

DEARBORN ARAB-MOSLEM COMMUNITY:  
A STUDY OF ACCULTURATION

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Atif Amin Wasfi

1964



This is to certify that the  
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DEARBORN ARAB-MOSLEM COMMUNITY:  
A STUDY OF ACCULTURATION  
presented by  
ATIF AMIN WASFI

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for  
Sociology and  
Ph.D. degree in Anthropology

*Charles C. Hughes*  
Major professor

Date May 22, 1964







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## ABSTRACT

### DEARBORN ARAB-MOSLEM COMMUNITY:

### A STUDY OF ACCULTURATION

by ATIF AMIN WASFI

The main problem of this study is centered around the attempt to analyze the acculturation process of one of the smallest and most recent ethnic groups in the United States, the Arab-Moslem community in the city of Dearborn, Michigan. The study deals with the cultural patterns of this group in general, and specifically with marriage patterns. Consideration is given to marriage patterns in order to examine in more detail the mechanisms of acculturation.

In order to conduct such an analysis, descriptive accounts of the cultures in contact, and the community in question were presented.

Four main techniques were conducted in data collection: participant observation, a field interview, unstructured interviews, and literature. The basic method was the participant observation. During a field work of six months, the writer fully participated in the various life activities of the community: recreation, invitations, visits, festivals, parties, business, worship, and gossip.

In analysis, a comparative method based on analytical tools was applied to the data that were both quantitative

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and qualitative. The method was also utilized in relating the outcome of the study to other anthropological and sociological studies on acculturation of American ethnic groups.

Some of the conclusions of the study are:

This case of culture contact has resulted in four cultural processes. These are acceptance, adaptation, reaction, and cultural creativity.

In technology, the impact of American culture was great upon the community. The only technological element that strongly retains the indigenous pattern was the matter of food habits. Symbolic behavior, especially religion and art, are the least changed. Social structure patterns were greatly influenced by the new culture, but not the same way as in technology.

Conflicts in values and sentiments were the source of most of the social problems between the immigrants and their descendants.

Although most of the descendants were mainly influenced during childhood by the indigenous culture through their immigrant parents, the American educational system of compulsory education has been the starting stage in minimizing the influences of the indigenous culture by enculturating the American patterns of behavior. American schools seemed to be the most responsible factor for the higher degree of acculturation among the descendants than that of their immigrant parents.

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The study emphasized the significance of religion as a basis of the unity in the community. This indicated that the community retained the indigenous cultural focus.

Last of all, comparing the outcome of the study with basic findings of relevant studies on acculturation among American ethnic groups has contributed in elaborating the generalizations involved by providing, for the first time, a whole descriptive, and analytical study on acculturation in the Dearborn Arab-Moslem community, the largest Arab-Moslem community in the United States and Canada.

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By

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

One of the smallest and most recently arrived ethnic groups in the United States is the Arab-Moslem immigrants. A few of their pioneers began to migrate to America at the beginning of the twentieth century, sometime after the Arab-Christians. The Christians had started to migrate to the U.S. around 1875. The reason why the Arab-Moslems came to the U.S. later than the Arab-Christians was partially due to the fact that they belonged to a different faith.

With respect to their number in the United States, an authentic estimation is 30,000. The largest concentration of them is found in the city of Dearborn, Michigan, in Detroit's Metropolitan area. They have lived in a ghetto-like community in the shadow of the Ford Rouge plant at the south end of Dearborn. This ghetto-like community is the subject of this study. Its location in Dearborn necessitates a brief description of the city.

With a population of 115,000 (in 1962), a land area of 25.3 square miles, and a density per square mile of 445, the city boasts of more than 200 industries. The most important is the Ford Motor Company, which employs 25 per cent of Dearborn workers and pays 51 per



cent of Dearborn taxes. Chief among Dearborn's points of industrial and civic interests are the mighty 1,200 acre Ford Rouge plant, Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village. Dearborn is, therefore, known as the home town of Henry Ford.

In addition, this industrial city is characterized by the following:

- a. A rapid growth of population: 63,584 in 1940; 94,994 in 1950; 112,007 in 1960; and 115,000 in 1962.
- b. The city is sometimes called a home owners' community. More than 85% of its homes are owner-occupied.
- c. The industrial city has no slums, even in those neighborhoods in the shadow of the Ford Rouge plant where the Arab-Moslem community is located.
- d. More than 45% of the population (in 1960) were from a foreign stock. The countries of their origin are listed in order from higher to lower on the basis of numbers of immigrants and their descendants as follows: Canada, Poland, Italy, England, Germany, Russia, Asia (most of them are Arab-Moslems), Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Ireland, Rumania, Greece, Lithuania, Sweden, Mexico, Finland, Denmark, Norway, France, Netherlands, Switzerland, Portugal, and others.

This illustrates the great variety of the city's ethnic structure. Many ghetto-like communities are found within the city, especially in the shadow of the plants, such as Mexican, Italian, Polish, Greek, and Arab-Moslem communities.

- e. The city is characterized by a complete strict housing prejudice against the Negroes.

### Problem

The Arab-Moslems came to the U.S. as carriers of the Middle East culture. They have established their commun-

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ity and adapted to the culture of the new land; therefore they provide a case of acculturation. The intercultural contact, the basic aspect of acculturation, is clearly represented by the coexistence of the Middle East culture and the American culture in the same community. The analysis of the interplay of the two cultures, as manifested by the community members, is the main problem of the study. This analysis necessitated descriptive accounts of the cultures in contact.

Moreover, it was felt that selecting a point of focus would be appropriate to analyze in detail the mechanisms of acculturation. Marriage patterns were selected to be the point of focus. In addition to my interest in studying these patterns, marriage patterns were related to some basic problems that threatened the whole future existence of the community. I was convinced that selecting such patterns would persuade the members to respond seriously to the structured and unstructured interviews.

Exploratory visits to the community showed that its members were originally from Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and Egypt. Although they partially belong to the Middle East culture, they differ greatly in their subcultures. The largest group, therefore, was selected to represent the community and to be the main concern in description and analysis. This largest group was the Lebanese which included about 75% of the community members.

In summary, the problem of this study is to analyze the acculturation process in which the Dearborn Arab-Moslems

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### Purpose

The basic objectives of the study are to:

Describe the Arab-Moslem subculture that was carried by the Lebanese immigrants, the founders of the community.

Provide descriptive data concerning the marriage patterns as found in the old culture, the adopted culture, and the Dearborn Arab-Moslem community.

Determine the main historical, spatial and cultural aspects of the community.

Analyze the types of culture contacts involved in the way of life of the community in question.

Analyze the situations of acculturation as found in the community.

Discuss the factors that accelerated the process of acculturation and that delayed the culture contact.

Analyze the adjustment of cultural patterns in acculturation.

Infer general conclusions and relate them to the results of other relevant studies.

### Method

Several techniques were conducted in order to fulfill the previously mentioned objectives. These techniques are:

1. Participant Observation: In this form of observation the writer took on, to some extent at least, the role of a member of the community and participated in its functions. The fact that the writer is an Arab-Moslem has two

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opposing effects on the research. On one hand this helped him to be accepted by the community. On the other hand, the possibility of bias, as originated either by the writer or by the informants, became a considerable problem. The awareness of this possibility during all the stages of the study and the attempts to control its effects played an important role in minimizing such possibility.

This technique was conducted during the field work period that, altogether, lasted for six months. About thirty days were spent in exploratory visits to the community. During these visits the objectives of the study were defined. The writer moved, with his family, to the community in June, 1963. Four months were spent in continuous field work. I introduced myself to the community members as "a teacher at Cairo University conducting his Ph.D. field work." The reference to my position gave me some prestige and at the same time encouraged the community members to trust and to have confidence in me.

Two identification cards were printed; one was in Arabic and the other was in English. On each, my name, position, address in Dearborn, and phone number were listed. By distributing these cards to every member I met for the first time, I became a known character in the community. Friendly relations were the only pattern of contacts between the members and the writer.

Participating in the community activities took many forms. Some of these were: attending their weddings, entertaining at parties, picnics, prayers, coffee-houses,

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and funerals. Exchanging social visits and dinner invitations, playing cards and backgammon in the coffee-houses, writing and reading some of their Arabic letters, and reading English and Arabic newspapers for the illiterates were additional forms of the participant observation. Moreover, the writer participated in some of their religious, political, and social debates and arguments.

"What should be observed?" was an important question during this period. "Everything" was an unachievable goal. A list of topics was devised and observations were concentrated on these subjects. It is important to note that no recording of notes was ever done during these contacts. A detailed daily recording, however, took place at home. The daily field notes covered about 500 large-size cards. These data were rearranged on the basis of the selected subjects. During the write-up, thirty days were spent in several visits to the community in order to collect recent data.

2. Field-Interview<sup>1</sup>: This structured interview aims at collecting quantitative data with respect to marriage patterns. The quantitative data as representing the cultural patterns and trends practiced by the interviewee were conducted as a complementary method in addition to participant observation. Although consistency was found between most findings of the two techniques, some differences were

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<sup>1</sup>The schedule of this interview is presented in Appendix B.

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presented. The most important was the "husband-wife problems" area. Although all the interviewees reported that such conflicts were nonexistent, participant observation and unstructured interviewing revealed many problems. Thus, each method was roughly conducted as a control technique with regard to the data collected by the other.

A list of 173 Lebanese adult males who experienced marriage was furnished through the lists of voluntary association members, personal contacts, and checking the houses in their area of concentration at the south end of Dearborn. This list represented almost all the Lebanese adult males (either by birth or origin) who were married at least once. Their names were arranged alphabetically and they were regarded as the universe. A random sample of 70 units was selected from this universe. The large size of the sample (more than 40%) was intended in order to increase the reliability of the data as the universe was relatively small.

#### Sample Representativeness

As the study was limited to the largest Arab-Moslem group, the Lebanese group, the sample represented only the adult males of this group who had experienced marriage at least once. The adult females were excluded on purpose. During the exploratory visits it was found that interviewing the wives would jeopardize the progress of the research.

Generation differentiation was clearly felt during the exploratory visits and was emphasized by Elkholy who compared the degree of religiosity of this community with that of another Arab-Moslem group in Toledo, Ohio (Elkholy, 1960: 121-153).

Nevertheless, this generation differentiation was misleading with respect to certain cases. Some members of the second and third generations were sent by their parents to the old land to be reared as Arab-Moslems. Those were hardly differentiated in their patterns of behavior from the first generation members. Therefore, the generation differentiation was not followed in this study. A more representative technique of differentiation was devised by dividing the sample into two groups:

GROUP A: This represents the members who spent their childhood and adolescence in the old land. The period between the ages of four and fifteen was roughly selected to represent childhood and adolescence. Spending this period in the old land indicated that these members were mainly influenced by the Middle East culture; or that Arab-Moslem culture was their first culture.

GROUP B: This includes the community members who spent the period of their life between the ages of four and fifteen years in the United States. These are regarded as influenced by the American culture in a greater degree than the culture of their origins.

Among the 70 units of the sample, 50 members belonged to Group A. and 20 persons were members from Group B.



This difference in size between the two groups in the sample was regarded as representative of the universe, and in turn, of the community. Most of the community members belong to Group A type. Their descendants, most of whom did not go to the old land, preferred to live outside the community for reasons that were discussed in another section.

The 50 Group A members of the sample belonged to three generations. Most of them (47 persons) were from the first generation, two belonged to the second generation, and the last one was from the third generation. All the 20 Group B members of the sample were from the second generation. The almost non-representativeness of the third generation in the sample was due to the fact that most of the third generation members were either children or unmarried youth.

Groups A and B are used in this study as two different types of cultural influences. Each has a different first or original culture. Group A had been influenced at first by the Arab-Moslem culture and then came to the United States. Group B members might have parents from Group A, but they lived all their lives in the United States; and therefore they were mainly influenced by the American culture.

These two types were used in the study as an analytical technique to analyze the interplay of the two cultures in contact. In addition, a hypothesis might be formulated with regard to Group A and B types. As soon as the writer

began to meet and to talk with the community members, he felt that Group B members were much more acculturated than Group A. The data presented in the following chapters approved the validity of such a tentative hypothesis. The writer's interest, however, is to apply the differentiation of Groups A and B only as an analytical technique in order to illustrate the influences of the two cultures in contact upon the community members.

3. Unstructured Interviews: During his social visits, the writer had no set questions to ask; but he tried to direct the discussions toward certain major topics selected before going to such meetings. No recording of notes was ever done during these interviews. In addition, non-directive interviews were frequently followed. A systematic recording from memory was carried out immediately after each meeting.

4. Literature: Some sections of the study are heavily dependent on studies conducted by others. In order to analyze the acculturation process, we should identify the properties of the cultures as autonomous systems and then as in contact. The limitation of space prevented us from presenting in detail the American culture properties. However, a brief account of its general characteristics was mentioned.

5. Comparative Method: All the previous techniques were mainly used in collecting data. The comparative method was conducted in analysis. Comparing the cultural pat-

terns in the community with both the American culture and the indigenous culture was the main technique used in defining the mechanisms of the process of acculturation.

In addition to these five main methods, some other techniques were followed, such as meeting the officials, taking pictures, and analyzing the writings of some of the community members.

### Limitation

The writer was aware of the following limitations:

1. Space. A complete presentation of American culture is excluded because of space. Such a presentation might provide a more comprehensive comparison.

2. Time. It was felt that a field work of one year might be more effective in understanding the way of life of the community in question. Cutting this period in half was enforced by uncontrolled circumstances.

3. Money. The six months field work was conducted without any grant. If there had been enough money, the writer would have been able to travel to Lebanon in order to make a field study of the original culture, instead of depending on literature. In addition, any grant might have helped in increasing the writer's participation in the community activities.

## CHAPTER II

### CULTURAL BACKGROUND

All the first generation members of the community came from the Middle East, which has been regarded by many anthropologists as a culture area. Patai (1952:1-21) defined the general characteristics of this culture area. At the same time he stressed some cultural variations in the area. The most important is the presence in all parts of the area of pastoral nomadic and seminomadic, as well as agricultural settled population elements (1952:20).

Bearing in mind the facts that most of the founders of the community came before 1930, and that they came from Lebanese villages, especially the two mountain villages of Tebneen and Bent Gabal, it would be more appropriate to regard the cultural background of the community as the Lebanese Moslem traditional village subculture. Although some Lebanese villages are partly westernized today, the writer emphasizes the traditional way of life because of the following factors:

1. Mountain Lebanese villages, the origin of most of the founders of the community in question, are still retaining most of their traditional subculture (Khayat and Keatings, 1956:41).

2. While the clear effects of Western civilization on the Lebanese village has taken place after the World War II, the founders of the community came to the U.S. . in the period

from 1900 to 1920. Thus these founders came to the U.S. as carriers of the traditional Lebanese village subculture.

This cultural background is divided into four major areas. The only reason for this division is to organize the data in categories to be used in analyzing the acculturation process.

These major areas are:

Habitat, technology and economics, organization of behavior relating man to things.

Conduct and social relations, organization of behavior relating man to man.

Symbolic behavior, the organization of expressed ideas and sentiments.

The life cycle.

Before dealing with these areas as related to the subculture in question, some general remarks should be presented, these are:

1. There are no clear cut lines among the previous four areas of culture, and interdependence is an important aspect of these areas.

2. Only some of the cultural complexes of the subculture in question are represented in the study. The writer's main objective is to give a general idea of the cultural background of the community in order to analyze the process of acculturation.

3. Although the following aspects may be presented in almost all Arab villages, the writer's main concern is the Lebanese-Moslem mountain villages that are the origin of the majority of the founders of the community in question.



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4. As marriage patterns are the point of focus of the study, the marriage patterns of Lebanese traditional villages are studied in detail in chapter three.

### HABITAT, TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

#### Settlement Pattern

A compact, nuclear form of structure is the first striking impression one gets of the village. It is a conglomeration of houses standing close to each other, divided by winding alleys and paths that do not have any regular design. Each alley is called hara or hei, and it is usually the habitat of one lineage.

The mosque stands as the physical center of the village. Around the mosque there are dwellings erected by the original families of the village. As a family multiplies, its dwelling place also multiplies by a process of "budding" which is developed by the Middle East patrilocal system. For generations this process of budding has been going on, resulting in the entangled mass of houses. Next to the mosque is the saha, an open space used as the village weekly market, and as a place for social gatherings. The few village stores are located around the saha. In villages that have two religious sects, two mosques exist and these villages are regarded as bicentral settlements (Tannous, 1943a:527-529).

Agricultural land owned or cultivated by the farmers begins just outside the village proper and extends in all directions from it. A regular and outstanding feature of the village territory is its extreme fragmentation.

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## Land and Agriculture

One of the strongest ties exists between the Arab farmer and his land. For countless generations it has been the only source of life for him and for his ancestors. He calls it the "blessed earth" and refers to it with reverence.

The Masha system is the prevalent land ownership system. Under this system each family owns a certain number of shares which entitle the owner to cultivate a certain amount of land for a period varying from one to five years. At the end of such a period a rotation of cultivators takes place (Tannous, 1943a:531-533). Although farming is the basic and dominant occupation of the village, some simple industries exist, such as silkworm culture, spinning, weaving and lime burning (Crist, 1953:414).

In the village the growing of cereals predominates. Wheat comes first, followed by barley, maize, dura (grain sorghum), and rice. Fruits are rather plentiful in Lebanon, with oranges, grapes, figs, apricots, melons, dates and olive leading. Agriculture is based on simple and ancient techniques such as the hard sickle, wooden plow and yoke, threshing board, the sieve and the brush broom. Most of these are homemade and their materials are locally found (Tannous, 1943a: 523 and Crist, 1953:409-411). In addition to human power, farm animals are the only sources of energy in agriculture.

One of the important economic activities of the Lebanese village is that involved with the production and consumption of olives. Winter is the season of harvest. Certain traditions and rules are strictly observed during this season.

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No one can start before the elders decide upon the time and place of picking. This decision is announced at the mosque or by the village crier. Picking the fruit is done mostly by beating it down with long sticks. This is exclusively a man's activity. On the other hand, only women and children gather the fallen fruit and put it in baskets or sacks. Also sorting is done by women. Each housewife then pickles enough olives to last the family the whole year. Besides, a year's store of oil is furnished through the olive. With enough oil and cereal to last the year around, the Lebanese farmer feels secure.

It is important to note that economic activities take place through the cooperation of the members of the extended family under the supervision of the family head, who is usually the oldest male. Cooperation in cultivation has other larger forms found among the members of the same patrilineage or village.

#### Division of Labor and Degree of Specialization:

A clear division of labor between the sexes is noted. Two generalizations may be made in that men handle the heavier tasks, and that they take up those tasks that carry more prestige. Taking care of the children, preparing meals, getting water from the spring or well, and washing and mending clothes is done exclusively by women. They also do the lighter tasks in the fields such as weeding, gleaning and fruit picking. Men do very little at home. In fact, they would be looked down upon by the community, including their wives, if they should handle any of the jobs assigned to women. In the

fields, they do the heavier jobs such as plowing, pruning, harvesting and threshing (Tannous, 1943a:335-336). A division of labor by age is clearly found. In the two previous sex areas, old persons handle the lighter tasks. Division of labor by specialization is not clearly found in the village. Very few families may be specialized in certain industries, such as making jars, or burning of lime.

In agriculture there is some type of specialization, some villages use the land exclusively for raising cereals and grazing. Others specialize in raising fruits, and leave practically no space for vegetable gardens or for grazing.

#### Food Habits:

Bread is an important and a daily food for the villagers. No meal is considered complete without bread, even bread alone is acceptable. It is literally "the staff of life" to these people. Consequently people have a great respect for bread and consider it reverently.

Another cereal which is very common among those people, is the burghul. It is made of wheat through a process of boiling, drying in the sun and removing some of the bran. It is used in preparing the well known Lebanese kebbe. This consists of burghul and lean meat pounded together into a thick paste in a large stone mortar. The paste may be eaten raw, with olive oil or samn (clarified butter), or it may be cooked in a number of ways.

Regarding the consumption of meat only male sheep, male goats, and chicken are used for meat. Seldom do the people kill a female goat, a female sheep, a cow or an ox

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for the meat. The Moslem religion has placed an effective taboo upon pork. The animal itself is repulsive to the Moslems, and they would rather go hungry than touch its meat. A similar Moslem taboo covers alcoholic beverages, therefore, most Moslems do not drink these beverages. Another practice related to the consumption of meat is that animals should be slaughtered in a specified manner, called zabih hala, by cutting the throat and letting the blood drain out. No one would touch meat from an animal that has been killed in a different way. A further observation is that those people are fond of eating raw meat, especially certain cuts of it. Most villagers eat meat once a week, usually Friday. Some of them do not have it more than once a month.

Dairy products are important and are consumed mainly in the form of leben (fermented milk), lebneh (cream cheese), white cheese, and samm (clarified butter). Milk is obtained from sheep, goats, cows, buffalos, and camels..

Coffee is the most important beverage, and it is related to a body of traditions. It is the symbol of hospitality and honoring a guest. Refusing it is taken as an insult or a sign of enmity. In homes the timing of the serving of coffee is a measure of the hospitality being extended. Tradition has always required that men be served before women and old men before young men (Khayat and Keatinge, 1956:89).

Pickled vegetables are an important part of their food. These are cucumbers, green pepper, small egg plants, turnips and green thyme. Favorite fruit always are figs and grapes. In general we can say that the important items of food are

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wheat, sheep (once a week), oil, milk, vegetables, pickled vegetables, fruit and coffee.

The main meal at mid-day usually consists of meat (only once a week), vegetable stews, potatoes or rice, pickled olive and bread. They are fond of pickles such as pickled olive, hommous (a puree of chick peas and sesame oil), and babaghanouj (the broiled eggplant puree). All or some of them are often served at meals or between meals. They also like fried or hard boiled eggs. A favorite salad called tabbouleh is very common in their main meals. It is a succulent salad of mint, parsley, onion, and tomato all chopped together and combined with soaked burghul, olive oil and lemon juice. In the evening they take a light meal similar to the breakfast (Khayat and Keatinge, 1956:22-23).

#### Houses and Furniture:

In Lebanese mountain villages most houses never rise above one story. Stone (mostly limestone), which is the most common building material, is used generally in constructing the foundation, the walls, the ceiling and the roof. Roofs of the simple houses are beamed of rough timbers covered with stones, and then plastered with clay or cement. A solid dome shaped structure with a flat or a convex roof is the result. Better houses have red tile roofs which made the red dotted mountainside which is so typical of Lebanon.

A typical house consists of a courtyard which may or may not be surrounded by a wall, and two or more square rooms, one of which is occupied by the farm animals during the short cold season. In the basic floor there is a common main room

which may have one or two small anterooms at the back. Just outside the front door is a flat, cleared space which may be roofed but more often is open to the sky. This veranda serves as the family outdoor living room.

The principal piece of furniture in the main room is the backless sofa. It has separate back cushions filled with straw to make them firm. Besides the sofa, the room may be furnished with several large armchairs. Usually some framed Koranic statements are hanged on the wall. They prefer to sit upon large cushions on the floor, these cushions are called tarraha. Carpets, goat or camel hair rugs and straw matting cover the clay or tiled floors. Pallet beds and cotton mattresses are used in some villages. An important piece of furniture is a portable wash tub made of copper, called dist; this is indispensable on laundry day. They use a cheap homemade hearth called mankal. It consists of a hollow clay vessel of any size, but generally about a foot high, with holes in its sides. The charcoal is burned inside the mankal during winter. A low table, called tablia, is used for serving food. The family sits crosslegged on the floor during taking their meals (Khayat and Keatinge, 1956:13,70-71).

#### Clothes:

Men wear baggy black trousers known as the sherwal, braid embellished jacket and flowing headscarf fastened round their head with a black cord. On special occasions, such as feasts and marriage ceremonies, they wear their long gambaz (outer gown). In winter, men are warmly wrapped in their wool abaa, the native cloak. It is a significant point to



note that no veiling is practiced in any of the Lebanese villages. Veiling is done among the women of towns and cities (Tannous, 1943a:538). A young village girl likes rich, bright colors, and if left to select her own materials, usually will select rich velvets, rustling taffetas, or brightly flowered rayon prints. She likes to mix several colors. Against this often flamboyant background, she displays her jewelry. To complete her ensemble, she puts on a bright headscarf called a mandeal. Older women prefer the black or white mandeal and another longer type called a tarhah of lace or thin silk, usually black, worn over it. Older women usually wear black dresses. In winter women are bundled into heavy woolen coats and hand knitted wool socks (Khayat and Keatinge, 1956:32 and 105).

### Conduct and Social Relations

#### Kinship and Kin Groups:

Life within the village is dominated by three foci of interest whose influences on behavior tend to be interwoven with each other. Stated in a most abbreviated fashion, kinship, religion and devotion to the land compose village life. Gulick sees that kinship is the most important of the three (1953:367). Although the writer emphasizes the importance of kinship in the village social structure, he sees that religion is the most important of the three. This point is presented in the section dealing with religion.

The importance of kinship is clearly represented by the fact that almost everyone has some kinsmen in the village.

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Kin relationships are recognized on both the father's side and the mother's side. But the matrilateral relationships are weak as compared to the strong authority of the patrilineal kin. Arab descent is reckoned patrilineally. Inheritance of property, exercise of authority, economic aid, defense, marriage and residence are defined according to the father connections (Sweet, 1960:163-164).

In the village the functions of patrilineal kinship relations are presumed to predominate in the organization of the village into patrilineage segments. In fact the village is divided into several sections, and each section is usually occupied by a certain lineage. The kin groups, through which the kinship relationships operate, are the basic units of the village social organization.

### 1. Patrilineage

This is the largest kingroup and it consists of a group of patrilineally related extended families. The village population is usually divided into several lineages or patrilineal kin groups. The size of these groups depends on the number of extended families that make them up. The number of the extended families varies from village to village according to the age of the village and the occurrence of disruptive factors which may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth (Tannous, 1943a:539).

#### A. Basic Characteristics:

The descent rule affiliates the child with the consanguineal kin group of the father. In case of marriage the woman leaves for good her family name and adopts her husband's



surname that is his lineage name. The name is the means by which each lineage identifies its members. There is a certain procedure concerning naming children. This is to name the first son after the grandfather. This serves to preserve the tie with the ancestors on the father's side. The patrilineal group includes those individuals who hail from the same ancestry. The name of the final ancestor, who is believed to be the origin of the patrilineal group, is continued to be the last name of the male descendants and their wives (Tan-nous, 1940:119-121). The patrilineal group has no special term in the native dialect and usually is called ela, which means family, and sometimes is called biet, which means house. These two terms are also used to refer to the extended family.

Choice of a spouse within the kin group is preferable to marriage with an outsider. The most preferable form is the marriage between a man and his father's brother's daughter, bint amm, in Arabic. In fact this marriage pattern is clearly found in all the Middle Eastern culture. It is closely related to the unwritten law that a man has the right to marry his bint amm, and that nobody else is allowed to marry a girl until and unless her ibn amm, that is her father's brother's son, gives his consent (Patai, 1955:371).

This patrilateral parallel cousin marriage is the basic factor in regarding the patrilineal group as an endogamous group. But it should not be overlooked that this pattern is the preferable form. In practice a villager marries a matrilateral first cousin or any other cousin. In addition, the choice of a non-relative from the village is encouraged. The

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# **Principles**

choice of a spouse from outside the village is tolerated, but not encouraged (Tannous, 1942:239).

Each patrilineal kin group occupies a contiguous segment of the village or the same alley of the village.

Within the patrilineage members, it is the general rule that the female respects the male (of her age or older), and that the younger member respects the older one despite the sex.

#### B. Basic Functions:

In general, lineage affiliation gives direction to behavior in special or crisis situations, and not so much in day-to-day living. This is presented in the following functions.

Contact, in the form of work, visiting, sharing a meal, borrowing, etc., takes place daily within the extended families of the same patrilineage, and presents are frequently exchanged. When an extended family is in need, the other branches rally to its aid. Tannous (1940:125) mentioned that there had never been one single case of begging in the history of his Lebanese village. In weddings, funerals and situations of sickness, all relatives attend and give a hand. The patrilineage as a social unit, may be emphasized by the fact that the child, from the start, learns that he should address every member of the patrilineage as cousin or uncle or grandfather or grandmother (Tannous, 1943a:539).

Quarrels among individuals of the same village are not limited to the individuals concerned. They start with two individuals, but soon they tend to precipitate a redefinition

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of the field in terms of lineage lines (Tannous, 1940:128).

The individual identifies himself with his extended family, not as such, but as a branch of the patrilineage. Individuals acquire the social status of their patrilineages by birth. It should not be overlooked that the identification with a certain patrilineage involves the males, their wives and the unmarried females. As mentioned previously, married women identify themselves with the husband's patrilineages.

Concerning leadership within the patrilineage, the oldest head of the extended branches may be regarded as the patrilineage head. Sometimes the heads of the extended branches form a council which is regarded as highest authority in the patrilineages. The patrilineage head or council plays a crucial role in settling the differences among the patrilineage members and between patrilineages. Sometimes these leaders settle the differences among members of the extended branches.

The significance of the patrilineage in the social life of the village is clearly represented by Tannous. He listed many proverbs that stress this significance such as "blood never becomes water" (1940:130).

In exceptional cases, a villager may run away from the village and change his name, but he has to suffer a great deal for this. He is referred to as one "whose origin is not known" (1940:119). Tannous (1940:124) showed how the swearing referring to the family and patrilineage was more violent than that indicating an attack upon the personal characteristics of the individual.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be addressed. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

2. Next, it is important to gather relevant information and resources. This can include researching existing solutions, consulting with experts, and collecting data.

3. Once the information is gathered, the next step is to analyze it. This involves identifying the key factors and determining how they relate to the problem.

4. After analysis, a plan should be developed. This plan should outline the steps that will be taken to solve the problem, including any resources that will be needed.

5. The final step is to implement the plan. This involves carrying out the steps outlined in the plan and monitoring progress along the way.

6. Once the plan has been implemented, it is important to evaluate the results. This involves comparing the actual outcomes with the expected outcomes and identifying any areas for improvement.

7. Finally, the results should be communicated. This involves sharing the findings with the relevant stakeholders and providing recommendations for future action.

## 2. Extended Family

Considering the ego as a married man, a typical extended family consists of the ego, his parents, his wife or wives, his married brothers and their wives and children, his unmarried sisters and brothers and his children. Membership in this group is very stable. The three living generations stick together as one solid unit. Behind them are the remote traditions of their ancestors. They re-live these traditions and strive to perpetuate them.

The newly married couple, who are usually in their teens or early twenties, do not by any means constitute a significant unit. They live with the extended family compound, they work on the common extended family farm and they possess no land of their own. The relationships among the extended families of the same patrilineal kinship group is characterized by cooperation and solidarity. The size of the extended family varies from 10 to 30 people, living together within the same compound of dwellings. Socially and economically, they function as one unit (Tannous, 1940:124).

### A. Basic Characteristics

The chief of the extended family is the grandfather, who is revered by the rest of the family. He is the symbol of authority and family solidarity. His oldest son assumes leadership after him. The dominant role of the children is to obey and respect, even in their personal affairs such as the choice of a spouse (Tannous, 1940:123).

There are clear differentiations of status-role based on sex and age in the family organization. In general the

**PLATE 1**



female's status role is a subordinate to that of the male.

The following indications emphasize this subordination:

1. Islam, in general, admits this differentiation, as presented in the holy Koran (1958: Surah IV:34):

"Men are in charge of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their property. So good women are the obedient, guarding in secret that which Allah hath guarded."

2. Although the right of a female child to inherit land is recognized, normally she foregoes that right in favor of her brothers. An implied explanation for this situation may be found in two other cultural complexes. One of these is the rule of patrilocalism, whereby a girl, upon marrying goes to live with her husband's people and becomes completely identified with them. In case she should inherit land, undesirable complications for both family groups would inevitably arise. Such complications become accentuated when the girl marries into another village. The other cultural complex is the emphasis of the culture on marriage. Practically every woman has a chance of getting married and her economic security is attained through that of her husband's (Tannous, 1943a:533).

3. Parents are named after the first son, but never after their first daughter. As soon as their first boy is born, the parents cease to be addressed by their own names. They are now addressed after the name of their son, such as Abo Ahmed, this means "the father of Ahmed," or Um Ahmed, means "the mother of Ahmed." No such naming of the parents after their daughter occurs. It is always the son.

4. The desire expressed by the parents and their relatives is always for a male child. "May God give you a son" is the usual saying. One never hears, "May God give you a daughter" (Tannous, 1943a:538).

5. In some localities, women of the household eat only after men have finished their meal (Tannous, 1943a:538).

Residence is strictly kept on the husband's parents' side. Therefore, upon marriage, the bride moves to the house of her husband's people and becomes completely identified with them. In case the girl does not marry at all, which is rather exceptional, arrangements are made for her to live with one of the brothers when the original extended family splits. Upon divorce, the woman normally returns to live with her people.

The patrilocal system of residence has resulted in the mentioned spatial organization of the village. The village is a conglomeration of houses standing close to each other, divided by winding alleys and paths. Each alley is called hara, and it is the habitat of one patrilineal group. Originally one or more extended families are regarded as the founders of the village. As these families multiply, the dwelling place multiplies by a process of "budding" which is developed by this system of residence (Tannous, 1940:128).

Membership in the extended family is very stable. The three living generations stick together as one solid unit. Behind them are the remote traditions of their ancestors. They re-live these traditions and strive to perpetuate them.

## B. Basic Functions

Economically the extended family members function as one unit. They own the land collectively, cooperate in its cultivation, and share equally its produce. At the death of the grandfather, the family splits into as many units as there are sons, each one of whom becomes the nucleus for the development of a separate extended family (Tannous, 1943a:588). A clear division of labor by sex is observed within the extended family. In general men handle the heavier tasks and they take up those tasks that carry more prestige. Taking care of the children, preparing meals, getting water from the spring or well, and washing and mending clothes is done exclusively by women. They also do the lighter tasks in the fields, such as weeding, gleaning, and fruit picking. Men do very little at home and do the heavier jobs, such as plowing, pruning, harvesting, and threshing (Tannous, 1943a:538-539).

Children should acquire an immense amount of traditional knowledge and skill, and should learn to subject their impulses to the many disciplines prescribed by the culture before they can assume their places as adult members of the society. The burden of this socialization falls upon the extended family with or without the participation of the offspring parents. Older siblings and cousins, too, play an important role in the process of socialization through daily interaction in work and play. Education and socialization are a collective responsibility of the whole extended family.

Social function includes all the other types of behavior of the members of the extended family. Day-to-day social life of the members is a matter of the family concern. Social visits, shopping, taking walks and going to the mosque or the coffee house--all these activities and others are fully or partially organized by the extended family as a whole. In addition the influence of the extended family reaches the spouse selection. The final decision in marriage is made by the extended families concerned. The parents, the aunts, the uncles, and the grandparents must have their say. Such an apparent interference may be explained by the fact that the newly married couple will not establish an independent home, but will live with the rest of the husband's family.

### 3. Polygynous Family

Although it is a unit of the extended family, it is not regarded as the smallest unit of the social organization. The smallest unit is the nuclear family. The polygynous family consists of several nuclear families linked through a common husband. The existence of the polygynous family is based on the fact that Islam, the religion of most Arab villages, permits polygyny within certain limits. The moslem can marry one, two, three, or four women and cannot marry at the same time more than four women. These wives should have equal rights and duties. The polygynous Moslem should treat his wives equally concerning the food, the dwelling, the clothes and all the other possible areas. In case that the Moslem could not treat his wives in this strict equality, he should not marry more than one (Wof1, 1958:68-69). In respect to

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this point is the following quotation from the Koran (1958: Surah, IV:3).

"And if ye fear that ye will not deal fairly by the orphans, marry of the women, who seem good to you, two or three or four; and if ye fear that ye cannot do justice then one."

It should not be overlooked that this justice, as defined by the Koran, does not include love because this is impossible. In spite of these limits on polygyny as defined by the Koran, many Moslems do not respect the justice condition. But they respect, as enforced by law, the maximum number of four wives.

Polygyny is not the prevailing pattern of marriage in the Arab-village but it is the occasional one. Monogamy is the prevailing pattern (Patai, 1955:371).

The polygynous family provides the same functions as the nuclear family. These are presented below.

#### 4. Nuclear Family

It consists typically of a married man and woman and their offspring.

It should not be overlooked that the nuclear family is not an independent unit but it is the basic unit from which the previous kin groups are compounded. The nuclear family members usually live with the extended family compound or house, work on the common extended family farm and possess no land of their own (Tannous, 1940:124). The nuclear family basic functions are:

a. The relationship between father and mother in the nuclear family is solidified by the sexual privilege which all societies accord to married spouses.

b. Sexual cohabitation leads inevitably to the birth of offspring. No birth control limitations are followed in the nuclear family. Abortion, infanticide, and neglect are prohibited religiously and socially. The mother and/or the father are not the only persons who nurse, tend and rear their offspring to physical and social maturity. Many members of the extended family may participate in these activities.

c. The psychological relationships such as love and sympathy between husband and wife, between parents and offspring and between siblings are provided by the nuclear family.

Beyond these three functions, the nuclear family does not figure much in life's situation. Therefore Tannous (1943a: 537) regarded the nuclear family in the Arab village as the least significant kin group.

##### 5. Kinship Terms

Most of the traditional village kinship terms as reported by the old first generation members of the community are identical with the Syrian Moslem kinship terms presented by Davis (1949:244-252). The same terms are found by Gulick (1953:368) in his study of a Lebanese village. Therefore there is no need to repeat these terms here. However, some kinship terms were not mentioned by Davis; these are:

mart abi            my step-mother

zoog ummi          my step-father

dorriti            my husband's wife (in the case of polygyny)

With respect to the general characteristics of these terms, Gulick (1953:368-369) said:





"The system is bifurcate collateral in type and so it makes possible the specific designation of all types of first cousin, male and female. Of these, only patrilineal parallel cousins are necessarily members of ego's lineage, with all the rights (including, theoretically, the inheritance of property) and obligations which this involves."

The prevailing pattern of the terms employed for cousins, ibn amm, bint amm, ibn ammt, bint ammt, ibn xaal, bint xaal, ibn xaalt and bint xaalt are derivative rather than elementary.

Some of the previous kinship terms are applied to non-relatives who live in the same village. For example, the term "amm" is regularly used as a respectful form of address by any villager to any other male villager of his parents' age (unless the older man is a mother's brother). It is a prevailing pattern that an older person must be called ammit if it is a woman. To use the personal name alone would be disrespectful, and so, in a different but very significant way, one would use the Arabic titles (Mr.) or (Mrs.). These titles are addressed only to complete strangers or outsiders (Gulick, 1953:370).

#### Kinship Terms Analysis

Murdock (1949:101) presented nine criteria which include all the principles actually employed by human societies in the linguistic classification and differentiation of kinsmen. These nine criteria are selected to be the bases of analyzing these kinship terms. These criteria are:

1. The criterion of generation rests on a biological foundation. The facts of reproduction automatically align people in different generations. As it is stated by Davis

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(1949) the kinship terms are differentiated by generations in the first five categories. There are, however, some terms which ignore this criterion, these are: ibn ammi, bint ammi, ibn ammti, bint ammti, ibn xaali, bint xaali, ibn xaalti, and bint xaalti. It is a point of significance to indicate that these eight terms are represented in English by one term, cousin. The previous eight terms as well as the English term ignore the generation criterion; for example, a term may signify the first cousin once or twice removed.

2. The criterion of sex derives from another biological difference, that between male and females. All the Lebanese village kinship terms recognize this criterion.

3. The criterion of affinity arises from the universal social phenomena of marriage and incest taboos. In consequences of the latter, marital partners cannot normally be close consanguineal relatives. Some Lebanese village kinship terms ignore this criterion, these are:

- a. ammi - is applied to my father's brother and to my father-in-law.
- b. urt ammi - is applied to my father's brother's wife and to my mother-in-law.
- c. bint ammi - is applied to my father's brother's daughter, to my wife--even if she is not a consanguineal relative--and to my wife's sister.
- d. ibn ammi - is applied to my father's brother's son, to my husband (by a female Ego), to my wife's brother and to my husband's brother (by a female Ego).

The previous non-differentiation between the consanguineal relatives and affinal ones may be explained by the fact that the Arab-Moslems prefer the patrilateral parallel cousin marriage; that is a man prefers to marry his father's brother's daughter, and a woman prefers to marry her father's brother's son.

4. The criterion of collaterality rests on the biological fact that among consanguineal relatives of the same generation and sex, some will be more closely akin to Ego than others. A lineal descendant, for example, will be more nearly related than the descendant of a sibling or cousin (Murdock, 1949:103). Although most of the Lebanese kinship terms recognize this criterion, there are some cases where the same terms are employed for consanguineal kinsmen related to Ego in different degrees. The eight terms, discussed above, which ignore the generation criterion, may be regarded as examples.

5. The criterion of bifurcation applies only to secondary and more remote relatives, and rests on the biological fact that they may be linked to Ego through either a male or a female connecting relative. This criterion is completely recognized by the kinship terms in question. One, however, may object to this generalization by referring to the terms ziddi and sitti, the first means my father's father or my mother's father, and the second means my father's mother or my mother's mother. This is true, but it should not be overlooked that there are other terms to distinguish a particular grandparent, these are abu abi, my father's father, abu ummi, my father's mother, umm abi, my father's mother, and umm ummi, my mother's

mother. This clear cut differentiation of terms by the sex of the connecting relative may be explained by the fact that the Arab-Moslem culture is characterized by a clear status-differentiation by sex.

6. The criterion of polarity arises from the sociological fact that it requires two persons to constitute a social relationship. Linguistic recognition of this criterion produces two terms for each kin relationship, one by which each participant can denote the other (Murdock, 1949:104). Most of the kinship terms in question recognize this criterion. The fact that two brothers, two sisters, two brothers-in-law, or two sisters-in-law apply the same term to one another is really an incidental result of the recognition of other criteria. The terms ignoring this criteria are those involved in the following relationships: ibn amm - ibn amm, bent amm - bent amm, ibn xaalt - ibn xaalt, and bint xaalt - bint xaalt.

7. The criterion of relative age reflects the biological fact that relatives of the same generation are rarely identical in age. Of any pair, one must almost inevitably be older than the other (Murdock, 1949:105). The Lebanese village kinship terms do not recognize this criterion.

8. The criterion of speaker's sex rests on the biological fact that the user of a kinship term as well as the relative denoted by it, is necessarily either a male or female. Kinship systems which recognize this criterion will have two terms for the same relative, one used by a male speaker and the other by a female (Murdock, 1949:105). The Arab kinship terms do not recognize this criterion.

9. The criterion of decease is based on the biological fact of death. This criterion is not recognized by the village kinship terms.

Discussing the factors that have led to selection or rejection of particular criteria is beyond the study. However, at this stage of investigation, it is the present writer's impression that the most important factors in question are the pattern of preferential marriage which is the patrilineal parallel cousin marriage and the social structure of the kin groups which is studied in other sections.

