hypotheses 14 through 19 represent tests of the impact of psychological modernism in conjugal decision making. It is expected that the impact of many variables in the previously listed resource hypotheses will be mediated through the modernization hypotheses. With few exceptions these hypotheses have not been previously tested. The finding of Centers et al. (1971) that authoritarianism diminishes the power of the wife is in line with hypothesis 16.

Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1967) tested the hypotheses that particular types of aspiration are associated with decision making power in related areas. They found only minimal support for these hypotheses. But they also found limited variation on the independent variables. If there is more variation on these variables among rural Iraqi families, the variables are likely to have some predictive power.

C. Task Hypotheses

20. The greater the particular task involvement of the wife, the greater the decision making participation of the wife in these areas.

Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1967) tested the hypotheses that participation in particular tasks by farm wives is associated with particular types of decision making power on the simple assumption that power follows function. Their data partially supported these hypotheses.

CHAPTER V

METHODS

In order to test the hypotheses presented in the previous chapter, a questionnaire was constructed. This instrument was used in a survey of Iraq's rural farm families.

I. CONSTRUCTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The variables used in this research are similar to those used in a wide variety of related studies. Most of these variables have been operationalized in previous survey research. The questions that were used to "tap" the conceptual variables are listed in the Appendix. The majority of these questions were slight revisions of those used in previous research. Revisions were made to clarify, simplify, and/or make the questions more applicable to the rural Iraqi context. Further revisions were made in the translation to Arabic.

The questionnaire contained measures of six types of family decision making: farm business/operation; household maintenance; child rearing; finances; entertainment; and social relationships. Most of the items used to measure the dependent variables are based on questions used by Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1965), Reed and Kuipers (1976), Firebaugh (1972), Cromwell et al. (1973), Cromwell and Cromwell (1978), Burchinal and Bauder (1965), Safilios-Rothschild (1967). The first four types of decisions are paralleled by measures of similar

types of tasks. Many of the task-involvement measures are drawn from Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1965) and Burchinal and Bauder (1965). Questions on four kinds of family aspirations (farm improvement, community participation, child development, and leisure) were largely derived from the former.

The questions used to measure individual modernity were inspired by those used by Portes (1973), Schnaiburg (1970), Armer and Youtz (1971), and Stephenson (1968) and Mack (1978). The questions are meant to measure nine dimensions of modernism. Extended family ties, religiosity, mass media participation, and organizational participation are measured by reported behavior. Orientations toward the extended family, the nuclear family, change, achievement, and women were measured by attitudinal items. The remaining variables, background or structural variables, were measured mostly by single-item, direct questions.

The traditional response patterns in family decision making research have been on a five-point continuum, including: (1) "only the husband," (2) "husband more than wife," (3) "husband and wife exactly the same," (4) "wife more than husband," and (5) "only the wife." This set of responses was developed for self-administered questionnaires. This set of responses would be cumbersome for an interviewer-administered questionnaire. As suggested by some previous research on developing countries (Cromwell et al., 1973), only three response categories were used in this research: (1) "mostly the husband," (2) "both husband and wife," or (3) "mostly the wife." Additional responses,

"other" or "not applicable," were accepted and noted by the interviewer. Similarly, the traditional five-point Likert-type responses on many items were replaced by a simple Agree/Disagree format.

II. THE SAMPLE

The sites of this study were the Rural Women's Extension Center (RWECC) around Baghdad, Iraq. The total number of these centers was 33 at the time when the data were collected, in July and August, 1979. A list of all RWECCs was obtained, and a number was assigned to each of them. Twenty-five centers were selected by using the table of random numbers. Eight families were selected from each center by using the table of random numbers. Females without husbands were eliminated, and each family was assigned an identification number. Each questionnaire was given an identification number for the center and for the family. The total number sampled was 439 (200 husbands, 200 first wives, 37 second wives, and 2 third wives).

III. DATA COLLECTION

The author obtained the consent of the head of the State Organization for Farmer Extension and Cultivation to do this study. A meeting for the women who are responsible for most of the RWECCs was held at Baghdad Province for Farmer Extension and Cultivation. After they finished the meeting, the author explained his questionnaire and conducted one interview as an example. The women were instructed to conduct separate interviews of husbands and wives at their location.

Since some interviewers were not in attendance at the meeting, the author went to the various offices, conducted a sample interview, and gave further instructions to the interviewers. Then the author sequentially visited each center to insure that the interviewers in each center were conducting the research in the proper manner.

The plan of the research was to interview the wives first at each center, then the husbands at different locations. Some families contained more than one wife, in which case, all were interviewed. All of the wives were interviewed by a female researcher. Because most of the researchers who work with RWECS are female, the interviews with the husbands were done by women, except for one center in which the interviewing was done by a male.

The following statement was read to each respondent at the beginning of the administration of the questionnaire:

The government of Iraq wishes to obtain some information about the daily life of farm families. We want to ask you some questions about your family life. Your replies will be confidential, that is, no one will be able to discover the particular answers of particular people. You are free to refuse to answer any particular question or to withdraw from the questioning at any time.

This statement indicates our use of governmental influence to facilitate gathering the data.

CHAPTER VI

DESCRIPTIVE DATA

In view of the paucity of studies of rural Iraqi families and rural families in the Middle East in general, one of the purposes of this research was to gather basic information. Before testing the hypotheses on conjugal decision making, we will present descriptive data on some background characteristics of the sample, family ties and attitudes, social participation, psychological modernity, the division of labor within the family, and conjugal decision making patterns.

I. BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Farming in Iraq is highly socialized. Seventy-seven percent of the sampled families work on cooperative farms, an additional 6 percent on collective farms, and only 17 percent own their own farms. For the majority (61 percent) the primary crop is vegetables. Grain production, usually requiring more modern agricultural techniques, is the major activity of 27 percent of the sample.

The respondents were not uniformly parochial in their life experiences. Sizable minorities of both husbands and wives were born outside of Baghdad Province (36-41 percent) and had lived in cities (19-30 percent).

Nevertheless, the strength of traditionalism is clearly indicated in the family arrangements. The median number of persons residing

in a household is 10. This relatively large number reflects the common presence of relatives, almost always those of the husband. Both parents of the husband are found in 31 percent of the homes; one of his parents resides in an additional 20 percent of the homes. Moreover, in 18 percent of the homes, at least one other relative was present. In comparison, the local extended family rarely includes the wife's side. Wives' relatives, including parents, are found in only 6 percent of the homes. The mean number of children per family is 6.3 (for the first wife, 5.6; for the second, 3.8).

Traditionalism is also reflected in marriage arrangements. For the majority of the respondents marriage was arranged, rather than a "love match" (64 percent for husbands, 68 percent for first wives, but only 51 percent for second wives). Moreover, the spouse is usually a relative (76 percent for both husband and first wife, but only 46 percent for the second wife). The median ages at marriage were 24 for the husband, 17 for the first wife, and 22 for the second.

The respondents' experience with schooling was slight. Only 24 percent of the husbands, 16 percent of the first wives, and none of the second wives had attended school. Five males and one female in the sample had completed six years of education. However, 41 percent of the men, 63 percent of the first wives, and 81 percent of the second wives were engaged in literacy programs.

The families sampled are not poverty stricken by international standards. They report incomes ranging from 300 to 2,500 Iraqi Dinars (roughly equivalent to \$840-\$7,000). The median income is 1,000 Dinars.

It is likely that these reports are underestimates. As indicated in Table 1, most of the families had a radio, television set, and a sewing machine. Other relatively expensive consumer goods are fairly common.

The age of the respondents ranged from 16 to 75. The median ages of the husband, first and second wives were 42, 36, and 34, respectively.

II. FAMILY TIES AND ATTITUDES

As indicated in Table 2, the traditional pattern of extended family ties remains quite important. Most respondents feel closer to relatives than to friends; but these categories are not really separate, since most friends are also relatives. Although most respondents seek advice from their parents and believe that they have benefited from family ties, they prefer not to live with their parents (contrary to the actual pattern for males) and show a desire to distance themselves in their choice of a good farm over staying near kin. The greater economic importance of the husband's family is clearly indicated in the pattern of large family debts (husbands, 46 percent; wives, 14 percent and 19 percent).

Table 3 shows the responses on questions concerning children. The results clearly bear out the patriarchal nature of the society. It is significant to note that sons are more preferred than daughters among all the three groups. Arranged marriage for their children is still preferred among the population surveyed. Having more than one wife is not objected to in a significant way by any of the three groups. But it is striking that it is the husbands who hold a slightly more "modern attitude."

TABLE 1
POSSESSIONS OF FARM FAMILIES IN BAGHDAD PROVINCE

Having Access To: (N=200)	Percent
Radio	99
Television	62
Sewing machine	52
Ice box	48
Refrigerator	24
Bicycle	43
Motorcycle	6
Truck	35
Automobile	17

TABLE 2
FAMILY TIES

Type of Family Tie	First Wife (Percent)	Second Wife (Percent)	Husband (Percent)
Feel closer to relatives than friends	80	76	80
Number of three closest friends who are relatives:			
None	5	3	5
One	11	5	9
Two	56	51	38
Three	29*	41	48
Would prefer to live with parents	8*	5*	19
More important to stay near relatives than to find best farm	29*	27	40
Seek advice from parents	69	68	72
Have benefited greatly from family ties	69*	65*	87
Have borrowed large sum from relative	14*	19*	46

*Difference from husbands significant at .05 level.

TABLE 3
ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILDREN

Attitude	First Wife	Second Wife	Husband
	<u>Percent</u>		
Pleased when son was born	90	78*	95
Pleased when daughter was born	75*	62	65
Children should always follow the opinion of their parents	77	54	73
Want to arrange son's marriage	83	76	81
Want to arrange daughter's marriage	85	78	89
Unhappy if son had many wives	10*	16	27
Unhappy if daughter's husband had many wives	7*	8	16
Median number of children desired	6	6	7
Median desired marriage age: son	22	20	25
Median desired marriage age: daughter	16	16	18

*Difference from husbands significant at .05 level.

There is remarkable agreement between the three groups regarding the number of children preferred, marriage age for sons and for daughters. These preferences are quite close to current practices.

III. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

In addition to the family, religious participation is one of the basic cementing sources of tradition. Only half of the sample are strongly religious in their practices, with no major differences between husbands and wives (see Table 4). These data suggest a relatively weak religious base for the maintenance of traditional beliefs and behaviors. But it is interesting to note that a solid majority of the respondents adhere to the more traditional Moslem rationale for charity (fear of God) rather than the presented alternative (compassion).

One of the ways in which the Iraqi government promotes modernization is by encouraging participation in organizations which teach modern attitudes and practices. Levels of organizational participation revealed by our survey are reported in Table 5.

TABLE 4
RELIGIOSITY

Dimension of Religiosity	First Wife (Percent)	Second Wife (Percent)	Husband (Percent)
Pray daily	59	43	54
Fast during Ramadan	58*	49	48
Give charity out of fear of God	74	68	70

*Difference from husbands significant at .05 level.

Organizational participation can be divided into two types. The first type consists of visits to Rural Women's Extension Centers, Social Affairs Centers, and meetings at school. This first type is limited only to the women. Of the three programs, the Rural Women's Extension Center seems to be the most popular. Second wives are more active than first wives.

The second type of organization is the meetings of societies' administrative boards. These data are limited only to men who are members in the agricultural cooperatives or collective farms. Approximately half of the men surveyed participate in such meetings (62 percent of those eligible).

A third type of social participation which is relevant for modernization is mass media participation (see Table 6). Ninety-five percent of the respondents listen to the radio daily. Among the three sampled groups, 35 to 38 percent do not watch television. Of those who do watch, the median number of hours is 22 for husbands, 30 for first wives, and 25 for second wives. Thus radio and television have a strong potential for a modernizing impact on lives. In contrast, 86 percent of the sample had not seen a movie in the last year and 94 percent had not read a magazine in the last month.