#### Festivities and Social Occasions

There are many social occasions when the village as a whole comes together for celebration and entertaining. Some of these occasions are presented in the following:

1. Feasts: The most important are the Islamic. In addition to the religious rituals of the Islamic feasts, these are occasions for celebration and recreation by the whole Lebanese-Moslem village. These feasts are Eid Elfetr, Lesser Bairam, and Eid Eladha, Greater Bairam. On these occasions people stop working and put on new clothes which are bought especially for the occasions. In the early morning of the first day of the Eid, men and boys attend the religious ceremonies of these feasts in the village mosque(s). Then they go home to enjoy a special meal. Usually they invite their relatives and friends to participate in these meals. Social visits and meal invitations are a clear aspect of the occasions. During the feast days, it is a sacred greeting to congratulate the others on being alive and in good health. The traditional

feast greeting is: Kol sanna we enta teib, which means (I hope you are in good health every year).

These feasts, in addition, are occasions for amusement and recreation activities such as singing, dancing, and playing native games, Jareed and Keimek that were described in detail by Tannous (1940:82-85). An important event during the feast is a fight. Usually it is not taken very seriously.

2. Visiting and Hospitality: Visiting one's relatives, neighbors, or friends, is such a common recreation in the village that housewives are always prepared to receive callers. Refreshments are always served, whether guests are present by invitation or at their own initiative. In mountain villages, visiting is more common during winter than during summer.

Visits begin with exchanging greetings for a long time. Greetings over, the guests exchange news of the village. There is no such thing as a secret in the village. Women sit together in a corner to exchange feminine gossip such as engagements, match-making, bride-wealths, and babies. Men speak about the details of the latest death, sickness, quarrels, political issues, and economic problems.

Hospitality during the social visits is an important aspect of the village social life. Lebanese women are brought up to show a smiling face and offer gracious hospitality to any and all callers. It has been always considered disgraceful conduct not to offer food and considerate conversation to a visitor. It is the women who arrange the frequent family gatherings. In Lebanese villages families get together as often as possible and they compete in hospitality demon-

strations (Khayat and Keatinge, 1956:102).

3. Coffee-Houses: Each village has at least one, and perhaps two coffee-houses located in the saha. These are the second center of getting together, gossiping and exchanging political views. In fact conversation is the core of Lebanese social life and recreation. In these coffee-houses men gather to enjoy conversation and playing cards and backgammon.

4. Ceremonies: The haj, pilgrimage to Macca, is a dominating factor in the life of the Moslem villager. He may never be able to accomplish such a religious trip, but he is always planning for it. When he succeeds, his departure and his return are occasions for celebration by the whole village. Food, soft drinks and coffee are served on this occasion. In addition, the people enjoy dancing the Debka and hearing the Arabic music and songs. In marriage and circumcision, the same celebration takes place and the whole village enjoys the occasion.

In the traditional Lebanese village, the only education is the religious one. The boy six years old is sent daily to the village Sheik house. The sheik teaches him how to read the Koran. At the end, when the boy finishes reading all the Koran, by repeating the Sheik's reading, a celebration is held in the village. At the boy's parents' house, food and coffee are served, and dancing circles are held.

#### Political Organization:

Leaders develop gradually and spontaneously, by measuring up to certain qualifications. These are ideally, land ownership, old age, good family background, generosity, good



moral character and intelligence, which they express as "wisdom." Naturally, very few individuals ever attain all of these points and a compromise has to be made. Usually, there is a formally organized or informal village council consisting of leaders from the various lineages. This representative body settles disputes between individuals and decides upon various village affairs. In some villages, under the influence of the central government, municipalities have been established, members of which are elected. Recently, the government has been represented by the moukhtar (mayor) who is usually elected by the people. Politics are a chief conversational topic.

Greeting:

The friendly way of greeting and of conversation is the typical aspect of almost all the interpersonal relations of the people of the same village. Each villager knows the others personally and the basic way of communication is face to face relationship. This friendly type of interpersonal relations is clearly represented by the extravagant phrases of greeting which crowd the Arabic Language. These phrases make an occasion of even the most casual meeting of two old friends who regularly see one another at least once a day.

No such thing as a brief "hello" exists in the language; the word is embellished into an extensive greeting. Even the briefest exchange of greetings that is allowed by ordinary politeness is a warm and sincere questioning into the health and welfare of the individual.

This friendly aspect is clearly represented in most areas of interpersonal relationships, even in business dealings. These dealings always begin on a note of profuse cordiality and good will. Each individual asks of the other's health and the health of each of his immediate relatives. After such an exchange has gone on for some minutes, the matter of business will be introduced gently into the conversation (Khayut and Keatinge, 1956:102).

The Village as a Social Unit:

In spite of the fact that the Lebanese village is divided into several patrilineages, there are many indications emphasizing its social unity. However, it seems that the identification with the village (although very significant) has never been as intensive and extensive as with the extended family and the patrilineage. The following indications stress the village social unity:

1. Tannous (1942:283) presented some proverbs that stress this unity such as "every tree has its shadow, and every village has its own customs."
2. The application of some kinship terms to village-fellows, whatever the nature of the personal relationship might be, indicates the village in-group (Gulick, 1953:370).
3. The choice of a spouse from the same village is very common. Gulick (1953:371) therefore regarded the Lebanese village as a type of kinship structure which may be defined as an endogamous local group that is segmented into patrilineages which are preferably endogamous but often exogamous in practice.

4. Islam provides the rationale for rites of passage and intensification which generally play an important part in periodically reinforcing feelings of village unity.

5. In situations of conflict, village identity is clearly demonstrated. When quarrels take place between individuals from different villages, usually such quarrels do not end with the individuals concerned. They tend to implicate the two village groups (Tannous, 1942:239).

6. Also in situations of competition, village identity is clearly presented. When the young men of one village participate in religious festivities in a neighboring village, they do so as the young men of, for example, Farhona. They try to outdo other villages in group dancing, horse racing or singing.

7. Villages have consciously developed some distinctive identifications. All the people of every village are proud of a certain virtue of their village. For example, the Bishmizzeen people are conscious of their entity as the "Bishmizzeen group" in respect to learning. They have always been proud of their fine village school. Amyoon is conscious of itself as being strong. Kafer-Akka is proud of the fact that its farmers are the most industrious and successful (Tannous, 1942:239).

### Symbolic Behavior

#### Language

The mountainous Lebanese villages, as well as all the people of the Middle East speak Arabic. Arabic belongs to the Semitic group of languages. Of this group, Arabic is not

only the best known, but the most characteristic, the most copious and, in many respects, the most conservative. The medium of daily expression for some fifty million people, it stands in marked contrast to its sister languages many of which are dead. The living ones are spoken on a much smaller scale (Faris, 1944:5). The characteristic feature of Semitic languages is their basis of consonantal roots, mostly trilateral. Variations in shade of meaning are obtained, first by varying the vowelling of the simple root, and secondly by the addition of prefixes, suffixes and in-fixes. Thus, from the Arabic root salima, to be safe (literally, he was safe) we derive sallama, to receive; istaslama, to surrender; salāmun, peace; salāmatun, safety; well-being; and muslimun, a Moslem. Word forms derived from the trilateral roots, and retaining the three basic consonants, are associated with meaning patterns (Haywood and Nahmad, 1962:2).

As an evaluation of Arabic, Sapir (1921:207) lists it as one of the five languages which have had an overwhelming significance as carriers of culture.

The Arabic alphabet consists of 28 letters, which are all consonants: three of them, however, ā, w, y, are also used as long vowels or diphthongs. The transcription of Arabic alphabet is, a, b, t, th, j, h, Kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, E, gh, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, and y.

Haywood and Nahmad (1962:496-497) classified Arabic into:

1. Classical Arabic which dates from the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. It is the language of the Koran and is therefore not permitted to change to any marked extent.

2. Modern Literary Arabic.
3. Modern Spoken or Colloquial Arabic.

The main dialect areas are:

Egypt

The Sudan (and Upper Egypt)

The Maghrib (Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco)

The Levant Coast (Syria and Lebanon)

Iraq

The Arabian Peninsula

Lebanese villagers speak the Levant Coast Arabic dialect. Some of the first generation people of the community could recognize the villages of each other on the basis of their dialects. According to them, each village has a special dialect. The discussion of the characteristics of the Levant Coast dialect is beyond the study. Moreover, such a discussion needs a full presentation of Classical Arabic language.

### Religion

Islam, the prevailing religion of the Middle East, is the religion of the Lebanese-Moslem village. Islam, in the village, is so old and so deep-rooted that it has permeated all aspects of the village life and become inseparable from them. The basic beliefs and rituals of Islam are briefly presented in the following:

#### Beliefs:

Few dogmas should be accepted by the believer on their face value. First in number and importance is the one pertaining to the oneness of God, expressed in the euphonious formula La Ilaha illa Lah, which means "No god whatsoever but

God." This is one of the most repeated phrases in the Arabic language. Its concept is the cornerstone of Islamic structure. The second dogma is closely associated with the first and relates to the prophethood of Mohammed rasulu-l-Lah, (Mohammad is the Messenger of God). In the koranic system of theology, Mohammad is no more than a human being, but in folklore he is invested with a divine aura. The third dogma makes the Koran the word of God. This holy book embodies the final revelation. Closely connected with the Koran is Gabriel, foremost among the angels, bearer of the revelation and the spirit of holiness. Belief in angels is essential. The last dogma asserts the reality of life after death, entailing resurrection of the body and involving reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked (Hitti, 1962:18-19).

#### Rituals:

Islamic acts of devotion or worship, also called the pillars of faith, can be summed up under five categories. First in number and importance is the profession of the unity of God and the messengership of Mohammad, expressed in the double-formula: No god whatever but God; Mohammad is the messenger of God. Belief is not enough; profession is obligatory. In fact Islam is satisfied with a verbal profession of this doctrine in the case of a new convert. The double-formula is repeated by the muezzin thrice, from the minaret, in each of the five prescribed daily prayers. At the muezzin's call the believer should observe his ritual prayer (Hitti, 1962: 19-20). The ritual begins before the prayer by ablution. With running water the Moslem rinses his mouth, rubs his teeth,

snuffs water into his nostrils, splashes his face, hair, and beard, and washes his ears, orifices, hands, forearms, and feet. Now he may address God. He turns toward the Prophet's city, Mecca, and lays his hands on his hips as he formally declares his intention to worship God with a sincere heart. Then he places both thumbs to his earlobes, opens the hands on either side of his face, and praises: "God is most great." Next he places right hand over left and holds both at navel height while reciting the fatha the Koran's opening surah, and a section of any other surah. Then he bows and falls on his knees. He presses his face to the ground and extols God (Honigmann, 1963:167-168). Each prayer of the daily five prayers has a certain number of genuflections and prostrations. In addition to the five prayers there is, of course, the spontaneous individual prayer, subject to no regulations. A weekly congregational prayer is conducted on Friday noon. Two annual congregational prayers are conducted in the early morning of the first day of each of the two Islamic feasts, Lesser Biram and Great Biram. Fasting is the third pillar of faith. Islam enjoins it from dawn till sunset throughout the month of Ramadan. It involves abstinence from food, drink, smoking and conjugal relations. Almsgiving, the fourth pillar of Islam, is a legal tax raised and spent by the state for support of the needy, building mosques and other general purposes (Hitti, 1962:20). Pilgrimage is the last among the pillars. At least once in his life time, if he can afford it, the Moslem should go as a pilgrim to visit the sacred places of Mecca and Madina in Saudi Arabia. However, few of the

world's moslems (about 450 million) can afford this ritual. Pilgrimage involves many ceremonies, such as the Kaaba seven-fold circumambulation, Kissing the Kaaba Black Stone and offering sacrifice (Hitti, 1962:21).

A significant point is the fact that the community in question, as well as the Lebanese-Moslem village, especially those located on the mountains, includes members of the big Islamic sects, the Sunni sect (followers of the sunnah (custom, use, path), the theory and practice of the orthodox Moslem community), and the Shi'ah sect (the followers of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law). In the Middle East the Sunnis number at present is about 380,000,000 and the Shi'ahs some 50,000,000. Today Persia and Yemen are predominantly Shi'ah, Iraq is about fifty-fifty (Hitti, 1962:18). In Lebanon, there are many more Sunnis than Shi'ahs. The Lebanese Shi'ahs concentrate in the mountain area at the south end of Lebanon. However, in Dearborn there are more Shi'ahs than Sunnis.

Guillaume (1956:119-120) presented that the outstanding difference between Sunni and Shi'a doctrines of infallibility and superhuman knowledge is that with the former, infallibility is not a quality inherent in the prophet by virtue of his being, but a special grace from God. His superhuman knowledge is given him from time to time by God, whose message he repeats to men. His merit was to be chosen by God to be his mouthpiece. Thus the Sunnis kept much closer to the Koranic texts like, "Say; none in heaven and earth knows what is hidden but God." On the other hand, with the Shi'ahs sinless-



ness and infallibility are in the imāms and of them. They possess a secret knowledge inherited from their superhuman forbears by which they know Resurrection Day. Therefore they cannot err.

Among the Shi'ahs themselves, the very question of the Imamate produced a schism, thus the Isma'eliyah, the Druzes and the Assassins emerged.

#### The Two Sects in the Lebanese Village:

Some differences in rituals and other activities are found among the Sunnis and the Shi'ah in mountain Lebanese villages. Some of these are summarized in the following:

1. In the profession of faith, the Sunnis recite the confession: "No god whatsoever but God, and Mohammad is His Prophet." The Shi'ahs add another statement, they recite the confession: "No god whatsoever but God, and Mohammad is His Prophet and Ali, verily, is God's saint."
  2. Many Shi'ahs repudiate the first three caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Omar and 'Othman. They hate especially 'Omar.
  3. Each sect followers have their own mosques, religious leaders (sheiks), cemeteries, courts and sharieah<sup>1</sup>.
  4. The Sunnis highest judge is called Al mofti, the Shi'ahs highest judge is called Al'Imam Al'Akbar or Al'nogtahed Al'Akber.
  5. While many Sunnis swear with an appeal to Mohammad's life, many Shi'ahs swear with an appeal to the Iman's life; Imam here refers to Imam 'Ali.
  6. In the marriage ceremony, the Sunni sheiks ask the bride and groom or their agents to repeat:
- 
- <sup>1</sup>Islamic laws concerning marriage, inheritance and divorce.

"I ... married ... on the basis of the precept (commandment) of God and His Messenger."

The Shi'ah sheiks add the following statements, "...and the Imams Ali, and so on to the twelfth Imam's name."

7. There are also some differences in the ritual of ablution before prayer. For example, the Sunni lets the water run from his hand down the arm to the elbow; the Shi'ah reverses the process, so that the water runs from the elbow to the hand.

8. The Shi'ahs tend to combine the noon prayer with the afternoon prayer and the sunset prayer with the evening prayer. This convention is not followed by the Sunnis.

9. While the Sunnis favor praying in a group, the Shi'ahs favor praying singly.

#### The Significance of Religion:

There are many indications which stress the significance of Islam in the village way of life. Some of these are presented in the following:

##### 1. Islam Stability:

Everybody in the village is born into its faith and is expected to remain in it for the rest of his life. A convincing manifestation of this stability has been found in the extreme reluctance of the village people to yield to conversion. The same attitude has been shown toward the energetic attempt at conversion by Western missionaries during the last hundred years. It is a well-known fact that not more than ten to twenty Moslems in the whole Middle East have been converted (Tannous, 1943a:541).

## 2. The Mosque as the Center of the Village:

The mosque as the holy place and the God's house, is the center of the village and the symbol of the existence of Islam in a certain village. The basic function of the mosque is to provide a clean place for single and group prayers. Some ceremonies of the feasts are conducted in the mosque. The village people build it in a cooperative way. They choose their imam or sheik, who leads them in prayer and performs for them certain ceremonies, especially the religious ceremony of the funeral. He is paid a certain unassigned wage, mostly in kind. Those religious leaders are not full-time sheiks, they do some farming. People consult the Sheik about their personal problems from time to time.

3. Tannous (1942:236) presented some proverbs that stressed the importance of religion in the village social life. Some of these are stated in the following:

- a. God helps each one in his own faith.
- b. Never accompany him who has no religion.
- 4. The most violent swearing expressions are those aimed at religion, such as:
  - a. May God curse your Mohammad!
  - b. May God curse your religion!

These expressions create the most violent reaction. The reaction is even more violent than that produced by a curse aimed at the family group. The violence of the reaction is also relative to whether the curse comes from one of the same faith or of a different faith (Tannous, 1942:236).

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5. Some other significant points are stated in the following:

- a. Villagers prefer to use Moslem names, such as Mohamad, Ali, Ahmed, Fatma, etc.
- b. All the villagers marry Moslem girls.
- c. In conflict situations, when the participants belong to different faiths, the conflict field tends to comprise a wide area and to take on a violent character.

6. The bearing of Islam on the other cultural aspects:

Although interdependence of the different culture aspects of the Lebanese village is presented in some sections, the most important influences are those presented by Islam. Full analysis of these influences and interrelations is beyond the study. However, some of these influences are briefly presented in the following:

Economic Activities:

A. Every Friday and during the religious festivals of the year, village people stop work and indulge in religious rituals and recreational activities (Tannous, 1943a:540).

B. When nature fails him and his crops are threatened with ruin, the villager turns to the village mosque. In his prayers he can ask God to bring down rain, to bless the produce and to ward off the evil eye (Tannous, 1943a:540).

C. The Moslem believes that everything is done by God. Therefore when the weather has been propitious, and the grasshoppers may come to cut the yield by one-third or more, the villagers accept these crises with patience, because these are "acts of God" (Crist, 1953:410).

Kinship:

A. The stress for solidarity and the cooperation among the kinsmen is expressed by many Koranic statements such as:

1) God said, "It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces to the East and the West, but righteous is he who believeth in Allah and the Last Day and the Books and the Prophets; and giveth his wealth for love of Him, to Kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the warfarer and to those who ask" (1958, Surah II:177).

2) God said: "And serve Allah. Ascribe nothing as partner unto Him. Show kindness unto parents, and unto near kindred, and orphans, and the needy and unto the neighbor who is of kin and the neighbor who is not of kin, and the fellow-traveller and the wayfarer and those whom your right hand possesses" (1958, Surah IV:36).

B. The patriarchal type of family organization and the subordination of women to men are illustrated by Koranic statements (1958, Surah IV:34).

C. The polygynous family is recognized and regulated by the Koran.

D. Islam recognizes divorce, but there are many restrictions. It is conducted only after the failure of several reconciliating attempts. Prophet Mohammed said: "The worst legal procedure according to God is divorce" (Wof1, 1947:182).

E. All the laws concerning the family relationships and inheritance regulations are Islamic laws.

### Marriage Patterns:

A. Islam admits polygyny according to certain regulations.

B. Islam assigns two basic duties to men before marriage, paying the advent bride-wealth and preparing a suitable settlement. The second duty may explain the residence rule of patrilocality.

C. The religion defines the relatives whom a Moslem cannot marry. First-cousin marriage is recognized by Islam.

### Festivities and Recreations:

The only feasts which are the important occasions of recreation are the religious feasts.

### Typical Conversation:

Never would a villager talk about his children, livestock, land, or produce without uttering at frequent intervals the name of Allah in a variety of phrases (Tannous, 1943a:540). The most repeated phrase is Ensha-a-Allah, God willing. This phrase is used always in speaking about any future action.

### Magic and Values:

Many religious influences are found in magic and values. These are presented in the following pages.

These examples show the extent and the intensity of the interdependence of Islam and the other cultural aspects of the village. Therefore, the writer sees that religion is the culture focus in the Arab-village. However, it should not be overlooked that some of the previous influences of Islam had been found in the ancient Bedouin-Arab culture before Islam (Grandefroy-Demombynes, 1954:127). Islam has played an im-

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portant role in elaborating these ancient cultural aspects, in preserving, and in carrying them to new places such as Lebanon.

### Magic

Although the writer sees that there is a very thin line between magic and religion, he disagrees with Norbeck (1961: 35) on regarding magic as a part of religion. Magic and religion are used in this study as different terms. Within the domain of supernatural, magic is defined as a ritual consisting of acts which are only means to definite ends, expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfillment of their purpose (Malenowski, 1954:88). In addition, the two concepts are clearly differentiated by the Lebanese-Moslems. This differentiation may be related to the fact that the Koran deals with magic as something different from religion. Moreover, practicing magic is opposed by Islam (1958, Surah XX:58 and 73).

In the Lebanese village there are two types of magic, one is conducted by part-time or full-time specialized magicians, the other is conducted by the ordinary villagers. The first type is usually related to diseases and birth problems. Bearing in mind that children are strongly desired in the village, the childless couple are regarded abnormal in the eyes of the villagers. The rare existence of medical services in the village and the pattern of avoiding medical examination, which may be due to prudishness, force the childless couple to ask for magical services (Tannous, 1940:66-68).

The second type of magic may be called folk magical rituals. These may be divided into two sections:

1) Non-Religious Rituals.

Many examples are presented by Khayat & Keatinge (1956:147-148). "Spilling a cup or a pot of coffee brings good luck", and "a quivering eyelid means bad news are on the way" are some of these examples.

2) Religious Rituals.

The second is the type which involves religious dogmas or rituals. In spite of this involvement, it is more related to magic than to religion. Many examples illustrate this type, some of them are summarized in the following:

A. The Evil Eye.

Its existence and its harmful effects are stated in the Koran, especially in the following Surah (1958 Surah CXIII).

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful.

- a. Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of Daybreak,
- b. From the evil of that which He created,
- c. From the evil of the darkness when it is intense,
- d. And from the evil of malignant withcraft,
- e. And from the evil of the envier when he envieth".

In the Lebanese village, there are many rituals and ideas that are related to the evil eye. Some of these

are stated by Khayat such as;

a. If you have blue eyes and widely spaced teeth you possess an "evil eye".

b. Always say "Ism' Allah" when looking at a child otherwise he may be cursed and become ill. Hang a blue bead on a baby's hat or cradle or as a charm around his neck to ward off the evil eye.

c. To remove the curse of an evil eye burn a piece of clothing belonging to the person who brought the curse.

d. Always mention the name of "Allah" when visiting a rich family, when looking at a beautiful person, when seeing a cow that gives much milk, or when in an orchard full of fruit so as not to cast an evil eye upon his bounty.

#### B. Koranic Charms.

These are little leather bags in which there are small pieces of paper or soft leather. Koranic statements are written on these small pieces. The practitioners hang their charms around the neck, around the waist or under the shoulder. Some of the practitioners believe that these charms either keep evil off them, or protect them from diseases, bad luck and accidents, or make a person fall in love with another. Although the magical effects of these charms are clearly implied in the previous examples, other practitioners deny the previous direct effects and believe that these charms remind them of God. In this situation,

the practice is considered a religious ritual.

### C. El-ors.

This term is an Arabic name and refers to a small dish-like charm made of clay. While the Koranic charms are used by all the Islamic sects, El-ors charm is used by the Shi'ahs. They believe that this dish-like charm is made of a stuff taken from one of the Twelve Shi'ah Imams tombs. In their prayer, they put this charm in front of them and during their prostrations, their foreheads touch the charm. The same as in the Koranic charms, some of the practitioners believe in its direct and definite effects, and others deny these effects and regard it as only a reminder of the Imams and their teachings.

In fact, the Koranic charms and the El-ors charms stress that there is a very thin line between religion and magic.

### Arts

The term art covers a wide variety of processes and objects. Anything in culture becomes art if it fulfills some conditions, that is, if control is exercised to express or arouse emotion (Honigsmann 1953:214). The presentation of all the Lebanese village arts is beyond this study. Some of the most significant arts are summarized as follows:

#### 1) Folk Music, Dancing and Singing.

The Lebanese villagers express their joy in life with singing and dancing. Their favorite dance is the

Debka. This is a group dance uniting participants in a close fellowship. It offers possibilities for endless variations at the whim of the dancers. Some informants claim that every village has a special way in performing this dance. In spite of this degree of variation, there are some common features. Khayat and Keatinge (1956:52-54) described this dance as follows:

"The dance is always performed in a semi-circle with dancers holding hands. The dancers' movements vary from a forward stamp to a simple progressive step, a knee bend endlessly repeated, a combined leap and kick, and the beating out of a rhythmic pattern with one foot. The mood of the dance is set by the musicians, particularly the flutist or piper playing the nay, and by the leader, the ras, who is the most talented and experienced dancer of the group. The leader always stands at the right end of the half circle and holds a kerchief used for improvisation".

The dance plays an important part in village recreation. In feasts, weddings, pilgrimage and circumcision ceremonies most of the village people participate in the dancing, either by dancing or by watching the dance and clapping in a rhythmic pattern. Such participation stresses the social unity of the village. In addition to the Debka there is the Belly Dance. This is a solo dance and involves a controlled swaying movement of the body muscles. Music for this dance is usually furnished by the 'ood and tambourine or daff. Many women and men know this dance.

Folk songs are usually related to love emotions, beautiful girls and farming activities. They are the

simple tunes of appreciation for the pleasures of their daily lives.

## 2) Poetry.

Every village has a part-time poet and occasionally, a full-time poet. Feasts are the most important opportunities for the village poet to express and to demonstrate his talent. Usually during these occasions people of close small villages come together to bigger villages. In these big villages, on one side of the open space saha, in the cool shadow of the oak or olive trees, sit the group of village poets and singers. They represent the various villages, and each of them is anxious to beat the others and secure first place for his village group. Around each poet gather a group of his village people doing their best to back him up and cheer him.

The village poets play an important role in preserving the traditions and the mores of the village. This may be explained by the fact that the poet always composes songs to praise the individuals or the lineages of the village who are generous, helpful, modest, brave, and virtuous. At the same time, they compose other sarcastic songs to humiliate and to ridicule stingy, deceiving and opportunistic persons. Village poets usually depend on farming and contributions as their source of living. However, contributions may be the only source.

## 3) Folk Tales.

During social visits story telling, folk singing,

jokes and poetry recitations are common recreations. A favorite folk tale which widens the eyes of children and grown ups alike, is the love story of Antra and Abl. It has innumerable variations, but its main plot is the courageous wooing and winning by Antra of his beautiful cousin Abl (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:105). It is a significant point to notice that this common story stresses the preferable cousin-marriage pattern. In addition to the Antra and Abl story, there are many other common stories. Most of them are parts of the known Arabic book, The Thousand Nights and a Night, which has been translated into English.

Some common folk tales are used as a way of disciplining children. Youngsters who refuse to sleep when their parents ask them, are frightened into going to bed at night and urged to falling promptly asleep by telling them that a big beast called ghoul will devour sleepless children. If it is raining, the thunder may be described as the wicked Umm Riad, the Mother of Thunder, who will come down from the sky to kidnap disobedient children (Khayat and Keatinge 1955:54-55).

The previous examples of the Lebanese village art emphasize the social unity of the village and the stability of its basic values. Some of these values are stated in the following.

#### Values.

The term "value" refers to an explicit or implicit

socially standardized conception of what is desirable or undesirable. Values, in turn, influence selection from available means or ends of action (Honigmann 1959:595).

Values underlie most of the previous cultural aspects of the village. Some of the important positive values are summarized in the following:

1) Under devotion to the land may be subsumed a number of some other values such as; that farming is regarded as the set of acts which gives reality to the powerful feeling of identification with nature, land as the only source of life, and land ownership as the preferable economic security (Gulick 1953:371).

2) Heavy dependence upon bread as the main staple in the diet and the existence of some reverant attitude toward it (Tannous 1944:529).

3) Hospitality and generosity in giving and spending (Tannous 1943:526).

4) Lineage and family solidarity, and nepotism (Tannous 1943:526).

5) Cousin marriage.

6) Chastity of girls before marriage.

7) The predominance of the personal touch in all types of social relationships.

8) Group consciousness and identity rather than individualism.

9) Respect for elders and parents.



- 10) Conservatism and cultural stability.
- 11) Wealth and male children.
- 12) Subordination of women to men.
- 13) Modesty.
- 14) Intensive religiosity.
- 15) Skills of speaking, singing, dancing and telling stories.
- 16) Equality of all human beings.
- 17) Health and strength.
- 18) Exaltation of individual prowess (Tannous 1943:526).

It is a significant point that some of these values are recognized by the Koran, these are listed above under the following numbers; 3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 17.

### Life Cycle

#### Birth and Childhood

A child is strongly desired in the village. From the day of their wedding, newlyweds and their relatives look forward to the day when the first child will be born to the couple. In wishing for a child they always emphasize the male. Children are regarded as God's greatest gift (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:55).

During the day of delivery, the mother-to-be is confined to her room. She keeps on doing her work until the day of delivery, and she resumes her work a few days after. Usually, the village midwife is there, with a group of

elderly women to help. The midwife, called Dayeh, has been trained by previous midwives of the village. The midwife wipes the newborn with salt and rubs his body with olive oil and rihan. She carries the baby ceremoniously out of the mother's room and places it in the arms of the eldest male member of the family, usually the grandfather. Then the baby's father inspects his child. The midwife stands around while her work is being admired and receives her tip, baksheesh. She expects a much larger tip for her services if the baby turns out to be a boy. She stretches the baby's arms and legs straight and ties him sandwich-style and immobile in a square of cotton material called Laffa (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:59).

Lebanese mothers nurse their babies if they can. Friends and relatives nurse a baby if its mother falls ill. Lebanese babies used to sleep in cradles with rockers. Grandmothers and aunts are anxious to give advice on how the child should be disciplined. The new mother may find she is the last person to command authority in training her child. The child is always the object of much love and tender care. The family's anxiety is to protect it from the evil eye (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:63).

Mothers stop nursing the child when it completes his first year, but some of them continue nursing their children until they are two years old. Toilet training begins when nursing stops. Children are an asset on the farm

and not a liability. They can give valuable help to the mother at home and the father in the field as soon as they begin to scamper about. Children are trained to respect the older people and to obey their parents, uncles, and grandparents. There are no schools for girls. Boys of ages 6 or 7 years spend one year or more in attending the village Shiek's house or the village Kuttab (Islamic Elementary School) to get religious teachings. At school the boy learns to read and then to write some parts of the Koran by a mechanical effort of the memory. On a small wooden board, Lauhe, covered with white clay or chalk slaked in water, he tries to reproduce a passage from the Koran. This he oftentimes learns by heart, without understanding its meaning because the meaning is usually beyond his childish understanding.

#### Circumcision.

Circumcision is observed only for boys. It is performed either on the seventh day, the fortieth, or in the seventh year. Old women hold the boy while the operation is performed. The circumciser is usually a barber who lives in the closest town to the village. The foreskin is wrapped in a bit of gauze and is put around the boy's neck or hanged on the wall. The child is nursed and comforted while the wound is dressed. Circumcision day is a special occasion and a celebration is held before the operation. In this ceremony, coffee and sweets are served

to relatives and friends. Guns are shot, songs are sung and the Debka is danced. Usually the child is dressed in new clothes. Relatives bring him presents and food.

#### Youth Culture and Marriage.

After puberty, clear cut line begins to appear between boys and girls. They stop playing together and the girls begin to spend more time at home with their mothers. From her mother a girl receives her education in the many accomplishments of homemaking and housekeeping needed in married life. Free time, if any remains after exhausting rounds of household chores, is taken up with learning to crochet, knit and embroider. Mothers keep their daughters within sight at all times. The girl is brought up to respect and obey her future husband, and to give his wishes priority over her own. She learns how to economize in the household and to conserve her future husband's money.

The boy begins his life as a man at the age of seven or eight years. His relation to the male members of his extended family becomes very strong. He helps them in the field where he learns all the farming activities. He begins to have a group of boy friends of his own age. These are usually from his patrilineage. To have a girl friend is something unknown to these young men. However, love is an important aspect of youth.

The boys and girls are free to love each other from afar. The preference of cousin-marriage makes love

develop automatically between cousins when they are young. Whether there is love or not, the final decision on marriage is the extended family's work. When love has already started between the boy and the girl, the girl will keep quiet about it and the boy makes the next move. He informs his parents of his choice and then the whole matter will be decided by the two families (Tannous 1940:153-154).

As the point of focus of this study is the marriage patterns, these patterns with respect to the Lebanese village, are studied in detail in Chapter Four.

#### Death.

When a death occurs, messengers are sent immediately to relatives and friends, not only in the home village but in nearby ones. In the home village, women drop their work, dress in black mourning and go in groups to the home of the deceased. They enter the house waving their handkerchiefs, wailing, crying and moaning; Al awad bisalamitkum meaning, may this tragedy be replaced by your well being. They sit around the body which is laid out on a mattress on the floor or on a bedstead in the middle of the room. The family turns the head of the deceased to face the gibla<sup>1</sup> and recite the shahada<sup>2</sup> in his name. Professional wailing women called naddabah are an integral part of

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<sup>1</sup>Gibla is the direction to Mecca.

<sup>2</sup>Shahada is the statement of "I confess that no God whatsoever but God and Mohammad is His Messenger".

village death ceremonies. They are hired to lead the wailing and to work the emotions of the mourners to a feverish pitch of unhappiness.

The body is washed in accordance with the requirements of the greater ablution ghusl, by a professional person (may be two persons) of the same sex as the deceased. These persons are called nughassil. It is significant to note that they are not Sheiks. The orifices of the body are closed with plugs of perfumed cotton, and the body itself wrapped in one or two pieces of seamless cloth. An immediate male relative of the deceased covers the dead with the cloth and ties it in the shape of a knot. Moslems believe that it is in this garment, kafan, that the dead person will appear before God on the Judgement Day.

The form the funeral takes depends on the status of the dead individual. An infant is buried quietly. If he is a very old person, the funeral is relatively simple. In case of a young man, especially if he is the only son, or a young woman, or a head of a family or village group, the funeral is very elaborate. Burial takes place on the same day if death occurred in the morning, or on the next day if the death occurred at night. An important part of the death rites is the funeral procession. At the head of the procession is the body, carried in a simple wooden bier called naash. The bier is decorated by yellow or white cloth. Constantly changing relays of four men

carry it on their shoulders, for this is a pious act which will be rewarded in the next life. Behind the body walk the Sheiks, village leaders and the deceased's relatives. Sheiks usually chant the Moslem confession of faith and fragments of religious poems. Most of the village men walk in the funeral procession. Sunni women do not participate in the funeral procession according to the Sunni teachings. Shi'ah women, according to the Shi'ah regulations have the right to participate in the procession.

The body is carried first to the village mosque where the religious rituals that constitute the salat al-janaza, which means prayer for the dead, are performed in the middle of the hall of prayer. After these rituals, the body is carried in the same procession to the cemetery to be buried. The tomb is a chamber so fashioned as to permit the body to lie on the right side, with the head pointing toward Mecca and the feet in the opposite direction. Many of the Lebanese Shi'ahs use each tomb once. On the other hand, many of the Lebanese Sunnis use the same tomb several times, by burying in it several persons, usually relatives and of the same sex. Long interval periods among burials is a condition to apply this last burial type. Just before the burial takes place, the Sheik uncovers the face of the deceased and recites some religious advice concerning what the deceased should say when

the death Angels visit him at night. The moment of the burial is characterized by high wailing and crying. After the burial, the people shake hands with the deceased's immediate relatives, saying, Alikel awad, which means, may this tragedy be replaced by your well being.

The mourners return to the home of the deceased, where they eat what is called taam el rahma. This is a funeral banquet, the raw kebbe is an important item. The funeral banquet and visits paid to the cemetery accompanied by the performers of certain rites, such as animal sacrifice and recitation of parts of the Koran, are repeated several times after the burial. The most important occasions are the seventh day and the fortieth day after the death. In addition, there is an annual ceremony. The mourning period is usually one year. During this period, the extended family of the deceased do not participate in any joyful celebrations. Sometimes they conduct quiet wedding ceremonies. They destroy all the clothes that belonged to the deceased.

The cemetery is often frequented by the villagers, especially the women. Visits are paid to the cemetery during the Islamic feasts.



### Summary

This chapter deals with the traditional Lebanese Islamic village, the background of the community founders. The components of the village culture are loosely divided into four categories.

In technology, farming is the dominant occupation and land is highly valued. Agriculture is based on simple and ancient techniques. Human power and farm animals are the only sources of energy in agriculture. A clear division of labor by sex and age is noted. Bread is an important daily food. Most houses are made of limestone and never rise above one story.

In respect to social structure, kin groups are the basic units; almost every villager has some kinsmen in the village. Descent is patrilineal. The residence system is patrilocal. The most important kin group is the extended family. The nuclear family is usually a part of the extended family. Some families are polygynous. The patrilineage, the largest kin group, plays an important role in defense, economic cooperation, and determining social status. Kinship terms are described and analyzed. Hospitality is highly valued. The social unity of the village is represented by many examples.

In symbolic behavior, some characteristics of their language, the Arabic language, are presented. Islam is

the religion of this village. The differences between the two Islamic sects, the Shie'ah and the Sunni, are defined because of their continuous existence in the new land. Different types of magic are found in the village. The villagers are fond of Arabic music, dances, songs and poems.

In respect to the life cycle, the desire for male children is emphasized in many aspects of their behavior. Clear cut lines are found between the two sexes, especially the youth. Boys have more freedom than girls who are continually under their mother's strict supervision. Youth love each other from afar. In the crisis of death, as well as in other crises, the village acts as a social unit and cooperation is offered and expected by every villager.

This descriptive account indicates the importance of kinship, religion, and devotion to the land in the village. Religion is regarded in this study as the cultural focus.

## CHAPTER III

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

This section aims to identify the community in question, and to define briefly its general aspects. These aspects are presented in the following:

#### A Ghetto - Like Community

There are about 4,000 American Arab-Moslem people in Dearborn, Michigan. They are American because most of them have their American citizenship. At the same time they are Arab-Moslems because their religion is Islam and they are Arabs either by birth or origin.

About 2,500 of those people live very close together at the south end of Dearborn. They constitute more than half of the population of the area. Many Americans live within the area but there is some social distance between the Americans and the Arab-Moslems. Those Arab-Moslems have sought this type of isolation. It has not been imposed upon them. Metropolitan Detroit turns out, upon examination, to be a mosaic of segregated peoples, differing in race, in culture or merely in cult; each seeking to preserve its peculiar cultural forms and maintain its individual and unique conception of life (Meyer, 1951:27-73).

These Arab-Moslems live in a contiguous area, that is the south end of Dearborn, Dearborn and Detroit. In addition they have many common interests such as the Middle East

culture area as their cultural origin, Islam as their religion and the strong desire to preserve their religion.

According to many of the definitions of the community, those people constitute a community. The following recent definition of "a community" is presented as an example:

"A community consists of the people living in a contiguous area and having a common interest or interests as a consequence of living in the area" (Hoffer, 1963:7).

The existence of some indications of cultural segregation between the community and its surroundings led the writer to define the type of this community as a ghetto-like community (Wirth, 1962:viii).

Within the community there are several groupings based on the original Arab nation of each grouping. These are Lebanese, Syrian, Yemeni, and Iraqi groupings. The Lebanese group is the largest, including about 75% of the community. The Iraqi group is the smallest. In addition, there are two or three families from Egypt. There is a Turkish group living very closely to the Arab-Moslem community at the south end of Dearborn. The Turkish group is not included as a part of the community in question because they do not speak Arabic and they constitute a separate ethnic group.

Most of the Lebanese group, as well as the other groups of the community, came from Arab-Moslem villages. Two Southern Lebanese mountain villages, called "Tebnien" and "Bent-Gebal," have provided the community with more than 50% of its members. In spite of the existence of these groupings, all

the members of the community identify themselves as Syrians. In addition, the community is known in the Detroit area as the "Syrian community." This may be explained by the fact that the majority of the community who are Lebanese (by origin) came from Southern Lebanon which was in the past a part of Syria. One should bear in mind that the pioneers of the community came to the U.S.A. during the period from 1900 to 1920, and that the southern part of Lebanon was separated from Syria in 1924 (Longrigg, 1958:130).

It is significant to indicate the criteria used in identifying the members of the community. These are:

1. To be Arab-Moslem, by birth or origin.
2. To live at the Southern end of Dearborn, or the contiguous areas of metropolitan Detroit.
3. To participate in one or more of the common interests of these Arab-Moslems as a group. This participation is identified by one or more of the following activities.
  - a. To be a member of the religious and social associations of the Arab-Moslems.
  - b. To attend parties, funerals, group prayers, and weddings conducted by the Arab-Moslems.
  - c. To contribute to projects and services arranged by the Arab-Moslems.
  - d. To attend Arab coffee-houses.
  - e. To identify oneself with these Arab-Moslems.

Depending on these criteria, the writer found out that the number of the community members, including men, women, and children, is around 4,000 persons. About 2,500 members live

at the southern end of Dearborn, the area of concentration of the members. About 1,500 of the members live in Dearborn, Highland Park, and metropolitan Detroit. The less intensive concentration of these members is found at Highland Park where the Arab-Moslems had concentrated when they originally came to metropolitan Detroit for the first time.

It is noticed that many of the members, even the leaders of the community, live outside the southern end of Dearborn. This may be explained by many factors, such as:

1. Some members did not move from Highland Park to Dearborn, as they preferred to stay at Highland Park.
2. Others became wealthy and they moved from the southern end of Dearborn because of the unhealthy conditions there.
3. In order to become better acquainted with the Americans, some felt the need to move.
4. Some of these members, especially the second and third generations did not find a convenient apartment or house in the area of concentration.

It is a significant point to note that the majority of the members who live in the concentration area are of the first generation, while most of the members who live outside this area are of the second and third generations.

It should not be overlooked that almost all the members who live outside the area of concentration, own cars and they can reach the area in a short period of time.

### Historical Background

The founders of the community migrated to U.S.A. in the beginning of the twentieth century. They came to the U.S.A. about 25 years later than the Arab-Christian immigrants. The difference of faith was one of the basic factors of delaying the Arab-Moslem migration. The Arab-Moslem migration to the U.S.A. as well as many other migrations, has been a result of a combination of "push" and "pull" factors. These factors are presented in the following:

#### Push Factors

These factors have been originated and developed in Lebanon. They have forced or encouraged the Moslem-Lebanese to leave their native country and to migrate to foreign countries. Some of these factors are discussed below.

1. Pressure from increased population in a mountainous land, such as Lebanon, whose soil was less fertile than its women, found a safety valve in migration into foreign lands. The growing child costs less to be brought up than he or she could produce. No taxation, school fees, medical expenses, etc., were involved.

In addition, their great desire for children and the positive value of big families, encouraged the people to go on multiplying and increasing, and concomitantly, dividing and subdividing the land without concern for the point to which the process was leading them. The village population went on increasing until the land population balance was stuck. The soil could no longer feed the rising generations.

Old methods of agriculture could not rehabilitate the soil to the desired extent. Therefore migration seemed to be the only solution (Tannous 1940:63).

2. Lebanese people were known to have an unusual recuperative power and a dynamic vitality. These qualities reasserted themselves in the form of migration (Hitti 1957:473).

The previous two factors explain, in general, the migration movement of Lebanese people. In fact, the factors are more related to the Christians than the Moslems. In 1853 some Christian Lebanese migrated to Egypt to work at the Suez Canal Company. In the late seventies few Christian Lebanese migrated to America. These Christians came in large numbers to the U. S. A. in the period between 1875 and 1920. The Moslem-Lebanese began to migrate to the U. S. A. in the beginning of the twentieth century, between 1900 and 1914. The population of the mountain (in Lebanon) is said to have been diminished by one-fourth or 100,000 through immigration to the four quarters of the habitable globe. Today hardly a village or a town of the 1,600 in Lebanon does not exhibit a red-tile roofed house built from money provided by immigrants from abroad. The estimated number of the Arab immigrants with their descendants in the U.S. is a quarter of a million. Most of these are Christians, as not many Moslems sought relief through immigration. Of the 30,000 Arab-Moslems in the



United States most are Lebanese (Hitti 1957:473-475).

3. Lebanon suffered most, especially during World War I, under Turkish rule. In fact, it is doubtful whether any other Turkish province suffered as much (Hitti 1957:484-485). This depression related to Turkish colonization and war times, was the most important "push" factor, which forced the Lebanese Moslems to migrate, especially to America, where there was no Islam.

4. Although most of the old first generation people stressed the previous factor as the basic reason for their migration to the U.S.A. some of them added that they migrated, basically, to escape from military service under the Turkish rule. An old man said:

"When a young man was taken, usually by force, to military service under Turkish rule, his parents and relatives cried over him. He was regarded as dead. This military service was unlimited in period, and full of cruelty. The people who were forced to be in service didn't show up again".

5. When America was discovered, an outlet was provided, and many frustrated individuals took up the newly offered choice. Political and religious discriminations might play an important role in originating such frustration. It should not be overlooked that the Shi'ahs who are religious minorities in Syria and Lebanon (in comparison to the Sunnis), migrated in larger numbers than the Sunnis.

6. In Lebanon, between 1890-1939, cash was becoming more and more significant in value as a new form of pres-

tige and as means for the satisfaction of newly arising needs. People became conscious of it and began to search for ways of obtaining it (Tannous 1940:65).

#### Pull Factors.

These have been originated and developed in the new land, America. These factors have persuaded the Arab-Moslems to leave their original country and to migrate to the United States. Some of these factors are presented in the following:

1. Stories about that wonderful new country, where gold could be had for the asking, were sent and told by the Christian immigrants to the Moslem village-fellows. These stories stirred the imagination of a few adventurous souls. They sailed away, they sent gold back and they returned home with gold. Consequently, numbers of the Moslem immigrants increased.

2. The establishment of the Ford Highland Park Plant and the universal announcement of the "five-dollar" day, were an important factor in increasing the number of Arab-Moslem immigrants. The "five-dollar" day was put into effect at this plant on January 12, 1914. The announcement declared that any worker at the plant would be paid five dollars per day, regardless of his color, religion, or original nationality. Although few Arab-Moslems came to the United States before 1914, the announcement was a basic factor of increasing their number. In addition,

the non-discrimination policy, applied by Ford, played an important role in attracting the Arab-Moslems.

Pioneers.

The few Arab-Moslems (about 10) who came to the United States before 1914, were living in Michigan City, Indiana, and working at a plant called "Huskel Railroad Company". In 1914, most of these pioneers and many other newcomers came to Detroit to work at the Ford Highland Park Plant and their number increased. Migration began to be influenced by kinship, relations and by village solidarity. Therefore most of the newcomers were either kin of the pioneers or from the same village.

Most of these newcomers came to make money and to return to the old land afterwards. They did not intend to live permanently in the United States. An old man estimated that about 50 percent of the pioneers, who came in the period between 1900 - 1917, returned to the old land after saving some money. Most of those pioneers worked at the previous Ford plant and they constituted a small ghetto-like community at Highland Park. In 1916, the Ford Rouge Plant at the south end of Dearborn began to need workers of any type. Many of the Highland Park pioneers moved to the South end of Dearborn to work in that new factory. They sent letters to their relatives, friends, village-fellows, persuading them to migrate to Dearborn, where they could work and save money. There were two

big flows of Arab-Moslem immigrants. The first came in the period between 1918 and 1922, to work in the Rouge Plant and they, in addition to the original pioneers, constituted the nucleus of the actual Dearborn Arab-Moslem community. This flow included the families and the relatives of the pioneers. The second flow of immigrants came to the community between 1930 and 1934. This may be explained by the fact that many of the pioneers who had children that had reached the age of marriage, accompanied or sent them to the old-land to get married and to return with their spouses. The relationship of the Dearborn community and the home-land has been strengthened since the second flow.

#### Spatial Description

The community is located at the South end of Dearborn city, Wayne County, Michigan. Although there are no clear cut boundaries, the concentration of the majority of the community members is around the Islamic Mosque, which can be regarded as the center of the community. This concentration is bordered on the North by Eagle Street, and on the West by Industrial Road. As a matter of convenience, this area of concentration will be called the community.

The community is very close to the Ford Rouge Plant and the whole area is considered a mixed area, both housing and industrial. Continuous flows of colorful smokes coming from the plant, characterizes the area with a bad

smell, and the buildings by a smokey color. In spite of these unhealthy conditions, the area will continue as a mixed area," said the Dearborn Housing Department Manager. During a meeting with the writer, he said that the Housing Department conducted a survey in 1962 to know the possibility of any potential urban renewal in the south end of Dearborn. The Italian ethnic group, who inhabited the northern part of the area reported that they wanted to move out. The Arab-Moslems, who inhabited the southern part refused to move out, in spite of the previously mentioned unhealthy conditions. The area, therefore, will continue to be a mixed area because, as he said, the Housing Department philosophy is to move out the people who agree on the relocation.

Ford Managers are aware of the problem, and there is a project to install an apparatus to eliminate the unhealthy aspects of the smoke. The refusal of the Arab-Moslems to move out may be due to the fact that many of them work at the plant. In addition, many of them prefer to continue living contiguously.

With respect to the degree of concentration of the community members within this area, it is noticed that the most intensive concentration is on Salina Street. About 80 percent of the houses on this street are occupied by Arab-Moslems. Very few Arab-Moslems live on Eagle Street, where they occupy only about 10 percent of the houses.

None of the Arab-Moslems live on West Fort Street or on Industrial Road. These streets were mentioned before only as rough limits of the area of concentration. On the other streets the percentages of the houses occupied by Arab-Moslems range from 70 percent to 30 percent.

Most of the Arab-Moslems own their houses in this area. This point is clearly represented in the sample. The following table shows that 73 percent of the people of the sample own, at least, the house where they live.

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TABLE 1 -- House Ownership of the Interviewees

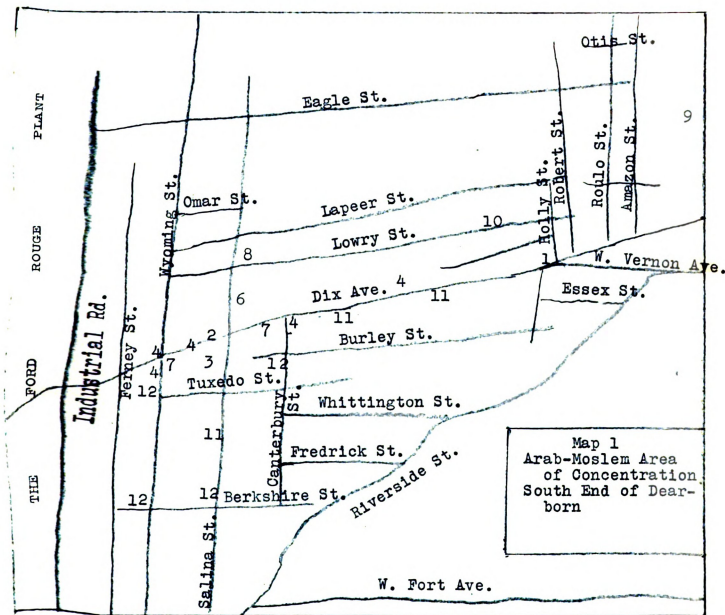
House Ownership	Group A		Group B		Groups A&B	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Owners	35	70	16	80	51	73
Non-Owners	<u>15</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>27</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100	70	100

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Significant Places Within The Community. (Map 1).

Dix Street.

It is the community "down town" or "business district". Almost all the stores, coffee-houses, restaurants and bars are located on this street. The street cuts the community at the middle. It plays an important role in the community social life. They call it el sooa, or sooa Dix, the Arabic word sooa means market or shopping center. In addition to shopping, old men of the community always take walks on Dix, whenever weather is suitable. "You can find him



Some Significant Places

- |                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Islamic Mosque           | 7. Arabic Coffee-houses |
| 2. Hashimite Club           | 8. Nasser Coffee-house  |
| 3. The Arabic butcher shop  | 9. Patten Park          |
| 4. Food stores              | 10. Swimming pool       |
| 5. American library         | 11. Arabic restaurants  |
| 6. Salina Elementary School | 12. Hotels              |

'smelling air' on Dix", was the answer repeated to the writer several times when he looked for somebody.

During Spring, Summer and Fall, the youth gather in small circles, chattering and joking, on Dix. These youth crowds become intensive on Sundays. Most of the casual quarrels take place on Dix. Once an old lady talked to me about her son, who was suffering a neurosis, she said: "Oh, my son, he was the strongest young man on Dix! No one can bother you when he stands by you!"

The fact that the Hashimite Club, where many weddings and funerals are conducted, is located on this street has increased its importance. The children enjoy taking walks on Dix, where they may notice some event, which may be worthy of repeating to their parents. In fact, these children are very good informants. In turn, the parents circulate and exaggerate this news as subjects of gossip.

#### The Islamic Mosque.

It is located on Vernor Highway, a central location in the community. It was built by a Sunni religious association called Manaret el-Hoda. The association, founded in 1936, built the basement of the Mosque in 1938. In 1952, they built the first flat which constitutes the rest of the Mosque. It is significant to indicate that in the same year, 1952, the name of the association was changed to "The American Islamic Association". The Mosque cost about \$75,000. All the money was contributions, paid by the



community members. The Mosque is a holy place for prayer and a secular place for educational and social gatherings.

#### The Hashimite<sup>1</sup> Club.

It is located on Dix, in a spot very close to the Islamic mosque. The building was a bank, and it was bought and remodeled in 1936, by a Shi'ah association called the Hashimite Renaissance Society. The club, as well as the Islamic mosque, has a combination of religious, educational and social functions.

#### Food Stores.

There are five food stores, two are owned by Arab-Christians, two by Arab-Moslems and the last one by an American of Italian origin. Although the community members buy some of their food from the first three stores, they buy most of their food from the Eastern Market<sup>2</sup> in Detroit.

#### Coffee-Houses and Restaurants.

In the Summer of 1963, there were 5 coffee houses. Two are run by Arab-Moslems, the other three by Americans of Italian origin. It is significant to indicate that there is an Italian community located very close to the Arab-Moslem community. Almost all the attendants of the Arab Coffee-Houses are members of the community. They go there

<sup>1</sup>The term "Hashimite" refers to Prophet Mohammad's family, and it implies the significance of the Prophet's family according to the Shi'ah sect.

<sup>2</sup>It is held on Saturdays and Tuesdays on Vernor Highway in Detroit. Many of the Middle Eastern foods are sold there. It is a big market, arranged by Arab-Christians.

to chatter, to drink Arabic-coffee, to play cards and backgammon, and to discuss politics. There are four restaurants, two of them are run by Arab-Moslems, one by a Turkish, and the last by an Italian person. In those owned by Arab-Moslems, many Lebanese dishes are served

#### Salina Schools.

It is an elementary American school, located on Salina Street. All the children of the community attend this school.

#### Hotels.

The area is full of hotels, most of them are without a considerable number of occupants. The competition among these hotels has played an important role in reducing the rent. The writer rented a clean single room for \$1 per night. The existence of many hotels (about 10, and some of them are big hotels) may be due to the fact that 20 years ago the number of the Rouge Plant workers was about 100,000 and this area was very crowded. The number has been reduced to 40,000. This may also explain the continuous existence of vacancies in these hotels.

#### Dearborn Library.

It is a small American library, located on Salina Street, behind the Hashimite Club. Many of the Arab-Moslem youngsters go there to enjoy American books. Very few of the adult members of the community, who know English, go there to read American newspapers. While the writer was living there, in the Summer of 1963, there was a dentist

provided by the Mayor of Dearborn, to serve children of the area. There was no charge and the location of these services was in the library.

#### Bars.

The area is characterized by a relatively large number of bars, eight in all. However, very few of the community members frequent these bars. Most of the attendants are persons living outside the area. One of these bars is owned by an Arab-Moslem.

#### Recreation Areas.

The community is characterized by many recreation areas. There are five playgrounds in the community where youngsters play American games such as football and baseball. There is a public swimming pool for children and adults. In addition, there is a large park, called Patten Park, located in the community area. In the park, many Arab-Moslems take their dinners (Sheesh Kabab is a preferable item) on Spring and Summer Sundays.

### Communication

#### Language.

Most of the community members are bilingual, they understand and speak Arabic and English. They, however, differ greatly in the degree of this bilinguality. Some of them understand and speak more English than Arabic. Others the reverse. Very few members of the community do not know English and these are largely old housewives of the first

generation.

Instead of using the generation differentiation in discussing the linguistic aspects of the community, Groups A and B differentiation, which is more appropriate than the first, is applied to this section. Group A members are proud of retaining their original language and they try to teach their children Arabic. While most of Group B members understand Arabic, few of them can master speaking it. They speak English almost all the time, but they usually use Arabic words within the English sentences. It is noticed that, in general, the place of childhood and adolescence of the member, whether it is America or an Arab country, determines which language he masters more adequately. This point is clearly presented in Tables 2 - 6. In addition, these tables indicate some other linguistic aspects.

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TABLE 2.-- Languages Used in the Field Interview

Languages	Group A		Group B	
	No.	%	No.	%
Arabic	44	88	--	--
English	--	--	16	80
Arabic & English	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>20</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100

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In the preceding table, while 38 percent of the members who spent their childhood in Lebanon preferred to be interviewed in Arabic, 80 percent of the members who spent their childhood in the U.S.A. selected English. While none of Group A selected English, none of Group B selected Arabic.

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TABLE 3.-- Languages Preferred with Wives

<u>Languages</u>	<u>Group A</u>		<u>Group B</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Arabic	37	74	1	5
English	6	12	13	65
Arabic & English	<u>7</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>30</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100

---

In the above table, the persons from Group A, who speak English or English and Arabic with their wives, are those who married either Americans or American-born Arabs. Some of Group B (35 percent) speak with their wives either Arabic or Arabic and English; these persons married Arab-born wives.

Table 4, on the following page, shows that very few persons speak Arabic and English during work. These are the persons who work in the Arab-Moslem community, such as running stores, restaurants and coffee-houses. It is significant to note that the majority speak English during work.

TABLE 4.-- Languages Preferred with  
Fellow Workers

Languages	Group A		Group B	
	No.	%	No.	%
Arabic	--	--	--	--
English	42	84	19	95
Arabic & English	5	12	1	5
Persons have not worked yet in USA	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100

TABLE 5.-- Languages Preferred with Friends

Languages	Group A		Group B	
	No.	%	No.	%
Arabic	26	52	--	--
English	--	--	10	50
Arabic & English	<u>24</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>50</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100

The above table refers to the influence of the language of the original culture. In Group A, while 84 percent of them (Table 4) have to speak English with their fellows during work, none of them use only English in speaking with their friends. The table also shows that the person of Group B who has to speak Arabic during work (because work

is under the supervision of persons of Group A, Table 4), he stops speaking Arabic with his friends. The table shows that 48 percent of Group A and 50 percent of Group B, speak Arabic and English with their friends. This may refer to the existence of friendship ties between the two groups.

TABLE 6.-- Languages Preferred with Children

Languages	Group A		Group B	
	No.	%	No.	%
Arabic	13	25	--	--
English	6	12	16	80
Arabic & English	27	54	1	5
Not applicable (no children)	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100

The above table indicates some significant points, these are:

1. While 25 percent of Group A use only Arabic with their children, none of Group B use it. This shows that the continuity of Arabic in the community is not due to the efforts of the new generations. Therefore, the writer sees that this continuity is due to the continuous flow of immigrants who come to marry American-born Arabs, and stay permanently in the community.

2. At the same time, 10 percent of Group A use only English with their children. This is probably due to the fact that their spouses are Americans. In mixed families, where one of the parents is Arab-Moslem of Group A, some problems between the parents may develop. Some of these problems are related to the fact that the American parent refuses to allow the Arab-Moslem parent to teach the children Arabic. There are many stories circulated in the community related to these problems. One of them tells that a mixed marriage was broken because the American wife was nervous when her husband spoke in Arabic during their social visits with Arab friends.

3. While 80 percent of Group B, speak only English with their children, only 12 percent of Group A do so. This linguistic difference may partially explain the social conflict between the first generation members who are brought up in the old land, and their children who are brought up in the United States. The existence of such a linguistic barrier may reduce the communication opportunities between these parents and their children. Consequently, avoidance and social conflict may be developed between them.

A general look at the previous tables show the following conclusions.

The degree of bilinguality of each person is not always the same on all occasions. For example, while 84 percent



of Group A speak only English during work, 52 percent of the same group speak only Arabic with their friends. The language of the place of childhood is preferred only when the person has the right of choice.

In addition to the previous aspects, there are other linguistic aspects in the community. Some of these are presented below:

1. While most of Group B members understand Arabic, many of them cannot answer in Arabic.

2. Most of Group A members use Arabic words within English sentences, such as;

- a. Are you going to the hafla (party)?
- b. I like to eat kebba, homos, mahshi, etc.
- c. Few people go to the old gamee (mosque).

3. Many of Group B apply English grammar to some Arabic words used in English sentences, such as; We have two haflas this week. They apply the English grammatical rule of plural by adding the English suffix s. The Arabic plural of the word is haflat. According to the previous use, they say imams, instead of the Arabic plural aemah, sheiks instead of shiouk, and so on.

4. On certain occasions some of the previous group have to speak complete Arabic sentences such as when they speak with their Arab-Moslem relatives who just arrive in the United States and do not know English. In these complete Arabic sentences, they apply English grammatical

rules. For example, they say; Mohammad zahaba ela al Kahwa, Mohammad went to the Coffee-house. In this sentence, the subject comes before the verb, which is a correct English syntax rule, but it is wrong according to the Arabic syntax rule. In Arabic, the verb should come before the subject. Therefore, the previous Arabic sentence should be, zahaba Mohammad ela al Kahwa.

5. Many of Group B began to replace the Arabic phonemes with phonetically similar English phonemes, such as;

Instead of h they use (h).

Instead of q they use (k).

Instead of z they use (z).

Instead of t they use (t).

Instead of d they use (d).

Instead of s they use (s).

6. On the other hand, almost all Group A use English words in the Arabic sentences, such as, (darrafa) Ali el siara, which means Ali drove the car; (faxana) Mohamed el radio, which means Mohamed fixed the radio; (kaished) Gamila el sheek, which means Gamila cashed the check.

7. These Group A members, in addition, apply Arabic grammatical rules on the English words used in Arabic sentences. The present tense of "to drive" is illustrated by the word yo darifo. They add the prefix yo which characterizes regular Arabic verbs in present tense. The past tense of the verb "to drive" is darrafa, which goes along with the Arabic grammatical rules. The future tense of

"to drive", is not shall or will drive, but it is sayodarrefo. They put a second prefix sa which characterizes the Arabic verbs in future tense.

According to the linguistic rules of English and Arabic, we can say that the community members speak in three different ways:

1. Correct Arabic language.
2. Correct English language.
3. A combination of Arabic and English which is neither correct Arabic nor correct English.

✕      ↪ In the community, there are two types of factors related to the linguistic aspects. The first type includes the factors which play an important role in the dominance of English. The second type include the factors which contribute to the continuous existence of Arabic. Some of the first type factors are presented in the following;

1. American schools.
2. Working with American people.
3. Television (almost every family owns at least one television set.)
4. Mixed marriage.
5. Moving out the area of concentration at the south end of Dearborn.
6. Spending the childhood period in America.
7. American newspapers.
8. The American library of the community.

The second type factors include the following:

1. The existance of Islam. Islamic prayers should be recited in Arabic, whatsoever the native language of the Moslem.
2. The continuous migration of Arab-Moslems to the community.
3. The existence of the community as a ghetto-like community.
4. The Arabic newspapers.
5. The continuous attempts to establish Arabic schools.
6. The existence of short-wave radios which receive Arabic broadcasts of the Arab countries.
7. The Arabic broadcast of an American radio station in Detroit for one hour every Saturday evening.
8. Marrying spouses from the old land.
9. The recent Arab-Nationalistic movement in the Arab countries attracts the attention of young generations, who try to know Arabic to follow the Arab countries broadcasts.

According to the writer, the most important factors are those listed 2, 3 and 8. These three factors explain why the majority of the community members still prefer to speak Arabic, although the community is more than 40 years old.

And last, it is significant to indicate that language has played an important role in establishing the community itself. Most of the newcomers do not know English. This

linguistic barrier has forced them, at least for a short period of time, to cluster around the pioneers' settlements in Dearborn, and gradually the community has developed. However, it should not be implied that this is the only factor explaining the development of the community. In addition, there are many other factors such as, kinship relations, economic inadequacy of the newcomers, and the establishment of the Ford Rouge Plant.

### Newspapers

In addition to American newspapers such as The Free Press and The Detroit News, there are several Arabic newspapers circulated among the members. The most important of them are printed and published in Detroit. It is significant to indicate that there is an Arabic printing company, called A A Printing (17530 Woodward Avenue, Detroit 3, Michigan). The Sunni religious leader owned the company for a while, and then he gave it to his first son. Most of the Arabic publications in Detroit are printed by this company. The Arabic newspapers play an important role in communicating the Middle East political, economical and social news to the community members. These newspapers are presented in the following.

1. Al Resala, meaning "The Message", is a weekly Arabic newspaper, edited and published by the religious Sunni leader, Sheikh Hussien Karoub. Its subscription rate is \$10.00 per year all over the world. Its motto is: "a general patriotic, informative, and scientific weekly

newspaper". It has been published for sixteen years. The first page always deals with the political news of the Arab nations. Second and third pages cover some patriotic articles emphasizing the strong relation between the immigrants and the Arab nations, the death news, the names of generous people who contribute to the newspaper, and usually a column for "The Personality of the Week". The writer had the honor of being one of these personalities. This column refers to the famous Arab people who visit Detroit, the generous contributors for the community, or the persons who have just had children or have just earned their college diplomas.

The last page, the fourth, includes a column called Menber Al-Aklam, which means "pablit of pencils", and it is usually written by readers and represents a point of view and a series of debates pro and against this point of view. There are three or four advertisements in every issue, these are usually related either to Arab music and/or dinner parties, to travel agencies, or to McFarland Funeral Home, emphasizing his observance of Islamic rituals of death. This newspaper favors Islamic subjects and Arab-Moslem affairs.

2. Nahdat Al-Arab, meaning "The Arab Progress", is a semi-weekly Arabic newspaper, published by Mr. Said D. Fayad, and printed by the A. A. Printing Company. Its subscription rate is \$20.00 per year. It has been published for 17 years. Its motto is: "We don't believe except in truth,

We don't desire except justice, we don't like except Arabism". It includes four pages, the first page deals with the news of Arab countries. In the other three pages, there are many articles about the political and social life of the Arabs in Detroit. This newspaper differs from the first in several points:

a. It takes care of the news of all the Arabs in Detroit, the Moslems and the Christians. While the first one is basically concerned with the Arab-Moslems.

b. The fact that the owner of this newspaper is Moslem-Durzi<sup>1</sup>, attributes to the special interest of the newspaper in the Durzi affairs and news.

3. Al-Alam Al-Jadid, meaning "The New World", is a weekly Arabic newspaper, published by Mr. Wasuf Antone, a Christian lawyer. It is printed in Detroit. A subscription is \$12.00 per year. Its motto is: "Its aim is to serve the great Arab Nation and the Arab immigrants". It has published for one year. It is similar to the previous one in the general organization of information. However, it has some special characteristics, such as:

a. It is interested in Christian subjects.

b. In the last page, there is a column called, Brief Statements. This deals with famous sayings of great Philosophers, politicians and prophets.

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<sup>1</sup>An Islamic sect concentrated in Southern Lebanon.

c. It shows special concern for the political news of the United States and the world.

d. It has a special section for world sports news.

It is significant to mention that all these newspapers are sent by mail to the people who pay the subscription. They are not available to the public the same as the American newspapers. Concerning the rate of distributing newspapers in the community, the American newspapers get the highest rate. Nahdat-el-Arab gets the highest distribution rate among the Arabic newspapers. Although many of the first generation members do not read English, they buy American newspapers for their children. The low distribution of Arabic newspapers is due to many factors, such as;

1. They always publish past news, because they depend on other newspapers.

2. The existence of short-wave radio provides the community with fresh news about Arab countries.

3. Many of the old first generation people and their children do not read Arabic.

#### Telephone.

This means of communication plays an important role in receiving and/or giving information among the community members. Almost every family in the community has a telephone. Women talk to each other and circulate the community gossip by phone.

#### Television.

Almost every family in the community has a television.



It plays a crucial role in communicating the American culture to this community.

#### Mail.

This refers, especially, to the letters sent to and from the community members and their relatives to the old country. These letters contain news concerning their relatives, properties and problems. The knowledge of writing Arabic gives the person some type of prestige in the community. The illiterate members welcome this person at their homes to write letters for them. This reminds the writer of the hours he spent in writing Arabic letters for some members.

#### X Arab Coffee-Houses.

They may be regarded as the best place to collect the latest information about any person or subject related to the community. In addition, they are centers of circulating news. Notes of death or wedding news are hung on the walls of these coffee-houses. Political debates always take place there. As the majority of the attendants of these coffee-houses are first generation members, the prevailing language of communication is usually Arabic. However, on Sundays, in the evening, many of the Group B members attend the coffee-houses to play cards and therefore, the preferable language becomes English.

#### Economic and Occupational Aspects

Some questions of the interview refer to the economic

and occupational characteristics of the community. Bearing in mind that the sample covers more than 40 percent of the family heads who are Lebanese by origin or birth, and that these Lebanese constitute about 75 percent of the community, it is regarded that the following table represents, to a certain degree, some general aspects of the community.

It is significant to indicate that while Elkholy (1960:59) found that 71 percent of his sample own their homes, this study gives a very close figure, that is 73 percent, although the sampling techniques of the two studies are different. This percentage is equivalent to that of the American middle class. Almost every family has at least one of the following: vacuum cleaner, refrigerator, washing machine, television, telephone and radio. In Elkholy's sample, 80 percent have private cars.

The following table presents a distribution of family incomes per year.

TABLE 7.-- Family Income in 1963

<u>Income in 1963</u>	<u>Group A</u>		<u>Group B</u>		<u>Groups A &amp; B</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
\$0 - \$1,999	1	2	--	--	--	1.5
\$2,000 - \$3,999	21	42	--	--	21	30.
\$4,000 - \$7,999	23	46	10	20	33	47.
\$8,000 - \$11,999	5	10	9	45	14	20.
\$12,000 - \$15,999	--	--	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.5</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100	70	100.0

Looking at the preceding table, in general, it is found that 47% of the families earn \$4,000-\$7,999 per year. The average family income is \$5,657, this is close to \$5,706, which is the average given by Elkholy (1960:58) in his study of the same community. These two figures are close to the average family income for all of the United States which goes around to \$5,966 (Economic Almanac 1958:350).

x The previous figures indicate that the average family income of the community is very close to the general average family income in the United States. In addition to the family income, the percentage of home owners of the community indicates that the economic status of the community may be equivalent to the economic status of the American lower-middle class.

According to the previous table, while the average family income of Group A is \$4,640 per year, Group B families earn \$8,200 per year. Therefore, the general conclusion is that the members of the community who spent their childhood and adolescence in the United States earn much more money than the members who spent the same period in the Arab countries.

With respect to the sources of the family incomes, the sample represents some relevant data. It is noticed that 63 percent of the whole sample depends on their jobs for a living, 31 percent depends on Social Security, just one family lives on welfare and two families live on the

contributions of their relatives because the family heads are unemployed. Some wives work to increase the family income, these are 14 percent of the whole sample. It is significant to note that while 30 percent of Group B have working wives, only 8% of Group A have working wives. While all Group B members depend on their jobs for a living, 48 percent of Group A depend on their jobs, and the rest, 52 percent, are either retired or unemployed. It is noticed that 23 percent of the sample run some kind of business in addition to their jobs or to Social Security pensions. Most of this business involves renting a flat or one room or more of their homes.

#### Occupations.

The following table represents the occupations of the 70 family heads of the sample

TABLE 8.-- Occupations of the Interviewees

Occupations	Group A		Group B		Groups A & B	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Laborer at Ford	12	24	5	25	17	24
Laborer -other Factories	2	4	1	5	3	4
Salesmen -Clerks	4	8	1	5	5	7
Business -(Stores or Offices)	5	10	8	40	13	19
Professional	1	2	5	25	6	9
Not applicable (Retired or Unemp.)	26	52	-	--	26	37
Totals	50	100	20	100	70	100

The table on the preceding page shows that the prevailing occupation is "laborer" at the Ford Rouge Plant, 45 percent of the working persons of the sample work as line laborers at Ford. This finding is consistent with Elkholy's findings (1960:23). It should not be overlooked that most of the retired people, who constitute 34 percent of the whole sample, worked at the Ford Plant. It is significant to note that, while 2 percent of Group A are professionals, 25 percent of Group B are professionals. The table also shows that very few laborers work outside the Ford Rouge Plant.

In general, the writer concludes that Group B people occupy more advanced occupations than those of the members from Group A. This is consistent with the previous conclusion that Group B earns more money than Group A.

Concerning the occupations of the working wives who are represented by 14 percent of the wives of the members of the sample, some of them help their husbands in his business (such as food stores) and the rest work as cashier, waitress, cook or secretary. It is noticed that none of the Group B wives work either as waitress or as cook.

The fact that just two persons of the sample are unemployed reflect that unemployment is not a serious problem in the community. The kinship relations play a crucial role in finding jobs for the newcomers. In addition, one of the two unemployed persons found a job in the Fall, 1963. The second person is not serious in finding a job, and his

many sons, who have good jobs, support him.

The above findings and discussions indicate that the community families enjoy economic security. This has been an important "pull factor" to persuade the relatives who live in the Arab countries to migrate to the United States. The high percentage of home ownership (73%) indicates that the members could save a large part of their incomes. The writer notices that the members enjoy their life, by preparing expensive delicious Lebanese food, by contributing generously to their projects and by their overwhelming generosity with guests and visitors.

With respect to the Islamic point of view related to acquiring wealth, it is significant to note that Islam emphasizes building a better charitable life, as a means both to itself and the ultimate happiness in the hereafter. Islam encourages its followers to fully participate in life and to acquire wealth through legal and moral means (Koran, Surah LXXI:1012).

### Kinship and Kin Groups

#### Kinship Relations.

These have played a crucial role in the community existence. The pioneer immigrants sent for their relatives to come to this new land. The economic cooperation among kinsmen has persuaded many of the Lebanese people to migrate to the community. It is significant to note that there are few members who have no relatives in the community. These

few suffered much in finding jobs and some of them are forced to return to the old country. The importance of these relationships is emphasized by the fact that the whole community may be divided into five patrilineages, the largest one in number is Berry patrilineage, its members number about 400 persons. In addition to the patrilineage, there are two other kin groups, the nuclear family and the extended family. The polygynous family is not existent in the community because it is prohibited by law. However, there are a few cases where polygyny was conducted. The following case is presented as an example. A member of Group A, who was separated from his American wife, went to the old country and married a Lebanese girl. When he came to the United States he was accused of bigamy. The judge explained to him that the American law prohibits polygyny. The man, who tried in vain to defend himself on the basis that his religion Islam recognizes polygyny, was forced by law to divorce one of his two wives and consequently he could keep the Lebanese wife.

The kin groups of the community are discussed in the following.

#### Nuclear Family.

This is the prevailing kin group in the community and the most important one. The basic four functions of the family - sexual, reproductive, educational and economic - are conducted by this family.

In the sample, it is noticed that 82% of the families are nuclear. There is no significant difference between Group A (78%) and Group B (80%) concerning the spread of nuclear families. The majority of the interviewees (67%) reported that they do not like to live with any relatives except their nuclear family members. While 80% of Group B reported the previous answer, 62% of Group A agreed on the answer. This shows that the members who spent their childhood in the United States have stronger tendencies toward favoring the nuclear family than those who spent their childhood in Lebanon.

Concerning the size of the community nuclear family, the sample presents that the average family size is 5.6. It is noticed that Group B have smaller nuclear families, while the average family size of Group A is 5.8, that of Group B is 5.1.

In the sample, 10% of the families are childless. Five of these seven childless families (3 from Group B and 2 from Group A) intended not to have children for a while. The other two childless families, all of Group A, have certain physical conditions prohibiting reproduction. They are very unhappy and feel that God has deprived them of his greatest gift.

It is significant to note that almost all the families having children have at least one male child. There is only one family in Group A having only one girl 2 years old, and the two parents hope to have a son in the future.



In addition, the nuclear family is characterized by the following:

1. Neolocal.

There is no limited rule of residence. The convenient residence of the newly married couple may be in the area of concentration at the South end of Dearborn, in another city in Metropolitan Detroit, or in any other place in the United States or Canada. The most important factor is the place of the husband's work. Many members of the community have married children living in Toledo, Ohio, Chicago, Illinois, and Los Angeles, California. Sometimes the important factor may be the inheritance of a house or an apartment in a certain place. The significance of the neolocality system is clearly emphasized by the fact that the great majority (80%) of the members of the Dearborn area of concentration are of the first generation. Very few of Group B live in this area.

2. Men-Women Equality.

The wife in this nuclear family insists on her American right of being equal to her husband. Even the wives who were brought up in the old country insist on this advantage. At the same time, the husbands of the first generation are not convinced of this right. Most of the quarrels between the husbands and their wives are related, directly or indirectly, to this claimed equality. Some of the unconvinced husbands beat their wives to ensure their superiority. But the wives who refuse to be beaten some-

times call the police, and the husbands are put in jail. Old men of the first generation, who are very upset, always say that America is for women and not for men. The American law gives the wife many privileges, such as the right of divorcing her husband, the right of taking the half of his wealth in case of divorce, and the right of being the only wife. She will never be a second or a third wife. Consequently, all the decisions in the family are made by the wife and the husband. In fact, she has become the boss of the family, because the husband is always busy in making money. This conflict is almost non-existent when both the couples are brought up in the United States.

### 3. Individualistic Style of Life.

Within the nuclear family every member began to be interested only in his own affairs. The husband of Group A has his own friends who are usually relatives and he spends most of the day in the coffee-house chattering in Arabic with them. The wife has her own female friends and no one interferes in her housekeeping plans. The children, going to the American schools and speaking English all the time, have their special life and the parents know very little about it.

### 4. Parents-Children Conflict.

This is related to the families where the father or the two parents are from Group A and their children, who are usually from Group B. In these families, two different ways of life exist together under the same roof. These

parents want their children to obey them without arguments, to conduct Islamic prayers, to recite some sections of Koran, to go to the mosque, to desert American dances and not to date the other sex. On the other hand, the children, who are influenced by the American culture through television and the American schools, do not respect the previous orders of their parents. The children regard themselves as Americans and they refuse to be reared as Arab-Moslems. This conflict is the basis of all the frequent quarrels between the parents and their children. The parents are very sad about this situation and they repeat; "In America we got money, but we lost our children". When I asked them to explain how they lost their children, some of them gave the following answers;

- a. "They don't visit us frequently".
- b. "They don't give us money, although some of them are very rich".
- c. "I don't know anything about three of my married children, they live in Chicago and they do not send me letters".
- d. "They do not respect me".
- e. "My daughter married a Christian American although Islam denies this. I will never see her again".
- f. "My son lives on the other side of the street where I live, and he does not talk with me".

The writer noticed that some of these children look down on their parents, they regard them as old-fashioned

minds who will never understand the American culture, especially the youth culture. In addition to the differences of the cultural orientations of the parents and the children, the writer sees that this conflict is related to other factors, such as;

a. The illiteracy of most of the old first generation may attribute to the children's tendency to look down on them.

b. Many of these parents tried to hide their origin, especially before 1956. Some changed their Islamic names and others identified themselves with Italian or Armenian ethnic groups. These attempts of hiding their origin persuaded their children to follow them and, in turn, to despise the traditions of their origin.

c. The linguistic difference has played an important role in decreasing the opportunities of communication between the parents and the children. While the parents prefer to speak Arabic, the children, especially after going to American schools, prefer to speak English. This has widened the gap between them.

d. The children's awareness of the original poverty of their parents, their relatives and the old country itself, may contribute to the children's tendency to look down on their parents.

The conflict has resulted in that most of the children did not continue their education, and that many of the males preferred to marry American Christian girls and to leave

the area of concentration.

During his visits with some families the writer noticed that the parents of Group A prevented their children from meeting him, and they explained their behavior by saying, "our children are Americans and they have nothing to do with our discussions". Elkholy (1960:133-134) emphasized the previous conflict in his study. The writer does not agree with him on what he called "the suppressed second-generation personality", which he explained in the following:

"Detroit is said to owe much of its night life activities to the Moslem "beat" generation (1950:137). Even within the community demarcation in Dearborn, Dix Street manifests the sharp deviation of the young generation. Scores of idle, jobless young men form several cliques which cluster here and there on the street corners, in billiard rooms, and in the coffee-houses where gambling is very common. Their conversation is a shout and often ends in fighting" (1960:138).

Disagreement on the previous analysis is based on the following:

- a. Studying the second generation personality requires special techniques and methods such as the "Rorschach Test", "Thematic Apperception Test" and "Drawing Analysis". None of these were conducted by Elkholy.
- b. Evaluating the previous behavior as "deviation" is an ethnocentric evaluation. According to the American youth culture, almost none of the previous activities could be regarded as deviation.
- c. All the previous types of behavior are shared by the first generation members. In fact, all the perform-

ances of the Arabic night clubs in Detroit are conducted only by the first generation members.

At last, it should not be implied that the previous characteristics exist in every family of the community. These characterize many of the families where the parents are from Group A. The conflict does not exist in the families where the parents and the children were brought up in the United States. Even among the families where the parents are of the first generation members, the conflict does not exist in all of these families. Within some of these families, there are a) women who know nothing about their new rights provided by the American law, b) some children, who were brought up in the United States, who give their salaries to their parents, c) children who support their parents, and d) strong social relations that exist.

##### 5. Extended Family.

There are some extended families in the community. In the sample, 18% of the families under study are extended, their number is 13 families. The forms of these extended families are summarized as follows:

- a. One family includes the interviewee, his nuclear family and his married daughter's nuclear family.
- b. Two families include the interviewee's nuclear family and one or more of his parents.
- c. Four families include the interviewee's nuclear family, one or more of his parents and one or more

of his married children's family (s).

d. Six families include the interviewee's nuclear family and his parents-in-law and/or their unmarried children.

Many of these extended families are temporary and some of them are based on supporting a son and his family during unemployment. The basic functions of these families are economic and educational. The fact that only 18% of the families are extended, and that many of them are temporary, indicates that the extended family is not an important kin group in the community.

#### 6. Patrilineage.

Descent is bilateral, with a minimal stress upon patrilineal descent. The person is usually associated with a group of very close relatives irrespective of their particular genealogical connection to him. The existence of a minimal stress upon patrilineal descent is found only in some families. Although the community is bilateral, the patrilineal inheritance of surnames and the fact that the community large kin groups are characterized by this surname result in a sort of patrilineage (Murdock 1949:46). Five of these patrilineages are found in the community. These are characterized by the following:

a. Endogamy - marriage between two members of the same patrilineage is not a taboo. Moreover, this type of marriage is a preferable type according to Group A members.

b. It is noticed that there is a type of choice concerning the patrilineage membership. Some of the

consanguineal members (all of them from Group B) do not like to participate in the patrilineage activities and do not identify themselves with it, although they carry the common surname.

c. These patrilineages are only parts of large patrilineages which existed in the old country. The relationship between the two parts of each patrilineage are very strong with respect to Group A members.

d. Each patrilineage has a leader who is the most successful member; old age is not a condition for this status. The leader takes care of the problems of the members of his patrilineage. This includes finding jobs for unemployed relatives, settlement of disputes and quarrels, economic aids, consultation and arranging plans to be followed by the patrilineage members.

e. The members of the patrilineage do not always live very closely. However, while four patrilineages are concentrated at the south end of Dearborn, the fifth one is concentrated at Highland Park, Michigan.

f. It is noticed that the structure of some patrilineages have changed. Some affiliated and matrilineal relatives identify themselves with some of these patrilineages. For example, some members of one of these patrilineages are the brothers-in-law of the leader. Although they have different last names, they are active members in the patrilineage. Therefore, the writer sees that "bilateral kin group" term is more appropriate than



"patrilineage" to be applied to such kin groups. The basic functions of these large kin groups are: economic aids, consultations, social visiting, making general decisions on certain subjects, means of identification, social prestige, and participation in important ceremonial occasions.

g. Group A members are interested in identifying themselves with these large kin groups; in attending the meetings organized by the leader, and in following the general decisions. On the contrary, Group B members are not interested in these collective activities. They are interested in the affairs of their nuclear families as independent units and not as related larger kin groups.

h. It is noticed that some large kin groups are characterized by general qualities. Some members, during their conversations, refer to certain large kin groups as characterized by one or more of the following, generosity, jealousy, solidarity, education and wealth.

These large kin groups play an important role in supporting and in organizing the continuous flow of immigrants, most of whom are relatives.

## 7. Kinship Terms.

Group A members still use Lebanese traditional terms. Soem of these terms, however are no longer used. These are:

- a. Abi means my father.
- b. Ummi means my mother.
- c. Ziddi means my grandfather

d. Sitti means my grandmother.

This disappearance is due to the fact that almost all Group A members came to the United States without their parents and grandparents. Many of Group A who became either parents or grandparents are usually addressed by American kinship terms such as, daddy, mama, grandmother and grandfather.

In addition to the previous four terms, the term dorriti, my husband's other wife, is not used as polygyny has been prohibited by American law.

Some of Group A, who married American women, do not use the term bint ammi in calling their wives, instead they use the term, "my wife".

Although Group B people use American kinship terms, some still apply the following Lebanese terms.

a. Bint ammi in calling their wives who belong to Group A.

b. Ammi in addressing their uncles or fathers-in-law if they are from Group A.

c. Ammti in calling their aunts or their mothers-in-law who belong to Group A.

It is noticed that Group A members address each other in a way involving the first name of the first son such as, umm Kassem and abo Kassem, that means "Kassem's father and mother". This way is considered as more preferable and polite than using the first name. Indeed, this way is applied only to the persons who have male children. Most

of the community members address and refer to older members who are not relatives by using the term ammi (my uncle) to men, and the term ammti, (my aunt) to women. This rule is strictly followed by children and teenagers.