IV. PSYCHOLOGICAL MODERNISM

In light of the high level of traditionalism in family ties and attitudes, rural Iraqis are surprisingly modern on some measures of value orientations. As shown in Table 7, a majority of both husbands

TABLE 5
ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION

Type of Participation	First Wife (Percent)	Second Wife (Percent)	Husband (Percent)
Visits to Rural Women's Extension Center in past month			
None	17	8	N/A
1-3	35	12	N/A
4-6	25)	62)	N/A
7+	23) 48	18) 80+	N/A
Visits to Social Affairs Center in past month			
None	80	95+	N/A
1-2	18	5	N/A
3+	2	0	N/A
Meetings at school in past year			
None	62	70	
1-2	32	24	
3+	6	6	
Meetings of Societies' Administrative Boards in past year			
None	N/A	N/A	48
1-3	N/A	N/A	19
4-6	N/A	N/A	18
7+	N/A	N/A	16

*Difference between wives significant at .05 level.

TABLE 6
MEDIA PARTICIPATION

Type of Participation	First Wife (Percent)	Second Wife (Percent)	Husband (Percent)
Attended movies in past year	13 ⁺	0*	19
Read magazine in last month	5	0*	9
Watched television in last week			
Never	38	35	36
1-19 hours	4	11	25
20-29 hours	25	24	28
30 or more hours	33*	30*	11
Listen to radio daily	96	89	94

⁺Difference between wives significant at .05 level.

*Difference from husbands significant at .05 level.

TABLE 7
ORIENTATION TO CHANGE

Agreement with Item	First Wife (Percent)	Second Wife (Percent)	Husband (Percent)
1. Assuring a good future is better than conserving	47* ⁺	70	76
2. Concerned about future rather than past or present	36* ⁺	49*	69
3. Plan ahead on most matters	49	70	78
4. Change in our life should be faster	76	78	80
5. No progress without changes	84*	92	93
6. Old ways are not best for me	80 ⁺	64	79
7. Best to seek new experiences	58*	65*	86

*Difference from husbands significant at .05 level.

⁺Difference between wives significant at .05 level.

and wives choose the "modern" response on the majority of seven questions related to change orientation. The husbands are strongly modern on all of the items. On an overall basis, the second wife and the husband are more oriented towards change than the first wife. Of the three, the husband is the one who is the most oriented toward change, followed by the second wife, the first wife lagging behind.

The differences between the first wife and the second wife are more pronounced in items 1, 2, 3, and 6. Of these, the first three items favor the second wife, but item 6 favors the first wife. The latter finding may be due to opposition against having more than one wife, which is more characteristic of the old ways than of current practice. The differences between the second wife and the husband are most pronounced on items 2 and 7, both favoring the husband.

The orientation towards women's equality shows some interesting points. Overall the husbands seem to have a negative attitude towards their equality in terms of the questions asked (see Table 8). The difference between the percentage of first and second wives on all of the items is not significant. The table brings out one point of interest, though. The husbands seem to prefer their wives to be educated and subservient as opposed to uneducated and subservient! The differences between husbands' and wives' views on women's equality are the largest differences found in the survey. Clearly, the husbands are quite traditional in this area.

As regards achievement orientation, the husbands far exceed both the first and second wives in giving modern answers in all the six

TABLE 8
ORIENTATION TOWARD WOMEN'S EQUALITY

Agreement with Item	First Wife (Percent)	Second Wife (Percent)	Husband (Percent)
1. Girls should get a primary education	98	100*	92
2. Girls should be educated mainly to be good wives and mothers	96	92	98
3. Disagree that women's place is in the home	69*	78*	22
4. Woman can be trusted	89*	92*	24
5. Girls' freedom should be increased	80*	92*	25
6. Women are as responsible as men	86*	76*	25

*Difference from husbands significant at the .05 level.

items mentioned (see Table 9). The results show that the rural women in Iraqi society still lag far behind their men in achievement orientation. Among the wives, only item 4 shows a significant difference between the two. All three groups indicate high satisfaction with the present way of life, perhaps indicating that the men see achievement as happening and that the women see it as unnecessary for happiness.

TABLE 9
ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION

Agreement with Item	First Wife (Percent)	Second Wife (Percent)	Husband (Percent)
1. A planner has fewer difficulties	59*	59*	82
2. Prefer difficult farm work	25*	25*	72
3. Person's success determined by hard work and ambition	38*	32*	73
4. People should be willing to go into debt for improvement	34**	54	70
5. Disagree that a person should work just to live	58*	73	71
6. Satisfied with the way of life	83*	73*	92

*Difference from husbands significant at the .05 level.

**Difference between wives significant at the .05 level.

Closely related to achievement orientation are questions of relative aspirations (see Tables 10 and 11). Because no significant differences were found between husbands, first wives, or second wives,

TABLE 11
ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND LEISURE TIME

Child Development and Leisure Time	Percentage		
	No Answer	Yes	No
<u>Child Development</u>			
Want one child to be a farmer	13	60	28
Want higher education for children	2	97	1
Want children to be active in youth clubs	2	96	3
Want responsible children for farm chores	10	66	25
Want friendly children	2	98	1
<u>Leisure Time</u>			
Want leisure time	2	90	9
Want to go hunting and fishing	3	34	65

the data presented in these tables is from the husbands' responses only.

Table 10 indicates that farm families' aspirations for farm improvement lie principally in the areas of increasing production per acre, taking an active part in extension work, being an active leader in public programs, and taking an active part in farm organizations. Seventy-seven percent to 85 percent of these families indicated that they are trying as hard or harder than other families to improve in the above areas. Forty-four percent of families did not answer regarding aspirations for developing the quality of their livestock. However, of the remaining 56 percent, nearly all families indicated an interest in developing the quality of their livestock. Over one-third of the families seemingly have no interest in expanding the size of their farms. Fifty-five percent, however, indicated that they are trying as hard or harder than other farm families to expand their farms.

Farm families judged two questions as not relevant to their concerns--painting and repairing their farm buildings and developing livestock feeding programs--as indicated by the 71 percent and 65 percent, respectively, of "no answers" to these categories. Getting out of debt appears to be another low priority area of concern among farm families. Fifty-six percent indicated that they are trying less hard than other farm families to free themselves of financial burdens.

The nine questions in Table 10 were derived from Wilkening and Bharadwaj's (1966) study of Wisconsin farm families. On the first six items, referring to farming aspirations, the Iraqi responses were

clearly lower in every case. The differences range from 18 percent on trying harder to increase production per acre to 61 percent on trying harder to get out of debt. On the last three questions, referring to organizational participation, the Iraqi responses were clearly higher in every case, ranging from 19 percent trying harder to take an active part in farm organizations to 34 percent more trying harder to take active leadership in public programs or community affairs. These differences in American and Iraqi aspirations perhaps reflect the difference between capitalist and socialist agriculture.

The results of Table 11 indicate that the majority of farm families have very positive aspirations for their children and for themselves regarding their desire for leisure and leisure time activities. Parents seem to value education, constructive activities, and friendly, responsible children. Only three of these items show sizable variations in the response patterns. High aspirations for children's education, organized activity and friendliness are nearly universal, as is a desire for leisure time. Sixty-six percent of farm families desire that their children be responsible for certain farm chores. Finally, 60 percent of the parents want at least one of their children to be a farmer; 28 per cent do not express this desire. One-third of the families would like to hunt and fish; two-thirds do not want to engage in these sports.

V. THE DIVISION OF FARM AND FAMILY TASKS

As is the case in all societies, Iraqi farm families are characterized by a division of labor. The specific allocation of tasks varies from society to society and by economic situation. Since there are no significant differences between the reports of husbands and wives, only the reports of the husbands are shown in Table 12.

As indicated in Table 12, farm tasks in which rural Iraqi husbands are primarily dominant include applying fertilizer, irrigating crops, shearing sheep, and marketing farm products. Only a small percentage of wives usually perform these tasks. For example, 60 percent of those who usually market farm products are husbands, while only 7 percent are wives.

Although both husbands and wives share the task of scattering seeds, the husbands more often perform this task alone. Forty-seven percent of those who usually perform this task are husbands; 35 percent are both; only 5 percent of those who usually perform this task are wives. Husbands and wives tend to share the tasks of raising vegetables and harvesting farm products.

The tasks in which wives dominate include milking cows, collecting firewood, collecting weeds, and producing dairy products. Although few husbands usually perform these tasks, they are often shared with other family members. For example, no husbands usually do the milking; 68 percent of those who do are wives; and 25 percent are other family members. An exception to this tendency can be found in the task of dairy production. Eighty-four percent of those who produce dairy

TABLE 12
TASK INVOLVEMENT: FARM CHORES

Farm Chores	No An- swer	Hus- band	Percentage			Not Appli- cable
			Both	Wife	Other	
Milked the cows	3	0	2	68	25	3
Fed livestock	3	2	3	27	34	31
Cared for chickens	4	2	4	19	33	41
Raised vegetables	4	36	45	7	4	6
Collected eggs	3	1	4	30	52	11
Collected wood for fire	3	5	6	51	34	4
Scattered seeds	4	47	35	5	4	5
Applied fertilizer	4	39	13	5	7	33
Collected weeds	4	12	26	34	20	5
Irrigated crops	4	62	12	5	13	5
Harvested farm products	4	10	54	7	21	5
Sheared sheep	4	26	1	0	16	54
Produced dairy products	3	2	2	84	8	2
Marketed farm products	4	60	28	7	2	2

products are wives; 8 percent are family members; and only 2 percent are husbands.

Feeding the livestock, caring for the chickens, and collecting eggs are usually performed by other family members. If not performed by them, these tasks generally are performed by wives. For example, 52 percent of those who collect eggs are other family members, while 30 percent are wives.

Two tasks on which comparative data are available show sharp cultural distinctions between the United States (Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1966) and Iraq. In the United States, milking (67 percent) and feeding the livestock (83 percent) are usually the husband's tasks; in Iraq the husbands rarely even participate in these jobs (2 percent and 5 percent, respectively).

Table 13 indicates that farm husbands are largely responsible for managing their family's finances. Indeed, husbands were most dominant in purchasing groceries (55 percent), purchasing clothing (49 percent), and in planning the family's savings (38 percent). In the United States, by comparison, one study (Cambell, 1970) reports that grocery shopping is usually done by the husband in 19 percent of all families.

Although grocery shopping is primarily just the husband's domain in rural Iraq, a task in which husbands are almost four times as active as wives, there are a variety of ways in which this task is allocated. In 22 percent of the cases both spouses share the task, and in 8 percent of the families other family members are involved in shopping for

TABLE 13
TASK INVOLVEMENT: FAMILY FINANCES

Family Finances	No An- swer	Hus- band	Percentage			Not Appli- cable
			Both	Wife	Other	
Keeps track of money	0	15	6	3	1	77
Plans family savings	0	38	20	26	1	16
Buys groceries	0	55	22	15	8	0
Buys clothing	0	49	28	20	3	1
Makes handicraft products	0	2	3	39	14	43

groceries. When the husband alone does not buy clothing, both husband and wife share the task in 28 percent of the families, and in 20 percent of the families, the wife performs this task. A relatively high percentage of wives, 26 percent, plan the family's savings by themselves.

Wives are most dominant in making handicraft products. Thirty-nine percent of wives make handicraft products. In their absence, 14 percent of other family members carry out this activity. Husbands are virtually inactive (2 percent) in this area.

Neither making handicraft products nor keeping track of the family's money are tasks of major importance among these farm families. Forty-three percent and 77 percent of families found these two tasks to be non-applicable.