### Education

Two questions of the interview are related to education, one of them is concerned with literacy. The distribution of the answers on this question are presented in the following table.

TABLE 9.-- Arabic and English Literacies

Literacy	Group A		Group B		Groups A & B	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate in Arabic and English	17	34	--	--	17	20.8
Literate in Arabic	5	10	--	--	5	7.1
Literate in English	--	--	17	85	17	20.8
Literate in Arabic and English	<u>28</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>51.3</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100	70	100.0

The above table shows that while 34% of Group A are illiterate, all Group B members are literate. This is due to the fact that there were very few schools in Lebanese villages in the beginning of the Twentieth Century. The

table indicates that some of Group B (15%) know how to read and write Arabic. This is explained by the continuous attempts of the community leaders to establish Arabic schools. These schools are located either in the Islamic mosque or in the Hashimite Club. The lack of financing and volunteer teachers are the main obstacles in establishing a permanent well-organized Arabic school. While in 1962 and 1963 there was an Arabic school in the Hashimite Club, it is closed in 1964. At the same time, a new school is established in 1964 in the Islamic mosque.

The illiteracy of many group A members may contribute to their occupations as unskilled workers in the Ford Rouge Plant. However, some of these illiterates have run businesses. A community member reported that he had a big grocery store in spite of his illiteracy.

The second question is concerned with school attendance. The distribution of the answers are stated as follows:

TABLE 10.-- School Attendance and  
Highest Grade Completed

School Attendance	Group A		Group B		Group A & B	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No school attendance.	20	40	--	--	20	29
From 1 to 5 yrs. elementary education in old land.	16	32	--	--	16	23
Unfinished high school education in the old land.	8	16	--	--	8	12

continued on next page

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Finished high school education in the old land.	3	6	--	--	3	4
Unfinished high school education in U.S.A.	--	--	11	55	11	16
Finished high school education in U.S.A.	1	2	3	15	4	6
Unfinished college in the U.S.A.	--	--	3	15	3	4
Finished college in the old land.	1	2	--	--	1	1
Finished college in the U.S.A.	--	--	3	15	3	4
High school in the old land, finished college in U.S.A.	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100	70	100

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The preceding table shows that 40% of Group A did not go to school. Comparing this 40% to 34% of the same group who are illiterates indicates that some of Group A are self-educated with regard to Arabic and/or English literacy. Some of Group A (32%) have attended elementary schools in Lebanese villages. These elementary schools are religious and called Kottab in the Middle East. They are usually run by a Sheik who teaches both Koran and Arabic. The general educational aspect of Group A is the lack of education. Most of them (72%) either did not go to school or just attended elementary schools for a few years. With respect

to Group B the table presents that 55% of its members did not finish high school. This high percentage of drop-outs may be explained by one or more of the following factors:

1. The parents-children conflict.
2. The lack of education among the immigrants, especially the pioneers, may explain their under-estimation of the value of higher education. Some of Group B reported that their parents had persuaded them to drop out in order to work at the Ford Rouge Plant to increase the family income.

With respect to college education the sample shows that very few of the community members (6%) finished college. Group B have more college educated people than those of Group A, with Group B having 15% and Group A, 4%. Those in Group B are usually self-educated. They reported that their parents refused to support them in college. This may be due to the under-estimation of education by the pioneers.

The previous discussion shows that, in general, the members who spent their childhood in the United States are more educated than those who spent their childhood in the old country.

#### Islamic Education.

One of the basic problems faced by the community members is how to learn their religion. The lack of education of the pioneers and their ignorance of their religion prevented them from teaching their children the religion. The

leaders of the community are aware of the problem and they try to solve it by establishing religious schools called "Sunday Schools". These schools, as well as the Arabic schools, never lasted more than three years. The failure of these schools is due to the lack of financing and qualified teachers. However, they try to establish a permanent school related to the newly organized association, the Islamic Center. Sunday Schools are located either in the Islamic mosque or in the Hashimite Club. One of these schools is presented as an example.

In the academic year 1962-1963 there was a Sunday School located on the second floor of the Hashimite Club. Although the Shi'ah managed the school, some Sunni children and adults attended it. It was opened every Sunday in the morning during all the seasons except the Summer. There were about 100 students, most of them children. Teaching was in English. The supervisor of the school was an important religious leader who wrote an introductory book on Islam. The book is in English and it presents the basic Islamic beliefs and rituals in the form of questions and answers (Chirri:1962).

Parents were very happy that their children began to know their religion, a member reported that his child (10 years old) understood Islam better than him, and he was very proud of that. In 1964, the previous school is closed and another one is opened in the basement of the Islamic Mosque. Although none of these schools are permanent,

they play an important part in explaining Islam to the new generations.

At last, two further educational aspects are presented in the following:

1. Some parents from Group A intend to prevent their pre-school children from speaking English, and they are very proud that their children did not know any English words when they went to school for the first time. However, these efforts to maintain the Arabic language disappear when the children go to American schools.

2. The educational buildings in the area of concentration are:

- a. Salina elementary school, an American school.
- b. Sunday (Arabic and Islamic) schools.
- c. An American library, many Arabic Moslem children go to this library to read or to borrow American books.

### Political Aspects

While it is clearly noticed that all the members of the community are interested in the politics of both the United States and the Arab countries, the intensity of these interests differ greatly between Group A and Group B. The members who spent their childhood in Arab countries are full of enthusiasm toward Arab nationalism, and they identify themselves with the Arab world. Many of them own expensive short-wave radios that provide them with the news of the hour



concerning the Arab world. These owners, in turn, circulate the news among their Arab relatives and friends. Many informants reported that this interest is a recent tendency. It has developed since the Suez Canal crisis in 1956 and it has been stimulated by President Nasser's nationalistic movement. President Nasser, of the United Arab Republic is an important subject of their discussions in the coffee-houses and during social visiting. In all the houses visited by the writer, there is at least one picture of Nasser hanging on the living room wall. It is significant to note that there is a coffee-house named after President Nasser (Map 1). Their enthusiasm for Nasser has increased since 1961, when Nasser contributed \$44,000. to help build a new mosque in Dearborn. This recent interest in Arab-nationalism has played an important role in minimizing the differences between the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis. Instead of arguing about the old religious differences between the two sects, discussions have changed to Arab world politics. In the summer of 1963, most of the discussions in the coffee-houses were related to Nasser and his political disputes with the Baath party. Almost all of the Group A members were pro-Nasser with respect to the previous dispute. Some of their comments are presented as follows:

1. "Nasser is sent by God after Mohammad to reunify the Arab Moslems."
2. "Nasser should punish the Baath party, and even should regain Syria by force because it is a part of U.A.R."

With regard to the previous enthusiasm, the writer had an idea that this might have been intended to please him, as he is from the United Arab Republic. However, after deep investigation, and considering Elkholy's emphasis on the dominance of this enthusiasm (1960:71), it was felt that this was neither a false nor an exaggerated enthusiasm. In addition, Group A members were also interested in United States politics, but without intensive enthusiasm. The writer visited the community during the week of President Kennedy's death. All the members were very sad, some of them wept while voicing their sorrow

Group B members are more interested in American politics than in Arab politics. Their English literacy and American education have increased this concern. This interest is clearly shown by their active participation in the two major American parties, the Democratic and the Republican. It is interesting to note that there is an Arab American Republican Club. The President, Vice-President, and the Secretary of the club are all community members of Group B. The club includes about 75 active members, most of them from Group B.

With respect to the Democratic party, there are two leaders from Group B, but they do not occupy any office in the party although they have served the party for more than 25 years. There are about 80 Democratic members, most of them from Group B.

It was noted that Group B members do not have short-wave radios, do not actively share the political discussions concerning the Arab-world, and are not interested in Arabic newspapers. However, some of them put Nasser's pictures in their homes and most of them attend the parties held to collect contributions for the Arab refugees and Algerians. It is significant to note that a member of Group B publishes a monthly English newspaper called "Review". It is distributed among American people without charge. Its main objectives are:

1. To provide American people with the Arab nations responses to American policies in the Middle East.
2. To support and explain the Arab nationalistic movement as presented by Nasser.

This indicates that a few members of Group B have a full enthusiasm toward the Arab world politics.

Affiliation with a certain American party is usually based on personal decisions. The sectarian differences has nothing to do with these affiliations. The two parties include both Shi'ahs and Sunnis.

### Religion, Magic and Values

#### Religion.

Although all community members belong to Islam, they are from two Islamic sects: Shi'ah or Metawileh sect and Sunni sect. The basic Islamic beliefs, rituals and differences between these two sects were mentioned in Chapter II.

Although the number of the Sunnis is much bigger than that of the Shi'ahs in the Arab world, the contrary is found in the community. The minority feeling of the Shi'ahs in the Arab countries may explain the fact that they migrated to the United States in bigger numbers than that of the Sunnis. The writer very roughly estimated that there are 200 Shi'ah families and 60 Sunni families in the area of concentration at the south end of Dearborn. This difference in the two sects numbers is clearly presented in the sample where 66% are Shi'ahs, 28% are Sunnis, 6% are Moslems only. The last group of Moslems refused to identify themselves with any sect. These are members of Group B and they represent 20% of the group. This may indicate that some of Group B are interested in minimizing the sectarian differentiation. In fact, the desire of minimizing the sectarian differences has become a common tendency among Group B members, and it is supported by a recent religious association, the Islamic Center, which is studied in detail in the following section.

The community members, however, retain some of the old country sectarian ritual differences. These are presented in the following:

1. While the Sunnis pray in the Islamic Mosque, the Shi'ahs pray in the second floor of the Hashimite Club. Some Shi'ahs from Group A reported that they do not like to pray in the Islamic Mosque, not because it is directed by the Sunni, but because the Sunni leaders called the

mosque in the official files the Sunni Islamic Mosque, although many Shi'ahs had contributed to build it. The Shi'ahs do not like this differentiation of the mosques because these are for all Moslems and they should be called neither Shi'ah nor Sunni.

2. While the Sunnis funerals and weddings are held in the basement of the Islamic Mosque, the Shi'ahs funerals and weddings are conducted in the first floor of the Hashimite Club. However, the two sects followers attend the funerals and the weddings of each other.

3. The community members bury their dead in Roseland Park Cemetary on Twelve Mile Road, Detroit. Each sect has a separate lot.

4. In wedding and funeral ceremonies, the religious services are furnished by religious leaders from the sect of the persons involved. In the case of marriage, if the couple belong to different sects, the parents of the couple usually reach an agreement on the religious leader who may conduct the ceremony. Usually, the sect of the parents who have higher social status will influence the agreement.

5. In the profession of faith the Sunnis recite the confession: "No god whatsoever but God, and Mohammad is His Prophet". The Shi'ahs recite the confession: No god whatsoever but God, and Mohammad is His Prophet, and Ali, verily, is God's Saint".

6. For the sake of convenience, the Shi'ahs may combine the noon prayer with the evening prayer. This

convention is not followed by the Sunnis.

7. While most of the Shi'ahs favor praying singly, the Sunni favor praying in groups.

Beyond the previous differentiation in religious rituals, the sectarian difference does not clearly present itself in the community daily life. Very few of the old members of Group A show religious prejudice toward the members of the other sect, such as preventing their children from marrying members of the other sect, or repeating the old religious claims that Imam Ali should follow the Prophet instead of Abu Bakr. However, these are individual cases and do not represent the general trend, which is the non-existence of any religious prejudice. The dispute between the Shi'ah and Sunni sects has become a dispute over leadership in the community. It is a social, not a religious dispute. No single religious point or principle can be demonstrated by members of the two sects as a religious cornerstone for this social conflict. The Shi'ahs respect Ali, the Fourth Moslem Caliph, but no more than they respect the Prophet Mohammad. The Sunnis have the same degree of respect and love for Ali as for Mohammad.

In addition, there are other patterns of behavior that belong to religion. These are:

1. Mosques.

Although the mosque in Islam does not have an exclusive religious significance since the Moslem can pray on any clean spot on the earth, it becomes very significant

in this community. Here the mosque is the center of religious and social identification of the community, and it is even the place of social gossip. There are three mosques in the community. These are:

a. The Islamic Mosque, which is located on Vernor Highway in a central spot of the community. It was built by a Sunni Association called Manaret Al Hoda. This association, founded in 1936, built the basement in 1938. In 1952 they built the first flat and in the same year the name of the association was changed to "The American Islamic Association". The mosque cost about \$75,000. All the money was collected from the members of the community. All members of the association are Sunni.

Although all the Shi'ah attend the mosque in the case of funerals, parties and weddings, none of them conduct prayer there. In addition to these activities, others such as giving lectures, teaching Arabic and Islam, and the celebration of Islamic feasts are also conducted in the mosque.

It is noted that very few members (all from Group A) attend the religious services in the mosque. An average of 12 persons attend the Friday group prayer. The mosque has been directed by religious scholars who were sent by the Egyptian Azhar University. Although hundreds of letters were sent to the Ashar University, asking for a religious scholar to teach the descendants Islam, very few attend the meetings held by this scholar. While the Shi'ah

boycott the religious services of this Sunni mosque, many Sunni do not participate in the religious activities because of the personal quarrels among the families. In addition, this reluctance to attend religious services, especially Friday group prayer, may be due to the weakness of the sense of religiosity in the community.

b. The Hashimite<sup>1</sup> Club is located on Dix Highway and it is very close to the Islamic Mosque. The building, which had originally been a bank, was bought and remodeled in 1936 by a Shi'ah association called the "Hashimite Renaissance Society". The first floor is used to conduct funerals, weddings, dinner parties, reception parties and public speeches. The second flat is used for prayers and for "Sunday School". The association's President (during the Summer of 1963) was not a religious leader, he was a generous popular member. However, the Shi'ah religious leaders refused to cooperate with him for personal reasons. While the Sunnis attend the social activities held in the Hashimite Club, they never conduct prayers there. It is noticed that Friday group prayer is not strictly observed, and the Shi'ahs prefer single prayers.

c. The Islamic Center Mosque is located outside the area of concentration but within the city of Dearborn.

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<sup>1</sup>The term Hashimite refers to Prophet Mohamed's family and it emphasizes the significance of the Prophet's family to the Shi'ahs.



It takes about ten minutes to reach it by car. It is located at the intersection of Joy and Greenfield Roads. The building is not finished yet and it is hoped that it will be finished in 1964. Although the founder of the project is Shi'ah, the mosque is not related to any particular sect and is managed by the Islamic Center Association. Among the Shi'ahs themselves the project of building a new mosque resulted in a schism which originated from the Shi'ahs disputes over leadership.

The Sunnis and the Shi'ahs who oppose the project of building this new mosque defend their point of view by saying: "We have enough mosques in our community, we do not need more mosques but we need more true Moslems to pray in these mosques. Moreover, the new mosque is far from the area of concentration and old Arab-Moslems do not have cars". Some Shi'ahs do not support the Islamic Center because their patrilineage leader, who is also a religious leader, is not the president of the Islamic Center. Some do not support it because they do not like the actual president of the Islamic Center.

Many Sunnis support the new mosque and few of them fear that the Sunnis may be prevented from attending the mosque because most of its staff are Shi'ahs.

The writer sees that the new mosque may play an important role in bringing the two sects together. The following factors support the previous point of view.

1) Some Sunni social leaders occupy significant offices in the Islamic Center association.

2) The Islamic Center can be regarded as the first religious association which includes Shi'ahs and Sunnis, not only as listed in its constitution, but also as a fact.

3) The large number of the Shi'ah members of this association is related to the fact that the majority of the community are Shi'ahs.

4) The opposition of people of both sects has helped in bringing the two sects together. Thus, the Islamic Center not only has supporters from the two sects, but also its opponents are from two sects. The argument of building or not building a new mosque could, for the first time, break the sectarian barrier concerning religious activities.

5) All the members of this association are literate, and they insist on speaking English during their meetings. It is noticed that these members always attack the old-fashioned sectarian differences and they always say: "We are all Moslems and we believe in the same Holy Book and the same Prophet". One of the leaders of this association said: "I wonder why we fight each other on the basis of sects. The whole difference between the Sunni and the Shi'ahs was originally political and not a religious one".

1) The presidency, the membership and all the other offices of the Islamic Center can be occupied by any Moslem whatever his sect is.

The subject of building this new mosque has been an important topic of debate and discussion among the community members in every place. The leaders of the Islamic Center are full of enthusiasm toward building the new mosque. The president reported that the Islamic Mosque and the Hashimite Club are located in a slum-like area and many of the Arab-Moslems began to move out because of the unhealthy conditions. Many young Arab-Moslems do not dare take their American friends or American wives to the old-fashioned mosques because of their location. Moreover, the mosques are the symbols of the sectarian differences. Therefore, the president decided to build a new mosque in a respectable area to help in maintaining Islam in Detroit, because the religious activities in the two old mosques are not attended by the majority of the community. The president visited many Arab nations to collect contributions for the new mosque. The United Arab Republic gave him \$44,000. and Jordan gave \$7,000. He collected other contributions from the community members themselves. In two dinner parties he collected \$30,000.

The new mosque will occupy a small part of the area bought for the Islamic Center. A big hall will be built as an annex of the mosque. The hall will be used for weddings, funerals, lectures, parties, and the Islamic

Youth Club meetings. Two classrooms will be built to be used as Sunday School to teach children and adults Islam.

Religious Leadership.

Religious leadership is generally characterized by sectarian differentiation and by the fact that all of these leaders are from Group A. Although there are three Shi'ah leaders, one of them is just interested in writing articles on religion. This non-professional religious leader is also a leader of his patrilineage. The members of his patrilineage consult him on religion and they call him Sheik. Beyond consultation he does not conduct any religious services. In addition to the two professional leaders, there is only one Sunni leader. These leaders provide the community with religious services such as conducting the religious rituals of funerals, weddings, group prayers, and Islamic feasts. Moreover, they help in solving family quarrels. Many of Group A members respect these leaders and consult them in their personal problems. Most of these leaders lack the formal high religious education. However, all of them have religious licenses obtained from Lebanese Moslem leaders. Only one of these leaders masters English in addition to Arabic. This Shi'ah leader is the only full-time Sheik who spends all his time in religious services, and some wealthy members support him. The other two leaders are part-time Sheiks. Although these leaders meet each other with

friendly handshakes and words, there are many disputes among them. The main sources of these are their personal disputes over leadership. Each one wants to be the highest, most respected religious leader.

Group B members do not have confidence in most of these leaders and they always refer to their low level of formal education and to their continuous disputes.

In spite of the sectarian barrier, two of the Shi'ah leaders achieve common popularity in the community. The popularity of one of them is based on his monasticism. This leader is an ascetic old man, who offers freely his services for both the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis. Most of the people respect and admire him. Once, some community members decided to offer him a new car as a present. This leader strongly refused the car parked in front of his house and warned them he would cut off his services if they tried to give him anything. The disappointed people returned the new car. This leader earns his living from a small business. "I serve the people for the sake of God, not for the sake of money", he said when the writer visited him at his home. It is found that in spite of this increasing and prevailing community popularity, this leader is a very strict and conservative Shi'ah. This may illustrate the decreasing significance of the sectarian differences in the community. The previous point of view might be supported by the fact that this community religious leader and the Sunni leader are very close friends. While the

Sunni do not go to this Shi'ah leader to conduct their weddings and funerals, they respect him and they ask his advice on their personal problems, some of which are related to religion. While the first community religious leader does not accept any contribution, the second leader lives entirely on contributions.

The second community religious leader acquired his popularity by different means. He founded the Islamic Center Foundation which fights the sectarian prejudice. His command of English and his relatively high religious education have helped him in obtaining popularity among both the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis.

#### Religiosity.

Elkholy (1960:224), whose main concern was studying the religiosity in this community and in the Toledo Arab-Moslem group, found that religiosity is weak in the community, especially among Group B. Friday prayer has begun to fade even among the first generation. The weakness of religiosity in the community may be explained by the following factors:

1. Group A members who have come directly to Dearborn from the old country have maintained their old values. In addition, their ignorance of the recent elaboration of Islam contributes to the existence of a traditional and rigid religion in the community. This is represented by these examples:

a. The girls who married American Christians find themselves and their offspring rejected by the community.

b. They retain the sectarian conflict but based on conflict over social leadership. This conflict has weakened the solidarity of the community and dispersed the religious interest of the young generations.

c. New generations (Group B) show a very weak sense of religiosity. Many of them explained the previous weakness by the ignorance of both the religious leaders and the parents, and by the previous social conflict between the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis. Therefore, very few of Group B conduct daily prayers and fast Ramadan. None of them conduct the pilgrimage ritual, although some of them are wealthy. Such a rigid, traditional religion does not suit the new social environment or cannot attract the new generations.

2. The religion is used as a means to nationalistic sentiments, maintained by the old generation and lost in meaning among the new generations.

3. In addition to the social conflict over leadership between the two sects, the personal conflicts among the religious leader and the families have played an important role in dispersing the religious interest. Although there is an Egyptian religious scholar in the Islamic Mosque whose work is to present the elaborated explanations of Islam, very few people attend his meetings because of the previous social and personal conflicts.

4. The education of the religious leaders of the community is under the level required for such a big job of modifying the religion to suit the new environments and to attract the younger generations.

5. The failure in establishing a well organized permanent religious school.

A significant point related to the weakness of religiosity in the community is the increasing number of persons of Group B who convert to Christianity. Although their number is very small, it is increasing from time to time. These are either the wives of Christians or the children of a mixed marriage. In the first case, the American Christians persuade their Moslem wives to convert to Christianity. Many cases of divorces are related to the previous attempts. In the case of children, they are persuaded by their Christian parent to convert to Christianity. The exact number of cases is unknown; however these cases do not exceed 2% of the community members. These persons usually leave the area of concentration. Their parents, relatives and Moslem friends avoid talking to them.

#### Magic.

A few members from Group A practice magic rituals related to religion. The most important rituals are the Koranic charms and El-ors which were common in the old land. While some of Group A believe in the direct effects of this ritual, all Group B members ridicule these practices



and call them "superstitious".

It is noted that the members who put Koranic charms under the shoulder or around the neck deny this, especially in their arguments with educated people. An old member of Group A reported that he tried to put a Koranic charm under the pillow of his sick son. The son became angry when he found the charm and threw it out of the window.

With respect to El-ors, most of the Shi'ah members do not believe in its direct effects. They always tell jokes related to El-ors users such as: "If these charms are truly made of the Imams tombs, these tombs should be consumed as thousands of these charms are in circulation in Iran, Iraq and Lebanon".

Note that none of these charms are made in the community; all are brought from Lebanon. In general, magic is only practiced by a few old members of Group A, and it is rejected by the great majority of the community members.

Values.

Many values were defined by inference from masses of the field data. Some of these values were more stressed by one group than by the second. It was found that most of the values stressed by Group A were more related to the Lebanese village values. Group B emphasized American values. Some of the community values are presented below:

1. Success and Wealth.

Almost all the community members strive to obtain

wealth and to achieve success. Social and political leaders in the community are the most successful and rich members in the community.

2. Education and Individualism

These are particularly found among Group B. They reported that although their immigrant parents prevented them from college education, they will never make the same mistake with their children. Group B members respect their children's right of making their own decisions and enjoying their lives without old-fashioned interference.

3. Women's Chastity and Loyalty.

Gossip is mainly related to stories of wives or girls who escaped with their lovers. Although these were few cases, they were repeated among the community members for several years.

4. Saving Money.

This is highly valued by Group A who regarded that money is the main purpose of their migration.

5. Strong Sense of Religiosity and Asceticism.

These are only found among Group A. They respect the old members who always attend the mosques and believe that by abstinence and self-denial a person can train himself to be in conformity with God's will.

6. Lineality and Male Children.

The first was stressed only by Group A who believe in patrilineage solidarity. Male children are

avored by all the community members. The problems involved in finding Moslem husbands for their daughters are partially responsible for this value.

7. Generosity, Modesty, and Helping Others.

Group A members spent hours every day in chattering about evaluating the community members on the basis of these three criteria. They admire generous and modest persons and look down on stingy and arrogant members.

Voluntary Associations

Voluntary associations play a significant role as a horizontal type of association in the community. This type is in continuous struggle with the basic vertical associations, the patrilineages. The struggle is stimulated by the successful attempts of these horizontal associations in creating cooperation among members of different patrilineages. Some patrilineages find in these associations a danger which may destroy the patrilineage solidarity by changing it to community solidarity. The struggle is clearly presented by the ongoing dispute (in the Summer of 1963) between the strongest patrilineage and the strongest religious association of the community.

Although some of these associations are sectarian, they are regarded as voluntary associations because the membership is not compulsory. The voluntary associations are presented in the following:

1. The American Moslem Society.

This is a Sunni association, founded by Sheikh Kharoub, the Sunni religious leader, in 1938. The association built the Islamic mosque in Dearborn. The basic objective of the association is to sponsor and to maintain the mosque. Today the association faces a financial crisis. Most of the members do not pay the subscription of one dollar per month. While there are more than 120 members (married and unmarried males and females), only 40 of them pay the subscription. These are old Sunnis. In order to get money to maintain the mosque, the association arranges dinner parties accompanied by Arabic songs and dances. Some Arab-Moslem girls perform belly dances to collect contributions. At a recent party, they collected about \$700. These parties, as well as the weddings and funerals which are held in the basement of the mosque, are attended by the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis. In fact, more Shi'ah than Sunnis attended the last dinner party. In addition, several Arab Christians attended the party. It should not be overlooked that while the Shi'ahs do not pray in the Islamic (Sunni) Mosque, they go there for entertainment. The association is seriously worried about the decreasing number of the people who participate in Friday prayer and in paying the subscription. The president of the association reported that he made a plan to solve the previous problem. This plan is summarized in the following proposals:

a. To organize weekly meetings in the mosque for families to discuss religious subjects.

b. To open a Sunday School to teach the Arabic language and Islamic religion. This proposal was carried out in January, 1964.

c. To settle the old differences and conflicts among some Sunni families and individuals.

According to the president's point of view, the Arab-Moslems of this community always personalize the points of differences. This means that when a person opposes a proposal presented by another person, the two become personal enemies and they avoid each other. At the same time, the nuclear families of those two persons also become enemies. The fact of personalizing the discussions and the arguments, according to the president, is the source of all the conflicts in the Moslem community. He stressed the following as the basic objectives of this association.

a. To maintain the mosque.

b. To establish an Islamic-Arabic school.

c. To emphasize the cooperation of Islam and other religions.

## 2. Progress Arabic Hashimite Society.

This is a Shi'ah association and it is located in the Hashimite Club. This club was built by this association. The number of its members is decreasing. There were 600 members five years ago but by 1963, the number

had dwindled to 150. This decrease is due to the following:

- a. The establishing of the "Islamic Center Society" which absorbed many of the members.
- b. Some personal disputes between the actual president and some Shi'ah patrilineage leaders.

The objectives of the association are the following:

- a. To maintain the Hashimite Club which provides the Shi'ah with religious services.
- b. To conduct funerals, weddings, reception parties, dinners and entertaining parties. These are attended by the Sunnis and Shi'ahs.
- c. To establish an Islamic Sunday School. This school was closed in January, 1964.
- d. To stimulate friendship and solidarity among the Moslems in the community.

The association is facing a hard crisis as the Islamic Center Association has absorbed most of its members. This situation has resulted in competition of the two associations for gaining members. Many of the leaders of the Hashimite Club moved to the Islamic Center and obtained offices there. The conflict of the two associations is clearly noticed in the continuous arguments among their members and their leaders.

### 3. Islamic Center Foundation Society.

This association was founded in 1956 by Sheik Chirri, who is the actual president of the association. The president, the youngest religious leader of the community,

has the advantage of speaking English fluently and possessing some religious education from Naguf religious University in Iraq. He wrote a book on Islam in English (Chirri 1961).

The basic objective of the Islamic Center is to build an educational religious center, called the Islamic Center. The location is on the intersection of Joy and Greenfield Roads, Dearborn. The building, which is not finished yet, will include:

- a. A modern mosque.
- b. A big hall, as an annex of the mosque, to be used for weddings, funerals, parties, lectures and meetings.
- c. Two classrooms to be used for the Sunday School which is going on now in the Hashimite Club.
- d. An office for the president of the Center.
- e. A kitchen.
- f. A garden for outdoor recreation.

The members of the Islamic Centers are increasing in number. They are now about 350 persons, males and females, most of them Shi'ahs. This is due to the fact that the majority of the community are Shi'ahs. The significance of this new religious association is the point that this is the first and the only religious association which combines the two sects. Although the president is Shi'ah, he always attacks the sectarian prejudices, by repeating that all the Moslems are sincere brothers whatever their sects may be. The constitution of the Islamic Center states that

the president of the Islamic Center as well as all the members may belong to any Islamic sect<sup>1</sup>. Many of the members are from Group B. The English language is strictly observed in the meetings.

The members are full of enthusiasm for finishing the Islamic Center building. Some of them have made several thousand dollars as contributions. President visited the Arab countries to collect contributions for the building and U.A.R. contributed \$44,000. and Jordon paid \$7,000.

The president sees that the Islamic Center will eliminate the sectarian differences, will bring the Moslem young boys and girls together in order to reduce mixed marriages, will teach the youth the religion in English and in progressive methods. and will adjust the Islamic religion to the American culture by eliminating the old-fashioned aspects.

#### 4. American Arab Council.

This is a social association which includes Arab-Moslems, Arab-Christians and Americans. Most of the members are Arab-Moslems and very few are Americans. It was founded in 1959.

On June 23, 1963, they organized a dinner party in honor of the new elected executive committee. The party was held in the International Institute, 110 East Kirby,

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<sup>1</sup>As this is the strongest association in the community, its constitution is presented in Appendix C.



in Detroit. There was a speaker from Michigan State University, Dr. Fauzi Najjar, Associate Professor in the Social Sciences Department. As this dinner party is typical of dinner parties of all the other associations, this party is described in detail as follows.

Although 6:00 PM was the time listed on the ticket for the beginning of the party, it began at 7:00 PM. The party was attended by many of the Arab-Moslem community, a lesser number of the Arab-Christian people and only two Americans. Two religious leaders attended the party (one Shi'ah and one Sunni). They are very close friends in spite of the sectarian difference. The party began by serving the dinner which was exclusively a Lebanese dinner. After the dinner, the president, a member from Group B, gave a short speech in English. In his speech, he defined the objectives of the association as follows:

- a. Entertaining the Arab community in Detroit.
- b. Retaining the Arab culture.
- c. Helping the Arab students who study at Detroit to make them feel at home.
- d. Helping the youth in their problems.

He concluded his speech by saying that his motto is: "To make others respect you, you should respect yourself". The senior receptionist, who has an office in the association, a second generation Arab-Christian, gave a speech in which he asked the Arab people in Detroit to improve their social status. He said; "You should not fight for

the old land, but you should be proud of your Arab heritage and you should retain the good Arab qualities". He said that Arab immigrants, Moslems and Christians, were criticized for being gamblers and alcoholics, and therefore, the Arab people should behave well to erase that bad false generalization. Dr. Najjar gave a speech on the conflicts among the Arab nations. Entertainment took place immediately after his speech. Most of the guests formed two lines of men and women and danced the popular Arabic dance, the Debka. Some Arab girls performed belly dances to collect contributions for the association. All the music and the songs were Arabic. The party ended at midnight.

##### 5. The Institute of American-Arab Affairs.

This is a small society of educated Arabs, Moslems and Christians who are interested in politics. The institute publishes a monthly free English newspaper of four pages called the "Review". The objectives of this institute are as follows:

a. To provide American people with the reactions of the Arab nations to the American policy in the Middle East.

b. To inform the educated Arab immigrants with the latest political news of the Arab world.

c. To support and to express the Arab nationalistic movement as presented by President Nasser.

The location of this institute is the American-

Arabic Printing Company in Highland Park. The association was founded in 1961 and it has included very few members.

6. Islamic Youth Association (I.Y.A.)

This organization is a part of the Federation of Islamic Associations and it was founded in 1958. It consists of five local associations in Detroit, Michigan; Windsor, Canada; Toledo, Ohio; Michigan City, Indiana; and New York.

The Detroit I.Y.A., as well as the other four local associations, consists of young Arab-Moslems whose ages range from 12 to 25 years. The members annually elect an executive committee, consisting of a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, a chaplain, a parliamentarian, and a sergeant-at-arms. The same person may be elected for only two following years.

The work of the Chaplain is to recite in English some Koranic statements at the beginning of the meetings. There are about 60 members, about 30 girls and 30 boys, in the Detroit I.Y.A. All the members are from Group B. Although any young Moslem in Detroit may be a member of the I.Y.A. the young Arab-Moslems are the only Moslems who participate in the association. They meet usually every 15 days in a member's parents house. When the Islamic Center building is finished, they will hold their meetings there. Each member pays 25 cents at every meeting. The money is used for contributions. Detroit I.Y.A. contributed \$700. for the

Islamic Center to help in building the new mosque. In their meetings, they dance the "Twist" and the Arabic "Debka" but they like the "Twist" more. The host or the hostess serves American sandwiches, candy, soft drinks and sometimes Syrian food. Liquor and beer are prohibited. Many parents, Shi'ahs and Sunnis, encourage the idea of the I.Y.A. But there are still many conservative Arab-Moslems of the two sects who do not send their children to the I.Y.A meetings. The activities of the association are entirely entertaining.

The objectives of the association are summarized as follows:

- a. To help the young Moslems get acquainted and be friends.
- b. To help in maintaining Islam by encouraging Moslems to marry Moslems.

In Detroit I.Y.A. about 10 members (5 boys and 5 girls) are going steady. The current president met his fiancée in the I.Y.A. meetings. Two other engagements among the members were announced.

#### 7. Women's Associations.

There are three women's associations; one is related to the American Moslem Society, the second belongs to the Progress Arabic Hashimite Society, and the third is related to the Islamic Center. The first one is the most organized and has a President and a Secretary. The members of each of these branches are usually the wives

of the members of the mother associations. The active members are women from Group A. The activities of these associations are as follows:

- a. To prepare the Lebanese food for the parties of the mother associations. Dinner parties are very important activities in most of the community associations. Many of the community members attend these parties.
- b. To settle personal quarrels among women.
- c. To arrange bridal showers.
- d. To arrange group social visits among the members.

#### Recreation and Arts

##### Recreation.

The community members are fond of exchanging social visits. This usually happens among friends. Although friendship ties usually go along with kinship relations, there are many examples indicating that friendship began to override kinship ties. It is noticed that Group B members have more friendly relationships with Americans than those of Group A. The linguistic barrier may explain the difference. Most guests come by invitation or by making appointments. This rule is strictly observed by Group B members. Exchanging greetings of great length is found only among the old members from Group A. Refreshments are always served for guests and Arab coffee is a common item.

During visits, men and women sit together exchanging

news of the community in the living room. Gossip is the favorite topic. In fact, this topic plays an important role as a means for social control in the community. Playing cards is another common recreation during visits. It is noted that the habit of handshake in greeting is found only among men. Some women from Group A refuse to shake hands with any man except their husbands. Story telling, jokes and poetry recitation is popular during visits, especially among Group A members. They exchange stories about their villages and their relatives. Some of them repeat the same story many times. Dinner parties which are held usually at 2:00 PM are an important aspect of their social visits.

On Sundays, in Summer, many of them go either to the public park or to "Camp Dearborn" where they relax and enjoy eating Sheesh Kebab and playing cards. The writer attended one of these Sundays at Camp Dearborn. There were at least 50 Arab-Moslem families in attendance.

Arabic coffee-houses are important recreation places. It is noted that most Group A male members are fond of attending coffee-houses where they chat, play cards and backgammon or simply enjoy drinking Arabic coffee. Very few of Group B attend these coffee-houses. Taking walks on Dix Street is another recreation and it is done by old people and teenagers who usually walk back and forth in groups. Group B adults do not take such walks. Playgrounds and swimming pools are important recreation places

for children. A current form of recreation is attending horse races, but only a few members go there. The subject was an important topic in the Arabic newspapers.

In addition to the previous weekly or daily events of recreation, there are other occasional and annual events. Some of these activities are presented in the following:

1. Dinner Parties.

All the community associations arrange dinner parties from time to time. In these parties, Lebanese food is served and Arabic music is played. The Debka dance is popular among all the community members and always men and women participate in the same circle. The participants of such parties are fond of applauding during Arabic music and songs. Poetry composing and reciting are important aspects of most dinner parties. These parties are always crowded and attended by the two sects, whatever the place may be. Some old members from Group A are sad that while the mosques are full of people during parties, they are almost empty during Friday prayers. Usually there is a dinner party every two weeks in the community. In addition to recreation these parties are a means to collect contributions. A typical way is that a girl performs the belly dance and collects contributions during dancing.

2. Wedding Parties.

These are usually accompanied by dinner parties, and the previous recreational activities of dinner parties

are also found at weddings.

### 3. Arabic Movies.

Some Arab movies, usually Egyptian, are shown from time to time in public halls.

### 4. Arabic Night Clubs.

There are two Arabic night clubs in Detroit. One is called "The Cedars" and it is located on 74 W. Columbia Street. The second is called "Thousand Nights". Belly dances, Arabic music and songs, and Debka group dances are performed at these clubs. Some of the entertainers are Group A members and the rest are Arab Christians. It is noted that very few Group A members attend these night clubs. Mostly Group B members, who are younger and usually earn more money, attend these clubs.

In addition, there are annual events of recreation in the community such as;

### 1. Islamic Feasts.

These are Eid el-Fitr, the Lesser Bairam, which is the day of feasting and merriment that marks the end of the great fast of Ramadan. It occurs annually on the first day of the month of Shawial according to the Islamic lunar calendar. In 1964, it occurred during the period between the 14th and the 16th of February. Besides the special religious service which is a special group prayer conducted in the morning of the first day, there are many recreational activities. Usually people put on their new clothes and visit each other to exchange a typical greeting. This is,



Kol sana we enta teib, which means, "I hope you are in good health every year". Dinner parties, folk singing, musical solos and attendance at night clubs are common activities during this feast.

Eid el-Adha, the Greater Bairam", is the feast of sacrifice which falls seventy days after the Lesser Bairam. It falls at the same time the pilgrims outside Mecca, having stood at Arafaat mountain, are sacrificing their animals ritually, and is said to commemorate in every Moslem home the redemption of Abraham's son by the ram miraculously provided. The religious services and the recreational activities of this feast are very similar to those of the Lesser Bairam. It is noted that all the people who slaughter rams at their home are Group A members. However, the celebration of these two feasts are conducted by all the interviewees and they reported that they conduct at least the recreational aspects of the feasts. It is significant to note that some of the community leaders have convinced the administration of the Salina School to regard the days of these feasts as legitimate excuse for Arab-Moslem student absence.

## 2. Christmas.

Most of Group A members and all Group B members celebrate on Christmas Day. Many of them bring trees to be decorated by the children. Many of them exchange Christmas cards. The facts that Islam recognizes marriage between a Moslem male and a Christian female, and that Islam emphasizes

recognition of Christianity and Judaism as a basic Islamic belief may explain the celebration of Christmas. In fact, many members reported the previous two Islamic principles as justification for the Christmas celebration. Good meals are served on Christmas and dinner parties are exchanged.

### 3. Labor Day.

Most of the members, especially Group B, celebrate Labor Day by going to the parks and enjoying good meals.

### 4. Halloween Evening.

This is celebrated by most of the children of the community. Parents buy candies, pumpkins and trick or treat clothes for this occasion.

### 5. Thanksgiving Day.

Most of the members, especially Group B, celebrate this day by attending turkey dinners.

## Arts.

The important arts of the community are the Arabic dances and songs and poetry. These are an important aspect of recreation.

1. The Debka is the Arabic folk dance. The community members are very fond of this dance. Group B members began to change some of its aspects, such as the steps, and some of them dance "Twist" movements during the Debka.

2. Arabic music and songs. While the Debka is performed by both groups A and B, songs and music are popular only to Group A members. Some Group B members reported that they do not understand Arabic. Therefore, while

Group B members like to dance the Debka during Arab songs, Group A members prefer to listen quietly to the songs because they enjoy the meaning of the words. In the restaurants of the community there are some Arab records besides the American records.

3. American songs and the "Twist" dance. Most of the teenagers from Group B are fond of American songs and the "Twist" dance. Many of the Group A parents scold their children, especially the girls, for dancing the "Twist".

### Poetry.

It was noticed that Group A members enjoy reciting and composing Arabic poetry. In the coffee-houses during their arguments, they support their points of view by referring to verses of known Arab poets. There are two known full-time poets in the community. One of them is an Arab-Christian who is interested in the affairs of the community and who is very popular and respected by the Arab-Moslems. The second poet is an Arab-Moslem who was in New York during this field study. Both are Arab immigrants and they depend on poetry for a living. They publish their poems and receive contributions. The second poet wrote a book of poetry (Ismaieel:1956) which reflects and expresses many of the values and other aspects of the community. Some of the subjects and ideas of the book follow.

On the cover, there are two small picture, the cedar tree which is the symbol of Lebanon, and the American flag.

This represents an affiliation with both the old country and the adopted country. The book is full of pictures of immigrants and under each picture there are two or three verses describing the generosity and loyalty of these people toward their old country or village fellows. Praising generous people and negatively criticizing stingy immigrants are a general aspect of the book. In the book, all the people are identified with their original villages and patrilineage. On the first page of the book there are pictures of Arab leaders with verses praising their political victories. This clearly expresses the political interest in the Arab world. In a poem called "The Immigrant", the author urges the immigrant to return to the old land to live there among relatives and friends. This dream of returning to the old land is found only among Group A old people. They repeat their desire to return and to die in the old land. In fact, many of them returned to the old land "to be buried with their ancestor" as their sons reported. Many poems express the beauty of the Lebanon mountains, weather, shores and girls (Ismaieel 1955:40-52). These expressions are usually repeated by Group A members.

In addition, the book is full of pictures of deceased immigrants and the author lamented in elegies. Using poetry to lament dead people is an important aspect of community funerals.

Food Habits, Clothing, Houses, and FurnitureFood Habits.

Traditional Lebanese food habits are strictly observed by the community members. The members who married Americans taught them to cook Lebanese food. The most favorite dish is raw Kebbe, which is made of raw ground lamb and olive oil. Lamb is almost the only meat they eat. It is significant to note that there is a butcher shop on Salina Street in the area of concentration owned by an Arab-Moslem from Group A. This butcher sells only lamb and he provides most of the members with meat. On his shop he wrote four Arabic words, Ya Karim, Zabih Halal, the first two words mean "The Generous", referring to God. It is believed that such a word invokes good luck. The second two words mean, "legitimate slaughter", and they refer to the Islamic legitimate way of cutting the animal's throat and letting the blood drain out. It is noted that almost all the families serve meat daily and they eat their favorite dish, raw Kebbe, at least once per week. Sheesh Kabab is another favorite meat in the Summer. In addition all the other Lebanese food items are served by the community members. Most of their food is homemade. They do not like to eat American ready made or canned food. However, they buy many American foods that can be used in Lebanese cooking. The community dinner parties are characterized by the dominance of Lebanese food. The strong interest of Arabs in retaining the traditional Lebanese and Syrian food is

clearly reflected by the existence of a big Eastern market on East Vernor Highway in Detroit. There are many restaurants in Dearborn and Detroit serving Lebanese and Syrian foods, the most well known one is "The Sheik" restaurant in Detroit. All Group A members and most of Group B, do not eat pork, as Islam has placed an effective taboo upon pork. Many members of the community drink alcoholic beverages, especially beer, although these are also religious taboos.

Housewives are always busy preparing Lebanese foods. Pickling olives and making clarified butter for consumption during the whole year are common home economics. With respect to meals, it is noted that Group A members take the main meal, elgada, the dinner, in the period between noon and 2:00 PM. This meal is usually preceded by a light breakfast called tarweaa. In the evening, they usually take a light meal called, asha. This sequence of meals is strictly observed by the retired members from Group A. Group B members follow the American sequence of meals, breakfast, lunch and dinner. It should not be overlooked that Group B members are also very interested in Lebanese food.

#### Clothing.

The members put on western clothes. However, old women put on white headscarfs called mandeal, which is covered by a longer type called tarheh of lace or thin silk. Group A women always put on long-sleeved dresses. Some families

take pictures of their children putting on traditional Lebanese clothes. This is done as fun.

#### Houses.

None of the members live in basement apartments or attics. Most of them have private, modern houses that include two flats, the first is usually occupied by the owner and his family, and the second is rented to Arab or American people. The community has its share of "for sale" signs. These are usually the houses of the old Group A members who want to return to the old country to "be buried with their ancestors", as most of them reported. However, the majority are not serious in selling their houses, as they ask for high prices and are not willing to reduce these prices in order to return to the old land. All the houses are furnished with modern utilities, water electricity, gas, heating system, etc.

#### Furniture.

It is noted that all the parents reserve a private bedroom for themselves. They furnish their houses with beds, tables, chairs, rugs, curtains, clocks and kitchenware. Modern appliances are an important aspect of the furniture. Every family owns at least one of the following; refrigerator, washing machine, vacuum cleaner, television, radio and tape recorder. The tape recorder plays an important role in retaining the interest in Arabic music and songs. Exchange of tapes is a common activity among friends, neighbors and relatives. Many Group A members own short-

wave radios to receive Arabic news. Hanging pictures of parents and grandparents on the living room walls is common in the community. In addition, most Group A members hang beautifully decorated statements from the Koran. Some of them hang the framed one-page Koran, which is a long decorated strong paper on which the whole Koran is written in very small Arabic letters. They hang these just as a reminder of the religious dogmas and rituals.

### Life Cycle

#### Birth.

Delivery is conducted by physicians at hospitals. Some parents from Group A offer cigars to friends and relatives when a birth occurs. Group B parents strictly observe the previous habit. There is no celebration of childbirth. When the new mother returns home, female relatives and friends always visit her and give a hand in taking care of the house and the newly born child. Some relatives and friends bring presents to the baby. Male children are more desired than females. This is clearly presented by the intensive congratulations presented by the community members to parents of male children. These congratulations are not expressed in the case of female babies. Circumcision is conducted only for male children a few days after birth. Physicians perform these circumcisions in hospitals. There is no celebration related to this event.

#### Childhood.

Many Group A mothers nurse their babies for a period



ranging from one year to two years. Some of these mothers stretch the babys arms and legs straight out and tie it sandwich style and immobile in a square of cotton material, called laffa. This way of dressing babies is done for the first three months. None of the previous habits are done by Group B mothers. With respect to toilet training, Group A mothers begin this much earlier than Group B mothers. Carrying babies on laps for a long time is practiced only by Group A mothers. Group A parents try to teach their pre-school children the Arabic language and the way of obeying parents without argument. However, as soon as children go to American schools at age six, all the previous attempts cease to continue.

The age of six is a significant change in the life cycle of children whose parents are from Group A. At this age, children go to American schools where the impact of American culture begins to be very effective. At school, these children are prevented from speaking Arabic and they begin to learn to speak correct English. The child, for the first time in his life is ordered to speak English, to argue, to express his point of view and to be identified with America. At the child grows up, the time spent at school increases and consequently the influence of American culture becomes dominant. In addition, television and American peers stress the previous influence. After three or four years in school, the child forgets the Arabic language and Islamic prayers. However, the parents endeavor to continue the Arabic-Islamic

influence by sending their children to Sunday Islamic schools. This situation of the existence of two different ways of life under the same roof is not found when the parents and their children are from Group B.

Children play together in the playground in the community. Their favorite game is baseball. Co-education stresses the co-recreation out of school. However, after puberty a type of barrier began to be developed by the parents between the two sexes. This barrier becomes weak at school where co-education exists. Many parents from Group A prevent their girls from swimming after puberty. Some of them applied to the Salina school asking the principle to excuse their teenage girls from putting on shorts during gymnastic lessons as Islamic traditions prohibit this.

#### Youth Culture.

Dating takes place among Arab-Moslem teenagers around the ages of sixteen and seventeen. Although most parents from Group A prevent their girls from dating, some of them date secretly. Group B parents allow their female children to date under supervision. Almost all the boys date and most of them date American girls. Co-education at school provides the opportunity for such dating. Many boys reported that they prefer to date Americans as many Arab parents prohibit their girls from dating. An important topic of gossip among community members, especially Group A, is dating and going steady. The boys are interested in American teenage music and dancing. This interest is a common source

of arguments and quarrels between Group A parents and their children.

### Marriage.

There are many single men and women. However, single women over thirty years old are looked upon as worthy of pity and sympathy. Single men are always asked the typical question, "When are you going to get married?" and the typical answer is, "I have not found a suitable spouse." This question is never asked of single women. Marriage patterns are studied in detail in Chapter VI.

### Death.

The writer attended four funerals in the community and it seems that the common pattern is the typical American funeral of today with "cosmetized" corpses in lavish caskets. The cost of these funerals ranged from \$1,000 to \$2,000. Some caskets cost more than \$1,000. However, some old members of Group A prefer simplicity in funerary matters and they favor the plain wooden coffin which is the typical coffin of the Middle East. One of them commented with great sorrow that the money paid by the Arab-Moslems for the caskets of their dead could finance the building of a hospital or three schools in the old land. This ceremony, as well as the wedding, becomes an area of competition among the different kin groups, each wishing to conduct the best. A description of typical funeral is presented in the following as an example of the community burial rituals.

Immediately after death, the female adults of the

bereaved family cry and wail. Later the house is crowded with Arab-Moslem neighbors. Immediate relatives of the deceased begin to circulate the news among relatives and friends everywhere either by telephone or telegrams. Announcements of the event are written and hung on the walls of the Arabic coffee-houses and the mosques. The bereaved family send for the Sheikh who usually belongs to the same sect of the deceased. The Sheikh calls a mortician to arrange the funeral and to move the corpse from the house to the funeral home where the Sheikh washes the body in accordance with the requirements of the greater absolution called ghusl. The orifices of the body are closed with plugs of perfumed cotton and the body itself is wrapped in one or two pieces of seamless cloth made of silk or rayon called kafan. During the ghusl, the bereaved relatives select a casket. Although the type of the casket depends on the wealth of the family, most families prefer to purchase elaborate caskets. After the ghusl and wrapping of the kafan, the body is put in an open casket and the Sheikh beautifies the face with cosmetics. The face is left uncovered. It is significant that the selection of the casket is usually done by the patrilineage leader and/or the immediate male relative of the deceased.

The casket is either moved to the basement of the Islamic Mosque if the deceased is Sunni, or to the first floor of the Hashimite Club, if the deceased is Shi'ah. The community members arrive to present condolences. Chairs are arranged in several lines and divided into two sections;

one is reserved for men and one for women. Males stand by the uncovered face of the dead, and recite the first Chapter of Koran. After finishing the recitation, they shake hands with the male relatives of the bereaved family, speaking either Arabic or English phrases of condolence. Some of these phrases are stated in the following;

1. El-bakia fi hiat-ak, means "The years which are taken from the deceased life are added to your life".
2. El-Awad-Alik, means "May this tragedy be replaced by your well being".

If the relative is American or a Group B member, the phrase of condolence is usually, "I feel sorry for you". Females come to the place and after reciting the first chapter of Koran in front of the casket, they embrace the deceased's female relatives and cry and wail as an expression of their sorrow. They sit in the section reserved for them. People sit there for a period ranging from 15 minutes to 2 hours. This way of condolence lasts throughout the day of the death, the night and the second day until the burial takes place. Many members, especially those of Group A, go to the mosque or to the Club to present condolences several times per day and night. They call this presentation agr, which means a sacred duty. During this period of displaying the face of the dead and exchanging condolences, the Sheik usually recites some parts of Koran. It is significant to note that whatever the deceased-sect is, the two sects members go to present condolences.

At the time of the funeral, the place is crowded with almost all the members of the community. The Sheik covers the face of the deceased and closes the casket. A special prayer is conducted and the casket is moved to the cemetery in a hearse. Relatives, friends and neighbors drive behind the hearse in a long funeral procession, each car carries a funeral sign. In the cemetery, which is Roseland Park Cemetery on Twelve Mile Road, Detroit, there are two sections, one reserved for the Shi'ahs and one for the Sunnis. Although most of the people attending the burial are men, some women also attend. During the burial, women wail and the Sheik recites the Koran. After the burial, the patrilineage leader and all the male relatives of the deceased stand in a line to receive phrases of condolences. Men and women return to the mosque or the club to eat what is called Taam Elrahma, which means, "food of mercy". Lebanese food is served. A common item on this occasion is the raw Kebbe. After eating, the Sheik and the leaders of the community give memorial speeches of lament and praise for the deceased. Usually at least one member of the community composes and recites an elegy honoring the memory of the dead person. It should not be overlooked that Arab-Christians and Americans attend these funerals, especially if the deceased is related to them.

Death is an important event in the community. For several weeks the event becomes the most important subject of gossip and chattering such as; how many dollars were left by the deceased? While many members give estimations,

others argue.

### The Community and Others

The community members have had different kinds of relationships with outsiders. With respect to their relationship with Americans in general, they regard themselves as a very small unknown minority. In the twenties and thirties, the community pioneers tried to hide their Arab-Moslem origins. This is clearly indicated by the fact that they changed their Islamic names, such as Mohamed and Ahmed, to American names such as Mike and Micheal. In fact, most of the community members have two names, one Arabic and the second American. In choosing American names, some selected names which are similar to Arabic names such as Richard instead of Rashied and Casper instead of Casboor. In dealing with Americans, the member identifies himself with the American name. But among his Arab-Moslem fellows, he is known either by his Arabic name or by relating him to his first son's name. While changing the Islamic names has become a common habit among the members, it was very hard and painful for them.

Some reported that they hid their origin and their Islamic names in order to get jobs. Many Americans knew nothing about Islam and they regarded these Moslems as non-religious people who could marry ten women at the same time. Until recently in the early fifties, some community members who fought in the Korean War did not find Islam as a religious preference listed in the military files. Their dog tags (identification tags) were stamped with X. These

members were sad because of their unknown religion and suffered a lot of frustration during the war period.

The feeling of inferiority, as an unknown minority, has begun to fade since 1956. This may be explained by the following:

1. The Arabic victory of the Suez Canal crisis in 1956 has persuaded them to be proud of their Arabic origin.

2. As a result of the victory, the Arabic nationalistic movement began to spread over the Arab world. Many members identify themselves with this movement.

3. The success of a television program called "The Danny Thomas Show", in which an American of Lebanese origin identifies himself with Lebanon and Middle East culture.

The show always presents some Lebanese arts, such as Arabic music, Lebanese food, and the known Arabic folk dance, the Debka.

In the show, Danny Thomas has an uncle who just arrived from Lebanon and who presents many Lebanese habits.

The popularity of this American show has given them the feeling that their origin is no longer an unknown subject to Americans.

Today, they have stopped hiding their origin in front of Americans. However, the procedure of changing Arabic names and of having two names is still going on as an unconscious habit. Almost all the interviewees reported that they are treated as equals by Americans, that they enjoy a full religious freedom in conducting their religious services, and that they are happy to have the privilege of living in



the richest country in the world. While all the Group B members mentioned that they do not have any problems with Americans, most Group A members stressed their feelings of being strangers even in the relationships with their children from Group B.

In addition, the community members have different types of relationships with other people. Some of these are summarized in the following:

With the Old Country. In general Lebanese immigrants tend to extend their ties with Lebanon for a long time after immigration. The immigrants, particularly the early ones, undertook the double burden of supporting themselves and contributing to the support of the old folks back home. However, few immigrants destroyed all bridges behind. According to Lebanese government statistics even as late as 1951 and 1952 immigrant remittances to charitable, religious and educational institutions and to friends and relatives in the homeland amounted to \$18,000,000 and \$22,000,000 respectively. The Lebanese Republic considers immigrant remittances as a major economic resource. Lebanese talk of two Lebanons: Lebanon, the resident, al-mugim and Lebanon, the immigrant, al-mugtarib, literally the resident abroad (Hitti 1957: 475-476). The community members clearly represent the previous strong ties with the old land. Some of them invest their money there. Many Group A members own land there and they see this ownership as a high status symbol and a means of security if they return to the old land. In addition to

frequent visits to Lebanon conducted by many Group A members, some of them go there to get married. Most Group A members send contributions to their relatives back home. The strength of this tie is emphasized by the building of a high school in the mountainous village of Tebneen. The school was built with \$40,000. collected from the community members who were from Tebneen. The school is called "The Immigrants".

The continuous flow of immigrants from the old land who marry American born Arab-Moslems is another indication of the strong ties between Group A members and Lebanon. In fact, most of their discussions are based on subjects related to the old country. It should not be forgotten that many of the pioneers send their children to the old land to be reared as Arab-Moslems.

With Detroit Arab-Christians. Some associations include Arab-Moslems and Arab Christians. Cooperation is found among some individuals of the two groups. They differ in dealing with Arab world politics. While the Arab-Christians always stress that they have nothing to do with the Arab politics the community members, especially Group A, are more interested in these politics. Very few of the community members marry Arab Christians. About six Arab Christian families live happily in the community and full cooperation is found between the two groups. Two of the four food stores located in the community are owned by Arab Christians. These stores sell more than those owned by Arab-Moslems.

With Other Arab-Moslem Communities in the United States

and Canada. In addition to the community in question, there are smaller Arab communities in Highland Park, Michigan; Toledo, Ohio; Chicago, Illinois; Michigan City, Indiana; New York City and Windsor, Canada. It is noted that many of these communities have members that are either affiliated or consanguineal relatives of many of the Dearborn community members. Marriage is common among these members. The closeness of Toledo to Detroit is responsible for the continuous social and business relationships among the members of the two communities. They exchange visits during weddings, funerals and parties.

With American Negroes. Avoidance and social segregation is common between negroes and the community members. As Dearborn is still a segregated area in housing the two groups seldom meet. About four Moslem Negroes attend the Friday noon prayer at the Islamic Mosque but it is noticed that the community members do not interact with them beyond the Arabic greeting, Alsalam Alikum, which means "Peace on you". Group A members refer to them in their discussions by the Arabic term abeed, which means "slaves". With respect to the "Black Muslim" movement in America, the community members oppose the movement and they regard it as a political one which uses Islam to achieve political goals, without serious intention to understand the Islamic beliefs. In their discussions they refuse to identify themselves with Black Muslims. A common topic of their talks at coffee-houses is the continuous attempts of Negroes to buy their houses.

Although the negroes offer very high prices for these houses the community members refuse them in order to conform with the common segregated pattern of Dearborn. None of the members marry negroes. Although some of the members are brown, they are aware of the fact that they are caucasians.

With Detroit Ethnic Groups. Many of the Group A members have married Americans. Their wives were members of Detroit ethnic groups, especially Italian, Mexican and Polish ethnic groups. Most of the Americans who live within the community belong to those ethnic groups. Friendships and business relationships are found between the community members and these ethnic group members. The closeness of some areas of concentration of these ethnic groups may attribute to the existence of such relationships.

With the Moslems of the United States and Canada. Many of the community members participate in the activities of the Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada. The federation was founded in 1952. It is the only association which tries to establish cooperation among the Moslems of America and Canada. A member of the community in question was elected to the presidency of this association in 1962. The objectives of this association is to promote and teach the spirit, ethics, philosophy and culture of Islam among the Moslems of the United States and Canada. In addition, they establish close contacts with all parts of the Moslem world and participate in the modern renaissance of Islam. While there are about 80,000 Moslems in

the United States and Canada, only 30,000 of them are Arabs. The rest are mainly from India, Pakistan and Turkey. However, the majority of the members of the associations are Arab-Moslems. In 1963, the federation held its annual three day meeting in Toledo. About 200 members of the community attended this meeting, most of them Group A members. These meetings usually consist of;

1. A major lecture on Islam presented by a known Islamic personality.

2. Workshops related to Islamic subjects.

3. Dinner parties, where Lebanese food is served.

Arabic music, songs and dances are always performed.

4. The election of officers.

#### Summary

The principal consideration of this chapter is to define the cultural aspects of the Dearborn Arab-Moslem community. Dealing with the historical and spatial aspects of the community appears to be particularly suited to serve our main consideration.

It is found that these Arabs have lived in a ghetto-like community. The "push" and "pull" factors that resulted in the migration of these Arabs are defined in detail. It is noted that although the community is bilingual, there is a tendency toward using English and Arabic words in the same sentences. Examples of this special combination are presented and analyzed. Other types of communica-

tion such as newspapers, the telephone, television, mail and gossip are identified and discussed.

Economic security is a main characteristic of the community. The descendants have obtained much higher education and income than their immigrant forefathers, many of whom are illiterates.

The most important kin-group is the nuclear family. A clear social conflict between the immigrants and thier descendants is emphasized. The patrilineage has been changed to a type of bilateral kin-group. Very few extended families exist in the community. A combination of Arabic and American kinship terms is found. The descendants are more interested in speaking English and using American kinship terms.

The descendants participate effectively in American political life, some of them have offices in the two major parties. The members retain their religion and sectarian affiliation of the old land. Sectarian differences only influence religious activities, and they disappear in daily life.

The community is characterized by a relatively large number of voluntary associations, some of which are religious. Although religion has become weaker in the new land than it was in the old land, religion is the basis of unity of this community.

A brief description of the life cycle is also pre-

sented. The last section defined the types of relationships existing between the community and the outside world. Comparing this descriptive account with their cultural background shows that the community members have changed many of their patterns of behavior.

## CHAPTER IV

### MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

This section deals with the marriage patterns prevailing in the traditional Lebanese-Moslem village. In addition to "marriage steps", other subjects are presented in order to define the marriage behavior from its beginning to end.

#### Marriage Steps

Usually, young Lebanese men follow certain steps in order to get married. These start with "how to select the future spouse" and end with the wedding. However, there are several steps in between. The steps are presented as follows.

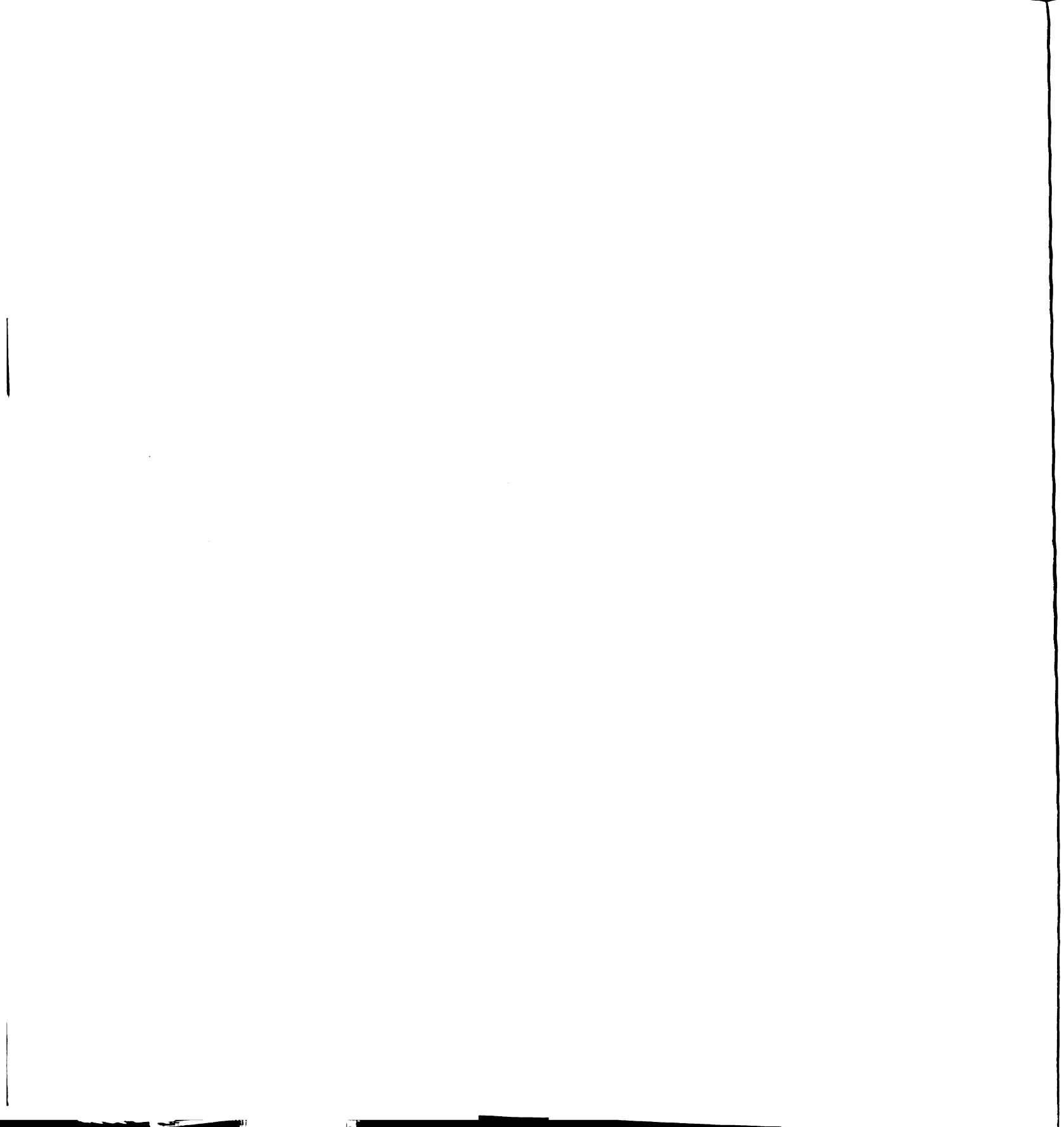
##### 1. Spouse Selection.

The young villager can not marry any girl, he has to choose from certain legitimate candidates defined by his culture. The cultural factors influencing spouse selection are called cultural limitations.

##### A. Cultural Limitation.

Some of these are defined by the Islamic law, Elsharieuh, and the rest are based on tradition. These cultural limitations range from the strictest limitations to the highly valued preferable qualities.





Islamic Incest Taboos.

These are originally provided by the Koran and they are reinforced by the Lebanese laws concerning the Moslems. The Koran mentioned certain relatives as incest taboos and the violation of these regulations is sanctioned both in the life time of the offender by the Lebanese authorities and in the hereafter by spiritual agents. Islam has regarded the following classes of relatives as incest taboo. According to the type of relationship, these are divided into four categories, these are:

Consanguineous Relatives.

- 1) The parents of the ego, his or her grandparents, his great grandparents and so on up.
- 2) The children of the ego, his grandchildren, his great grandchildren and so on down.
- 3) The siblings of the ego, their children, their great children, and so on down.
- 4) The sibling of the ego's parents, grandparents, great grandparents and so on up (Wafi 1958: 39).

Affinal Relatives.

Bearing in mind that Islam permits polygyny, divorce and remarriage, the following classes

of affinal relatives are incest taboos.

1) The parents of the ego's spouse, the spouse's grandparents, great grandparents and so on up. The conducting of the akd elkaran (marriage contract) is sufficient to put this restriction into effect, whether there is sexual intercourse or not.

2) The children of the ego's spouse, the spouse's great children and so on down. This restriction is applied only when consummation of the marriage (coitus) takes place.

3) The spouses of the ego's parents, grandparents and so on up.

4) The spouses of the ego's children, grandchildren and so on down.

5) To marry two sisters or more at the same time. But if a man divorces his wife, or if his wife dies, he may marry her sister (Wafi 1958:55).

#### Foster Relatives.

1) The ego's foster parents, grandparents and so on up.

2) The ego's foster children, grandchildren and so on down. The man's foster children are those who were nursed by his wife or wives before or after the marriage.

3) The ego's foster siblings, their children, their grandchildren and so on down.

4) The foster parents of the ego's spouse, the grandparents and so on up.

5) The foster children of the ego's spouse, the grandchildren and so on down. The consummation of marriage is a condition for putting this restriction into effect.

6) The spouses of the ego's foster parents, grandparents and so on up.

7) The spouses of the ego's foster children, grandchildren and so on down.

8) The man cannot marry two or more foster sisters at the same time. Divorce or the death of the wife gives the husband the right to marry his deceased wife's foster sister (Wafi 1958:57).

The Consent of the "Representative for Marriage" of the Girl.

Islamic law says that woman is unable to represent herself in the marriage contract. Usually her father, grandfather or patrilinear uncle represents her (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1954:129).

Sanity and Child Marriage.

The spouse should be sane and should

have reached puberty. However, "child marriage" is legitimate under certain limitations (Wafi 1958:93).

#### Religion and Sect.

Intermarriage between Moslems and non-Moslems is almost nonexistent in the traditional village. Although Islamic law permits marriage between a Moslem male and a Christian or Jewish female, none occur in the village. Moreover, Moslems from different Islamic sects do not intermarry in the traditional village although Islam allows such marriages. This segregation may be accounted for by the existence of many religions and religious sects in Lebanon each of which tries to preserve its self identity in many ways. One of these is preventing intermarriage.

#### Kinship Relations.

The most preferable future wife for a Lebanese villager is his bint amm, that is, his father's brother's daughter. This preference is usually accompanied by the cousin's right to marry his bint amm. The right is manifested in the unwritten law that a man has the right to marry his bint amm, and that nobody else is allowed to marry a girl unless her ibn amm, father's brother's son gives his consent. In fact this patrilateral parallel cousin marriage is found in Moslem Lebanese

villages as well as in the other areas of the Middle East (Patai 1955:371).

In practice, however, not every young man has a bint amm at the age of marriage. In this case the preference turns to other relatives, these are:

1) Bint amm is the ego's father's sister's daughter. This is called patrilateral cross cousin marriage.

2) Bint xaal is the ego's mother's brother's daughter; this type is a matrilateral cross cousin marriage.

3) Bint xaal is the ego's mother's sister's daughter; this is called a matrilateral parallel cousin marriage.

4) Any other relative which is not an incest taboo according to Islam.

In general, marriage between relatives is more preferable than that between non-relatives. The function of these preferable patterns is to reinforce the solidarity of the patrilineage and to maintain the land, which is highly valued by the Lebanese villagers, within the patrilineage. With respect to the most preferred pattern, that of the patrilateral parallel cousin marriage and the cousin's right, this may be explained by the structure of the pre-

vailing type of family in the village, the extended family. As the extended family usually includes several patrilateral parallel cousins there is a possibility that sexual attraction among these cousins may result in disputes among the male cousins over a pretty female cousin. It seems that the cousin's right would function in a way which prevents such disputes. According to the previous right patrilateral parallel cousins are betrothed to each other when they are children.

A second relevant question is the possibility of frequent premarital sexual relationships among the youth who are members of the same extended family and who live in the same house or compound. This possibility is minimized by other highly valued patterns of behavior, such as:

- 1) Premarital sexual relations are regarded as a great crime which brings great scandal and disgrace to the families of the involved couple. Moreover, the Lebanese youth know very well that such a crime may cost them their lives.

- 2) The strict supervision of the mothers over their girls. Mothers keep their daughters within sight at all times.

The Village as an Endogamous Group.

The villagers prefer to marry within their own village.

The "Name of the Family".

The name of the family and the patrilineage of the bride is very important in selecting a future wife. They give preference to the ela asila (good family) which is usually characterized by strong feelings of religiosity and by strictly observing the village traditions. Many proverbs reflect this preference, one of these is presented by Khayat & Keatinga (1956:34). This says: "Take a wife from a good family though she be very poor." In addition, the high economic status of the "good family" increases its prestige. The economic status of the bride's family plays an important role in selecting a future bride for a young man from a rich family. The rich family's standing in the village would fall if one of its members had married a girl of lower prestige.

Virginity.

The villagers prefer virgins to divorcees and widows. Premarital sexual relations are strictly prohibited by religion and law even between engaged persons. If a bride who is neither a divorcee



nor widow is found to have been defiled, the groom has the right to divorce her on the wedding night. This happens very rarely and such a bride brings a great shame and disgrace to her family and may be punished by death. They use the expression yegheel arha, (washing her disgrace) for the death punishment, which is usually performed by her father, brother or patrilateral uncle.

#### Beauty and Age.

Beauty is of highly valued quality in the future bride. Beautiful girls know nothing about modern cosmetics and fashion, nor do they use the traditional beauty aids. They are characterized by natural white or brown complexion, long soft golden or black hair, blue or black eyes, a full stout figure, natural rosy lips and cheeks and beautiful legs. The figure is an important criterion of beauty in the village. Girls get married at early ages, but preferably immediately after puberty.

#### The Lure of Gold.

Jewelry is a device used by the village women seeking marriage. An overload of tinkling golden bangles usually outweighs other considerations such as age and beauty (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:37).

#### Personality Characteristics.

The bride is expected to respect and to

obey her husband, to give his wishes priority over her own, and to sacrifice her leisure, comfort and rest for his needs. She should neither nag at nor argue with her husband (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:23).

#### Certain Skills.

The bride should be skillful in housework such as cooking, making and altering clothing, the laundry, economizing, baking and making dairy products. In addition, she should know all the farming techniques. She is the farmer's right hand in the field.

#### The Preferable Groom.

All the previous limitations, either in the form of religious regulations or highly valued personal qualities are also applied to the groom except the qualities of beauty, having jewelry and housework skills. Instead, other manly qualities are preferable in the future groom such as health, youth, strength, skills of farming, dancing and singing, religiosity, honesty, modesty and chastity.

#### B. Selection Techniques.

There are three prevailing patterns concerning the ways by which a young villager selects his future bride. Selecting a spouse is an exclusive right of the young man and/or his family. Although neither the girl nor her

family could directly select a husband, they have the right to accept or to refuse the man's proposal. These patterns of behavior are discussed as follows.

Family Arrangement.

This is the most prevailing pattern and it takes two forms. The first is represented by betrothal arrangements. Parents arrange a betrothal while girls and boys are still children. This is preferred by the girls' parents who are more anxious to provide a husband for their daughter. The possibility of the betrothal failure when the couple grow up is minimized by many factors. For one thing, the youths know they would bring disgrace upon their families by breaking the earlier engagement contract (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:33).

This betrothal type is usually accompanied by cousin-marriage patterns especially the patrilateral parallel cousin marriage. The unwritten law that a man has the right to marry his "bint amm" justifies the betrothal arrangements while the couple are still children.

The second form is more prevalent in the village than the previous one. This is related to the attempts of the young man's parents and other relatives for selecting his future spouse. When a boy reaches the age of sixteen, his parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts begin to look for

a bride. Relatives are the first category to be examined. Unrelated girls from the same village and religious sect are the second alternative if none of the kin girls are suitable. The boy's personal point of view is the last factor to be considered. The next step is taken by the boy's mother. She chooses a matchmaker in whom she has confidence to inform the maiden's family. The matchmaker is usually a relative or a good, older friend who has experience in such work. The matchmaker visits the maiden's family to learn their feelings.

After reaching agreement on the basic points such as the bride wealth, family standing and the religious sect, the young man's family pay their formal call to the maiden's family. After friendly conversations about general subjects, the boy's father or the eldest and respected man of his family says to the girl's father, "We want your daughter A for our son B". After a short discussion with his brothers and the old men of the family, the girl's father announces that "We have the honor to offer you our daughter, knowing what a good family you are". Everyone expresses his pleasure by exchanging mutual admirations and by asking God to bless the marriage (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:35 & 36). Matters of business called the "conditions for marriage" are brought out in the open either at the

end of this call or during other visits. These "terms" usually include the date and length of the engagement, the furniture bought by the girl's family and the schedule of paying el mahr, the bride wealth.

Throughout these formalities of his and her courtship, the groom-to-be and the bride-to-be have little to say. Every step is arranged by the two families. It should not be overlooked that the final decisions are made by the adult males of the extended families.

#### Love.

Romance exists in the village in spite of the strict supervision of the parents and the strict regulation of prohibiting direct contacts with the opposite sex before marriage. There are many places and occasions where young people gather for legitimate reasons. One of these is the household of the extended family. A young man sees his female patrilineal cousin in the same household where he lives. Although they eat, work and play together, the occasion of being alone is almost non-existent. Besides, the parents are aware of the problem, and mothers keep their daughters within sight at all times. In spite of these barriers, love sometimes grows.

A second place is the village spring. It is a daily or twice daily routine that the young girls of the hara

walk together along the usual path to the spring, uncorted by older chaperones, to fetch fresh water for their families. At that moment, the village young men appear along the path for a look at the maidenly procession. They offer to help the girls with filling their jars. Then each asks his girl for a drink. At these moments, love often starts and grows. But they must love each other from afar. They do not meet privately, they do not speak much to each other, they do not kiss each other, but they know they love each other and they know they may get married (Tannous 1940:50).

Tradition decrees that young men and women should not speak directly to one another. Girls of good families refuse to have any direct contact at all with the opposite sex until all the arrangements of the marriage have taken place. Any conversations between the two would be strictly clandestine, and the participants would be severely punished by their parents if discovered alone together (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:32). This strict avoidance between young men and women has resulted in a certain type of love, that is "from afar". This type is clearly expressed by the folk songs dealing with "the language of eyes" and the "maiden's smile" as the basic means of expressing love.

When love has already started, the girl keeps quiet about it and the lover makes the next move. He informs his mother, eldest sister or an aunt. Soon after, all members of his extended family are informed of the secret, and his love becomes an absorbing subject of family discussions. His father, his parental uncles and his grandfather begin to weigh the qualities of the chosen maiden. After a period of discussions they make their final decisions. If it is approved, the family follow the formalities of the arranged marriage. If the decision is disapproved, there are two alternatives. One of these, which is more frequent, is that the boy stops loving the girl. The second, which is rare, is that the boy prefers his love to the family's decision. There are several ways this is done:

a. The lover meets his girl secretly to arrange the time and the place of elopement. They go to a close town or city where they get married in the presence of two witnesses. After marriage, they know they are secure and they return to the village to get their families' approval. The Sheik of the village and the Elders help the couple in gaining approval. As soon as they get this, the regular wedding festivities are held (Tannous 1940:56).

b. To make sure they will get married, the boy takes his beloved to a home of a friend where they spend the night together. Having spent the night together under the same roof, with or without having sexual intercourse, establishes them as husband and wife. The lovers try afterwards to win their families' approval, and they usually get it (Tannous 1940:57 & 58).

c. The third way is very extreme and rare. The two may have sexual relations while the girl continues to live with her parents. The girl usually informs her mother of the situation. The parents keep quiet about it and hasten to conduct the marriage ceremonies. The publicity of such a situation brings great shame over the two families involved (Tannous 1940:58).

The same three ways would be applied if the girl's family prevented the girl from marrying her beloved. There are two points related to these three ways.

1) These are very rare and they are regarded by the villagers as deviant.

2) In such situations, the offending couple may be killed by their infuriated families.

It may occur that the maiden does not approve her marriage to a boy, while his family and her family are in agreement about the matter. Usually the girl changes her



mind after some persuasion and threatening. On rare occasions the girl may insist on her refusal (Tannous 1940:58).

Marriage "Brokers" or Professional Match-Makers.

Maidens who have neither beauty nor the requisite family prestige to get a husband usually have some difficulty getting married. Their families may hire the services of a semsar, a marriage broker. The semsar is usually an old woman who knows all the village families well. They visit the families whose girls are "exposed for marriage". During this period, the girls spend much of their time grooming and dressing in their best on the chance that a semsar or a suitor may appear. They wear their gold jewelry during meeting a semsar or a suitor. Meeting a semsar or a suitor takes place in the presence of parents and all available relatives. As soon as the semsar succeeds in introducing the two families concerned, the entire matter follows the arranged marriage patterns.

2. Engagement.

Engagement Party.

The party is held in the girl's parents house. The young man's extended family accompanies him to the girl's house, bringing with them the engagement ring (made of

gold or silver), candies and Arabic delicacies. They may bring other jewelry gifts if they can afford it. Relatives and friends attend the party, and the bride-to-be appears after all the guests are present. An important ritual is "Reading el-fatha the first chapter of the Koran".

The fathers or the grandfathers of the couple put their right hands together and read el-fatha. Usually the hands are covered by a handkerchief. This religious ritual provides the engagement with blessing and solidarity. After reading el-fatha, the boy's father or mother places a golden ring on the girl's right hand ring finger. Immediately after this, women sing. The guests congratulate the couple, their relatives and even each other by saying: "Insha Allah Biet-hannou", May your life be happy, God Willing. Although the girl is kissed by all her female relatives and her future-in-laws, her fiancé is not allowed to go near her. Entertainment includes singing, folk-dancing and refreshments; and Arabic coffee and sugar coated almonds are usually served. During the party, the girl is asked to sit beside her fiance, and she becomes the center of everyone's attention (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:38 & 39).

#### Quiet Engagement.

During mourning periods of any of the

involved families, engagements take place quietly. In addition, divorcees and widows usually have quiet engagements. If a funeral or death occurs in the village on the day of an engagement, this is regarded as a strong reason to cancel the recreational and ceremonial aspects of the engagement.

Engagement Period.

After engagement the young man is allowed to visit his fiancée only when the whole family is at home. The fiancée is prohibited from visiting his home, from sitting alone with him, and from going out alone with him. Some member of the family always has to be present as chaperone to preserve beyond any doubt the girl's virtue until her marriage (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:39).

With respect to the engagement period, the fiancée's family usually prefers a short engagement and consider thirty days adequate. However, engagements may last months or years in the cases of financial troubles or disputes over the "conditions of marriage" (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:36). During this period, the young man offers presents to his fiancée on Islamic feasts. The girl lives, during the engagement period, in a state of joyous anticipation in preparing for the wedding.

### 3. Marriage Contract.

This is the religious aspect of marriage. According to the Islamic law, elsharieuh, which is enforced by the Lebanese civil laws, every marriage between two Moslems should involve this ritual in order to be legitimate. Islamic law regards marriage as a contract between two parties and the Koran has assigned two conditions for the validity of this contract. These are:

A. The consent of the two parties. The man can give it himself, except when he has not reached puberty or is unfit. In these cases a tutor, wali, intervenes to give the consent. The woman is always unfit, and her tutor for marriage must declare her consent (Gandefroy-Demombynes 1954:129).

B. The bride-wealth, mahr, or sadaag. This is paid by the husband or his family, and it is assigned by the Koran to the wife and is regarded as an indemnity for the sacrifice of her person. In practice, however, the bride's father takes part of the bride-wealth, elmokadam, to buy the bride's trousseau. The bride-wealth is divided into two parts:

1) Advent part, el modadem, which is usually half of the bride-wealth and is paid at the time of the contract.

2) The balance, el metakhar, which is payable in case of divorce .

With respect to the amount of the bride-wealth, this should be fixed by the two parties, and it may be exceedingly small. With respect to the smallest amount of the bride-wealth, Prophet Mohammed said: "No bride-wealth less than ten drachmas"<sup>1</sup> (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1954:129).

Although these two conditions are observed among all the Moslems in the world, the rituals involved in settling this contract vary greatly from place to place. In the Lebanese village there is a special ceremony for this occasion. The ceremony usually takes place in the afternoon at the bride's family home. The ceremony is exclusively attended and conducted by men - the "superior sex" - because of its great importance.

Male relatives of the two families involved gather in the main room around the village Sheik who sits at a small table. The Sheik always belongs to the religious sect of the two parties. He brings with him the contract forms.

The ritual begins when the Sheik asks the two families to present shohood el-keran, the marriage witnesses.

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<sup>1</sup>A drachma is an ancient money unit worth less than one cent.

These should be two adult males of good reputation, and they usually are relatives of the two families. The role of the witnesses is to meet the bride in an adjoining room and to ask her about the person who will be her wakeel, (representative for marriage). The girl usually assigns her father, patrilateral grandfather, brother or patrilateral uncle as her wakeel.

Then the witnesses return to the meeting and declare in a loud voice: "We asked the girl about her representative for marriage, and she answered of her own free will that her representative will be her father".

The Sheik gives a short exhortation about the importance of marriage according to Islam. Then he asks the groom or his tutor and the bride's tutor to put their right hands together and to recite el-fatha. After finishing this recitation he asks every tutor to repeat after him a special statement declaring his consent to the marriage. The statement includes the exact amount of the two parts of the bride-wealth. They usually exaggerate this amount to increase the prestige of the two families. The signatures or the thumb prints of the tutors and the witnesses are necessary to validate the marriage contract.

As soon as they sign, the groom and bride become husband and wife, women sing and yodel, and the shobash

ritual begins. The ritual consists of collective cooperative behavior in which the guests, who include most of the household-heads of the village, contribute money to the bride. These contributions are called nokoot. The process is usually organized by an old woman who stands on a chair to announce loudly the name of the contributor and the exact amount of money. It is a strictly observed duty that the bride's father or his brothers should repay these contributions with at least the same amount of money in similar occasions. These contributions are for the bride, who depends on them in setting up her household.

This ceremony of settling the contract may be followed by the wedding ceremony at night. However, it is also common that the wedding takes place several weeks or months later. Further delay is usually due to financial problems or familial disputes. Although the couple become husband and wife by the akd Keran ceremony, they neither live together nor stay alone in the same room until the wedding ceremony. If the wedding is not held on the same day, guests eat candies and spend the evening singing and dancing. The ceremony ends at about 7:00 PM.

A quiet Katb Ketab is held in special circumstances such as the remarriage of the bride and during mourning

periods.

#### 4. Wedding.

##### A. Preparation for the Wedding.

1) Families of the bride and groom meet frequently to discuss wedding preparations especially elgehas, the bride's trousseau. They reach an agreement on the trousseau items which are bought by the bride's father or family. It usually costs more than the advent bride-wealth paid by the groom or his family.

2) Inviting the guests to the wedding is a pleasant task of the parents of the bride and groom and close male relatives. They go from home to home in the village inviting everyone to attend the wedding.