In the area of child-rearing, both husbands and wives appear to play relatively equalitarian roles in most tasks, as indicated by the

figures in Table 14. In teaching children facts and skills, supervising school work, settling children's arguments, and in punishing children, both parents are equally active. In these activities, as well as in teaching children values and table manners, the job is usually shared. Twenty-six percent of other family members help to supervise children's school work.

It is wives, however, who dominate in preparing the children for school (71 percent), comforting the children when they are hurt (51 percent), and in putting the children to bed (80 percent). Husbands almost never perform these tasks without their wives, as indicated by the very low percentages. In 36 percent of the cases, both husbands and wives attend to children when they are hurt.

Husbands alone are not dominant in any of the child-rearing practices. As stated above, most tasks are shared by both husbands and wives. A few tasks are clearly the domains of the wives. These findings suggest a flexible as well as a relatively equalitarian pattern of farm parents' roles in performing child-rearing practices. Comparable data from Wisconsin farm families (Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1966) are available for five of the items found in Table 14. In general, the less modern rural Iraqi family shows less distinct role differentiation in child-rearing practices. Regarding the teaching of table manners, facts and skills, and the punishment of children, the percentage of farm wives who carry out these tasks is quite similar in the two countries. But Iraqi husbands more often dominate in these roles than do Wisconsin farm husbands (11 percent vs. 1 percent; 23

TABLE 14
TASK INVOLVEMENT: CHILD-REARING

Child-rearing	Percentage					Not Appli- cable
	No An- swer	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Other	
Teaches children values	3	12	57	26	1	2
Teaches children table manners	3	11	47	37	2	2
Teaches children facts and skills	3	23	47	24	2	2
Supervises children's school work	3	21	32	17	26	3
Prepares children for school	3	1	8	71	11	7
Settles children's arguments	3	21	47	24	4	3
Punishes children	3	28	44	23	1	3
Comforts children when hurt	3	7	36	51	3	1
Puts young children to bed	3	1	5	80	3	9

percent vs. 5 percent; and 28 percent vs. 5 percent, respectively). Supervising children's school work, a distinctly female task (74 percent) among Wisconsin farm families, is rarely that (17 percent) in semi-literate rural Iraq. Only the task of putting the children to bed shows a similar pattern (definitely the wife's job) in both societies.

VI. PATTERNS OF FAMILY DECISION MAKING

Our respondents were asked about six types of family decision making. As expected, participation by wives is low, by Western standards, across all areas. Nevertheless, wives do share in the decision making in a number of areas and usually make certain kinds of child rearing decisions on their own. Because there were no significant disagreements between husbands and wives, the tables on decision making show only the husbands' responses.

Table 15 indicates that the husbands were found to be most dominant in decisions about borrowing money. Husbands act alone in making such decisions almost 22 times more often than do wives.

Husbands are somewhat less dominant with regard to decisions about selling farm products, buying a pick-up truck, and renting major farm equipment, although they act 14 to 17 times more often than do wives in making such decisions.

Husbands are relatively least dominant with regard to decisions about running the farm and using fertilizer, although they still act alone 10 to 11 times more often than do wives in such matters.

TABLE 15
DECISION MAKING: RUNNING THE FARM

Who Usually Decides About:	Percentage					Not Appli- cable
	No An- swer	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Other	
Running the farm	4	68	22	6	0	1
Selling farm products	4	72	11	5	7	2
Using fertilizer	4	41	3	4	12	37
Borrowing money	4	65	3	3	6	21
Renting major farm equipment	4	52	1	3	8	33
Buying a pick up truck	4	30	4	2	3	60

Because of the cooperative nature of farming or the small size of farms many respondents found the last four questions inapplicable. One of the questions, "whether to borrow money for the farm," is directly comparable to Wilkening and Bharadwaj's (1966) data. This type of decision is much more commonly the husband's alone in Iraq (65 percent) than in the United States (26 percent).

Table 16 shows that the husbands are dominant in making decisions about household repairs (58 percent) and in doing work around the house (55 percent). Nevertheless, wives share in this type of decision making more often than in making decisions about the operation of the farm. Painting the house is almost totally inapplicable in this context because most Iraqi farm families live in mud-walled houses. Modern brick houses are being planned.

Comparison with the Wisconsin data (Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1966) indicates the much greater dominance of Iraqi husbands on

TABLE 16
DECISION MAKING: HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE

Who Usually Decides About:	Percentage				Not Appli- cable
	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Other	
Doing work around the house	55	26	17	2	--
Household repairs	58	24	12	6	--
Painting the house	1	1	0	2	96

decisions about household repairs (58 percent vs. 10 percent). And comparison with Reed and Kuiper's (1976) study of Tennessee farm families shows an equally wide discrepancy on husband's dominance concerning decisions on work around the house (55 percent vs. 3 percent).

Table 17 reveals that husbands are dominant in almost all financial decisions. The pattern of decision making across families is similar on all but two of the eight questions.

Two financial decisions are not widely applicable to farm families: whether the wife takes a job in town (73 percent), and whether to make handicrafts (43 percent). However, in the former case, the husband dominates. The only exception lies in the decision to make handicrafts. Here 26 percent of wives dominate as compared to 15 percent of husbands.

On the question, "who usually decides how much money is spent on food," only 2 percent of Wisconsin farm husbands dominate (Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1966) compared with 65 percent in Iraq.

TABLE 17
DECISION MAKING: FINANCES

Who Usually Decides:	Percentage					Not Appli- cable
	No An- swer	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Other	
How much money is spent	1	71	20	7	2	--
How much money is spent on food	1	65	24	9	2	--
How much money is spent on clothing	1	60	26	12	2	--
How much money is spent on charity	2	49	38	7	2	4
Whether the wife takes a job in town	1	18	5	3	2	73
To make handicrafts	0	15	9	26	9	43
How much money to spend on furniture, cars	0	52	16	4	5	24
How much money to borrow	1	58	14	4	2	23

It is clear from the reported data in Table 18 that the Iraqi agrarian husband is quite dominant in the decision making process regarding social relationships. Even the decision to visit the wife's relatives is primarily in the husband's domain. However, a clear majority of the wives do share in these decisions. The decision on whether to meet at the rural women's center is usually a joint effort (45 percent) of both husbands and wives. This is one of the few decisions which husbands and wives make together.

The strongest domain of husbands is in deciding where to live after marriage. Husbands are more often decisive than wives by a 13 to 1 ratio in this instance.

Wives are not dominant in any of the decisions about social relationships. The category in which the largest percentage of wives make decisions is in which friends to visit. Here 36 percent of wives decide. However, this is a small percentage in comparison to the 50 percent of agrarian husbands who decide which friends they should visit. Comparable data from the United States range from dominance by husbands in 38 percent of the cases in Detroit (Campbell, 1970), to only 10 percent among rural Tennessee families (Reed and Kuipers, 1976).

Table 19 informs us about the agrarian family's decision making in entertainment matters. A glimpse at the table reveals that the husband is dominant in making decisions about the family's entertainment. Thirty-eight percent of husbands as compared to only 8 percent of wives make singular decisions about entertainment. Other family

TABLE 18
DECISION MAKING: SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Who Usually Decides on:	Percentage					Not Appli- cable
	No An- swer	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Other	
Social ties	--	55	37	4	4	--
Where to live after marriage	--	91	3	7	1	--
Closest relatives	1	63	8	24	1	4
The choice of family friends	1	62	7	29	2	--
Visiting wife's relatives	1	41	22	32	--	4
Visiting husband's relatives	1	57	12	27	--	4
Meeting at the rural women's center	2	34	45	20	--	--
Meeting with teachers at children's school	2	56	19	21	1	3
Which relatives to visit	2	49	12	34	1	4
Which friends to visit	2	50	11	36	1	1

TABLE 19
DECISION MAKING: ENTERTAINMENT

Who Usually Decides On:	Percentage					Not Appli- cable
	No An- swer	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Other	
Entertainment	3	38	35	8	13	4
How much time is spent together	2	23	64	8	3	2
Going out last week	1	53	28	7	10	3
What TV-radio programs to watch	1	11	41	5	41	3
When to invite people to dinner	1	65	25	5	4	2
What the family had for dinner	1	8	17	68	7	--

members (13 percent) are more often decisive than are the wives about entertainment. More than seven times as many husbands as compared to wives were found to have made decisions about going out during the previous week. Husbands are 13 times more likely than their wives to decide when to invite people to dinner. However, 68 percent of wives plan the families' menus, their only area of dominance. In the majority of cases, both husbands and wives decide jointly on the amount of time they should spend together. Deciding on which television or radio programs to enjoy is shared by husbands and wives and other family members. The dominance of husbands is greater in this area among American farm families (25 percent) (Reed and Kuipers, 1976) than among Iraqi farm families (11 percent).

Results shown in Table 20 indicate that decision making regarding various aspects of child rearing practices is fairly evenly

TABLE 20
DECISION MAKING: REARING CHILDREN

Who Usually Decides:	Percentage					Not Appli- cable
	No An- swer	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Other	
How to raise children	1	29	29	39	3	1
The children's friends	2	18	35	37	3	6
How children play	2	14	31	48	1	4
Punishing the children	3	26	40	29	1	3
What farm chores the children will do	6	54	18	8	1	14
When the children go to a doctor or dentist	3	27	38	26	3	7
Giving children money	2	59	14	17	1	8
Allowing children to go somewhere	2	45	24	22	1	7
When the children visit their friends	2	42	26	23	1	7
When the children entertain in home	3	20	21	53	1	4

distributed among husbands and wives. Wives are dominant in deciding how to raise the children, who the children's friends will be, when the children entertain, and how the children will play. Both parents tend to share in the decision making in these areas of involvement when wives alone do not make these decisions.

Husbands are most decisive in giving the children money, allowing the children to go places and visit friends, and in the distribution of farm chores. Both parents tend to share decisions in these areas when the husband alone does not dominate. On the question of farm chores, Iraqi husbands are more dominant than American (54 percent vs. 30 percent) (Wilkening and Bharadwaj, 1966).

Decisions to punish the children and to make dentist, doctor, and other physicians' appointments are joint efforts of both parents, and are made by each parent singularly an almost equal percentage of time.

Thus, responsibility for decision-making regarding child-rearing practices among farm wives appears to be specific and balanced. Each parent has an equal number of specific areas in which he or she is the primary decision maker. In other areas, both share the decision making responsibility.

CHAPTER VII

DATA ANALYSIS

I. CONSTRUCTING THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

(TYPES OF FAMILY DECISION MAKING)

As indicated previously, the questionnaire contained multiple items which were intended to measure six types of family decision making. A number of the items were used only for descriptive analysis because of insufficient variation, inapplicability, or a strong concentration of "others" in the decision making process. Examples of these items are found in the previous chapter. The remaining items were treated as interval measures of degree of power and factor analyzed (varimax rotation) to discover empirical clusters of items. Separate factor analyses were done for husbands and first wives. The results, as reported in Table 21, were quite similar. In both cases, four factors have an eigenvalue greater than one. The four factors explain 75 percent of the variance for husbands and 80 percent for wives. The first and second factors were reversed for the husbands and the wives.