3) Planning the entertainment of the wedding ceremony is another aspect of the preparation. The two families have to arrange an entertainment program, which is usually performed by the musically talented members of the families or of the guests (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:44). In addition to these talents the drum of the gypsies plays an important role in entertainment. Tannous (1940:63) explained the status of these gypsies in the village as follows: "No wedding and no feast is really complete without the drum of the gypsies. The gypsies do not live in



the (Lebanese) village, nor do they properly belong to its organization, yet they have definite status in its life. They live in their tents outside the village, and the people acknowledge their normal status of beggars, thieves, fortune tellers and drum beaters".

4) The wedding banquet is an important subject to be planned by the two families. The items of food included and the volunteers who will cook the food should be arranged. Decision should also be made on the sugar almonds, whether to be simply passed on trays or to be distributed in individual cut glass or carved wood boxes.

5) The Bride's Bath Ritual. During the night before the wedding, the bride's girl friends and relatives come to her home carrying perfumes, soaps and local cosmetics for skin and hair. In addition, hot water is carried indoors in small pans to be used in the "bride's bath". The bride should be pure and clean in all ways for her wedding. After her bath the bride is dressed in one of her trousseau gowns, and the village hairdresser, elmashta, comes to comb, curl and part her long hair

6) The Groom's Entertainment Ritual. While the "bride's bath" ceremony is held at the bride's parents home, another ceremony takes place at the groom's

parents home. This is the "groom's henna" ritual. Male relatives and friends assemble at the groom's home to entertain him. This includes eating, telling jokes, singing and dancing the Debka. As the village men celebrate laoun el aris la'ouna, all for the entertainment of the groom, yodels pierce the night. The groom is usually led to the center of the crowd where he performs a belly dance while his friends clap and sing loudly. The ceremony ends with the henna ritual: the groom's mother daubs the groom's fingernails and toe nails with the henna, and she repeats the rite on the rest of the men. The groom's best friends spend the night with the groom (Khayat & Keatinge 1956: 48 & 49).

#### B. The Wedding.

In the early morning of the wedding day, the grooms' male friends, most of whom are relatives, begin the important day with dressing the groom.

At the same time, in the bride's home, the girl friends, especially the bride's dearest friend called shabanah, dresses the bride. A white wedding gown with veil and high decorated wooden clogs complete her dress. At noon begins the 'claiming the bride" procession. The groom and all his relatives go to the bride's house in a long procession. They go there to claim the bride,

who should show great grief in leaving her parents. The groom's relatives bring with them the strongest man of the village to give the impression that he would carry off the bride if she refused to come of her own accord. The strong man, surrounded by most of the village people, would demonstrate his strength by lifting high such weights as the heavy stone pestle used in pounding. This ceremony is called el Kimeh. At last, the bride decides to leave her parent's house, and she is lifted on a gaily saddled horse for her ride to the groom's parents home where she will live. The procession is a colorful, crowded and joyful one. This procession is called el saffa.

On the bride's arrival at the groom's home her mother-in-law, holding a brass tray of burning incense to dismiss the evil eye, embraces the bride and greets her warmly. Usually she gives the bride a large cake of yeast to fasten above the house door. After that, the bride steps upon a pomegranate to scatter its many seeds over the floor. The two latter practices are fertility rituals which express the hope that the bride will bear many children (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:51).

Indoors the bride and groom are escorted to a place of honor in the main room. The women ask the bride to walk slowly around a table so that everyone can see and

admire her beauty and her wedding gown. This ritual is called jalwait el-arous. During this display the women sing special songs, one of them is presented by Khayat and Keatinge (1956:52).

During all these festivities, the bride should be shy and silent. She does not speak with anybody except through her shabanah, maid of honor. Usually the bride keeps silent for several days after the wedding.

Around midnight the ceremony ends and most of the guests go home. It is significant to note that some girls never see their husbands until the wedding (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:37).

The newlyweds as well as all the villagers know that consummation of the marriage should take place at the wedding night. Usually the groom and the bride's family are the parties most anxious for the fulfillment of the sexual intercourse. The following two factors explain this intense anxiety:

- 1) The girl's family wants to prove the bride's virginity. In very rare cases, the bride might not be virginal. What a great sin and great shame a girl can bring to her family by such an "immoral" situation. In this case, the groom has the right to divorce the girl on the same night. A common punishment to the sinner is to

be killed by one of her original patrilineage members.

2) The groom wants to assure his virility.

While the couple are spending their first two hours together in their bedroom, the bride's family stand beside the room waiting for the news. After a while the groom comes out to tell them that the bride was sharifa, (virginal). Immediately, yodeling and singing take place and the bride's father returns proudly to his home. Usually what happened several hours earlier will be known to everyone in the village by the next morning. However, the villagers will have already been busy preparing and conducting other important ceremonies.

#### Consequent Ceremonies.

The most important ceremony is elsabahia. The morning after the wedding friends and relatives visit the newlyweds to repeat their congratulations according to a certain ritual. This time they contribute money, nokoot, to the groom. Their contributions are put in the saucer of the coffee cup served to them. These contributions are special for the groom, and the groom's family is responsible for repaying these contributions on similar occasions.

A significant aspect of the previously mentioned ceremonies is the collective way of planning, financing,

and conducting them. Marriage is not only a family affair, but a village social event.

#### Quiet Wedding.

This occurs in certain situations discussed above, mainly during mourning periods of any of the families related to the couple, and if the bride is either a divorcee or a widow. As in the case of engagement and "marriage contracts", wedding festivities would be cancelled if a death took place on the wedding day.

### Marriage Forms

#### Monogamy

This is the prevailing form of marriage in the Lebanese village.

#### Polygyny

This is occasional and it is usually limited to the well-to-do members of the village, who constitute a very small part of the population. Islam permits polygyny within certain conditions:

A. The man who marries more than one wife should have the appropriate economic means to support his wives and children and to enable them to live on a satisfactory economic and social level.

B. The polygynous man should treat his wives in

complete equality as regards to food, clothing and housing. Affection is excluded (Wafi 1958:176).

C. The Moslem should be sure, before marrying more than one wife, that he has the ability to fulfill the previous conditions concerning the economic support and the equality in treating the wives. If the Moslem is not sure of having this ability, he should marry only one wife.

D. The Moslem should not marry more than four wives at the same time even after fulfilling the previous three conditions.

In practice, the first three conditions are not strictly observed in the village. The fourth is strictly carried out by law. There are some frequent reasons for polygyny such as:

A. If the newly-weds do not have children during their first two years, the husband usually marries a second wife. Always the woman is regarded as the cause of sterility.

B. If the wife is ill for a considerable length of time, the husband usually marries a second wife.

C. In some cases, the husband may marry a second wife in order to punish his first wife who does not obey him, his mother or his sister.

Sororate.

When a man loses his wife through death, he customarily marries her unmarried sister. This tendency may be explained by a belief that the new wife will be more kind and faithful to her deceased sister's children than any other woman.

Levirate.

On the other hand, when a woman loses her husband through death, it is common that the deceased husband's brother marries the widow. This is explained by the bond of solidarity linking brothers. In addition, according to the partilineage system the children are regarded as belonging to the patrilineage and they should not be reared under a man of another patrilineage.

Some Relevant Interpersonal RelationshipsHusband-Wife Relationships.

According to Islam the husband is superior to his wife, as he has the duty of supporting her. The wife has the right to be supported by her husband and to live in the same social standing as that of her original family. At the same time, it is her duty to obey him and to sacrifice her own leisure, comfort and rest for his needs.

In the village these religious rights and duties are





practiced with slight change. Supporting the wife is usually the responsibility of the husband's extended family, which is headed by the husband's father, patrilineal grandfather, or patrilineal uncle. However, the husband works in a collective way with the other members of the family in order to have food, clothing and housing for himself and his nuclear family.

The wife, in her obedience and respect to her husband and her in-laws does not feel any humiliation, because she is brought up to respect her husband and her in-laws (Khayat & Keatinge 1956:23). Moreover, she is reared in a house where her mother respects her father and her father's family. Usually the wife helps her farmer husband in his work in addition to doing her housework. She tends the animals and chickens and makes long forays into the countryside to gather wood for the fires.

It is interesting to mention that while the wife helps her husband in farming, he never helps her in the housework. It is a big scandal if a man cooks, does dishes, or makes clothes. This inequality may be accounted for by the traditional superiority of men to women.

All the economic activities of the newlyweds are done as members of a collective team, that is, the extended family members. As an independent unit, the couple has

no economic function.

In their conversations the husband addresses his wife by the kinship term bint ammi which reflects the belief that the father's brother's daughter is the ideal person for marriage. The wife addresses her husband by the kinship term ibn ammi which reflects a similar belief. In reference they may use the same terms of address or they may use others such as the husband may refer to his wife by the terms eyali and awladi which mean "my children". The use of these terms has two implications:

- 1) This reflects the importance of the children as the basic purpose of marriage (according to them).

- 2) This expresses the reluctance of the villagers to mention their wives' names.

Minor arguments and disputes between the couple are common, since they live in an extended family. Usually these problems are related in some way to the husband's mother or unmarried sister. The husband, preferring blood relationship to affinal ones, usually puts the blame on the wife and orders her to be more patient and to adjust to his family. However, the traditional obedience of the wife does not mean accepting any type whatever of severe treatment, such as hard beating.

When the disputes become more serious, it is a custom

that the head of the extended family arranges a "conference" consisting of the wife's father, brother and paternal uncles and the same relatives of the husband. They sit together to make a reconciliation. The failure of such a "conference", which is called magles solh, means that the marriage is at stake. Villagers sometimes beat their wives although hard beating is prohibited by religion.

While Islam dictates that the woman should preserve her maiden name and her own money after marriage, the practice in the Lebanese village differs greatly. As soon as the girl marries she takes the surname of her husband and usually gives him her personal property. In addition, she becomes a member of the husband's patrilineage, and consequently she is not regarded as a member of her original family and patrilineage anymore.

#### Wife-Parents-in-Law Relationships.

Girls are brought up to adjust their lives to the husband's extended family where they expect to live. They grow up to serve their mother-in-law and to respect and obey their father-in-law. They use the term ammti which originally indicates to the father's sister, and they call their father-in-law ammi, a term which mainly refers to the father's brother.

### Wife - Sister-in-Law Relationships.

The most difficult role for the new wife is her adjustment with her unmarried sister-in-law. Living so close together and being near in age, jealousy arises, and fights are unavoidable. These disagreements might be so serious that they might split the extended family (Khayet & Keatinge 1956:22).

### The Termination of Marriage

Marriages end in the following three ways:

#### Death.

In case of the husband's death, the widow lives with her original family if she has no married children, with one of her married children if she has any. A young widow is usually remarried by her deceased husband's brother or any other member of his patrilineage, as was mentioned before. With respect to her inheritance, Islamic law assigns one quarter of the deceased's property to the widow if they do not have male children and one eighth if there are such male children (Wafi 1947:179). However, in practice women do not inherit any property.

In case of the wife's death, the widower may marry his deceased wife's sister. According to the religion, the widower inherits the half of his deceased wife's

property if they have no male children and the quarter if they have some. However, in practice women usually own neither land nor money. The usually own few jewelry.

#### Annulment.

This is issued either by an Islamic judge or by the village Sheik in the case of incestuous marriage. Annulment returns the couple to their previous status with their pre-existing rights re-established as if the marriage had not taken place. Annulment is very rare in the village and it is almost non-existent.

#### Divorce.

Although Islam gives the wife the authority to divorce her husband under very limited conditions, in the Lebanese village in practice, the husband is the only one who has this right (Wafi 1958:30). Islam has regarded divorce as a most distasteful act that should be done only after trying all possible means of reconciliation (Wafi 1947:182-188). Dissolution of marriage is regarded legal if the husband pronounces, at any place or any occasion, a certain phrase embodying his repudiation, enti talik, you are divorcee, addressing his wife. However, the husband could return to his wife after divorcing her two times. In the case of the third divorce he could not return to his divorcee unless she married another man

called mohallel. The mohallel should divorce this lady in order to give her the right to be remarried by her original husband who divorced her for three times.

Divorce involves some obligations which are enforced by law. These are:

1) The man pays the balance of the bride-wealth, which is usually listed in the marriage contract. If it is not specified in the contract it is fixed according to the social rank of the divorcee.

2) The repudiated wife is kept under observation for three menstrual periods, and if she is found to be pregnant, the paternity of the child is assigned to the husband and the wife receives proper maintenance until her confinement. But if she is not found to be pregnant the repudiation becomes final and the husband maintains her during the waiting time of three menstrual periods, which is called idda.

3) The man maintains his children.

4) The divorcee takes care of the children until they reach the ages of 10 or 12.

When divorce occurs, the divorcee and her young children (under the age of 10) usually live with her parents or any of her brothers. The children, however, always belong to the husband's patrilineage.

The prevailing grounds for divorce are:

1) The most important purpose of marriage is reproduction, which is the only means to maintain the continuity of the patrilineage and the name of the family. As was mentioned before, women are usually regarded as the cause of sterility. Childless couples try the aid and advice of the village magicians and old people. Staying a whole year without children is a very justified reason for divorce or marrying a second wife.

2) The wife's mother-in-law, sister-in-law and father-in-law have the authority of influencing the husband to divorce his wife if she does not obey and respect them.

3) The disputes between the husband's extended family or patrilineage and the wife's family. Such disputes sometimes result in divorce.

4) Sometimes sickness and old age are accepted as grounds for divorce in the village.

Finally, it should not be overlooked that although men have unlimited authority in divorce they should have strong grounds to justify such action before the villagers, who represent village social pressure. If the villagers are not convinced of the justification, they usually des-



pise the divorced man and regard him as a cruel person who has no respect for religion and village tradition.

### Summary

In this chapter, the marriage process from its beginning to end is described. In spouse selection, cultural directives define that a certain person, the father's brother's son or daughter, to be the preferable spouse. Religion plays an important role in this selection. Second to religion is kinship ties. Marriage between relatives is preferable. Family arrangement, love and matchmaking are the techniques of spouse selection, with family arrangement the most common. In this contract the views of the person to be married are the last factor to be considered.

An important aspect of engagement ceremonies is the collective participation of the extended family, the patri-lineage, and the whole village. The young man is completely dependent on his family for sponsoring and arranging the ceremonies. The marriage contract is defined by religion, and no civil marriage is permitted. In this contract the woman is unable to represent herself.

The collective participation characterizes the wedding ceremonies. Economic contributions are exchanged among the families during these occasions. A clear taboo between the two sexes is clearly found throughout these

ceremonies and even between the engaged couple.

A great emphasis is found on children. This indicates that reproduction is the main purpose of marriage. Although polygyny is permitted under certain conditions, monogamy is the most common form in the village.

Sororate and Levirate systems are found. Male superiority was stressed in all the patterns of behavior, especially in those involved in husband-wife relationships. It is noted that the newlyweds do not constitute an independent economic unit. In respect to the termination of marriage, annulment is almost unknown and the divorce right is limited to men. All the ways of ending marriage are regulated by religion.

## CHAPTER V

### AMERICAN MIDDLE-CLASS MARRIAGE PATTERNS

In the United States marriage patterns vary greatly from place to place and from time to time. Factors such as race, religion, social class, and the state are responsible. However, there are some general features which override, in different degrees, the previous barriers. These are clearly found in the American middle-class. In this section, these general features are briefly presented as found in Michigan during the fifties and sixties. Selecting this state is based on the facts that the community members have lived in Michigan and that marriage laws differ in America according to the state where marriage is performed. The American marriage patterns are classified into four divisions. These are presented below.

#### Marriage Steps

The first step faced by a young American who wants to get married is that of selecting his future spouse. The selection process is followed by engagement and wedding.

##### 1. Spouse Selection.

In general, selecting a spouse is not completely a matter of personal choice even in America, where the personal aspects of marriage are emphasized more than social importance (Cavan 1959:15). While personal choices

are mainly involved in selecting certain persons, cultural limitations determine the groups of legitimate persons. These cultural limitations differ greatly in the degree of strictness and in the intensity of sentiments involved. In addition to cultural limitations the ways of spouse selection are stated in the following

A. Cultural Limitations.

Law.

Legal regulations related to spouse selection are based on the fact that marriage in general is regarded as a legal contract which is organized by law. American laws define marriage as "the legal union for life of one man and one woman to discharge toward each other and toward the community the duties imposed by law on persons related as husband and wife" (Francis 1963:59). Some of these imposed duties should be taken into account by Americans who look for a spouse. These are:

- 1) Age, the spouse should be eighteen years old or more (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:101).
- 2) Competency, insane and idiot persons are not allowed to get married (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:100).
- 3) Consanguinity, man is forbidden from marrying his mother, grandmother, daughter, granddaughter, step-mother, grandfather's wife, grandson's wife, wife's mother,

wife's granddaughter, sister, brother's daughter, sister's daughter, father's sister, mother's sister, or cousins of the first degree. The same relatives are regarded as incest taboos with respect to women. With respect to first cousins they can leave the state and contract a lawful marriage in another state which will subsequently be held valid when they return (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:102).

4: Non-existence of certain types of venereal diseases, the future spouses must be examined within thirty days prior to applying for a marriage license. Persons having certain venereal diseases are forbidden from marriage (Michigan Law, Vol 16, 1957:110).

#### Race.

Studies show that racial mores place strong limits on the American as to whom he may or may not marry. Although inter-racial marriages are legal in most American states, including Michigan, they are rare (Hollingshead 1952:92).

#### Kinship Relations.

Americans usually do not marry their relatives. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that many American states have laws prohibiting cousin-marriages.

Age.

Empirical data indicate a very strong similarity between the age of the husband and the age of the wife at all age levels. This is strongest when both partners are under twenty years of age, and it is widely believed that a young woman should not marry an old man (Hollingshead 1952:92).

Religion.

Next to law and race, religion is the most decisive factor in marital choice. Hollingshead, in his study of the families of New Haven, found that 91% of his sample group involved partners from the same religious group. In the case of Protestants, this percentage was 74.4%; among the Catholics it was 93.3%; it raised to 97.1% for Jews. The difference in percentages reflect the relative intensity of in-group sanctions on the individual in the three religious groups (Hollingshead 1952:93).

Ethnicity.

The influences of ethnicity on the selection of a marriage mate are related to religion. Hollingshead noted that ethnicity within a religious group has been a very potent factor in influencing the mate selection (Hollingshead 1952:93).

Class.

The class or residential area in which a man's or a woman's family home is located has a very marked influence on his or her marital opportunities. Education has similar bearings (Hollingshead 1952:94).

Personal Qualities.

American culture defines the highly valued personal qualities which are involved in spouse selection. Some of these preferential qualities are beauty, vivacity, intelligence, health, stability, disposition and wealth. Each of these qualities is weighed and recognized by certain indexes provided by American culture. For example, having a slim figure and using modern cosmetics and fashions are basic criteria in rating girls as beautiful.

The previous limitations work together in an interwoven pattern which at the end define the category or the group of persons from which an American can select his future spouse. Affection plays a basic role in selecting a certain person from the category defined by culture. At the same time, love or personal selection rarely function across the previous limitations. Moreover, the emphasis on love or personal selection within a certain group of people is in itself a cultural limitation in a sense that it is a highly valued technique of spouse selection accord-

ing to American culture.

The idea of the interdependence and interplay of the previous limitations is clearly illustrated by the following quotation:

" . . . American culture, as it is reflected in the behavior of newly married couples in New Haven, places very definite restrictions on whom an individual may or may not marry. The racial mores were found to be the most explicit on this point. They divided the community into two pools of marriage mates and an individual fished for a mate only in his own racial pool. Religion divided the white race into three smaller pools. Age further subdivided the potential pool of marriage mates into rather definite age grades, but the limits here were not so precise in the case of a man as of a woman. The ethnic origin of a person's family placed further restrictions on his marital choice. In addition, class position and education stratified the three religious pools into areas where an individual was most likely to find a mate. When all of these factors are combined they place narrow limits on an individual's choice of a marital partner" (Hollingshead 1952:94).

#### B. Selection Techniques.

##### Dating and Romantic Love.

In America, it is taken for granted that one should marry for love, which is a sentiment characterized by devotion to another's welfare (Nimkoff 1947:375). The type of love which is regarded as a central prerequisite to American marriage today is romantic love (Lee & Lee 1961: 139). This is defined as:



"that complex of attitudes and sentiments which regards the marriage relation as one exclusively of response. This romantic attitude pictures the marriage relationship in terms of love-sexual attraction in large part - and sets up a standard according to which marriage is measured by the satisfaction of a highly idealized desire for response" (Truxal & Merrill 1952:108).

This love grows through a prevailing pattern in American youth culture called dating. Generally, a date is a social engagement between a boy and a girl or a man and a woman. Its purpose is recreational and each date is supposed to be an end in itself. In addition, dating is an informal training course of education in personal and social relations between men and women. However, its final objective, whether conscious or unconscious, is marriage (Cavan 1959:68).

In America, dating is an almost universal teenage practice. It usually begins in early adolescence, and for some, before adolescence, approximately in the ages of 13 and 14 for both sexes. Cavan distinguishes several types of dating: (a) casual dating, (b) steady dating, and, (c) going steady. The third type, however, is the most relevant to this study because it is considered as the way to marriage. Going steady is a temporary agreement between a boy and a girl to date only each other for a stated or an indefinite period of time. This date is

no longer simply a way of getting into social activities. It becomes a personal relationship, a way of sharing many activities together, a little taste of what marriage will be. However, steady dating does not bring lasting commitments for engagement and marriage (Cavan 1959: 72-81).

A distinguished characteristic of dating is the freedom of either one of the couple to withdraw, without too much loss of face for the other, at any stage in the relationship (Burgess, Wallin and Schultz 1953:27).

Parents do not impose definite authority over their sons' or daughters' selection of a date or a mate. They are not willfully neglectful; they simply do not share the social contacts of their children. This lack of parents' participation is illustrated by some social research (Popenoe 1952:154). Parents influence on dating and in turn, spouse-selection comes indirectly through the earlier training of their children in choice of friends and marriage ideals.

In addition to dating there is another relevant technique which is not very common in the United States and that is marriage brokers.

#### Marriage Brokers.

In the U. S. the interest in mate selection is

exploited commercially by several techniques. The most widespread are matrimonial agencies and advertisements. The first is discussed below as an example. Marriage brokers turn over to the applicant, if a man, the address of all the women members of the "club". They may recommend one or two specified persons who seem most nearly to fulfill the qualifications desired. Then the direct correspondence begins. In their advertisements these agencies stress the financial bait by listing what these people are worth, for example: a blond of 20, worth \$40,000; a brunette of 22, worth \$60,000; a widow of 40, worth \$125,000 (Baber 1939:187-188).

The techniques conducted by such agencies in pairing up people are clearly presented by a director of one of these agencies in the following:

"In pairing up people, whether they come in person or correspond, we try to apply the same principle of compatability that leading marriage counselors endorse. A congenial marriage can be made only with basically congenial people. The closer they are alike in intelligence, cultural and economic backgrounds, outlook on life, recreational enthusiasms, and religious beliefs the more likely it is that their union can endure" (Lane 1952:107).

It should not be overlooked that the basic function of these agencies is to introduce eligible men and women to each other. Then dating takes place and through this

the couple determine whether the choice is satisfactory or not. Thus the function of these agencies is arranging "blind dating".<sup>1</sup>

The next marriage step after selecting the future spouse is engagement.

### Engagement.

Although there is a large degree of variations in engagement patterns in America, a broad definition of engagement determines it as a period in which a couple have a private and often a public commitment that they plan to wed. Where association with others of both sexes previously may have been fairly general, after becoming engaged, the couple tend to focus their social activities within their own group.

Today engagement patterns are characterized by the following general aspects:

1) Engagement types or stages, there are four degrees of quasi-engagement and engagement, these are:

### Going Together.

This involves more than occasional dates. It is a frequent dating over a period of time, but it is not an exclusive relationship. The boy may ask the girl

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<sup>1</sup>"Blind dating" refers to such dating, arranged by a third person, which takes place between a man and a woman who did not know each other before.

to wear his school class ring, club pin, or fraternity pin, but they may both still date others. This relationship usually implies some degree of intimacy on either side. As it is viewed socially, it may begin and end informally, or it may lead into more formal engagement or into marriage (Lee & Lee 1961:166).

#### Steadies.

In this relationship, the couple go out together regularly and exclusively but without having announced themselves to be engaged to be married. The man may give the woman some personal item of his own jewelry to wear (Lee & Lee 1961:167).

#### Formally Pinned.

This is equivalent to engagement, and it may or may not be followed by a "formal engagement". In some colleges, social sororities insert formal announcements of "pinnings" in the campus newspapers. In other places the organization makes the announcement at a special dinner or dance. Parents usually do not announce a "pinning" (Lee & Lee 1961:167).

#### Formal Engagement.

This is announced by various ways such as a notice in the local press, a dinner dance, buffet supper, luncheon, tea, "beer blast", or cocktail party.

Whatever form is used, the news of the engagement properly comes from the parents of the bride-to-be, by other close relatives or by the couple themselves. Formal engagement is a family matter, and it is usually preceded by exchanging calls between the two families. However, the young man meets the girl's father to ask permission to marry his daughter (Lee & Lee 1961:167). Formal engagement is usually characterized by the "engagement ring". The man buys the ring which is or appears to be a diamond. The girl puts it on her left ring finger.

A family in mourning would not entertain formally to announce an engagement. Sometimes engraved announcements are sent to intimate friends.

2. Although the four previously mentioned relationships may be conducted as sequent stages of engagements, they also may be regarded as four different types of engagement. Each one may lead directly to marriage (Lee & Lee 1961:168).

3. Engagement relationships are becoming somewhat fluid (Lee & Lee 1961:168). Today even formal engagements are more easily broken than at previous times. Burgess and Wallin, in their study of 1000 engaged couples, found that a third of the young men and about half of the young women had one or more broken engagements (1953:273).

4. During the engagement period the couple have greater freedom in love-making. Many times the novelty and

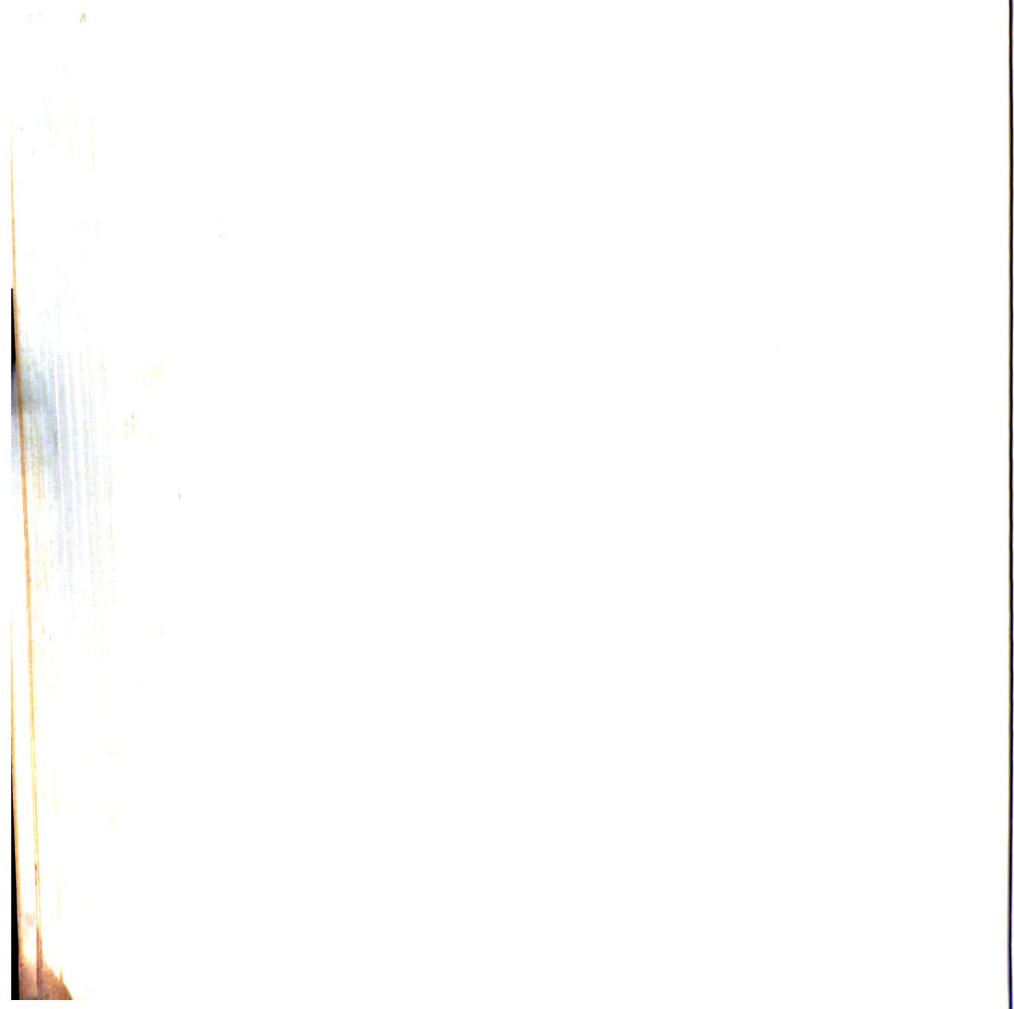
excitement of petting and sex play lead the couple to have coitus prior to marriage. Roughly half of those engaged have such relationships (Lee & Lee 1961:169).

5. It should not be implied that the formal engagement is the prevailing type in the U.S. Informal and quiet engagements are more frequent than ceremonial ones. Although no statistics are available on this question, the enlightened estimates of well-informed social observers show the increasing tendency toward informal engagements. Lee & Lee (1961:164) said: "Engagements, wedding in the presence of a large assortment of relatives and friends, and carefully planned homes have never been the lot of some half or more of the couples who join in matrimony in our society."

This decline of formal engagements may be explained by several factors such as.

a. Older people, people being married a second time or people in mourning often prefer a quiet informal engagement.

b. The dominance of the idea that engagement is a private agreement between a man and a woman to explore marriage possibilities intensively without the involvement of their families. Therefore the formal engagement, which is a family affair, has begun to be undesired by many of the American youth.





6. "Bridal shower" takes place two or three weeks before the wedding. It is arranged by a close friend or a relative of the bride-to-be. The shower is usually supposed to be a surprise for the bride-to-be, hence all arrangements are made without her knowledge. The hostess arranges a luncheon, tea, or some pleasant social affair, and she invites almost all the intimate friends of the bride-to-be. Those invited bring presents of varying worth, but most of them are inexpensive. The function of the ritual is to show interest in the new home about to be established and to express the happiness of the friends for the pleasant occasion. At the same time the ritual is a type of reciprocity in which gifts are exchanged on similar occasions. The bride may have several such showers.

#### Wedding

The last step in marriage is the wedding. Many aspects of wedding in America are presented below.

##### 1. Legal procedures

Michigan law necessitates the acquisition of Michigan marriage license for any couple wanting to marry within the Michigan state borders. However, the marriage license was not required for common-law marriages contracted prior to January 1, 1957. The validity of common-law marriages is based on subsequent cohabitation which means dwelling together in the usual manner of married people (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:105). A marriage license is obtained from the county clerk of the county in



which either the man or woman resides, and it should be delivered to the clergyman or magistrate who is to officiate the marriage. Within 30 days prior to such application the applicants for marriage should be examined as to the presence or absence in such persons of certain types of venereal diseases. Persons who have such diseases are not allowed to obtain a marriage license. (Michigan Law Vol. 16, 1957:110). The license contains a space for the names and residences of two witnesses to the marriage (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:108-109). A marriage license is delivered after at least 3 days including the date of application. Every such license issued is void unless a marriage is solemnized thereunder within 30 days after the date of the delivery of the marriage license to the licensee by the county clerk (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:112). The most important legal requirement is the consent of the two parties, which should be declared by them in front of the state representative and the two witnesses. The importance of "consent" in marriage is represented by the legal definition of marriage. This is: "Marriage is a civil contract to which the consent of the parties is essential" (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:97).

## 2. "Before the wedding" rituals

There are several rituals practiced prior to the wedding, some of these are:



a. Farewell luncheon. This is given by the bride's mother before the wedding. Friends and relatives gather as a last farewell to girlhood days.

b. Bachelor supper. A festive meal is arranged by the groom's friends as a last farewell to bachelor days.

c. Wedding gifts. Those who receive invitations to a wedding breakfast or reception send a gift. All the wedding gifts are sent to the bride usually two weeks before the wedding. These gifts include those presented to the groom. It is common that an invited family unite in giving one handsome present rather than small things.

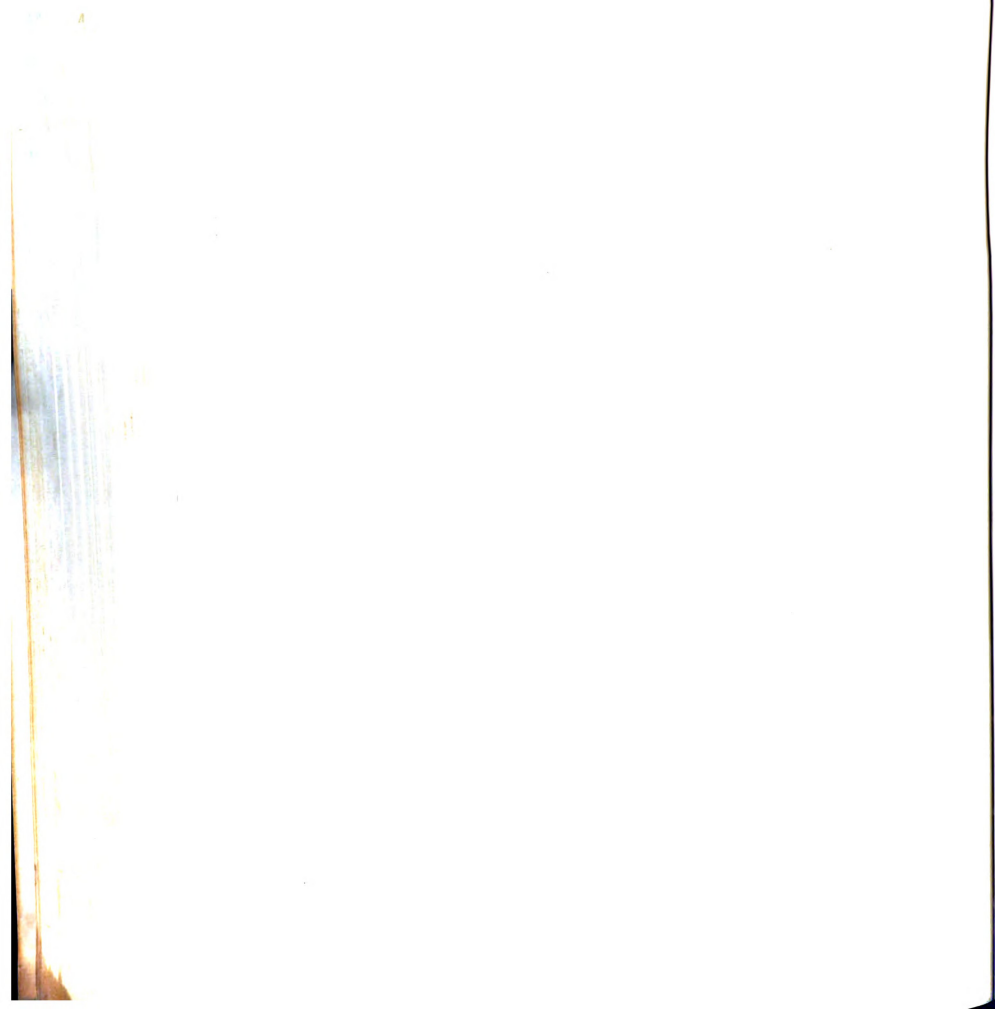
3. Preparations for the wedding

In the case of elaborate and formal weddings many preparations take place. Some of these are:

a. Invitations. The young couple as well as their families make a list of those they wish to invite. Invitations are sent by the bride's parents. The costs, as well as most of the other wedding costs are sponsored by the bride's family.

b. Wedding ring. The groom takes his fiancée to select the wedding ring.

c. Bridesmaids and ushers. The bride selects her maid of honor and bridesmaids. The maid or matron of honor is usually the bride's sister or the bride's dearest friend. The groom chooses his best man and ushers. Usually



the groom asks his brother, his most intimate friend or his father to act as best man.

d. Church arrangements. The groom asks the minister to officiate, but if he is a friend of the bride's family her parents make the request. The groom pays the fees.

e. Dresses and flowers. The bridal adornment usually consists of white dress, white veil and orange blossoms. The white bridal costume has been symbolical of the virgin bride. It is customary for the maid or matron of honor to wear a dress different in color from those worn by the bridesmaids. The groom, the best man and the ushers wear tuxedos, gloves and boutonnieres. The groom's tie is characterized by a different color.

Flowers are an important aspect of formal weddings. In addition to the bride's bouquet, bridesmaids carry flowers. There may also be flower girls and pages.

#### 4. Wedding ceremonies

There are two general types of weddings in America, the quiet informal weddings and the ceremonial formal ones. Although there is an increasing tendency toward informal weddings, the estimates show that ceremonial weddings cover about 50% of the American weddings (Lee & Lee 1961:164). In the case of informal marriage the magistrate officiates the marriage license and the solemnization ritual. Some informal weddings may be followed by a small dinner party in a restaurant arranged

by the couple's friends.

Formal weddings are performed either in a church or the bride's family home. A summary of the patterns of behavior involved in these ceremonies is as follows:

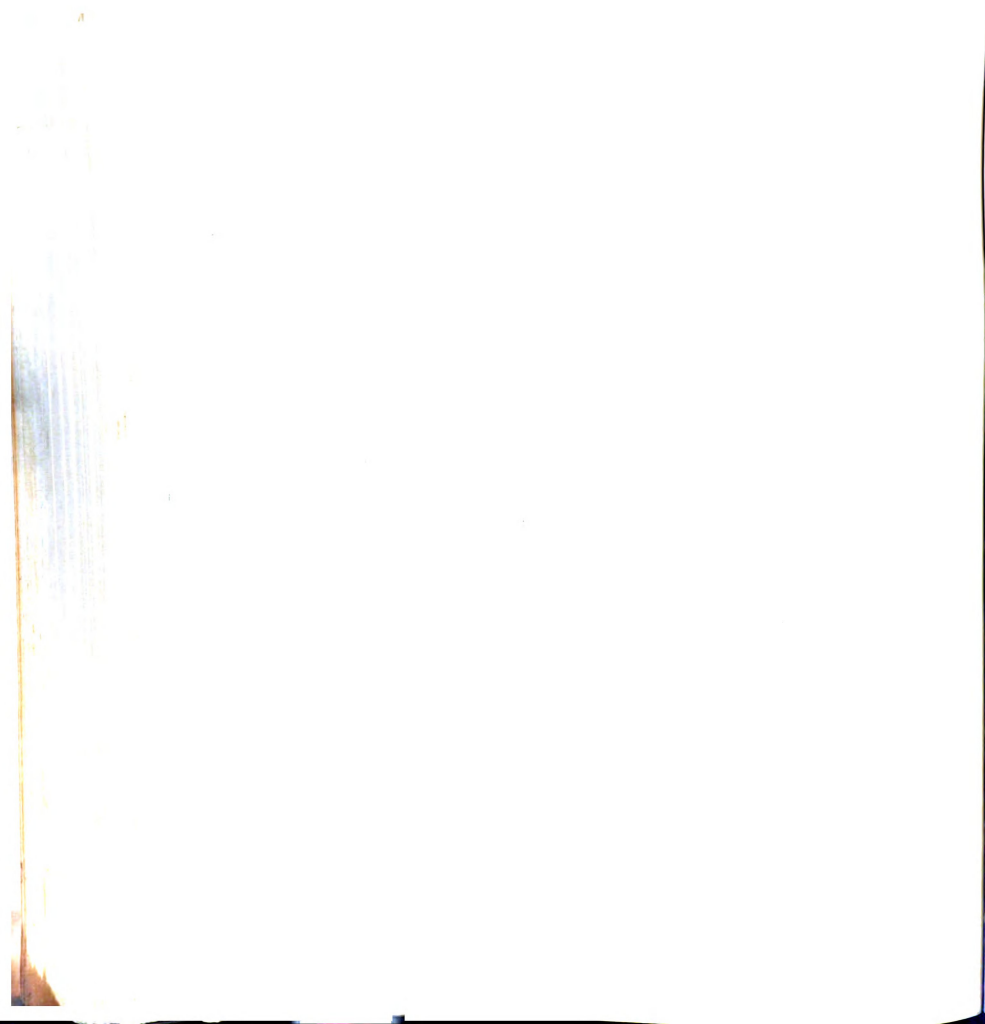
A. Church wedding

In spite of the great variation found in church weddings some characteristics are prevailing. Some of these are:

1. Wedding processional. First in line are the ushers two and two; followed by the bridesmaids in couples. The maid or matron of honor walks alone just before the bride. Sometimes between the maid of honor and the bride is a flower girl or ringbearer. The bride is last, leaning on the arm of her father or a relative. The groom with the best man meets her at the altar. At the chancel the ushers divide to stand on either side, permitting the bridesmaids to pass through and separating they stand in front of the ushers. The maid of honor steps to the bride's left to arrange her veil and take her bouquet.

2. Wedding recessional. This differs according to the religion of the couple. In most Protestant church ceremonies the order is: First, the bride leaning on the right arm of the groom. Next, the maid of honor alone. Sometimes the maid of honor and the best man walk together. The next in line are the bridesmaids, two and two, followed



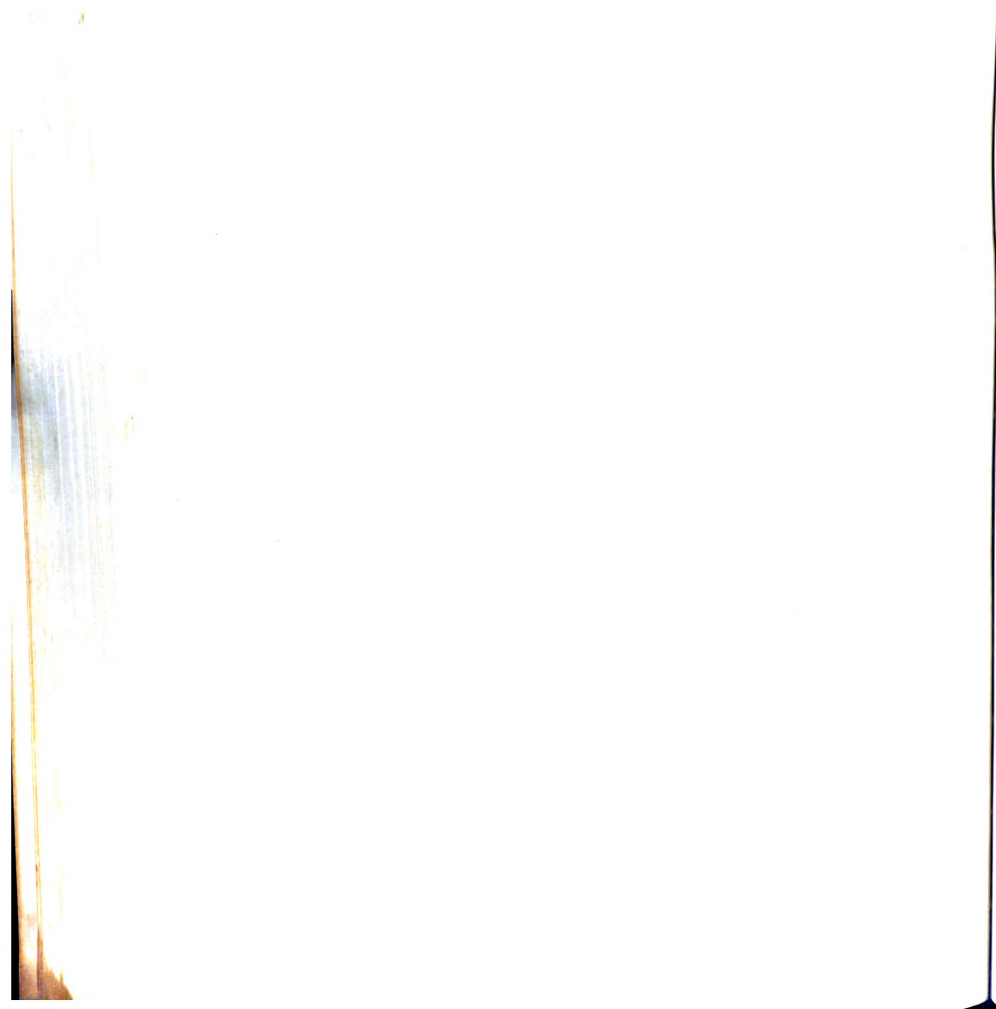


by the groomsmen, also walking in couples. Sometimes the bride and groom are preceded by a child strewing flowers, which is symbolical of a happy future. Music is an important aspect of the ceremony. While guests are assembling about half an hour before the service there will be attractive music. The triumphal wedding march peals forth as the recessional starts. In most services the change of music into the processional march is the signal for guests to rise. They stand during the processional and recessional (Taylor 1964:32-36).

3. Wedding breakfast. It is held usually at 1:00 P.M. immediately after the church ceremony. It takes place either at the bride's home or at a hotel or club. This is generally for the immediate families of the bride and groom with intimate friends. The menu is that of a luncheon and may be simple or elaborate according to the decision of the hostess.

During the ceremony the bride's mother receives the guests, who pass on to wish the bride happiness and congratulate the groom. It is customary for the bride to cut the "bride's cake" and to divide the first piece with the groom.

4. Wedding reception. This may replace or accompany the wedding breakfast. Buffet refreshments are served while the guests are standing. Usually the father



and mother of the bride receive the guests somewhere near the door. The bride's parents are the host and hostess, the groom's parents are honor guests. Dancing may be included. At the end of the reception or the wedding breakfast the bride usually tosses her bouquet to her bridesmaids or, if she has no bridesmaids, to a group of young women present. Legend says the one catching it will be the next bride.

5. Taking pictures. A strictly observed ritual is to take pictures on the wedding day. Some of them usually include the maid of honor, the bridesmaids, and the best man and the ushers.

B. Home wedding

Unless the house is large the wedding party in this case is much smaller than for the previous one, and often the only attendants are the best man and the maid of honor. There may be flowers and branches of flowering shrubs and trees especially at the farther end of the room where the minister stands. The groom and best man enter first, the same as at church and await the bride before the minister. The guests gather informally about, reserving a space in front for the two families. The bride's mother receives the guests who after the ceremony greet the bridal company as they remain in front of the floral decorations. The refreshments are those of any reception, although if a breakfast there are hot dishes and richer food.



5. Honeymoon. After the reception the groom and his bride go alone to have their honeymoon. There are many rituals related to the departure of a newly married pair, such as throwing an old shoe, sprinkling them with rice, decorating their car with flowers, tying some cans at the rear of the car and hanging a "just married" sign.

They usually spend their honeymoon in hotels and motels which prepare special rooms for the occasion. These rooms are called "bridal suites". The place of the honeymoon is supposed to be a secret and only very few people know it. The length of honeymoons differs but in general it lasts from one to two weeks. After the honeymoon they move to their private apartment or house and begin their normal life as a husband and wife.

#### Marriage Forms

With respect to the number of marriage parties, monogamy is the only marriage form in America. All the American states prohibit bigamous marriages. For example Michigan law announces that "no marriage can be contracted while either of the parties has a husband or wife living pursuant to a marriage which has not been dissolved" (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:102).

American laws distinguish between licensed marriages and non-licensed marriages. The first type involve the application of a marriage license according to certain



statutes. The latter is called common-law marriage which does not require a marriage license. According to Michigan law common-law marriages contracted prior to January 1, 1957, are valid.

With regard to the existence or absence of religious aspects in marriage, Americans have two types:

Civil marriage. This refers to marriages conducted by a magistrate and has nothing to do with religion.

Religious marriage. This is always officiated by a clergyman, and it follows the religious regulations of the denomination of the couple.

Relying on the estimates of church weddings shows that about 50% of the American marriages are religious marriages. Conducting a religious marriage is based on the personal decision of the couple intending to get married. Usually conservative and well-to-do Americans perform religious marriages.

#### Husband-wife relationships

As the newlyweds live in a private dwelling which is usually far from their parent's houses, the most important interpersonal relationships involved in their new life are the husband-wife relationships.

These relationships are characterized by the following general aspects.

1. Typical family roles. A typical arrangement of family roles of husband and wife are briefly stated in



the following:

Family roles of husband

- a. Head of family
- b. Chief wage earner or the "food provider", the central role of most husbands
- c. Secondary homemaker
- d. Father, usually a secondary role but of extreme importance to children.
- e. Husbandly role, meeting the wife's personal and sexual needs.

Family roles of wife

- a. Partner, social arbiter and hostess
- b. Secondary wage earner from choice or necessity: often part-time or intermittent.
- c. Chief homemaker
- d. Mother, dominant role when children are young.
- e. Wifely role, meeting the husband's personal and sexual needs.

2. Legal aspects

In America husband-wife relations are regulated by the civil law. Michigan law includes 135 rules concerning these relationships (Michigan Law, Vol. 13, 1957:452-583). Some of these statutes are presented to give a general illustration of how law handles these relationships. These are:



a. The husband is the head of the family and therefore has the privilege of selecting the family domicile and the duty of supporting the family (Michigan Law Vol. 13, 1957:454).

b. Although common law regards the husband and wife as one, and the wife by her marriage lost all the incidents attaching to a person acting in her own right, statutes and constitutional provisions have removed some, but not all, of the married woman's disabilities (Michigan Law, Vol. 13, 1957:484-486).

c. The wife's right to her own earnings is now protected by statutes. Statutes now protect the wife's rights to her separate property (Michigan Law, Vol. 13, 1957:494-506).

d. The wife's services in the home belong to the husband, and she must have his consent to charge others (Michigan Law, Vol. 13, 1957:508).

The previous laws reflect the increasing tendency of equality between husband and wife. Regarding the husband as the head of the family is limited to selecting the family domicile and the duty of supporting the family. The patriarchal authority of the husband has become very weak as follows:

### 3. Equality

During the last thirty years wives have come up from a subordinate position in the home to one of



complete equality with the husband and in some cases of domination over the husband. Often the management of the house and children is turned to the mother entirely (Burgess, Wallin and Shultz 1954:22). Concerning decision making American wife has now almost the same influence of her husband. It is expected that the working wife has more influence in decision-making than the housewife. There are two other indications to such equality. These are:

a. American husbands help their wives in the house and usually working wives have greater help. On the other hand many American wives work in order to increase the family income. Thus both wives and husbands have equal roles in earning money and conducting housework.

b. Sexual satisfaction recognized equally for both husband and wife. This is related to the increasing importance of the sexual aspect of marriage in America (Burgess, Wallin, and Shultz 1954:356-357).

#### 4. Respect and Courtesy

American spouses treat each other with respect and considerate acts. Michigan law dictates that extreme cruelty, false accusations, abusive and humiliating conduct including improper language, either physical violence or threats, and cumulative misconduct are legal grounds for divorce (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:474-483).



## 5. Minor and serious problems

American spouses usually solve their minor problems by themselves without any interference of relatives or friends, as they regard such problems as private affairs concerning only themselves. When these problems develop into serious ones , they either get a divorce or ask the advice of counselors. These counselors may be their relatives, friends, clergymen of the various denominations, or professional counselors. Marriage counseling as a special profession dates from the late 1920's (Lee & Lee 1961:187).

### The Termination of Marriage

In general marriages end in: (1) annulment, (2) divorce, or (3) death. These are discussed briefly as follows:

#### 1. Annulment

This is defined and regulated by civil laws. According to Michigan laws the grounds for annulment are:

a. Marriages prohibited by law on account of consanguinity or affinity between the parties, or an account of either of them having a former wife or husband then living. All marriages solemnized where either of the parties is insane or an idiot are absolutely void without any legal process.

b. Where the consent of the parties to a marriage is obtained by force of fraud, and there is no subsequent





voluntary cohabitation of the parties. This marriage may be deemed void without any decree of divorce or other legal process, or it may be annulled.

c. Where a marriage is solemnized between parties either of whom is under the age of legal consent and they do not cohabit together (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:118-122).

## 2. Divorce

Divorce is practiced in the U.S. On the average, about one divorce or annulment is obtained for each four marriages performed (Lee & Lee 1961:303). Divorce is wholly statutory, and ordinary equitable principles do not apply. A husband, a wife, and the state are the parties of divorce proceedings. Either the wife or the husband has the right of filing for divorce (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:466-467-496).

Michigan law assigns the grounds for divorce as follows: desertion, nonsupport, habitual drunkenness, extreme cruelty, false accusations, abusive and humiliating conduct including improper language, either physical violence or threats, absence, neglect and denial of conjugal rights, impotency at the time of the marriage, cumulative misconduct, the securing of a divorce in another state by the opposite party and sentence to imprisonment for three years or more (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:469-486).



There are two types of divorce, absolute and limited. Public policy, particularly with respect to the interests of the wife and children, determines whether an absolute or limited divorce is granted.

Obligations based on divorce

a. Alimony. Any agreement between the parties as to alimony is ineffective unless approved by the court. The amount of an alimony rests entirely within the judgment of a court. However, the divorced parties may exclude any alimony (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:560-561).

b. Disposition of property. The division of property between divorced spouses rests largely within the discretion of the trial judge. However, the major consideration should always be security for the wife (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:581-582).

c. Supporting the children. A father's obligation to support his children is not terminated by divorce, and the court provides for such support in the divorce decree. After separation the mother, if she is fit, is entitled to the custody of children under 12 years of age, and the father, if he is regarded by the court as fit, is entitled to the custody of children of 12 years of age or over (Michigan Law, Vol. 16, 1957:626-642).

3. Death

The great expansion and acceptance of life insurance as well as the opportunities of jobs for women



in America have played important roles in minimizing the financial loss incurred by the death of the husband, even if he is the only breadwinner in the family.

With respect to inheritance laws, the disposition of the property follows the will of the deceased who is at liberty to make whatever disposition he chooses. However, property held by a husband and wife, whether it is by entirety or joint, is inherited by survivors whether husband or wife (Michigan Law, Vol. 13, 1957:351-461).

In the case of death usually the surviving spouse lives alone with the children if there are any.

#### Summary

This chapter presents some general aspects of marriage patterns as found among the American middle-class and as regulated by Michigan laws. Cultural limitations plays an important role in defining the group of legitimate candidates from which a boy or girl chooses his or her future spouse. These cultural limitations are defined as law, race, kinship taboos, age, religion, ethnicity, class, and personal qualities. These elements work together in an interwoven web. It is found that dating and romantic love are the basic techniques of spouse selection.

Types and functions of dating are defined. The increasing number of quiet engagements represents the dominance of the idea that engagement is a private agreement between a man and a woman without the involvement of their families.

Freedom, variability and individuality are found in the American patterns. Social barriers between the two sexes become very thin through dating. A prevailing aspect throughout these patterns is the bearing of civil laws on marriage as religious rituals became optional. This stresses the secular aspect in American marriage patterns. Men-women equality is clearly represented.



## CHAPTER VI

### MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN THE DEARBORN COMMUNITY

These patterns are divided into four sections: marriage steps, marriage forms, husband-wife relationships, and termination of marriage.

#### Marriage Steps

The first step in marriage is selecting a candidate to be the future spouse. Engagement and wedding follow the selection step. How these steps are practiced among the Dearborn Arab-Moslem members is presented below.

#### Spouse Selection

The ancestry of the wives of the 70 interviewees, the preferable qualities for spouses, and the techniques of spouse selection, as reported by the respondents, are presented as follows.

##### A. Wives' ancestry

The following table represents relevant data.

TABLE 11. --Ancestry of Interviewee's Wives

Wives' Ancestry	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Arab-Moslem (relative)	19	38	3	15
Arab-Moslem (non-relative)	24	48	5	25
Arab-Christian	1	2	1	5





TABLE 11. --Ancestry of Interviewee's Wives (cont'd)

Wives' Ancestry	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
American-Christian	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>55</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100

The table shows that while 86% of Group A married Arab-moslems, only 40% of Group B did. Moreover the table indicates that cousin marriage is more common in Group A than in Group B. With respect to the specific relationships of these cousins, 20% of Group A and 15% of Group B married their patrilineal parallel-cousins, 10% of Group A married their patrilineal cross-cousins and 8% of Group A married their matrilineal cross-cousins. This reflects the preference of patrilineal cousins to matrilineal ones. The table also indicates that Group B is more interested in marrying American Christians than Group A; compare 55 Per Cent to 12 Per Cent. A few members marry Arab-Christians.

Group A members who married Americans reported that they had to marry Americans because of the non-existence of Arab-Moslem maidens in the twenties and thirties. A few of these pioneers had migrated with their wives to the United States. The majority were single, and they spent several years in saving money to finance the trip to Lebanon to get married. Those who did not have enough money had to marry Americans. Group A members, especially

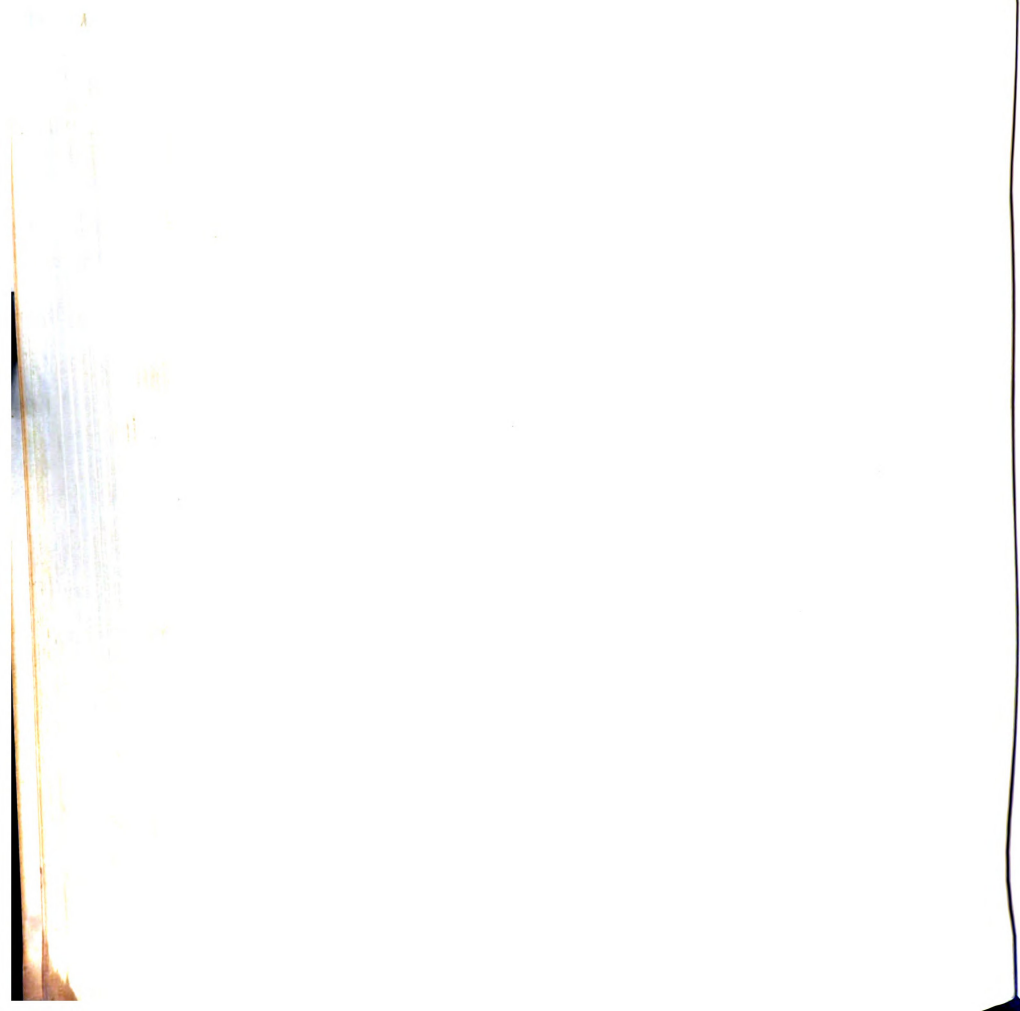


old men, always repeat that "Women in America are stronger than men", "America is only for women", and "American woman could divorce her husband when she wants". They always dream of the superior status of men in their villages and of the patriarchal authority of their fathers.

On the other hand, Group B members who married Americans reported that they chose them because they loved them in spite of the existence of Arab-Moslem maidens.

There are three cases where an interviewee married from the other sect, two of them in Group A and one in Group B. It is important to note that while 27% of the sample married Christians, only 4% married Arab-Moslems from the other sect. The previous percentages do not show whether the rejection of sectarian intermarriage was done on purpose or that this was just a coincidence. While some informants approved the existence of this prejudice, others denied it. Some Shi'ah informants reported that ten years ago many Sunnis did not agree on permitting their daughters to marry Shi'ah men, but they agreed that their sons might marry Shi'ah women. This is confirmed by the fact that the previous three cases of sectarian intermarriages represent Sunni men who married Shi'ah women. At the same time the Sunni informants accused the Shi'ah of the same charges.

There are many stories about cases of such prejudice which took place several years ago. Today it seems that this discrimination has deteriorated; almost all the inter-



viewees reported that they approve sectarian intermarriage. The establishment of religious associations combining the two sects has played an important role in minimizing this prejudice.

**B. Preferable qualities for future spouses**

Some questions of the field interview deal with these qualities. The percentages of the responses are listed in the following two tables.

TABLE 12. --Preferable Qualities for a Wife

Qualities	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Being Moslem	48	96%	6	30%
Being Arab-Moslem	35	70%	1	5%
Being American	-	0%	12	60%
Being Beautiful	36	72%	15	75%
Being loyal	40	80%	10	50%
Being attractive	3	6%	10	50%
Being rich	3	6%	5	25%
Mutual love	30	60%	20	100%
Having good reputation	45	90%	6	30%
Having a job	10	20%	8	40%
Descending from a good family	40	80%	4	20%

These percentages indicate the following:

1. Both Groups A and B stressed mutual love, beauty and loyalty as preferable qualities for perfect wives.



2. While most Group A stressed Islam, Arabic culture, politeness and descending from a "good family" (as defined by the old culture), a few of Group B agreed on these qualities.

3. Although many of Group A emphasized American culture, attractiveness and richness as preferable qualities, none of Group A reported American culture and few of them mentioned the other qualities.

TABLE 13. --Preferable Qualities for a Husband

Qualities	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Being Moslem	50	100%	20	100%
Being Arab-Moslem	25	50%	2	10%
Being handsome	5	10%	10	50%
Being young	3	6%	14	70%
Mutual love	35	70%	20	100%
Having a good job	40	80%	18	90%
Having a new car	5	10%	6	30%
Approving husband-wife equality	10	20%	18	90%

The above percentages reflect the following tendencies

1. There is general emphasis on Islam as the religion of the perfect husband. This emphasis would be accounted for by the fact that Islam strictly prohibits marriage between Moslem women and non-Moslem men. The same explanation may be applied to the differences in their responses





on husband-wife equality.

2. Both Groups A and B stress mutual love and having a good job.

3. Group B members are more interested than Group A in physical appearance.

The importance of Islam as the religion of preferable husbands is illustrated by the fact that those whose daughters have married Christians were very angry with their daughter. Most of them cut off all their social relationships with them. They feel that these daughters would convert to Christianity under the influence of their husbands. Such conversions have occurred several times. Besides, the children of such mixed marriages always became Christians. Many stories show what scandal and shame a girl would bring to her family by engaging in such a marriage. Some of these stories tell that a man (from Group A) tried to commit suicide several times to prevent his daughter from marrying a Christian American. Another member of Group A could not face the community members when his daughter had married a Christian. The ashamed father went to the old land where he died after a short while.

A woman from Group A who married an American Christian reported that she had to marry a Christian because none of the Moslems proposes to her. This woman as well as the others waited until they reached the age of 25 years and then they could not wait longer.

Treating such daughters as sinners is found only among

Group A parents. It is interesting to note that Group B men feel that Group A parents are responsible for the situation, because they prevent their daughter from dating and at the same time they give permission to their sons to date American girls. These parents underestimate dating as a way to marriage.

"While their bodies live in America, their minds still think according to Lebanese traditions," said some parents from Group B describing those from Group A.

In respect to the best age of marriage, 56 per cent of Group A chose the ages of 21 and 22 years for boys and 58 per cent selected the ages from 16 to 18 years for girls, only 5 per cent of Group B chose these ages for girls. The same difference between the two groups is emphasized by the findings that while 65% of Group B regarded the ages of 25 and 26 years as the best ages of marriage for boys, only 5 per cent of Group A reported the same ages. In addition, while 56 per cent of Group B selected the ages 19 and 20 for girls, only 10 per cent of Group A approved that these ages are the best ages of marriage for girls. Thus the general trend is that Group B prefer older ages than those selected by Group A as the best ages of marriage for boys and girls.

Another related point is the reasons for selecting the previous ages. The two Groups emphasized in the same degree the factor of maturity, which means understanding marriage responsibilities. The two Groups, however,



differed with regard to other factors such as:

a. Many of Group A (36%) regarded "protecting the girls from dating boys" as a reason, a few from Group B (5%) gave the same response.

b. While some of Group B (30%) considered "finishing high school" as a reason to select the best age of marriage for girls, almost none of Group A (2%) answered in the same way.

c. Although some of Group B (30%) regarded "having the opportunity for finding the right man" and "getting a job" as factors in selecting best age of marriage for girls, none of Group A gave such factors.

d. "Protecting boys from going out with girls" was considered by 20% of Group A as reasons. None of Group B gave these reasons.

The previous findings indicates that the problem of preventing the youth from dating is found only among Group A members.

#### C. Techniques of Spouse Selection:

The findings represent some differences between the two groups with regard to these techniques. These differences are:

1. While 90% of Group B selected their wives by themselves, only 40% of Group A did.

2. Many of Group A (42%) married the women selected by their parents, very few of Group B (10%) depended on their parents in such selection.

3. Some of Group A (18%) married through professional matchmakers in the old land, none of Group B conducted such a technique.

Thus in general, while almost all Group B men selected their spouses by themselves, Group A members conducted both self-selection, and other-selection methods.

Other related points are the approval or objection of parents on the self-selected spouses and the reasons involved. It is found that only one from Group A faced his parents' objection because he selected a widow. The majority of Group A (88%) obtained their parents' approval that was based on several grounds. Many of their parents (40%) approved because they selected their sons' wives. Some other parents (30%) agreed because the wives were Arab-Moslems. Few parents (18%) approved because they gave their sons permission to marry whom they liked.

Among Group B 30 per cent of their parents objected to their sons' marriages. Marrying a Christian woman was the only reason for these objection. In this group 70 per cent obtained their parent's approval. Some parents (10%) approved because they chose their sons' wives. A larger number (35%) agreed because they gave their sons permission to marry whom they wanted. Other parents (25%) accepted their sons' selection because the wife was an Arab-Moslem.

In weighing the significance of these finding it should not be overlooked that while most Group A members were far away from their parents who lived in the old land,

all Group B members were living with their parents when they selected their spouses. There is a hypothetical question related to this subject. This is whether it was possible or not for the interviewee to object to his parent's selection. While 95 per cent of Group B approved of this possibility on the basis that marriage was a personal matter, forty-four per cent of Group A gave the same answer. Many of Group A members (34%) reported that it was impossible to object to their parents' selection because they respected their parents and did not want to irritate them, only five per cent of Group B reported the same response. The previous data show that the possibility of rejecting the parents' participation in selecting the sons' wives is much stronger among Group B than among Group A.

A relevant point is the circumstances involved in husband-wife first meeting. These are the subjects of the following table.

TABLE 14. --Circumstances of Husband-Wife First Meeting

The Circumstances	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
In a relative's house (the wife is a relative)	17	34	3	15
In his parent's house when the wife (a relative came from the U.S. to visit them.)	4	8	-	-
In his original village (the wife is not a rela- tive)	5	10	2	10

TABLE 14. --Circumstances of Husband-Wife First Meeting(cont'd)

The Circumstances	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Accidentally	14	28	6	30
Through a marriage-broken in the old land (the wife is not a relative)	9	18	-	-
In an American youth party	-	-	5	25
In high school or college	-	-	4	20
On the engagement day (the wife is a relative)	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100

The table shows that while kinship relations are involved in this first meeting for 44% of Group A, such factors are much weaker among Group B members. These are found only among 15% of Group B.

It is interesting to note that a member from Group A saw his wife for the first time on the engagement day. Parties and school opportunities for selecting a spouse are found only among Group B members and they are so widespread that 45% of Group B met their wives in this way.

### Dating

Here dating represents the involvement of love as the basic technique of spouse-selection. Most of Group A (84%) did not date their wives before engagement and the rest (16%) dated their wives for a period lasting from one week to six months. On the other hand 75% of Group B dated their wives



before the engagement and the periods of dating lasted from two months to three years. Thus Group B dated for a longer time than that of Group A. Note that while dating among Group A took place only when the spouse was American, among Group B this occurred in the cases of Arab and American wives. According to the two Groups the cases of non-dating are only found with regard to Arab-Moslem wives.

The previous findings show that dating as a way of spouse selecting is widespread only among Group B members. In fact dating, in general, is one of the important factors of conflict among the community members. All the interviewees reported that the Arab boys date girls, many of them American girls. Most of them (100% of Group B and 96% of Group A) reported that about 50% of the girls of the community date boys, most of whom are Americans, and the rest do not date. The girls usually date secretly and therefore they prefer to date Americans, because, as the informants reported, if they date Arab-Moslem boys, these boys may reveal their secrets to their parents. An important subject of gossip is secret datings performed by the Arab girls. The only girls who date publicly are the working ones, their economic independence gave them courage to disregard the community gossip, the parents' anger and the threats of the conservative brothers. Some of these girls introduce their dates to their families. Excluding working girls, the participation of female teenagers in dating is considered as a big shame if their parents are from Group A.

"How to protect my girls from dating is the biggest disturbing subject in my life," a member from Group A said. Most Group A regard dating as "a devil act" or "a polite name for sexual relations." Some of them have sent their daughters at the ages of 12 and 13 to the old land to protect them from going out with boys. The basic reason for this behavior is (according to them) to preserve the daughter's virginity until marriage. Moreover, sending the daughters to the old land is stimulated by their desire to provide Arab-Moslem suitors for their daughters. Many conflicts between Group A parents and their daughters arise because of gossip that the daughters date boys. Scolding and beating are ways of discipline used by those parents to prevent their daughters from dating. "If you will not stop dating, I will send you to the village in the old land," this is a common threat used by parents. Group A parents give their sons permission to date American girls and not Arab girls because this may hurt the community feeling. This differentiation in male-female rights has played, unconsciously, an important role in fostering the biggest problem faced by the parents: how to get Moslem spouses for their daughters. When the parents encourage their sons to date American girls, and prevent their daughters from dating, they unconsciously push their sons to marry American girls and at the same time prevent their daughters from the opportunities of marriage. This is one of the important cultural conflicts faced by the community.

Group B parents permit their daughters and sons to date, but they insist on knowing all the details involved in dating. If there are any attempts to perform sexual relations, they force their daughters to change their dates. Group B parents are conscious of their responsibility for protecting their daughter's chastity, but at the same time they regard dating as a recreational right of their children and as the only way to marriage. They began to encourage their children to date Arab-Moslems and to participate in the Islamic Youth Association where Arab-Moslem girls and boys can get acquainted. They hope that these attempts might solve the big problem of the increasing number of inter-marriages between Moslems and Christians. Group B parents frequently ridicule Group A parents who prevent their daughters from dating and they regard these old-fashioned parents as responsible for their biggest problem.

### Engagement

#### A. The proposal

After selecting the future spouse through either family arrangement, dating, or marriage brokers, the young man asks for the girl's hand. Whether this proposal was made by the future fiancé or by others is presented in the following table.

TABLE 15. --Persons Who Made the Proposal

The Persons	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
The proposal was made by the interviewee himself	30	60	17	85
The proposal was made by the interviewee's mother	13	26	-	-
The proposal was made by his father	<u>7</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>
Totals	50	100	20	100

This table shows that while many of Group A members (40%) did not make the marriage proposal by themselves and let their parents do the job, only 15 per cent of Group B reported the same answer. At the same time the pattern of addressing the marriage proposal by the fiancé himself is more common among Group B (85%) than among Group A (60%).

With respect to the person to whom the marriage proposal was made we find a clear difference between the two Groups. While 92% of Group A reported that the proposal was made to the girls' parents, only 40% of Group B gave the same response. At the same time while 60% of Group B made their proposals to the girl herself, only 8% of Group A did. The general conclusion is that the involvement of the parents in their children's marriage proposal is much stronger among Group A than among Group B.

B. The engagement ceremony

There are different patterns of behavior involved in the engagement party as illustrated by the following table.

TABLE 16. --Engagement Party

Types of Parties	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
No engagement party in Lebanon	8	16%	1	5%
No engagement party in the U.S.	18	36%	17	85%
A traditional Lebanese village party in Lebanon	13	26%	-	-
A modern Lebanese village party	7	14%	2	10%
An informal house party in the U.S.	<u>4</u>	<u>8%</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
Totals	50	100%	20	100%

This table indicates that while most of Group B (85%) concluded their engagement in the U.S., many of Group A (56%) performed their engagements in the old land. Almost all the engagements conducted in the U.S. are quiet ones. All Group B members who married Americans had no formal engagement. Some of them reported that the problems involved in their mixed marriages had prevented any opportunity for formal engagements. These problems were related to the objections of both their parents and their parents-in-law. Others reported that most Americans have quiet engagements and they

just followed this pattern. With respect to Group A members we find that 40% of them had quiet engagements. Those who married Americans gave the previous explanations for the lack of ceremony. Those who conducted their engagements in the old land reported that their quiet engagements were due to the following:

- a) Mourning periods.
- b) The big difference in age between the man and his fiancée. This difference might reach 40 years. It is important to note that a clear difference in age is found between many of Group A members and their wives who came from the old land.
- c) The man was in a hurry, as he usually took a short vacation from his employer.
- d) Usually when any of the engaged parties has married before, the engagement is conducted quietly.

There are three different ceremonies involved in these engagements. These are:

1. The traditional Lebanese village ceremony. This was mentioned before. It is important to note that the golden ring ritual was not always found in this ceremony. However, a golden bracelet, earrings and necklace were common engagement presents.
  2. The modern Lebanese village ceremony. This takes place in the girl's family house during the afternoon. The guests usually are the immediate relatives and friends of
-

the boy and the girl. They all sit in the widest room of the house, and usually the boy and the girl sit beside each other in the place of honor. The boy gives his fiancée a golden ring on her right hand and sometimes there is a present such as a watch or a bracelet. Women yodel, sing and dance after the departure of men, who leave immediately after the ring ritual. Coated almond, Lebanese delicacies and juice or coca cola are served during the ceremony. Usually there is a small dinner party for the nuclear families of the boy and girl. The "Deoka" dance is performed at night. It is important to note that men and women sit separately during the ceremony.

3. The "house ceremony" in the U.S. This is usually held in the girl's parents home and it is very similar to the previous ceremony. The only difference is that the engagement ring is always a diamond and the golden present is excluded. Such parties are held only when the two parties are Arab-Moslems either by birth or origin.

The diamond ring ritual is found among all the Arab-Moslems who conducted their engagements in the U.S. in spite of the ancestry of the fiancée.

#### C. Engagement period

The length of these periods differ greatly; they range from one week to more than two years. However, most of Group B (60%) and many of Group A (40%) spent from more than one month to six months as engagement periods. While most of Group B members (90%) went out with their fiancées with-

out any supervision or chaperones, only 54% of Group A had the same type of dating. Those who had no such dating with their fiancées reported that their in-laws who are Arab-Moslems, all of them in the old land, prevented them from going out with their fiancées. Such behavior is inappropriate according to village traditions. Only Group B members indulged in a certain degree of sexual freedom with their fiancées (such as necking and hugging). Many presents were offered to the fiancées during this period. It is interesting to note that while Group A members gave jewelry, clothes and candies, Group B members offered compacts, flowers, perfumes, and modern beauty aids such as hair dryers as presents. Most of Group A gave these presents on Islamic feasts. Group B members offered their presents on birthdays and Christmas.

### Wedding

#### A. Before the wedding preparations and rituals

Before conducting the wedding ceremonies there are some preparations and rituals to describe:

#### Bride's family preparations

All of the members who married Christians, either Americans or Arabs, reported that their in-laws had not participated in their daughters' marriage preparations. To explain this attitude, some said that their American in-laws refused to help their daughters in marriage because they disapproved the marriage. The rest reported that their American in-laws regarded the couple as responsible for



these preparations. All the members who married Arab-moslems (86% of Group A and 40% of Group B) reported that their in-laws participated in the bride's trousseau. The Arab-Moslem in-laws had bought some pieces of furniture for the newlyweds' house. These in-laws had usually received a high bride-wealth.

#### Groom's family preparations

Most of the members who received aids from their families are those who had married in the old land before migrating to the U.S. Some of Group B who married in the U.S. received some aid from their parents. These aids are either money or merchandises.

#### Groom's preparations

The general trend is that the groom depended on himself in all marriage preparations, such as paying the license fees, financing the wedding ceremonies if there were any, and buying new clothes. Most of those who went to the old land to get married spent many years, sometimes twenty or thirty years, to save enough money for the trip, and for attracting a young Lebanese girl that would marry an old man.

#### The bridal shower

Almost all the interviewees who married in the U.S. reported that their wives received at least two bridal showers from the Arab-Moslem women. On the other hand all the people who married in the old land answered that there had been no bridal shower. It is an important point to note that bridal shower ritual has become a widespread pattern

among the Arab-Moslems. These showers are arranged by female social leaders of the community. Most of the women of the community participate in the shower, especially when the bride and groom are Arab-Moslems. Such showers are characterized by the big quantity and the high quality of gifts. When the groom is an Arab-Moslem and the bride is Christian, whether Arab or American, the number of the participants decreases to the half (an estimation) and the presents become less expensive. If the bride is an Arab-Moslem and the groom is Christian, the women express their objection and sadness in several ways:

A complete boycott .This act has been weakened by the new liberal attitudes of the new generations.

Conducting a very small bridal shower with few presents is a new growing attitude justified by the idea that boycotting the girl usually pushes her to convert to Christianity. Retaining her identity as a community member will help her to maintain her religion.

Known and rich people give elaborate and lavish bridal showers for their daughter. Exchanging presents at the bridal showers is an important aspect of the widespread economic co-operation in the community. Presents are always acknowledged and registered so that similar presents may be sent to the senders when they have a shower.

Bridal showers are usually conducted one month before the wedding in the bride's family house and it is exclusively arranged and conducted by women. The number of such

showers per bride ranges from two to six.

B. Wedding ceremonies

A distribution of wedding ceremonies and a brief description of these ceremonies are presented as follows:

TABLE 17. --Types of Wedding Ceremonies

Ceremonies	Group A		Group B	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Quiet wedding in the U.S.	3	6%	6	30%
Quiet wedding in Lebanon	2	4%	-	-
Lebanese traditional " <u>Akd keran</u> " and " <u>Erse</u> "	8	16%	-	-
Lebanese modern " <u>Akd keran</u> " and " <u>Erse</u> "	14	28%	4	20%
Mosque " <u>Akd keran</u> " and " <u>Erse</u> " in the U.S.	6	12%	7	35%
Home " <u>Akd keran</u> " and " <u>Erse</u> " in the U.S.	16	32%	2	10%
Church wedding	-	-	<u>1</u>	<u>5%</u>
Totals	50	100%	20	100%

The table shows the distribution of wedding ceremonies conducted by the interviewees. Although most of these ceremonies are a combination of the old land and the adopted culture ceremonies, some of them are new patterns. As all Group B members are from the second generation, none of them had the traditional Lebanese weddings which were clearly found in the Lebanese villages forty years ago. While many

of Group B (35%) had mosque ceremonies, a few members of Group A (10%) conduct such ceremonies. This is due to the fact that the mosques have been used for marriage ceremonies only since 1945. Before this time Arab-Moslems conducted their religious wedding ceremonies either in halls or in their homes. The table shows also that while almost all Group A (94%) had religious ceremonies and only 6% had civil ceremonies, many of Group B had civil ceremonies and 5% of them had a "church ceremony" in spite of the Islamic religion of the groom.

The previous ceremonies are briefly described as follows:

1. Quiet wedding in the U.S.

This means the lack of any formal ceremony. The couple file for the marriage license and the magistrate conducts the solemnization of the marriage. All Group B members who had quiet weddings married Americans. Two of the three members from Group A who had quiet weddings in the U.S. married Americans. The third member who married an Arab-Moslem did not conduct any ceremony because this was the second marriage for the wife.

2. Quiet wedding in the old land

This means the performance of only the marriage contract, Akd Keran, without any musical and recreational aspects. The guests were few and all of them were the immediate relatives of the couple. These quiet weddings occurred because one of the involved families was in mourning. It is almost the only circumstance of quiet

weddings in Lebanese villages until today. The "Akd Keran" was conducted by the village sheik who officiated the marriage contract. The parties of the contract were, the sheik, the bride's representative for marriage, the groom or his representative for marriage and two witnesses. The details of these rituals were mentioned in Chapter Four.

It should not be overlooked that although the previous two types of weddings have the same name, they differ in the following aspects:

a) While American quiet weddings are usually civil, the Lebanese ones are religious.

b) American quiet weddings represent about 50% of the American weddings (Lee & Lee, 1961:164) and they are not always based on mourning. Lebanese quiet weddings are very rare and they are always related to mourning circumstances.

### 3. Lebanese traditional "Akd Keran" and "Erse"

These were held in the village. These are characterized by the collective participation of the patrilineage and most of the villagers, the big number of religious and secular rituals involved, the complete dependence of the groom and bride of their parents in supporting and conducting the wedding, and the serious stress on the bride-wealth. The details of such ceremonies were mentioned in Chapter Four.

### 4. Lebanese modern "Akd Keran" and "Erse"

These are much more simple than the traditional ceremonies. "Akd el Keran" is held in the bride's family home. The ceremony is usually observed by the male close relatives

of the couple. The sheik officiates the marriage contract in the same way as the traditional ceremony. The amount of the bride-wealth should be announced and listed in the contract. Refreshments, such as coca cola, Beklawa and coated almonds are distributed after the ceremony.

The "Erse," which is the true wedding ceremony, occurs in the bride's parents home on the same day of the "Akd Keran" or later. This exclusively is a recreational ceremony. The groom and bride put on western clothes and participate in the dancing and the wedding dinner, and at the end they receive contributions from their relatives and friends. The couple may spend their honeymoon either in a hotel, their private house, or the groom's parents house.

These modern ceremonies are prevalent only in Lebanese cities. In the village there are the traditional and the modern type with the widespread of the first.

##### 5. Mosque "Akd Keran" and "Erse" in the U.S.

Conducting wedding ceremonies in the mosque is a new pattern which is only found in the U.S. In Lebanon as well as all the Middle East countries wedding ceremonies never take place in mosques. This new pattern started in the Arab-Moslem community after World War II and it is originated and conducted by the members of the second generation who are convinced to change their traditional ways of life to adjust to the new land. At its beginning, the mosque wedding ceremonies were opposed by the religious leaders and the old members of the community. Their objection was

based on the following:

a) The mosques, which are regarded as God's house, are primarily places of prayer and they were never used for conducting such ceremonies in the Middle East.

b) One of the two wedding ceremonies, the "Erse" always involves music, songs, Debka, and belly dances. It is illegal according to Islam to conduct such noisy and funny acts in the sacred mosques.

The oppositions of the conservative members have gradually faded, and finally these members were forced to accept the new pattern in order to save the existence of the mosques. This needs some explanation. As mentioned before the subscriptions of the members of the religious associations that maintain the mosques has begun to decrease in such a way that these associations could not find enough money to finance the mosques. An attractive source for increasing the funds of these associations is renting some of the halls of the mosques to members who want to conduct wedding ceremonies there. Each hall in the two mosques is rented for \$50 per night.

"Akd Keran" takes place on either Saturday or Sundays between 3:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. in the basement of the Islamic mosque or the first floor of the Hishimite Club. Many of the members of the community attend such ceremonies without receiving any invitation. Although there are invitations, it is common to write a note in the Arabic news-

papers about the date of the wedding, the qualities of the bride and groom, and at the end of the note they say that all the Arab-Moslems should regard themselves as invited guests. Chairs are arranged into two groups with an aisle in between. In front there are plenty of flowers ordered in an artistic way and a small table at which the sheik stands. While the Shi'ah sheik officiates for the Shi'ah's in the Hashimite Club, the Sunni sheik performs the ceremony for the Sunni members in the Islamic mosque. Although sheiks put on western clothes, they cover the head with a certain religious symbolic head scarf called the emma. During the ceremony the immediate nuclear families of the couple sit in the front seats. The bride and groom attendants are important aspects of the ceremony. The number of the ushers and bridesmaids ranges from four to sixteen. Sometimes there is a ringbearer or a flower girl. In addition, there should be a bestman and a maid or matron of honor. The couple, their attendants and all the guests put on the special American clothes appropriate for the occasion. The groom is characterized by a white tie.

The bridal processional starts with a special music for the occasion. The order of the processional is, at first the flower girl and ringbearer (if there are any), then the ushers and the bridesmaids walk in couples, which is followed by the bestman and the maid of honor walking together, and then the bride leaning on her father's arm or any patrilinear uncle if the father is dead. In front



at the small table there are the sheik and the groom. As the processional reaches the sheik, the father leads his daughter to the groom, who holds her right hand and stands beside her in front of the sheik. Around them are the bride and groom's attendants.