With one exception, the items used to construct four separate decision making scales were those with factor loadings exceeding .4 (boxed in Table 21). The family finances decision making scale is comprised of the four items intended to measure this variable which were applicable to nearly all families. One of the farm decision making items (Q46) also loads heavily on this factor (for a listing of the

TABLE 21
FACTOR ANALYSIS OF ITEMS MEASURING FAMILY DECISION MAKING

Item	Factors									
	Finances		Social Relation- ships		Daily Child Rearing		Child Rule Making		Communality	
	Factor Loadings									
	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W
Q46*	.48	.48	.17	.20	.28	.26	-.03	.07	.38	.36
Q47	.37	.34	.10	.10	-.01	.06	.11	.16	.21	.21
Q55	.31	.28	.02	.01	.10	.09	-.01	.03	.43	.52
Q56	.12	.15	.10	.20	.00	-.02	.01	-.04	.54	.39
Q61	.07	.01	-.02	.00	.07	.10	.34	.46	.39	.40
Q63	.00	.00	-.05	.06	.06	.07	.63	.67	.43	.47
Q64	.07	.07	.04	.03	.09	.04	.85	.85	.76	.73
Q65	.09	.06	-.02	-.01	.18	.16	.49	.56	.31	.35
Q67	.05	.01	-.07	.11	.59	.52	.20	.24	.55	.60
Q68	.21	.16	.08	.08	.69	.71	.01	.04	.59	.66
Q69	.18	.17	.16	.17	.76	.77	.14	.21	.72	.74
Q70	.24	.23	.14	.10	.71	.72	.18	.17	.64	.68
Q71	.03	.11	.11	.02	.34	.37	.32	.38	.33	.41
Q77	.28	.32	.49	.51	.01	-.06	.09	.05	.41	.48
Q78	.14	.23	.72	.70	.09	.05	.02	-.05	.56	.58
Q79	.18	.22	.70	.65	.44	.10	-.05	-.07	.59	.56
Q80	.25	.24	.61	.65	.06	.02	-.11	-.18	.51	.55
Q81	.04	.03	.34	.33	.05	.03	.10	.12	.46	.53
Q82	.10	.09	.36	.45	.07	.05	.02	.05	.88	.74
Q83	.17	.07	.56	.76	.12	.14	.05	.11	.76	.74
Q84	.15	.10	.51	.76	.14	.11	.05	.06	.91	.72
Q88	.14	.08	.13	.18	.06	.10	-.08	-.04	.30	.25
Q89	.11	.16	.33	.30	.02	.04	-.01	-.04	.27	.29
Q90	.11	.23	.28	.33	.04	-.03	.09	.03	.31	.28
Q92	.12	.19	.04	.14	.03	.00	-.06	-.06	.36	.34
Q93	-.12	-.12	-.09	-.08	-.07	-.07	.10	.05	.13	.16
Q97	.83	.83	.23	.23	.15	.10	.02	.01	.79	.77
Q98	.83	.82	.12	.13	.20	.13	-.06	-.06	.76	.72
Q99	.81	.79	.21	.15	.21	.11	.11	.13	.79	.70
Q100	.43	.48	.18	.21	.06	.05	.16	.12	.30	.33
Eigen- value	6.5	2.8	2.4	6.3	1.7	1.8	1.2	1.3		
Percent Vari- ance	42	19	15	42	11	12	8	8		

*Questions are found in the Appendix.

questions, see the Appendix). It was separated out for analysis as being conceptually distinct. It was used as a single item measure of farm decision making because it showed a better distribution of responses than question 47 and was correlated with the latter at only .27 (husbands) and .25 (wives).

Six of the intended measures of social relationship decision making loaded heavily on a factor and so were used in constructing that scale. The items which were deleted concerned meetings at the Rural Women's Center and with teachers.

The factor analysis indicated that child rearing decision making was comprised of two distinct dimensions in this sample. The first (items 67, 68, 69, and 70), we labeled "daily child rearing," the second (items 63, 64, and 65), we labeled "child rule making." Three items from our original list did not load heavily on either factor and so were not used in further analysis.

We were left with weak measures of the remaining two decision making variables, household and entertainment decision making. Two household decision making items (55 and 56) which correlated at .40 (husbands) and .46 (wives) were used as our index. None of the six measures of entertainment decision making correlated above .30. Question 89 (who decided how much time you spent together last week) was used in the analysis.

II. CONSTRUCTING THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The questionnaire was designed to measure three sets of independent variables, types of task involvement, types of aspirations, and types of modernist attitudes. Each of the sub-types was measured by multiple items. After items with large numbers of unscalable answers were deleted, the three sets of variables were subjected to factor analysis.

Of the four proposed measures of task involvement, one, household maintenance, was dropped from the analysis because of its inapplicability to the culture. Five of the fourteen items referring to farm chores (16, 19, 22, 23, 26) loaded strongly (.41 to .79) on a single factor for both husbands and wives and so were used to construct the scale of farm task wives' involvement. All of these items referred to heavy farm tasks.

Of the nine items intended as measures of child rearing task involvement, only three (34, 35, 36) loaded strongly (.62 to .79) on a single factor for both husbands and wives. These three were summed as a measure of child training. Two other items (38, "who usually gets children ready and off to school," and 42, "who put young children to bed the past week") loaded weakly on this factor and were combined into a separate measure of "childcare" on the basis of the correlations (for husbands, $r = .46$; for wives, $r = .39$). Finally, of the five intended measures of involvement in family finances, the only two which were strongly related were used as the index ($r = .69$ for both husbands and

wives). These two items designated the person who usually buys the groceries and clothing.

The questionnaire contained items designed to measure four types of aspirations: farm improvement, community participation, child development, and leisure. Of the five items on farm improvement only two, striving to get out of debt (105) and striving to increase productivity (109) were widely applicable in the sample. These two were not strongly related (for husbands, $r = .24$; for wives, $r = .18$) and so were used separately in the analysis. The three questions on community participation were retained to form an index on the basis of inter-item correlations ranging from .31 to .71. Three of the items on child development aspirations showed no dispersion of answers (see Table 11, page 47). The remaining two (114 and 117) were retained as an index (for husbands, $r = .64$; for wives, $r = .63$). Of the two questions on leisure time goals, one (119, see Table 11) showed no dispersion in the answers. Question 120, referring to aspirations for hunting and fishing, was retained as the sole measure of leisure goals.

The questionnaire contained large numbers of questions intended to measure attitudinal components of traditionalism-modernism: orientation to change (7 items), achievement orientation (6 items), orientations toward women's equality (6 items), and orientations toward the family (18 items). After items were eliminated because of lack of dispersion of responses or low correlation with other items, the following indices were constructed: orientation to change (questions 132, 133, 134, 138: for husbands, $\bar{r} = .34$; for wives, $\bar{r} = .36$); achievement

orientation (questions 140, 141, 143: for husbands, $\bar{r} = .40$; for wives, $\bar{r} = .38$); orientation toward women's equality (questions 147, 148, 149, 150: for husbands, $\bar{r} = .35$; for wives, $\bar{r} = .39$). The excluded items provided no indication of multidimensionality in any of the indices and each set of items loaded on separate factors. The correlation of the change and achievement indices was fairly strong (for husbands, $r = .38$; for wives, $r = .37$). The strongest correlation between the women's equality index and the other two was .19 (with change orientation for the wives' sample).

The questions on orientations toward the family contained a number of separate dimensions. No single item was strongly related to more than one other. Questions 158 (ideal number of children) and 159 (modern attitudes toward children) were retained for the analysis as separate items. Questions 162 and 163 were combined as an index of modern orientation toward children's mobility. Questions 166 and 167 were combined as an index of desired age of marriage for children, an independent component of modernity. Question 172 was used as a measure of desire to maintain an extended family.

The questionnaire was designed to measure four types of activities which might affect decision making patterns: religiosity, mass media participation, organizational participation, and independence from extended family. Question 131 (reason for charity) was only weakly related to the two behavioral measures of religiosity, items 139 (prayer) and 130 (fasting) which were used as the index. Of the four measures of mass media participation only television time (Q123)

showed sufficient distribution of responses for use in the analysis. Three of the four questions about organizational participation (125, 127, 128) were retained as separate variables. Questions 156 and 157 were used as an index of independence from the extended family (for husbands, $r = .58$, for wives, $r = .60$). Question 153 (borrowing money from relatives) was used as a separate measure of family reliance. In addition, indices of reliance on advice from father, mother, and other relatives were constructed from questions asking about time spent talking with these persons in each of the six decision making areas in the original model. One point was assigned for each instance of at least "some" time spent talking with the relevant person(s), producing a set of indices with potential ranges of zero to six.

Most of the background variables were measured by single items. Extended family ties were measured by four items which were used separately in the data analysis: parents, other relatives, wife's relatives residing in the home, and number of three closest friends who are relatives. Dummy variables for cooperative farm and grain farm were used as measures of modern types of farms. Relative affluence was indexed by summing one point assigned for possession of a television set, sewing machine, ice box, motorcycle, bicycle, horse or mule, and two points for owning an automobile, truck, or refrigerator.

CHAPTER VIII

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

The previously stated hypotheses were tested by separate multiple regressions of the six dependent variables (measuring relative power on types of family decision-making) on the array of independent variables. The technique used was step-wise multiple regression. The .05 level of significance was used to limit the entry of variables into the regressions.

The hypotheses will be discussed in terms of the significant determinants (betas) of the six types of family decision making. Explanations derived from data obtained from husbands will be compared with explanations derived from data obtained from the first wife. First, direct explanatory variables (hypotheses directly supported) will be discussed (from data derived from the husbands, then from the first wives). Hypotheses generated after the collection of the data will also be discussed. The data will be presented in terms of the stated hypotheses, that is, in terms of decision making participation by the wife. Significant reversals in the direction of the impact of independent variables will be discussed. The explanatory power of each model will be noted.

Second, indirect explanatory variables (hypotheses indirectly supported) will be discussed. That is, major variables which explain the direct explainers will be examined. Hypotheses will be considered

as rejected if the total effect (direct plus indirect effects) is less than .1.

I. FARM DECISION MAKING

As expected, the most important determinant of who makes decisions about running the farm is degree of participation in heavy farm tasks (hypothesis 20). The more the wife participates in this type of work, the greater her participation in making decisions about the farm (see Table 22). It should be noted that it is rather unusual for the Iraqi farm wives in our sample to be involved in either these tasks or decisions. Moreover, limitation of heavy farm work by females is, on balance, a consequence of factors of modernization. Lower participation by wives in such work is explained by such modernization factors as higher achievement orientation, positive change orientation, cooperative farming, fewer male children, and avoidance of parental advice. Thus, we see here a probable tendency for the diminishment of one type of family power for females. It is likely that making decisions about running the farm is becoming an increasingly specialized function of the husband. Different degrees of participation in light farm tasks, an area in which wives are much more likely to be involved, has no significant bearing on farm decision making.

Although we have previously presented no hypotheses concerning the impact of other types of task participation on seemingly unrelated types of decision making, we did test for the impact of sex dominance of other task roles. In the case of child-care tasks, greater

TABLE 22

FARM DECISION MAKING (STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS
FOR INDEPENDENT AND DIRECT EXPLANATORY VARIABLES)

Explanatory Variables	Farm De- cision Making	Heavy Farm Tasks	Child-care Tasks	Shopping Tasks	Desire to	
					Limit Family Size	Late Ideal Marriage Age
Heavy farm tasks	.42 (.51)*					
Child-care tasks	-.15 (-.13)					
Shopping tasks	.13					
Desire to limit family size	.15	.17				
Late ideal marriage age	.15					
No relatives in home	.18					
Friends not relatives	.13			.16		
Number male children	.18	.13				
Cooperative farm ⁺		-.26				
Change orientation		-.17		-.16		
Achievement orienta- tion ⁺⁺		-.14 (.25)				-.18
Avoid parents' advice		-.14				.15
RWEC participation		(.16)				
No parents in home			.19	.18		
No young child			-.16 (-.24)		.24	
Grain farm			-.18			.26
Desire independent son			(.15)			
TV time				.19 (.22)		

TABLE 22 (Continued)

Explanatory Variables	Farm De- cision Making	Heavy Farm Tasks	Child-care Tasks	Shopping Tasks	Desire to Limit Family Size	Late Ideal Marriage Age
Low religiosity				(.16)		
In literacy program				(-.15)		
Years married				.22 (.26)	-.43	
Desire independence						
from family					.14	
No kin debt					.13	
Only one wife					.20	

*() = betas for data derived from first wives.

+Indirect effect $\geq .10$ (husband sample).

++Indirect effect $\geq .10$ (wife sample).

R² (adjusted) = .40 (H) and .27 (W).

N = 181 (H) and 180 (W).

participation by the husband results in greater farm decision making power for the wife. The degree of participation by spouses in heavy farm tasks and child-care is unrelated ($r = -.07$). On the face of it, greater participation by the husband in child-care would seem to be a modernization variable. But it is not well explained by the modernization variables in our model. (The negative variables shown in the child-care task column in Table 22 indicate variables which reduce the wife's participation and increase the husband's.) It may be that greater mutuality in child-care is an indicator of intimacy which is the source of greater participation by the wife in farm decisions.

In accord with this post hoc hypothesis is the finding that the degree of participation in everyday consumer purchasing tasks contributes to the explanation of farm decision making (data derived from husband only). Just as lesser role segregation by the wife in child-care is a more modern form of conjugal relations, so greater participation by the wife in shopping is a break from tradition. The variables which explain shopping tasks on balance tend to support this interpretation.

The hypotheses concerning the impact of nuclear family orientation and extended family ties on farm decision making receive support from these data (hypotheses 15 and 8a). A more modern nuclear family orientation, as measured by the husband's desire for relatively fewer children and by a relatively high desired age of marriage for children, results in greater farm decision making power for the wife. Similarly, two independent measures of extended family ties, a greater number of

husband's relatives living in the home, and a greater number of husband's friends who are also relatives, are determinants of lower farm decision making by the wife. The impact of these four variables supports the global hypothesis that greater power of the husband is a consequence of traditionalism, both traditional male family ties and traditional nuclear family orientations. The effects of the extended family ties support the general resource hypothesis, i.e., the presence of kin is a power resource for the husband.

The final significant determinant of farm decision making is the number of male children produced by the first wife. The larger the number of sons, the greater the participation in farm decisions by the wife. (The number of sons was substituted for the closely related number of children, $r = .72$, as a test of hypothesis 6 because it was a slightly better predictor). This result supports resource theory and stands in opposition to modernization theory. Despite the wife's power gain from the husband's desire to limit family size, she nevertheless gains power from the actual production of sons.

The corrected coefficient of determination for the model of farm decision making from the data derived from husbands was .40. The corrected R^2 for the model derived from the wives' responses (see Table 22) was .27.

The hypotheses may also be examined in terms of indirect (mediated) effects. If an indirect effect of .1 or greater is arbitrarily selected as an indicator of support for a hypothesis, one variable, working on a cooperative farm, has a substantial indirect

effect (.11) on farm decision making. Wives are more likely to be excluded from heavy farm tasks on such farms, thus excluded from participation in farm decision making. In addition, cooperative farming produces a positive orientation towards change, a separate source of male exclusivity in heavy farm tasks and decision making. The impact of cooperative farming is here the reverse of that projected in hypothesis 10. These indirect effects, as well as other measurable effects not considered sufficiently strong to clearly support our hypotheses, are reported in Table 22.

As indicated in Table 22, one variable, Women's Center participation, has an indirect effect on farm decision making ($IE = .11$), thus supporting hypothesis 13.

For the wives, two explanatory variables, heavy farm task participation and child-care task participation, have values of the same magnitude as previously discussed. The other six variables are not significant from the wives' reports.

II. FAMILY FINANCIAL DECISION MAKING

As in the previous discussion, here again relevant task participation is the most important determinant of the wife's participation in decision making (hypothesis 20) (see Table 23). The greater the participation of the wife in daily financial transactions, the greater the participation of the wife in family financial decision making. Our data indicate both positive and negative effects of modernization factors on task allocation. As indicated by husband's

TABLE 23

FAMILY FINANCIAL DECISION MAKING (STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS
FOR INDEPENDENT AND DIRECT EXPLANATORY VARIABLES)

Explanatory Variable	Family Financial Decision Making	Shopping Tasks	Heavy Farm Tasks	Women's Equality	Desire to Limit Family Size	Not Consult Family	School Participation
Shopping tasks	.41 (.37)						
Heavy farm tasks	.19 (.22)						
Women's equality	.17						
Desire to limit family size	.17		.17				
No relatives in home	.14						
Not consult family	.12						
Love marriage	(.20)						
School participation	(.20)						
Change orientation ⁺							
TV time ⁺		-.16					
No parents in home		.19 (.22)	-.17				
Friends not relatives		.18					
Years married ⁺⁺		.16				.13	
Low religiosity		.22 (.26)			-.43	-.17	
		(.16)					

TABLE 23 (Continued)

Explanatory Variable	Family Financial Decision Making	Shopping Tasks	Heavy Farm Tasks	Women's Equality	Desire to Limit Family Size	Not Consult Family	School Participation
In literacy program		(-.15)					
Cooperative farm Achievement			-.26				
orientation			-.14 (.25)				
Avoid parents' advice			-.14				
Number male children			.13				
RWEC participation			(.16)				
No young child					.24	(.14)	
Desire independence from fam.					.14		
No kin debt					.13		
Only one wife					.20	-.22	
Years of school				.21			
Born elsewhere						.15 (	.17)
Relative affluence						-.31 (-.20)	(.20)

TABLE 23 (Continued)

Explanatory Variable	Family Financial Decision Making	Shopping Tasks	Heavy Farm Tasks	Women's Equality	Desire to Limit Family Size	Not Consult Family	School Participation
Had dowry Income						(-.16)	(.35)

*() = betas for data derived from first wives.

+Indirect effect $\geq$.10 (husband sample).

++Indirect effect $\geq$.10 (wife sample).

R² (adjusted) = .34 (H) and .25 (W).

N = 175 (H) and 176 (W).

time watching television, and weak kinship ties, modernization results in greater financial task allocation to the wife. But as measured by positive attitudes toward change, modernization produces greater financial role allocation to the husband. Thus, the division of labor within the family that results in increased financial decision making for the wife may be a marginal consequence of modernization. But the negative consequences of modernization for the wife may be seen when the impact of the wife's participation in heavy farm tasks is examined. Here, it is the traditional pattern of greater task responsibility of the wife which produces a greater power for the wife.

On the other hand, four hypotheses indicating a positive impact of modernization components on the wife's family financial decision making power are sustained. Desire for greater equality for women (hypothesis 16), desire to limit family size (hypothesis 15), number of relatives in the home (hypothesis 8), and lack of consultation with kin (hypothesis 14) all contribute independently to greater female participation in financial decisions.

Finally, two variables show moderate indirect effects. The husband's watching television (hypothesis 12) indirectly enhances the wife's financial power (see Table 23). This finding is in line with the global modernization thesis. But the hypothesis that a more positive orientation toward change results in greater financial decision participation by the wife (hypothesis 17) must be rejected. The indirect effects of change orientation are in the opposite direction from those predicted. These effects were mediated by the wife's

participation in financial and heavy farm tasks. Other small indirect effects are reported in Table 23. It is notable that, on balance, the effects of modernization tend to be offsetting. On the other hand, the indirect effects tend to support the resource thesis.

The explanatory model for family financial decision making as derived from interviews with the husbands includes six direct paths and two important sets of indirect paths. The adjusted explained variance is .34. The model derived from the wives includes four direct explanatory variables. The adjusted coefficient of determination is .25.

The two variables which had the strongest effects in the husbands' model, participation in daily financial tasks and in heavy farm tasks, also were the strongest in the wives' model (see Table 23). Two new variables replaced the four others which had a distinctive impact in the husbands' accounts. It is particularly notable that the two measures of psychological modernization which had determinative effects in the husbands' model, were insignificant in the wives' model. For the wives participation in meetings at the school (hypothesis 13), had a positive effect on the extent of the wife's participation in financial decision making. Such participation is female-specific in Iraq, and so information was obtained from the wives only. A marriage based on love, rather than being arranged by the extended families, has a positive impact on the wife's financial power (hypothesis 9). A love marriage is both a resource and a component of modernization.

Small indirect effects of other variables are shown in Table 23. In contrast to the husbands' model, here the indirect effects are

generally in the direction proposed by a general modernization model. There is one indirect effect of some importance. The resource variable, number of years married, indirectly increases participation in financial decision making (hypothesis 5), through greater financial task responsibility.

III. SOCIAL TIES DECISION MAKING

For our measure of family decision making in regard to social ties, we had no related measure of similar tasks, thus no direct test of hypothesis 20. But performance of certain family tasks is again an important determinant. On the basis of the husbands' statements, participation in heavy farm tasks and financial tasks provides a power base for making decisions about social relationships (see Table 24).

Although the direct test of hypothesis 19, that high aspirations for community participation engender high participation of the wife in decision making concerning social ties, produced non-significant findings, a related measure of aspirations generated a somewhat surprising negative result. High aspirations for increasing farm productivity, a measure of modernism, results in lesser power for the wife in deciding on social relationships. Since one of the previously mentioned explanatory variables, the high level of the wife's participation in heavy farm tasks, also indicates the positive bearing of traditional patterns on the wife's role in deciding about social ties, the overall balance of our findings thus far suggests that modernization decreases the power of wives in this area.

TABLE 24

SOCIAL TIES DECISION MAKING: DATA FROM HUSBANDS (STANDARDIZED
REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR INDEPENDENT AND
DIRECT EXPLANATORY VARIABLES)

Explanatory Variables	Social Ties Decision Making	Productivity Aspirations	Heavy Farm Tasks	Shopping Tasks	Pleased by Daughter
Productivity aspirations	-.29				
Heavy farm tasks	.19				
Shopping tasks	.17				
Pleased by daughter	.17				
Love marriage	.14				
No kin debt	.14				
Literacy program	-.17				
Years school		.27			
Cooperative farm		.15	-.26		
Organization partici- pation		.14			
Lived in city		-.17			
Change orientation			-.17	-.16	
Achievement orientation			-.14		
Desire to limit family			.17		
Avoid parents' advice			-.14		
Number male children			.13		.26
TV time				.19	
No parents in home				.18	
Friends not relatives				.16	
Years married				.22	

R^2 (adjusted) = .23.

N = 187.

Another test of the modernization thesis, participation in a literacy program (hypothesis 2), produces contrary results. Participation in such programs by the husband results in lesser power for the wife. On the surface, this finding seems to square with resource theory, but as we shall see (Table 25), participation in such programs by wives leads to the same result.

As over against these findings, three modernization findings are supported by the evidence from husbands. Husbands who are free from kinship obligations or lack kinship resources (hypothesis 8a), as measured by never having borrowed from relatives, who married for love (hypothesis 9), also an indicator of freedom from kin ties, and who were pleased when a daughter was born, an indicator of a modern nuclear family orientation (hypothesis 15), grant greater power to their wives in maintaining friendship and kinship ties.

Once again, the overall effects of modernization variables tend to be offsetting. The picture which emerges is that farm modernizers and social modernizers in rural Iraq are two different groups. Farm modernizers appear to be more deeply rooted in kinship ties and maintain a patriarchal role within the family. In accord with the resource thesis, kinship ties are a source of power for the husband.

As indicated in Table 24, none of the indirect effects of our measured variables is particularly strong. The adjusted explained variance in the model just described (from husbands) is .23. From the data obtained from wives a somewhat different model was derived which explains 28 percent of the variance (adjusted).

TABLE 25

SOCIAL TIES DECISION MAKING: DATA FROM WIVES (STANDARDIZED REGRESSION
COEFFICIENTS FOR INDEPENDENT AND DIRECT EXPLANATORY VARIABLES)

Explanatory Variables	Social Ties Decision Making	Productivity Aspirations	Heavy Farm Tasks	Pleased by Daughter	Achievement Orientation	Not Con- sult Family	Avoid Parents' Advice
Productivity aspirations	-.32						
Heavy farm tasks	.16						
Pleased by daughter	.23						
No kin debt	.25	.17					
Literacy program	-.22						
Achievement orientation	.17	.14	.25				
Not consult family	-.16						
Avoid parents' advice	-.17	-.14					
RWEC participation		-.18	.16				
Avoid father's advice		-.18					
Friends not relatives		.15					
School participation		.18					
Age at marriage					-.17		-.21
No young child					.16		
Born elsewhere						.14	
Had dowry						.17	
Relative influence						-.16	
Lived in city						-.16	.16

R² (adjusted) = .28

N = 186

The latter model (see Table 25) contains eight variables, only five of which overlap with those found in the first model. Four of these have similar direction and strength in both models: participation in heavy farm tasks, participation in the literacy program, pleasure in the birth of a daughter, and aspirations to improve productivity. The fifth variable in common is stronger in the wives' sample. Never having borrowed large sums from relatives, a measure of freedom from extended family ties is associated with greater power for the wife. In general, this finding is in accord with the modernization thesis. It also runs directly contrary to hypothesis 8b, a resource hypothesis.

But other measures of extended family traditionalism indicate that such ties increase the power of the wife in making decisions about connections with friends and kin. The greater the amount of time spent with household members in discussing family decisions and, particularly, the more often parents are asked for advice, the greater the power of the wife in this area. Resource theory is here sustained and modernization theory rejected. (The phrasing of the items found in Table 25 reflects the latter thesis.)

One modernism scale, achievement orientation (hypothesis 18), explains family social ties decision making. Wives having higher achievement orientations are more likely to have greater power in this area. This finding is at odds with the effects of productivity aspirations. This contradiction will be discussed in the following section.

In summary, it appears that both extended family ties and psychological modernism are ambiguous sources of marital power for the

wife in the area of deciding on social ties. Indirect effects were of no significance.

IV. ENTERTAINMENT DECISION MAKING

As indicated previously, the various proposed measures of entertainment decision making did not form a scale for these samples. Thus, we selected the summary question, "During the past week, who decided how you spent time together," for analysis.

As shown in Table 26, there are four explanatory variables in the model derived from the husbands' responses and eight in the model derived from the wives. The explained variance for the two samples was .11 and .20, respectively. Although the model for the wives' data "explains" more, the explanation is quite ambiguous.

There was no measure, thus no test of the hypothesis, for specific task allocation. Once again a non-specific task helps provide an explanation for variation in wives' participation in decision making. For both samples, lesser activity by the wife in child training is associated with greater participation in leisure time decision making. The data are nearly silent in explaining the former.

Somewhat anomalously, and contrary to the general modernization thesis, high family aspirations to increase productivity and to get out of debt have a negative impact on wives' participation in leisure decision making. In the case of the analysis based on the sample of wives, this finding is offset by a positive effect of high achievement orientation. Parallel findings were noted in the analysis of social

TABLE 26

ENTERTAINMENT DECISION MAKING (STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR
INDEPENDENT AND DIRECT EXPLANATORY VARIABLES)

Explanatory Variable	Entertainment Decision Making		Child Training Tasks		Productivity Aspirations		Debt Free Aspirations		Pleased by Daughter		Achievement Orientation	
Child training tasks	-.19	(-.18)*										
Productivity aspirations	-.18	(-.14)										
Debt free aspirations		(-.14)										
Pleased by daughter	.13	(.20)										
Years married	-.17	(-.15)										
Achievement orientation		(.21)						(.14)				
No kin debt		(.18)						(.17)				
Born in Baghdad Province		(.14)						(.27)				
Spouse is not relative												
Years school			.14	(.16)								
Cooperative farm					.27							
Organizational participation					.15							
Lived in city					.14							
RWEC participation					-.17							
Avoid father's advice												
Friends not relatives												
Women's equality orientation												
Avoid father's advice												.29
Desire limit family												.15
Low religiosity												-.14
												.13

TABLE 26 (Continued)

Explanatory Variable	Entertainment		Child		Pleased		Achievement
	Decision	Making	Training	Tasks	Productivity	Debt Free	
Number male children					Aspirations	Aspirations	Daughter Orientation
School participation							
Age at marriage							
						.26	(-.17) (.16)

* () = betas derived from data for first wives.

R^2 (adjusted) = .11 (H) and .20 (W).

N = 187 (H) and 186 (W).

tie decision making. A major difference between these two similar types of variables, aspirations and achievement orientation, is that aspirations here refer to family goals, but achievement orientation refers to personal beliefs. As indicated in Table 26 for wives, achievement motive is a determinant of desire to be free of debt and of productivity aspirations. For husbands, the two measures are unrelated. In sum, the data from the wives provide marginal support for hypothesis 18. Hypothesis 19 must be rejected since the relevant measure, aspirations for community involvement, was not a significant determinant, and farm improvement aspirations had an impact the reverse of that expected.

Some support for hypothesis 15 on the impact of a modern nuclear family orientation is found in the responses of both husbands and wives. In both cases, being pleased by the arrival of a daughter is associated with greater participation in entertainment decisions by the wife.

In contrast, the resource hypothesis (5) that years of marriage increases the wife's power must be rejected. In this case, it is the younger wives who exert greater influence.

As was true in the analysis of social ties decision making, here again freedom from debt to the wife's kin increases the power of the wife, a finding contrary to hypothesis 8b but in accord with a modernism interpretation. Lastly, local women have more power in shaping family leisure than those born elsewhere. This finding is contrary to the modernization expectations, but may be viewed as aligned with resource theory.

Since none of the direct explainers of entertainment decision making was strong, no important indirect effects were found.

V. CHILD TRAINING DECISION MAKING

For this dependent variable, the explanatory models are quite simple and the explained variance relatively disappointing (for data derived from husbands, adjusted $R^2 = .18$; for data from wives, adjusted $R^2 = .17$). The results are shown in Table 27.

Once again the primary explanation is participation in the relevant task, actual teaching and supervision of children (hypothesis 20). Once more, the modernism factors provided mixed results.

The greater the husband's desired number of children (the traditional pattern), the less the participation of the wives in making the rules of socialization, a finding which sustains hypothesis 15. But again there are findings which run against the global modernism hypothesis. The greater the extended family ties, as measured by the number of friends who are also relatives, the higher the participation of the wife in establishing child rearing rules, a finding which sustains hypothesis 8a (kin are resource base for wives) and is contrary to hypothesis 8b (kin as a resource for husbands). Finally, the data indicate that the presence of a second wife increases the child-training power of the first wife. This finding stands in opposition to both modernism and resource perspectives.

TABLE 27

CHILD TRAINING DECISION MAKING (STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS
FOR INDEPENDENT AND DIRECT EXPLANATORY VARIABLES)

Explanatory Variable	Child Training Decision Making	Child Training Tasks	Desire to Limit Family Size
Child training tasks	.32 (.37)		
Desire to limit family size	.20		
Friends are not relatives	-.18 (-.18)		
Only one wife	-.16		.20
Spouse is not relative		.14 (.16)	
Years married			-.43
No young children			.24
Desire independence from family			.14
No kin debt			.13

R^2 (adjusted) = .18 (H) and .17 (W).

N = 181 (H) and 179 (W).

VI. CHILD-REARING DECISION MAKING

The models generated for explaining the wives' participation in daily child-rearing decision making, found in Table 28, are quite simple and quite weak (for data from husbands, adjusted R^2 = .10; from wives, adjusted R^2 = .07). Thus, the large, nearly normally distributed range of variance which we found on this variable is not well explained by the variety of modernization or resource dimensions on which we obtained information.

From the interviews with both husbands and wives, years of marriage emerged as a salient explanation of greater control by the wives

TABLE 28

DAILY CHILD-REARING DECISION MAKING (STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR INDEPENDENT AND DIRECT EXPLANATORY VARIABLES)

Explanatory Variables	Daily Child-Rearing Decision Making	Heavy Farm Tasks	Child Training Tasks	Organizational Participation
Years married	.26 (.15)			
Heavy farm tasks	.17			
Child training tasks	.14 (.20)			
Organizational participation	(.14)	(.16)		
Cooperative farm		-.26		
Change orientation		-.17		
Achievement orientation		-.14 (.25)		
Avoid parents' advice		-.14		
Number male children		.13		
Spouse not relative			.14 (.16)	
Had dowry				(.27)
Income				(.19)

R^2 (adjusted = .10 (H) and .07 (W).

N = 187 (H) and 186 (W)

(hypothesis 5). This is a resource hypothesis. A second important predictor of greater decision making power for wives, was greater participation in the relevant child-rearing tasks, again sustaining hypothesis 20.

One modernization hypothesis, that greater organizational participation results in greater decisional participation for wives (hypothesis 13) received support from the wives' responses. Women who participate more actively in the Women's Center also are more active in making daily child-rearing decisions within the family.

Offsetting these findings is the fact that participation in heavy farm tasks, which in turn is encouraged largely by forces of tradition, is a relatively important source of the wives' control of daily child-rearing decisions. On balance, the data provide little support for the thesis that modernization encourages greater decision making participation by wives.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. SUMMARY OF SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES

Two of the original hypotheses of this study received strong support across three or more types of conjugal decision making (see Table 29). The hypothesis that was most solidly affirmed was that specific types of decision making participation followed specific functions (hypothesis 20). In each of the four areas of decision making (farm, financial, child training and child-rearing decision making), for which a parallel measure of task allotment was measured, the task score was an important predictor of the decision making score. The standardized regression coefficients ranged from .55 for farm decision making (data derived from wives) to .20 for child-rearing decision making (data from wives). Although not included in the original hypotheses, certain role performance patterns which do not seem to be directly related to certain types of decision making turned out to be significant determinants. Participation in heavy farm tasks contributed to the explanation of financial and social ties decision making; the degree of participation in everyday financial tasks also contributed to social ties decision making; and participation in child care helped explain degree of lack of power in farm decisions. Thus these data suggest that a certain degree of generalized power follows

TABLE 29

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT RESULTS BY HYPOTHESIS, INDICATOR, TYPE OF DECISION
MAKING AND SAMPLE (HUSBANDS OR WIVES)

Hypothesis	Indicator (Scale or Item)	Farm	Financial	Social Ties	Child Training	Child-Rearing	Entertainment
20	Heavy farm task	H	H*	W*	H*		
20	Shopping task	H*	H	H*			
20	Child training task				H	W	H*
20	Child care task	H*	W*				W*
19	Q105 (debt aspirations)						W*
19	Q109 (prod. aspirations)			H*	W*		W*
18	Achievement orientation				W		W
17	Change orientation	W*					
16	Women's equality orientation		H ⁺				
15	Ideal marriage age	H	H				
15	Q158 (ideal family size)	H	H		H		
15	Q161 (pleased by daughter)			H	W		H
13	Q125 (organizational participation)					W	W
13	Q127 (organizational participation)						
12	Q123 (television)		H ⁺				
10	Cooperative farm	H ⁺					
9	Q179 (love marriage)			W			
8	Parents' advice			H		W	
8	Consult with kin		H			W	

TABLE 29 (Continued)

Hypothesis	Indicator (Scale or Item)	Farm	Financial	Social Ties	Child Train- ing	Child- Rear- ing	Entertain- ment
8	Q5 (relatives in home)	H	H				
8	Q152 (friends are kin)	H			H	W	
8	Q153 (borrow from kin)			H	W		
6	Q3D (number of sons)	H					
5	Years married			W		H	W
2	Q182 (literacy program)			H		W	
None	Q2 (number of wives)				W		
None	Q175 (place of birth)				H		W

* = No hypothesis.

+ = Indirect effect.

Underline = Results in wrong direction.

(or is negated by) certain types of task accomplishments within the family.

A second hypothesis which was strongly supported was that the more modern the nuclear family orientation, the greater the decision making participation of the wife (hypothesis 15). Three independent components of this orientation, desire for a relatively small family, pleasure at the arrival of a daughter, and desire for a relatively late marriage age for one's children contributed variously to all of the explanations except one, daily child-rearing decisions. This hypothesis was more strongly supported for husbands than for wives.

Media participation (television) by the husband increased the wife's role in financial decisions (hypothesis 12). A "love marriage," rather than an arranged marriage, was a basis of higher decisional contributions for the wife in the areas of finances and social ties (hypothesis 9). Finally, a greater number of male children increased the wife's participation in farm decision making (hypothesis 6).

Hypothesis 8 was ambiguously sustained. This hypothesis was tested through five separate measures of family ties: number of closest friends who were also relatives, having borrowed money from kin, presence of relatives in the household, the extent of discussion of family decisions with kin, and, finally, with parents. The husbands' extended family ties had the expected impact of decreasing participation by the wife in farm, financial, and social ties decision making, but the opposite effect on child-rearing decisions. As expected, close personal kin ties for the wife increased her decisional input regarding

social networks and child training. But borrowing from kin had a contrary effect on social tie and entertainment decision making.

Another hypothesis which met with contradictory results was that related to the impact of years of marriage (hypothesis 5). The longer the marriage, the greater the wife's conjugal power in financial and daily child-rearing. But duration of marriage diminished her role in entertainment decisions.

The tests of one hypothesis produced results in the opposite direction from that expected in the one instance in which the findings were statistically significant. Participation in the literacy program by either husband or wife decreased the wife's participation in making decisions about social ties (hypothesis 2). It should be recognized, however, that participation in the literacy program is a weak measure of "literacy" as specified in the hypothesis.

Hypotheses concerning the impact of schooling, income, relative affluence, presence of young children, modern types of farming, religiosity, desire for independence from the extended family, and change orientation must be rejected (hypotheses 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, and 17). None of these variables were significantly related to any form of decision making when other variables in our model were controlled.

Finally, the hypothesis specifying that the higher the aspirations of particular types, the higher the participation of the wife in relevant decisions (hypothesis 19), must be rejected for the same reason. In addition, it should be noted that high farming

aspirations had negative consequences for the wife's participation in social tie and entertainment decision making. This finding is not a test of our hypothesis but is, nevertheless, somewhat surprising.

II. CONCLUSIONS

Drawing on the previous research literature, this project attempted to test the impact of all identifiably relevant factors on conjugal decision making in rural Iraq. Questionnaires were administered to both husbands and wives in 200 randomly selected Iraqi farm families. Roughly 200 items in the questionnaire were used to measure the variables specified in 20 hypotheses. The hypotheses were tested on six distinct conjugal decision making factors by means of multiple regression. The hypotheses were derived from three theoretical perspectives, resource, individual modernism, and task allocation.

The task thesis, that decision making power follows from task allocation, was strongly supported by our findings. Our findings provide stronger support for this theory than did Wilkening and Bharadwaj's (1968) study of Wisconsin farm families. In addition, our findings indicate considerable diffusion of power to scopes beyond the areas of task allotment. Most especially, in rural Iraq, participation in heavy farm tasks seems to engender decisional participation in nearly all areas of family life.

"Resource theory," the perspective most widely applied to the study of conjugal decision making, received only minimal support in

this research. The production of sons, the maintenance of strong kinship ties by the wife, and the limitation of such ties for the husband were resources which increased the decisional participation of wives. However, the resource variables most often found to be of consequence in previous research had no impact or contradictory effects in rural Iraq. These variables include education (there was little variation in our sample), literacy (our measure was weak), income, level of living, years of marriage, and absence of young children. It should be noted that the hypothetical effects of these variables have not always been supported in previous research, that few studies have been conducted in developing societies, and that those which have been done were conducted in urban areas. Although the range of variation in the possession of many resources in rural Baghdad Province is not as great as in urban areas, there was sufficient variation to test the hypotheses. It appears that intraclass variation in resources is simply not an important source of conjugal power variation in this rural area.

The individual modernism perspective fared somewhat better than the resource perspective when applied to our data. Support for the hypothesis that a modern nuclear family orientation produces greater conjugal participation for the wife was particularly notable. The positive impact of high achievement orientation among wives was also an important finding. Otherwise, however, the impact of modernism factors was scattered and sometimes contradictory. The effects of change orientation and an equalitarian attitude toward women were slight.

Most importantly, the effect of the array of psychological modernism variables is partially offset by the very strong importance of the wife's participation in heavy farm tasks as a source of conjugal power in most areas of family life. Since greater participation in these tasks is largely a consequence of traditionalism, ongoing modernization of rural agriculture may provide forces which limit decision making participation by the wife. In addition, there are suggestions in these data that the most progressive farmers are less inclined to share decision making than others. Greater participation by the wife in financial tasks is the only task which is positively affected by factors of modernization. Still, on balance, it is likely that psychological modernism will continue to grow and that it will enhance the position of the women in a rural society which today remains quite patriarchal.

III. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The data which were collected in rural Baghdad Province contain some possibilities for further analysis. First, since the data indicate some interesting differences between the first and second wives, it may be worthwhile to examine potential differences in decision making patterns. Such an analysis would necessarily be limited by the small number ($N = 37$) of second wives. Second, the data set could usefully be re-examined by treating the dependent variables as categorized rather than quasi-interval measures. Such an analysis would allow for making a clear distinction between the sources of equalitarian and wife-dominated decision making.

The research model used in this study may be readily applied to the examination of conjugal decision making in other areas in Iraq. Although the resource and modernism hypotheses received only moderate support in this study, it is quite likely that they would be more strongly substantiated in an urban setting, in which the range of variation in resources and levels of modernism may be considerably greater. On the other hand, extending the type of study to other rural areas in Iraq could be of interest, since it is likely that rural Baghdad Province is somewhat more influenced by modernization than other areas.

Finally, the study raised a number of questions that cannot be adequately explained by the data. Psychological modernism appears to be even more complex than had been envisioned. In addition, the effect of family ties on conjugal decision making is quite complex. Sorting out the seeming contradictions in these areas suggests the need for depth interviews and ethnographic studies.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Questions in Study of Iraqi Farm Families, 1979

Younis Fattah

First we need to know some things about the members of your family.

I. Background

Husband Only 1-8

1. How many people live in your house? _____
2. How many wives? _____
3. How many children?

of first wife _____	boys _____	girls _____
of second wife _____	boys _____	girls _____
of third wife _____	boys _____	girls _____
4. Do either of your parents live with you? (If yes, check appropriate answers.)

father _____	1 - Father
mother _____	2 - Mother
	3 - Father and Mother
	0 - No answer
5. Do any blood relatives live with you? Number is number of relatives.
6. Do any relatives of your wife (wives) live with you? Number is number of relatives.
7. What is your main farm product? _____

1 - Vegetable
2 - Grain
3 - Orchard
4 - Cows
5 - Poultry
6 - Buffalo
0 - No answer

8. Are you in:

- 1 - a collective farm
2 - a cooperative farm

- 3 - a state farm
4 - a private farm
0 - no answer

Wife Only 9-12

9. How many children do you have? boys _____ girls _____
10. How many wives does your husband have? _____
Are you the first, second, third wife? _____
11. What is the age of your youngest child at home? _____
If no answer, 0.
12. What is the age of your oldest child at home? _____
0 = no children

II. Task Involvement

Household and farm tasks are divided up differently between husbands and wives. I am going to mention a number of different tasks. Please tell me who usually performs these tasks: the wife, the husband, both about the same, or somebody else.

- 1 = Mostly the wife
2 = Wife and husband about equally
3 = Mostly the husband
4 = Other
5 = Not applicable
0 = No answer

Tasks: Farm Chores

For example, thinking about the past week, who

13. Milked the cows.
14. Fed the livestock.
15. Cared for the chickens.
16. Raised vegetables.
17. Collected eggs.
18. Collected wood for fire.

Still thinking about farm tasks, I wish to know who usually did certain things during the past year. Who

19. Scattered seeds.
20. Applied fertilizer.
21. Collected weeds.
22. Irrigated crops.
23. Harvested farm products.
24. Sheared sheep.
25. Produced dairy products.
26. Marketed farm products.

Tasks: Household Maintenance

Now, concerning household maintenance, who

27. Made household repairs the last time they were made.
28. Painted the inside of the house the last time.

Tasks: Family Finance

Now, some questions about family finances, who usually:

29. Keeps track of money for the household.
30. Plans family savings.
31. Buys the groceries.
32. Buys clothing.
33. Makes handicraft products for extra income.

Tasks: Child Rearing

Now, thinking about child rearing, who usually:

34. Teaches children right from wrong.
35. Teaches children table manner.
36. Teaches children facts and skills.
37. Supervises children's school work.
38. Gets children ready and off to school.

Thinking about the past week, who:

39. Settled children's arguments.
40. Punished children.
41. Comforted children when hurt.
42. Put young children to bed.

III. Decision Making

Families make decisions about their daily life in many different ways. We would like to find out how decisions are made in your family. So I will ask you about who makes different kinds of decisions and how often you talk about different aspects of family life.

43. How much time do you spend talking with your husband/wife (wives) about running the farm?

1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time

44. How much time do you spend talking with other members of your household about running the farm?

1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time

45. If "a lot" or "some," which household members do you talk with about this?

0 - No answer	4 - Brother
1 - Father	5 - County agent
2 - Mother	6 - Relative
3 - Parents	9 - Husband or wife

46. Who usually makes the decisions about running the farm: the husband, the wife, both, or somebody else?

1 - Husband 2 - Both husband & wife 3 - Wife

Running the Farm

Who decides about _____, the H, the W, both together or somebody else?

47. When to sell farm products.

48. How much fertilizer to buy.

Think about the last time your family made a decision about who decided, _____, the H, the W, B or somebody else. No answer = 0.

49. Whether to borrow money for the farm.

50. Whether to rent major farm equipment.

51. Whether to buy a pick up truck.

Household Maintenance

52. How much time do you spend talking with your husband/wife (wives) about doing work around the house?

1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time

53. How much do you spend talking with other members of your household about doing work around the house?

1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time

54. If "a lot" or "some," which household members do you talk with about this?

0 - No answer
 1 - Father
 2 - Mother
 3 - Parents
 4 - Brother
 5 - County Agent
 6 - Relative
 9 - Husband or wife

55. Who usually makes the decisions about doing work around the house: the husband, the wife, both, or somebody else?

1 - H 2 - B 3 - W 4 - Other: _____
 5 - Not applicable 0 - No answer

Think about the last time your family made a decision about _____.
 Who decided: the H, the W, B, or somebody else?

56. When to make household repairs.

57. When to paint inside the home.

Rearing Children

58. How much time do you spend talking with your husband/wife (wives) about how to raise children?

1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time
 5 - not applicable

59. How much time do you spend talking with other members of your household about how to raise children?

1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time

60. If "a lot" or "some," which household members do you talk with about this?

- 0 - No answer
- 1 - Father
- 2 - Mother
- 3 - Parents
- 4 - Brother
- 5 - County Agent
- 6 - Relative
- 9 - Husband or wife

61. Who usually makes the decisions about how to raise children: the husband, the wife, both, or somebody else?

- 1 - W 2 - B 3 - H 4 - Other: _____
- 5 - Not applicable

Who decides about _____: the H, the W, B, or somebody else?

62. The number of children wanted.

63. With whom the children can play.

64. How the children will treat each other around the house.

65. Punishing children.

66. What farm chores the children will do.

Thinking about the last time _____, who decided on this: the H, the W, B, or somebody else?

67. When the children went to the doctor or dentist.

68. Children were given money.

69. Children were allowed to go somewhere,

70. When the children visited their friends.

71. When the children entertained in the home.

Social Relationships

72. How much time do you spend talking with your husband/wife (wives) about social ties?

- 1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time

73. How much time do you spend talking with other members of your household about social ties?
- 1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time
74. If "a lot" or "some," which household members do you talk with about this?
75. Who usually makes the decisions about social ties: the husband, the wife, both, or somebody else?
- 1 - H 2 - B 3 - W 4 - Other: _____
5 - Not applicable
76. Who decided where to live after getting married: H, W, B or somebody else?
- Who decides _____: 1 - H, 2 - W, 3 - B or somebody else
5 - Not applicable, 0 - No answer
77. Which relatives to be closest to.
78. On the choice of family friends.
79. About visiting wife's relatives.
80. About visiting husband's relatives.
81. Whether to go to meetings at the Rural Women's Extension Center.
82. Whether to go to meetings at the school to meet with your children's teachers.
83. Think about the last time you visited relatives. Who decided which relatives to visit: the H, W, B, or somebody else?
84. Think about the last time you visited friends. Who decided which friends to visit: the H, W, B, or somebody else?

Entertainment

85. How much time do you spend talking with your husband/wife (wives) about entertainment?
- 1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time

86. How much time do you spend talking with other members of your household about entertainment?
- 1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time
87. If "a lot" or "some," which household members do you talk with about this?
88. Who usually makes the decisions about entertainment: the husband, the wife, both, or somebody else?
- 1 - H 2 - B 3 - W 4 - Other: _____
- 5 - Not applicable
- Think about the past week. Who decided _____: H, W, B, or somebody else?
89. How you spent time together.
90. About going out.
91. What television programs to watch or what radio programs to listen to.
92. When to invite people to dinner.
93. What the family had for dinner.

Finances

94. How much time do you spend talking with your husband/wife (wives) about how money is spent?
- 1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time
95. How much time do you spend talking with other members of your household about how money is spent?
- 1 - a lot of time 2 - some time 3 - very little time
96. If "a lot" or "some," which household members do you talk with about this?
- 0 - No answer
1 - Father
2 - Mother
3 - Parents
4 - Brother
5 - County Agent
6 - Relative
9 - Husband or wife

97. Who usually makes the decisions about how money is spent: the husband, the wife, both, or somebody else?

1 - H 2 - B 3 - W 4 - Other: _____

5 - Not applicable

Who decides _____: the H, W. B, or somebody else?

98. How much money is spent on food.

99. How much money is spent on clothing.

100. How much to give to charity.

101. Whether the wife takes a job in town.

102. Whether to make handicraft products for extra income.

Now think about the last time your family _____. Who decided on this: the H. W. B, or somebody else?

103. Spent money on a big item such as furniture, car, etc.

104. Borrowed money for family needs.

IV. Aspirations

Different families have different goals. Now I am going to ask you some questions about how your family may differ from others. Compared to other families, is your family

0 - No answer; 1 - Trying less; 2 - Trying about the same;
3 - Trying more; 5 - Not applicable

to: _____

Goals: Farm Improvement

105. To get out of debt as soon as possible.

106. To expand the size of the farm.

107. To paint and repair the farm buildings.

108. To develop high producing livestock.

109. To increase production per acre.

110. To make changes in the livestock feeding program.

Goals: Community Participation

111. For adult family members to take an active part in farm organization.

112. To take an active part in extension work or other educational activities.

113. To take an active leadership in public programs or community affairs.

Goals: Child Development

(If respondent has no children, skip these questions. If children are already raised, ask about the way the respondent tried to raise children.)

114. To have at least one child become a farmer.

115. To give our children education beyond primary school.

116. To have our children take active part in the rural youth club.

117. To have our children assume definite responsibility for farm chores by 10 years of age.

118. To have children get along well with others.

Goals: Leisure

119. To have leisure time to do some things we would like to do.

120. To go hunting and fishing regularly.

V. Participation

Now I am going to ask you some questions about how you spend your time.

Mass Media

121. How often have you attended a movie in the last year? _____

1-8 - actual number; 9-9 or more; 0 - No answer

122. How many magazines did you read in the last month? _____

123. How many hours did you spend watching TV in the last week? _____

124. Do you listen to the radio daily? 1 - Yes _____ 2 - No _____

Organizational Participation

125. (Women only.) How many times did you go to the Rural Women's Extension Center last month? _____

126. How many times did you go to the Social Affairs Center last month? _____

127. How many times did you attend meetings at the school in the last year? _____

128. (Men only.) How many times did you attend meetings of the Societies' Administrative Boards in the last year? _____

Religiosity

129. Do you pray 5 times a day? 1 - Yes; 2 - No

130. Do you fast for the whole month of Ramadan? 1 - Yes; 2 - No;
0 - No answer

131. Why should charity be given to the poor? (CHECK)

- 1 - To show fear of God _____
- 2 - To show compassion _____
- 0 - No answer

VI. Attitudes

Now I wish to ask you about your opinions on a number of questions.

Orientation to Change

132. Do you think it is better to dedicate one's self to (1) conserving or to (2) assuring a good future? 1 2 (Circle)

133. What sort of things should be of the greatest concern to us? (Circle)

- 1 - Things of the past.
- 2 - Things of the present.
- 3 - Things of the future.

134. Do you prefer to plan ahead?
- 1 - On most matters.
2 - On few matters.
135. The amount of change in our way of life should be:
- 1 - Slower
2 - Faster
136. You cannot make progress without change. 1 - Agree; 2 - Disagree
137. I think the old ways are best for me, (Circle)
- 1 - Agree 2 - Disagree
138. It is best to seek (1) new and different experiences rather than
(2) the familiar.
- 1 2 (Circle)

Achievement Orientation

139. A person who plans has as many difficulties as one who does not.
1 - Agree _____ 2 - Disagree _____
140. Do you prefer farm work that is: (1) easy or work that is
(2) difficult?
1 2 (Circle)
141. Do you believe that a person's success is determined by:
1 - Fate
2 - By hard work and ambition.
142. People should try to improve their living conditions even if they
have to go into debt to do it. 1 - Agree; 2 - Disagree
143. A person really should not have to work any more than what it
takes just to live. 1 - Agree; 2 - Disagree
144. Generally, are you satisfied with your way of life? 1 - Yes ____;
2 - No ____

Orientations Toward Women's Equality

145. All girls should get at least a primary school education.
1 - Agree ____; 2 - Disagree ____
146. It would be best if girls were educated mainly to be good wives and mothers. 1 - Agree ____; 2 - Disagree ____
147. A woman's place is in the home. 1 - Agree ____; 2 - Disagree ____
148. Women cannot be trusted as much as men. 1 - Agree ____;
2 - Disagree ____
149. Girls' freedoms should not be increased. 1 - Agree ____;
2 - Disagree ____
150. Women are more irresponsible than men. 1 - Agree ____;
2 - Disagree ____

VII. Family

Now I wish to ask about your opinions concerning your family.

Extended Family Ties

151. Do you feel closer to your (1) friends or closer to your (2) relatives? 1 2 (Circle)
152. Now think of your three closest friends. Are any of these persons your relatives? (Number) _____
153. Have you ever borrowed a large sum of money for farming from other relatives? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____

Independence from Family

154. Would you prefer to live with your (1) parents or in a (2) separate house? 1 2 (Circle)
155. Is it more important to stay (1) near your relatives or (2) to move to find the best farm? 1 2 5 - Not applicable (Circle)
156. Do you seek advice from your parents about how to run your family? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____

157. Do you think that your extended family ties have greatly benefited you? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____

Nuclear Family

158. What do you consider the ideal number of children in a family? ____
159. Do you think that children (1) should always follow the opinion of their parents or (2) should parents take into account their children's opinions? 1 2 (Circle)
160. Were you pleased when your son was born? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____
161. Were you pleased when your daughter was born? 1 - Yes ____
2 - No ____
162. What would you like your sons' lives to be like? (If all are married, ask about grandson.)
- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 0 - Not applicable | 6 - Other occupation |
| 1 - Farmer | 7 - Housewife |
| 2 - Teacher | 8 - Happiness |
| 3 - Government official | 9 - Independent occupation |
| 4 - Army official | |
| 5 - Doctor | |
163. What would you like your daughters' lives to be like? (If all are married, ask about granddaughter.) Same categories as question 162.

Do you want to arrange:

164. Your sons' marriages? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____
165. Your daughters' marriages? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____
166. How old should your sons be when they marry? ____
167. How old should your daughters be when they marry? ____
168. What kind of a person would be a good wife for your son?
- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 0 - Not applicable | 5 - Housewife |
| 1 - Farmer | 6 - Educated |
| 2 - Teacher | 7 - Honor family |
| 3 - Government official | 8 - Cousin |
| 4 - Independent occupation | 9 - Other relative |

169. What kind of a person would be a good husband for your daughter?
Same categories as in question 168.

Would you be unhappy if:

170. Your son had more than one wife? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____
171. Your daughter's husband had more than one wife? 1 - Yes ____
2 - No ____

172. Where would you like your son to live?

1 - With family	4 - Urban
2 - Independent	5 - Anything else
3 - Rural	0 - Not applicable

173. Where would you like your daughter to live? Same categories as in question 172.

VIII. Background

Now I am going to finish up by asking questions about your background.

174. What is your age? ____
175. What is your place of birth? (1) Baghdad Province; (2) Elsewhere
176. Have you ever lived in a city? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____
177. For how long? ____
178. How old were you when you first married? ____
179. Would you say that your marriage was (1) arranged by your parents or was it a (2) love marriage? [Force a choice, i.e., who initiated the marriage?] 1 2 (Circle)
180. Is your wife/husband a relative? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____
181. (Wife only.) Could you tell me how much was your later dowry? ____
182. Are you now in a literacy program? 1 - Yes ____; 2 - No ____
183. If no: have you completed the literacy program? 1 - Yes ____;
2 - No ____
184. How many years of schooling do you have? ____

185. Could you estimate your annual income? How much was it last year? _____
186. Different families have different possessions. I wish to know whether your families own a number of things. Do you own a:
(Check if yes)
- _____ Radio
 - _____ TV set
 - _____ Sewing machine
 - _____ Ice box
 - _____ Automobile
 - _____ Truck
 - _____ Motor cycle
 - _____ Bicycle
 - _____ Horse
 - _____ Refrigerator

VITA

Younis Mahmoud Fattah was born in Mosul, Iraq, on July 1, 1933. He attended elementary and intermediate school in that city. In 1952 he attended Agricultural Secondary School at Abu Ghraib, Baghdad, and was graduated in June 1955. From July 4, 1955 to August 1974, he worked at the Ministry of Agriculture.

Beginning in 1969 he attended classes at the Department of Agricultural Cooperatives, College of Economics and Administration, University of Al-Mustansiriya, Baghdad, at night. On June 28, 1974 he received a B.A. degree in Agricultural Cooperatives. In 1975 he obtained a scholarship from the Ministry of Higher Education of Iraq to complete his graduate study. In January 1976 he entered the graduate school of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He was awarded the Master's degree in June 1977, with a specialty area in rural sociology. In September 1977 he entered the doctoral program in the Department of Sociology at the same University. His area of specialization was rural sociology. He is a member of the American Rural Sociological Society.

He is married and has a daughter and two sons.