The sheik usually conducts the "Akd Keran" first in Arabic and then in English. There are two patterns practiced. The first is conducted between the bride's father as her representative for marriage and the groom. Usually each holds the other's right hand, and the two hands are covered with a handkerchief. The sheik asks each to repeat that he accepts the marriage which is based on certain amounts of bride-wealth. The second form is conducted between the groom and the bride in a similar way. The second which recognizes the bride's right to represent herself in marriage is more common than the first form. According to the Sunnis, the sheik announces that the marriage is held on the bases of the principles of Allah and His Prophet Mohammed. The Shi'ah sheik uses the same formula and he adds the principles of Imam Ali and the other Shi'ah Imams as basis for the marriage. The same ritual is repeated in English. The sheik also asks two of the groom's attendants to be the marriage witnesses. The sheiks have the authority to officiate marriages the same as the clergymen of other denominations. Sometimes this religious ritual is held after the solemnization of the marriage by the county judge. In many occasions the sheiks

conduct this solemnization by the previous "Akd Keran" ritual, and they and the two witnesses sign the marriage license. After these signatures, the sheik takes the wedding ring (either gold or diamond) from the bestman and gives it to the groom, who puts it on the bride's left hand. Then the sheik asks the groom to kiss his bride. This signals the end of the ceremony. The guests, including the relatives, rush to congratulate both the groom and bride. The bride is kissed by her parents, siblings and female relatives and friends. There is no bridal recessional. On their way to get in the cars, the guests sprinkle the couple with rice and flowers. After that comes the borma el aroos ritual. This refers to the tours of the groom, the bride and their attendants in the community. These drive decorated cars through the community several times. They blow the horns during these tours. Then they go to the photographer. All the costs are paid either by the groom or his parents.

The "Erse" is conducted on the same day and starts with the wedding dinner at 5:00 p.m., immediately after the groom and bride return from the photographer. Usually the food is Lebanese, Kebbe-dish, lamb-vegetable dish, Homos salad, grape leaves, and rice are the basic items in the menu. The wedding cake is the last item and it is cut by the bride and groom. Sometimes American food is served if the ceremony is conducted in American halls.

After enjoying the festive meal, dishes and tables are

removed and the chairs are rearranged in circular lines to leave an empty space in the center. At the front there is a stage reserved for the Arabic orchestra. They play Arabic instruments such as the lute, tabla, ood and tar. All the music and songs are Arabic. The guests dance the Debka several times. Men and women, whether old or young dance together. Even the children participate in the dance. From time to time an Arab-maiden performs belly dances and while she is dancing, the guests give her their nokoot (contributions) for the groom and bride. Some guests put the dollar bills on the girl's head, shoulder, or feet. Sometimes the money falls down, but the bestman, the person who is responsible for the nokoot takes care of the fallen money. At the end of each dance he takes the contributions from the dancer. Suddenly the music becomes very loud and a receptionist announces that the bride will dance. The guests express their excitement by clapping. During her dance, guests throw money, either on her or on the floor. The groom usually dances with the bride. Both perform belly dances. The bride's mother may dance to collect contributions for the newlyweds. The ceremony ends by the ritual of the bridal bouquet. The bride stands on the stage, and many maidens stand behind her to catch her bridal bouquet when she throws it. It is believed that the first maiden who catches the bouquet is the next bride. The ceremony terminates at midnight when the couple go home to change their clothes in order to begin their honeymoon.

Note that there are no "wedding gifts".

#### 6. Home "Akd Keran" and "Erse"

Before 1945, most of the wedding ceremonies were conducted in the bride's parents' home, and the rest took place in a big hall rented for the occasion. Old home ceremonies were very similar to the previous ceremonies with the exception of the bridal processional. Modern home wedding ceremonies now include bridal processional. These ceremonies are less formal than those conducted in the mosque.

Mosque and home ceremonies take place when both the bride and groom are Arab-Moslems. However, some few cases of marriage between Arab-Moslem men and American girls were conducted according to the previous ceremonies. When the girl is Arab-Moslem and the groom is Christian, none of these ceremonies are conducted unless the Christian man converts to Islam in front of a sheik. Even in this last case, it is rare that such marriages include elaborate ceremonies.

#### 7. Church wedding

It is a very rare case that an Arab-Moslem who marries a Christian girl accepts having a church wedding. This was conducted once by a member of Group B whose American wife had insisted on the church wedding. It is interesting to note that the same couple had also a home Islamic marriage ceremony. Details of American church wedding were presented in the previous chapter.

In all the religious ceremonies, Akd keran the bride-wealth amount is declared. It is important to note that in many cases these amounts do not represent the truth. They are either an exaggeration or an imagination. Sometimes the bride's parents allow the groom to buy the bride's trousseau and furnish their new apartment instead of paying a bride-wealth. The announced amount is usually divided into advent and late bride-wealth that were discussed before. While almost all the members who married Arab-Moslems reported that they paid bride-wealths, most of those who married Americans gave a negative answer. Consequently the general tendency is the decreasing importance of bride-wealth ritual, while 86% of Group A paid bride-wealths (26% in the old land and 40% in the U.S.), only 35% of Group B did (15% in Lebanon and 20% in the U.S.). A relevant point to this subject is the on-going debate in the community (in the summer of 1963) concerning the significance of the bride-wealth system. Group A people, especially the old, see the ritual as an Islamic prerequisite for marriage and as an effective factor for marriage stability. Besides, some parents accept any amount of money to facilitate their daughters' marriages. Group B members see the ritual as obsolete and which has played an important role in discouraging the young men to marry girls from the community, because some parents ask for a high bride-wealth. Marriage stability is protected in a more effective way by American laws, some of Group B reported.

With regard to the costs of the wedding ceremonies, there are some differences. Grooms and their parents pay almost all the costs of mosque and home weddings in the U.S. Traditional Lebanese weddings are sponsored by the groom's extended family. Those who saved money in the U.S. and travelled to Lebanon to get married paid all the wedding costs.

At last it is important to examine the functions of elnokoot, marriage contributions ritual. This is a type of economic aid offered by the community as a whole, in spite of its social and sectarian differences, to the newlyweds. Emphasizing the social solidarity and economic cooperation among the community members are some of its functions. In addition, these contributions help the couple in establishing their new home and financing their honeymoon trip. The ritual also may be regarded as a social pressure that encourages marriages among the community members. This is explained by the fact that these contributions become very high if the couple are Arab-Moslems, lower in the case that the bride is Christian and nothing if the groom is Christian. Although these contributions usually range from \$200 to \$1000, sometimes they reach more than \$2000. There is an interesting circulated story about a family which took advantage of the ritual by encouraging their daughter to remarry several times in order to collect a large amount of contributions. Many community members ridicule this family by saying, "They made business of their

daughter's remarriage!"

### C. Honeymoon

Honeymoon ritual is more common in Group B than in Group A. While 72% of Group A reported that they did not have any honeymoon, including some of those who married in the U.S., 85% of Group B reported that they had such a ritual. It should not be overlooked that those who married before 1945 had no honeymoon whether they married Americans or Arabs and whether they had their marriage in Lebanon or the U.S. Those who married after that date had honeymoons. It is important to note that today the ritual becomes common in the community as well as in the old land. Hotels in cities of Detroit, Chicago, Toledo, Niagara Falls and Beirut (in Lebanon) are the places where these honeymoons take place.

Some of Group A (34%) and very few of Group B (10%) had a sabahia ceremony, that is the dinner and offering of gifts ceremony on the first day after marriage. The ceremony has vanished in the U.S. All the previous cases took place in Lebanon during the twenties and thirties.

While almost all Group B (95%) lived in a private dwelling immediately after the wedding, only some of Group A (48%) did. Thirty per cent of Group A and 5% of Group B lived in their parent's homes and 22% of Group A lived in their in-law's homes. Those are the persons who migrated recently to the U.S. and had to get married there in order to get an immigrant visa. They usually did not have enough

money to establish private dwellings.

### Marriage Forms

#### Monogamy

This is the only form of marriage, on the basis of the number of the parties involved, permitted by American law to all American citizens in spite of their religious rules of marriage. With respect to the community in question, a clear conflict between religion and civil law presents itself. While Islam recognizes polygyny, American laws prohibit it, to the extent that any polygynous marriage is annulled and the offenders may spend several years in jail as a punishment. Group A men feel that they were deprived of an important religious right that emphasizes male superiority. Many of them gave the following comment "American laws are always for women". On the other hand Group A women are very pleased to live under American laws where they have privileges not found in the old land. Something has already been said about the few cases where some members of Group A have practiced polygyny by marrying a second wife in the old land. The American authorities forced them to divorce one of their wives although they justified their behavior by referring to the Islamic regulations in marriage. Group B members, men and women are not conscious of the conflict and it seems that many of them are not aware of the Islamic permission of polygyny.



### Sororate

Another aspect of marriage forms in the community is the existence of the sororate form; 4% of Group A married the sisters of their deceased Arab-Moslem wives. They reported that they spent a lot of money to travel to the old land to marry their wives' sisters in order to guarantee a kind treatment for their children.

### Mixed Marriage

Regarding the ancestry of the wife as a basis of classification, marriages in the community may be divided into endogamous and exogamous marriages. The first term refers here to the marriage which took place between two Arab-Moslems. In exogamous marriage one party is an Arab-Moslem and the other is either American or Arab-Christian. This last type is also called mixed marriage. Among the seventy marriages studied as a sample, fifty-one are endogamous and nineteen are mixed marriages. Mixed marriages are more common among Group B (60%) than among Group A (14%). Mixed marriages involving American wives are more frequent than those involving Arab-Christian wives; among Group A 12% married Americans and 2% married Arab-Christians; 55% of Group B married Americans and 5% married Arab-Christians. This form of marriage is recognized by Islam and religious freedom of the wife should be granted.

Another form of mixed marriage is found in a very limited number, this is between an Arab-Moslem woman and an American Christian man. This type is unrecognized by Islam

and in turn is strongly opposed by the community members, especially Group A. This last form needs some explanation. When an Arab-Moslem girl falls in love with an American to the degree of thinking of marrying him, her parents do their best to convince their daughter to change her mind. Sometimes their attempts take dramatic forms, such as trying to commit suicide or threatening her with boycott forever. Many other members of the community, such as the patrilineage leaders, the religious leaders and women leaders, participate in the attempts to persuade the girl to give up her love. The story becomes a common subject of gossip everywhere in the community. When all the previous attempts fail, they usually convince her to tell the American to convert to Islam in order to marry her. Usually the American man accepts the idea and he goes to one of the sheiks who explains the principles of Islam during several meetings. In the last meeting the sheik conducts the conversion ritual, the Christian man announces in front of two witnesses that there is only one god, that is Allah and that Mohammed is His Prophet. The community sheiks reported that they always advise the girl to be a good Moslem wife, to keep her husband in Islam and to insist on rearing the future children as Moslem. These religious leaders estimated that about 50% of those Christians keep up their new religion and the other 50% reconvert to Christianity and many of them try to impose their religion on the wife and children. This is a common reason for divorce.

The previous two types of mixed marriages are regarded by the members as the hardest problem facing the community. The problem has two interdependent sides. The increasing number of male members who marry American Christians represents the first side. The second side is the increasing number of female members who marry Americans. The increasing pattern of mixed marriage is clearly illustrated by the following findings. While 12% of Group A married Americans, 55% of Group B did. Bearing in mind that most of Group A (94%) from the first generation all of Group B from the second generation, the above percentages represent an increasing tendency toward mixed marriage. It is significant to note that while all Group B sons chose American wives, 75% of Group A sons have American wives. Mixed marriages are more common among male members than among women. While 75% of Group A sons married Americans, only 20% of Group A daughters did. Most of the American husbands (75%) of these daughters converted to Islam. None of Group A women married Americans. The significance of the problem lies in the increasing number of conversions, all of which are related to mixed marriages. Sometimes American wives insist on rearing the children as Christians. In other cases some American husbands force their wives and children to become Christians.

The increasing number of conversions, which is still very small, represents, according to the informants, an overwhelming danger that threatens the future existence of

the whole community. Group A members deal with the problem in authoritarian ways, yelling at and scolding their sons and ostracizing their daughters when they marry Americans. Many of Group A become pessimistic and frequently comment that "Islam is in danger." Group B members, who experience the problem with its two sides, charge Group A parents with being the source of the problem. Group B members see that the problem can be solved if Group A parents "change their old-fashioned mind." Some believe the solution can be reached by encouraging their children to get acquainted and to date teenagers from the community.

The last important point related to mixed marriage is the ancestry of the Americans who are involved. The sample findings and the field notes show that most of these Americans are in fact members of other ethnic groups. In Detroit there are many ethnic groups in addition to the community in question, such as Italian, Mexican, Polish and Greek ethnic groups. The proximity of an Italian ethnic group to the community has played an important role in increasing intermarriages among members from the two communities. Many of the children of the Italian community go with Arab-Moslem children to Salina school.

#### Husband-Wife Relationships

In considering the significant interpersonal relationships involved in marriage, it is particularly important to bear in mind that most of the community represents

nuclear families that live in independent dwellings. Therefore the important relevant relationship is the husband-wife relationship. Many different behavior patterns are included in this relationship, some of which follows.

#### Address and Reference Terms

All Group B husbands address their wives either by first name or by the term "honey". Only 40% of Group A address their wives by first name and none of them use the term "honey". Many of Group A (60%) address their wives either by the Arabic kinship term bint ammi (my father's brother's daughter) or by the term Um X (the mother of X), X indicating the name of the first son. All these members (60%) of Group A married Arab-Moslem wives from the old land. The others who use the wife's name married either Americans or American born Arab-Moslems. Those who use the term "honey" have American wives. A similar differentiation is found in the terms used by the wife in addressing her husband, but the Arabic terms change. Fifty-eight per cent of the wives of Group A address their husbands either by the term "Ibn ammi," my father's brother's son or by the "abo," the father of X.

All Group B husbands refer to their wives by name while none of Group A do. The majority of Group A (58%), all married Arab-Moslems from the old land, refer to their wives by the Arabic kinship term "bint ammi". Some of them (24%) married either to Americans or American born Arab-Moslem, refer to their wives by name. The rest of

Group A who married Arab-Moslem from Lebanon differ in the following way. Some (16%) refer to their wives by the Arabic term "eila," family, and 6% of the same Group use another Arabic term "hormite," my woman. The wives refer to their husband in simialr way to that used by the husband in referring to them.

#### Housekeeping Affairs

Almost all the interviewees reported that they do not perform any housework, which is regarded exclusively the wife's job. Many of Group A feel it is a shame to them to perform any housework. In respect to selecting the daily menu and keeping the house budget some differences are found between the two Groups. While 95% of Group B let their wives select the daily menu and only 5% select it themselves, among Group A 66% let their wives select the menu, 8% choose it by themselves, 18% participate with their wives in selecting the menu, and 4% reported that their parents or their parents-in-law select the menu as they live with them. The previous findings show that Group B wives have more freedom than those of Group A in selecting the daily menu. Housekeeping budget findings represent another difference between the two Groups. While 95% of Group B reported that their wives keep this budget, only 26% of Group A did. This 26% married either Americans or American born Arab-Moslems.

#### Social and Recreational Activities

While most of Group A (88%) accompany their wives in most of social visiting and 12% of the same Group reported

that they do not accompany their wives in social visiting, all Group B husbands visit their relatives, neighbors, and friends with their wives. It was noted that these 12% of Group A represent old immigrants who have Lebanese wives.

Although all the interviewees reported that they dance the "Debka," they differed in their responses concerning Western dances. Most of Group A (80%) never danced with their wives any Western dance, but 90% of Group B performed such dances. All the members who reported the performance of these dances married either Americans or American born Arab-Moslems. A few of Group B (15%) give permission to their American wives to dance with other men. All the rest of the sample (100% of Group A and 85% of Group B) did not accept this pattern of behavior.

Most of the community members (72% of Group A and 100% of Group B) offer presents to their wives on occasions such as Christmas, Islamic feasts and birthdays. Many of Group A (46%) do not receive presents from their wives, but all of Group B do. Wedding anniversary celebrations are only common among Group B. A similar differentiation is found with respect to the wife's or husband's birthday celebration.

#### Reactions to Wives' Working and Driving

The pattern of wives' working is more common among Group B than in Group A. With respect to the feelings involved, a difference exists between the previous two Groups. While all Group B approve their wives' working outside the house, some of Group A members who have working wives (28%)

reported that they hate to see their wives working outside the house. These, however, accept the situation because of economic necessity.

With regard to the use of automobiles, driving wives are more common among Group B (90%) than in Group A (44%). Most of these wives are either Americans or American-born Arab-Moslems. All Group B and some of Group A whose wives do not drive explained this by saying that their wives disliked driving. Some of Group A forbid their wives to drive because "the Moslem woman should not drive a car" or "driving cars is a man's job, women are not strong enough".

#### Differences and Problems

Unfortunately, the interview findings are unreliable with respect to these patterns of behavior. It was found that the community members regarded the husband-wife differences as private and sensitive areas that should not be revealed in such an interview. Although the interviewer introduced his questions, by explaining that problems occasionally emerge between husbands and wives everywhere in the world, almost all of them reported that there are no problems. Participant observation and unstructured interviews played an important role in providing some relevant information. While the community members did not like to speak about their personal problems, they were willing to chatter about others' disputes. Their strong interest in gossip was a great help. Differences and problems between husband and wife are differentiated according to the ancestry, religion, or age of



the couple. These are:

Arab-Moslem spouses

Group A husbands argue and quarrel with their Arab-Moslems wives from time to time. Those who married Arab-Moslems from Group A do not recognize men-women legal equality provided by American laws. At the same time, most of these women are aware of these privileges and they use them at proper times. An example is their refusal to be beaten by their husbands, and many of them called the police and filed for divorce in such cases. On the other hand men do not recognize or believe in such equality and they always refer to Islamic laws of mens' superiority and describe American laws as biased for women.

The problems take another form when the husband is from Group A and the wife from Group B. This type of marriage is common in the community, as many parents ask for their nephews (especially their brothers' sons) to migrate to the U.S. through marrying their daughters who have American citizenship by birth. Differences in language and customs are partially responsible for many domestic problems. American-born wives insist on their rights as equal partners in the family. Some divorces occurred because of this conflict.

In general, there are few quarrels and differences between Group B man and their wives who came from the old land. This may be due to the lack of the previous problem of equality as Group B men believe in husband-wife equality.

A common aspect among Group A members who went to the old land to get married is the considerable difference between the ages of these members and their wives. Most of these husbands are much older than their spouses. The differences of ages range from 10 to 50 years. These men spent a considerable period of time in saving money to afford the trip and to persuade the Lebanese girls by offering a high bride-wealth and a lot of gifts. Marrying an immigrant is the greatest dream of many Lebanese maidens, especially the poor one. Therefore old immigrants do not find any difficulty in marrying a young girl. But several years later many problems arise between the old men and their young wives. Some of these problems are jealousy, misconduct and continuous quarrels. Some of these young wives divorced their old husbands as soon as they obtained citizenship. In the summer of 1963 the community gossip included a story of a young Lebanese wife who lost her mind because of the restrictions of her old husband (from Group A) who was very jealous of her. The wife was in a mental hospital in Detroit.

#### Mixed Marriage

The basic problem in mixed marriage is religion. Although most of the American and Arab-Christian parties accept, orally, the Islamic principle that the children should be Moslems, many of them change their minds later. The problem of rearing the children either as Moslems or as Christians might be regarded as the source of most of the

spouses' arguments and quarrels, and in turn the source of many cases of divorce. Americans who insisted on rearing their children as Christians see that "something is better than nothing." They mean that Islam in the community is weak and may be dead, for that reason they intend to rear their children as Christians. Very few of the Arab-Moslem husbands accept the previous justification; most of them fight with their Christian wives to prevent them from converting the children to Christianity. Many stories of this conflict are heard everywhere in the community. For example, when an Arab-Moslem husband caught his American wife accompanying their children to the Church, he became mad and beat the wife, who in turn filed for divorce. Another story is that of an Arab-Moslem husband becoming very angry when he noticed his son wearing a "chain with a cross" and he pulled it off, hurting the boy's neck.

In addition to religious differences, there are some other sources of problems within mixed marriages. Some of these problems are:

1. Food habits

Almost all the community members like Lebanese food and prefer it to American cooking. Although some American wives have learned how to cook the Lebanese favorite dishes, Kebbe, Mahshi, Homas, etc., many of them prefer American dishes. The difference in food habits has been a source of many arguments and quarrels. Some husbands of Group B who married Americans reported that they eat their dinners in

Arabic restarurants, since their wives do not cook Lebanese food.

## 2. Language differences

While all Group A parents insisted on teaching their children Arabic, some American wives oppose these attempts. This has resulted in conflicts between some American wives and their husbands from Group A. Moreover, some American wives became embarrassed when their husbands talked Arabic with his relatives, and they could not participate in the talks.

## 3. Wife's freedom

Generally Arab-Moslems are more strict with their wives than American husbands. They consider the gossip and comments of the conservative members in the community. Some Americans wives do not accept conservative restrictions on their clothes, behavior in public, cosmetics and movement. Some such differences resulted in divorce.

It should be emphasized that these problems are not existent in every mixed family. There are many cases of successful mixed marriages. The emphasis on the disintegrative side of the husband-wife relationships is presented as a possible way to terminate the marriage. That is the subject of the next section.

## The Termination of Marriage

The marriages presented before end in one of the three following ways:

### Annulment

The community members are subjected to Michigan laws with respect to annulment. These were mentioned before.

### Divorce

Although there is no direct data about divorce, some questions give indications that divorce is not common in the community. Its rate is lower than the American average. While 78% of Group A and 85% of Group B married once, 18% of Group A and 15% of Group B married twice, and 4% of Group A married three times.

With respect to the problems leading to divorce, all the problems discussed before would lead to divorce. The legal grounds and procedures of divorce are defined by Michigan Law, they were presented in Chapter Five. The legal right of wives to divorce their husbands under certain conditions bothers Group A husbands, who believe that women should not have such a right. On the contrary Group B husbands are convinced of the rightness of the law.

Many community members (especially in Group A) conduct an Islamic divorce after receiving the divorce certificate. This includes a simple religious ritual conducted by the sheik in which the man announces his desire to divorce the wife and to pay her late bride-wealth. The sheiks estimated that one divorce occurs in every six or seven marriages. They reported that they do their best to reconcile the disputing spouses and that sometimes their attempts succeed. According to them, marriages among Arab-Moslems of the

second generation are more stable than other marriages.

### Death

Legal procedures are regulated by Michigan law. Some widows from the old country return to Lebanon if they do not have children and if their children are young. Few cases of sororate are found in the community. Kinship relationships among the patrilineage of the survived spouses play an important role in helping these spouses in overcoming the death crisis.

### Summary

In the fourth and fifth chapters, the focus of study centered on the marriage patterns determined in respect to the two involved cultures as prior to the culture contact. In this chapter these patterns are defined as in contact.

The same general categories of the patterns were followed in the previous three chapters in order to apply an inclusive method of comparison. Data provided in this chapter were mainly collected through structured interviewing, a technique that was not applied in the other two sections. Quantitative data provided evidence of differences between the patterns of behavior of Groups A and B.

While the immigrants are mainly oriented toward the Lebanese traditional cultures, their descendants follow many patterns of the American culture. The mechanisms of involvement in this coexistence of two different cultures are determined in the following two chapters.

In addition to this coexistence, this chapter presents many aspects of culture conflicts that have many clear features on the social level. While Group A members dream of their past superiority to women in the old land, Group B members are convinced of the rightousness of women-men equality. The immigrants do what they could to prevent their daughters from dating. Their descendants recognize that this pattern is the only way to marriage in America, and they should modify both their religion and the American pattern.

A feeling of ethnicity is found to be much stronger among Group A than among the other group. While the first group view the increasing cases of mixed marriage as a fatal threat to their in-group existence, Group B members look at it as a problem that needs a solution, and they regard the orthodox immigrants as responsible for all their own problems.

## CHAPTER VII

### ACCULTURATION ANALYSIS

Although there are several definitions of acculturation, the following definition is the most useful for these purposes: "Acculturation is a type of culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. A cultural system is composed of cultural units that have their own mutually adjusted and interdependent parts. An autonomous cultural system does not need to be maintained by a complementary, reciprocal, subordinate, or other indispensable connection with a second system" (Barnett, Broom, Siegel, Vogt, and Watson 1956: 974).

The Dearborn Arab-Moslem community has involved two cultural systems, the Islamic Lebanese Village subculture, and the American urban subculture. These two cultural systems were completely autonomous prior to the migration of some of the first subculture carriers to the second subculture home. This migration has resulted in a conjunction of the two cultural systems and, in turn, an acculturation process. How these immigrants had lived in the old land was presented in the second and fourth chapters. The limitation of space prevented any detailed descriptive



account of the host culture that would be meaningful with respect to the immigrants' new way of life. However, a rough list of some general aspects of the American culture was mentioned in this chapter, and a detailed account of the American middle class marriage patterns were presented in the fifth chapter. The way of life of these immigrants and their descendants as practiced in the summer of 1963 was described in the third and sixth chapters. These previous chapters have provided us with the necessary materials in order to analyze the process of acculturation. This analysis, the subject of this chapter, is limited to the cultural level that mainly concerns with the patterns of overt and learned behavior.

The acculturation analysis is divided into three subjects; general aspects of the culture contact, situations of acculturation, and the processes of acculturation. These are discussed as follows:

#### General Aspects of the Culture Contact

The culture contact in question has resulted from the migration of some Arab-Moslems, the recipient-culture carriers, to the United States, home of the donor-culture. This culture contact is characterized by the following:

A. With respect to the size of the parties of the contact, the emigrant group is one of the smallest ethnic groups in the United States. These immigrants represent only a small part of the Middle East population. The host culture is represented by a much larger population, the

United States population. The difference in the sizes of the carriers of the two cultures in contact is very large (compare 180 million, including American ethnic groups, with 4,000).

B. Another aspect of the contact is the fact that the interpersonal relationships involved have been, generally speaking, friendly.

Some aspects of hostility were reported by the old emigrants who faced religious discrimination in employment in the past. This hostility has completely vanished with the increased number of literate and educated descendants in the community. Moreover, the decline of self-inferiority feelings has played a partial role in ending this hostility. The fact that almost all the members are white Caucasians may attribute to the absence of any racial discrimination in the culture content. None of the very few members who have brown complexions reported racial discrimination. It seems that the absence of any Indian or Negroid physical features among the brown complexioned members may explain the lack of such discrimination. Thus we can say that the culture contact has become a friendly one.

C. In this case of culture contact, the donor-culture carriers are numerically, politically, and economically much more dominant than the recipient-culture carriers.

D. This aspect deals with the nature of the cultures in contact. The characteristics of the indigenous culture

were previously mentioned in chapter two. A full presentation of American culture is so wide and complex that a whole study might not be enough to cover it in full. Because of space limitation, only a brief presentation of some general aspects of the American culture are stated below. Bearing in mind that the community is located in an industrial city, and that most of the immigrants have worked in factories, the following presentation is mainly concerned with a rough outline of the urban-industrial subculture.

1. In general, the American economic system belongs to modern capitalism. The aim of American modern economic institutions is to produce ever-finer goods in ever-increasing quantities at ever-lower prices, under a system which insures the freedom and welfare of all members of the society. This conception is the *raison d'etre* (Graham 1957: 232). Mass production and employment, a high degree of specialization, automation, and applying scientific methods are the basic characteristics of modern American industry. Satisfactory conditions of work are maintained by cooperation between management and labor.

2. Americans furnish their permanent, closed dwellings with beds, tables, chairs, rugs, curtains, clocks, and kitchenware. Almost every American family has at least a refrigerator, a range, a vacuum cleaner, a washing machine, a television, and a car. Americans are known as "push-button" people because of their strong dependence on machines in their daily life.

3. The American food features bacon and eggs, cow's milk, steaks, mashed potatoes, vegetables, bread, pies and ice cream. Popular as snacks are hamburgers, hot dogs, Coca-Cola, and candy bars (Mason 1955:1269).

4. Nuclear family is the most important kin group. The system of residence is neolocal. Descent is bilateral, the father's side is slightly favored in that his wife and children take his surname as their own. Marriage, husband-wife relationships, and other intra-family relationships are administered by local governmental units through special laws.

As special institutions have developed to cater to needs for education, religion, recreation and economic activity, the family, which formerly satisfied them, has been displaced (Graham 1957:209). Many other aspects of the American family were presented in chapter five.

5. Social relationships outside the family have become casual and conventionalized. Americans of Caucasian ancestry are differentiated in an open hierarchy of social classes that are established on differences in occupation, income, education, and social behavior. Americans of non-Caucasian ancestry, Negroes, Indians, and Orientals, constitute most of the minority groups in the U.S. against which discrimination is applied by some Caucasian Americans in employment, marriage, and social participation (Mason 1955:1270-71).

6. The clock is a major technique of organizing

the social interaction in the American culture. Punctuality tends to be strictly observed by Americans.

7. Detailed specified civil laws regulate almost all the impersonal and interpersonal relationships of Americans.

8. Protestantism is the prevalent religion. Catholicism and Judaism are in subordinate positions, numerically. The basic Protestant tenet of state-church separation has allowed the development of numerous Protestant denominations and a climate which has been hospitable enough to minimize religious prejudice (Graham 1957:405).

Christian principles are taught by professional clergy every Sunday in organized church services. In addition, there is the Sunday school class in which youngsters and adults receive religious indoctrination. During the week, church members arrange opportunities for social and recreational activities (Mason 1955:1272). Americans are interested in religion mainly with respect to the problems of the unknown, such as death and the hereafter.

9. American government is a federal system that reserves certain sovereign rights to the states and delegates. The central government was carefully organized so that each of the three major branches of government, executive, legislative, and judicial, should have checks on the powers of the others. The Congress itself was split into a bicameral structure (the House and the Senate) in part to prevent the gathering of too much power into one

group (Graham 1957:348). Equality of opportunity is the democratic principle upon which the government, a strictly secular institution, was founded. Public officials are elected to legislative and executive posts. Honest, educated, practical, and civic-minded persons are sought for public services (Mason 1955:1273).

10. The two American major parties appear to appeal to voters of different social characteristics. The Democratic party contains larger proportions of the lower socio-economic groups, such as Negroes and Jews. The Republican party includes higher economic status; persons who are well-educated, and those of north-western European derivation (Graham 1957:376).

11. American culture, with the great contribution of its immigrants from a large variety of other countries, has borrowed a great deal of elements from other cultures (Graham 1957:38).

12. Education is compulsory for the two sexes between the ages of six and sixteen years. In the school the child's regular attendance is required in these ten years. In school the pupil is introduced to conformity of behavior and the value of individual enterprise and competition. There is almost complete isolation between religion and school (Mason 1955:1271).

13. Some of the American positive values are freedom, equality, and individualism (Graham 1957:147). In addition, Americans are strongly motivated to achieve

personal success, which is measured mainly by the income they earn. A conflict is found between some American ideals--such as between aggressive competitiveness on one hand, and middleclass virtues of honesty, charity, brotherhood, chivalry, and group loyalty on the other hand. Science, punctuality, and education are strongly admired by Americans (Mason 1955:1955).

Comparing these general characteristics of American culture with the indigenous culture of the community in question emphasizes basic differences between the two cultures in contact. Borrowing Redfield terms, we can generally say that while the recipient-subculture represents the peasant way of life that stresses the moral order more than the technical one, the donor-subculture belongs to Western industrial culture that emphasizes the technical order over the moral one (Redfield 1959:39). In addition, clear differences in religion, language, residence and descent systems, kinships systems, technology, values, etc. are easily observed. The only basic similarity between the cultures in contact is their civilized aspect. Thus we can conclude that the two parties of acculturation are very different.

### Situations of Acculturation

#### Forced Situations

Some culture elements of the donor culture are forced upon the community members. Some examples are presented as follows:

The most clear example of this situation is legal compulsory regulations. The community members have to respect Michigan laws. For example, the members have to send their children to American schools for at least ten years, from the ages of six to sixteen years. The children have to speak English in the schools. The members who intend to get married have to apply for a marriage license, which should be solemnized by either the authorized magistrate or the sheik. The members should not marry more than one wife in spite of their Islamic rules, which recognize polygyny. The members who work in American institutions should speak English during work. Members are prohibited by law from beating their wives, and from representing their daughters in marriage contracts.

A second forced situation is presented by social pressure. The community members, for instance, deserted their native villages' clothes and put on American clothes. Although American laws do not impose certain dress on the citizens, the widespread conformity in clothes, and the intense social pressure involved, may contribute to the immediate acculturation in this complex.

The lack of the existence of some Lebanese cultural items have forced the members to substitute them with American equivalents, such as the case of furniture and housing. Moreover, many pioneers reported that they were



forced to marry Americans because of the absence of enough Arab-Moslem women in the community.

In the latter case, the nonavailability of the native culture elements may be regarded as an imposing force in the process of acculturation.

### Voluntary Situations

Situations in which elements of the donor culture have been received voluntarily by the community members are found in many patterns of behavior as presented in the following:

1. Religious activities represent some of these situations. The big change in the functions of the mosque, illustrated by the extension of its functions to include their wedding, dinner and entertaining parties, may be regarded as an unconscious attempt to borrow some functions of the American church. In the old land none of these functions are related to the mosque, which is exclusively confined to religious activities of prayer and teaching.

2. The Sunday School institution as conducted by the members in the mosques.

3. The use of English among the members who

know Arabic in their social meetings.

4. The increasing number of intermarriages of the descendants, especially the males, in spite of the existence of many legitimate candidates from the community, is another instance of voluntary acculturation.

5. The increasing interests in voluntary associations as represented by the considerable number of such associations, presents a type of association which was not found in the indigenous subculture.

6. The community members, especially Group B, have begun to be so interested in American politics that some of them won offices in the major American parties.

7. The youth are interested in American music and dances.

8. The increasing significance of dating and love as a basis for marriage is another example.

#### Acculturation Processes

This section aims at defining the factors that influence the culture contact and the mechanisms through which the processes of acculturation function. These are discussed as follows:

#### The Order of Selection of Patterns

The following analysis arranges the selected cultural elements on the basis of time. Which elements

were selected first and which came later is our interest. Bearing in mind that the pioneers began to come to the U.S. at the beginning of the twentieth century and then began to constitute an identified group in the twenties, our order begins with 1920. From 1920 to 1945, the community was characterized by the dominance of Group A, as the members of Group B were either children or youngsters. In this period a rough order of the selection in question is represented in the following:

1. Putting on American clothes, living in American houses, and using American furniture.
2. Learning to speak some American sentences.
3. Working as common laborers (unskilled) in American factories.
4. Changing their Arabic names as a reaction to religious discrimination in employment.
5. Marrying American wives (very few cases) according to American laws.
6. Voluntary associations based on sectarian differences.

The second period, from 1945 to 1963, was characterized by the decline of Group A authority and the existence of Group B as a liberal movement in the community. Some of Group B grew up, got married, and occupied advanced positions. Although many of them left the community

because of labor demands, the small number of the adults who stayed in the community began to move up to leadership positions. During this period many cultural elements were selected from the donor culture. The big differences found in the patterns of behavior of Groups B and A indicates that the following cultural patterns have been mainly selected by Group B members. These patterns are:

1. Attending American schools.
2. Conducting lavish funerals with expensive caskets.
3. Conducting wedding and recreational parties in the mosques.
4. Dating between males from the community and American girls.
5. Dating between males and females from the community.
6. Love as a way to marriage.
7. Marrying American women (many cases).
8. Interest in American music, songs, and dances.
9. Interest in American politics.
10. A limited interest in American food.
11. Civil weddings and divorces without religious ceremonies.
12. Accepting the principle of husband-wife

equality.

- 13. Weakness in the degree of religiosity.
- 14. Dating between girls from the community and American boys.
- 15. Marrying from the other sect.
- 16. Marrying American men who converted to Islam.
- 17. Marrying American Christian men who did not convert to Islam.
- 18. Voluntary associations including the two sects.

The previous order shows that the elements enforced by law, social pressure, unavailability, and utility were selected first and those based on voluntary selection came later. Moreover, it is noted that the elements prohibited by Islam, such as performing parties in mosques and inter-marriage between Moslem girls and Christian men, were selected very recently. Group B has played an important role in selecting the recent elements. Sectarian differences were strongly maintained in marriage.

#### Factors of Accelerating Acculturation

These factors are divided into two types:

##### A. Techniques belonging to the donor culture.

Some of these were previously mentioned, such as law, social pressure, and compulsory American education. In addition, the following factors were effective:

1. Mass production. This production has reduced the prices of articles and at the same time has standardized most of them. This has helped in persuading the immigrants to buy American articles. Most of them have cars, refrigerators, washing machines, televisions, and vacuum cleaners.

2. Naturalization. Obtaining the American citizenship gives the immigrant social prestige both in the community and in the old land. The formal educational requirements forced some immigrants to attend night schools in order to learn the information necessary to pass the examination. It is interesting to note that the questions asked on such examinations are basic subjects of gossip in the community. Those who passed the exam gave lessons to the new applicants. American television and newspapers are very effective in introducing the American culture to the community members.

3. Intermarriages. Marrying American spouses provides close culture contacts, which accelerate the process of selecting elements from the donor-culture.

4. Working with Americans. To earn a living the immigrants have to work in American companies as common workers. In them they develop social relationships with Americans.

5. Economic advantages. Mastering English

language, having education, and conforming with American values are important steps to be followed in order to obtain advanced positions, and in turn, to earn more money.

6. Social advantages. Among Group B, economic success and college education are the way to social prestige and leadership. Many of Group B study at night schools to improve their social standing. All these increase the possibilities of contacting with Americans.

7. Selecting Some Cultural Elements From the Recipient Culture. Two Arab culture elements are accepted and practiced by some Americans. These are the Lebanese food and the Arab music, dances, and song. The establishment of Arab restaurants and night clubs in Detroit has played an important role in increasing friendly interpersonal relationships between the Americans and the community members.

B. Techniques Belonging to the Recipient Culture and Its Members.

1. Elements of the recipient-culture. These have promoted the acceleration of acculturation. The Islamic principle of permitting Moslem men to marry Christian women is partially responsible for increasing intermarriages. The indigenous culture stresses money and wealth as indicators of social prestige. To increase their income, many members followed the American ways of education and conformity.

2. Moving out. Many of the descendants who have moved out of the area of concentration and married Americans, have cut off all their relationships with the community. These do not identify themselves with the Middle East. They live as full Americans in all their patterns of behavior. They identify themselves only as Americans. This case may be regarded as full assimilation, which is the maximum phase of acculturation.

#### Factors of Delaying Acculturation

In addition to acculturating factors, there have been others which have worked in the reverse direction, that is restraining the process of acculturation. These factors are classified into the following two groups:

##### A. Techniques Belonging to the Donor-Culture.

1. Religious Discrimination. In the twenties and thirties, the pioneers of the community had suffered religious discrimination from some Americans who misunderstood the principles of Islam. This had helped in the concentration of the community members and in developing the self-inferiority feeling. Their concentration and such inferior feelings hindered the possible increase of interpersonal contacts between the two cultural groups.

2. Employment Discrimination. While Ford plants have accepted any laborer, in spite of his faith, color, or origin, some other companies refused to employ



the Arab-Moslem pioneers. This discrimination was another factor that persuaded the emigrants to concentrate in a ghetto-like community in the shadow of the Ford Rouge plant. This concentration, in turn, hampered the process of acculturation.

3. Prejudice in Marriage. The tendency toward mixed marriage has become very strong among the descendants. Most American spouses involved in such marriages belong to other American ethnic groups, especially the Italian, Polish, and Mexican groups in Detroit. The community members reported that the White Americans who do not belong to ethnic groups (those who originally came from North Europe) usually refuse to marry them. The writer is under the impression that this refusal might hinder the acceleration of acculturation. Marrying into other ethnic groups might introduce elements of these cultures to the community. These elements might be different from the American culture.

B. Techniques Belonging to the Recipient-Culture.

1. Establishing a Ghetto-Like Community. The concentration of the majority of the members at the north end of Dearborn in a ghetto-like community has helped maintain many of the old cultural elements, and, at the same time, increase their in-group social interaction on the account of the absence of social interaction with Americans.

## 2. Strong Relationships with the Old Land.

Group A members continue their social relationships with their relatives and friends in the old land. Many of them invest their savings there by buying land or conducting business. Many of them visit the old land several times, either to get married, to take care of the business, to die there, or to see their parents. Another aspect of these relationships lies in the widespread pattern of buying expensive short-wave radios that provide them with Arabic broadcasts. In addition, they have attempted to teach Arabic language to their children in order to retain their native language.

3. The Continuous Flow of Newcomers. The strong solidarity between Group A members and their patrilineages in the old land has played an effective role in persuading the young kinsmen to migrate to the richest country in the world where they will find shelter. These newcomers who are aware of the recent restriction on migration obtain the American citizenship by marrying American-born relatives. This flow emphasizes the existence and continuity of the indigenous culture elements in the community.

4. Conflict in Intercultural Items. The existence of conflict in some elements of the two cultures in question has been an important factor in delaying acculturation.

American elements such as dating, spouse self-selection, women-men equality, individuality, nuclear family independence, short greeting, impersonal transaction, extended family disintegration, weak kinship ties, and monogamy as the only form of marriage, are denied by the old culture. These elements were the latest to be practiced by Group A members and the source of the social distance and conflict between Groups A and B.

5. Revitalization Movements.<sup>1</sup> Wallace (1948: 265) defined these movements as deliberate and organized attempts by some members of the community to construct a more satisfying culture. Some expressions of these movements can be discerned in the Dearborn community.

a) Period of Increased Individual Stress.

This characterized the life of the pioneers of the community in the U.S.A. These pioneers suffered religious and employment discriminations as mentioned before. Moreover, some members suffered deep frustration during the Korean War in the fifties, as mentioned in the third chapter.

b) The Period of Cultural Distortion. This began in the fifties with the increasing number of female members who married American Christians in spite of the

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<sup>1</sup>The psychological aspects of these movements are beyond the study.

strong opposition of Islam. The second factor is the increasing number, which is still very small, of members who converted to Christianity. These two patterns of behavior are regarded as a complete challenge to their religion and even to the existence of the whole community. Thus the viability of the whole subculture was endangered.

c) The Period of Revitalization. This began in the fifties as a result of the previous stage. Some members of the community initiated new patterns of behavior in order to save the community. These new patterns may be differentiated into two types:

A secular movement initiated by some members of Group A who identified themselves with Arabic Nationalism as originated in the Middle East by President Nasser of the United Arab Republic. Nasser's victories during the Suez Canal crisis in 1956 have filled these admirers with pride, self-respect, and security. Their comments reflect something of "nativistic" approach in this movement. Many of Group A sent letters to Nasser asking him to permit them to migrate to Egypt where, according to them, they really belong. This movement is clearly found among Group A.

A religious movement is illustrated by the establishment of the Islamic center. The first religious association that combines the two sects. Its leaders plan to adjust the Islamic religion to the American culture in order to protect the survival of the community. They intend

to bring the youth together in order to stop, or at least to decrease, the increasing number of mixed marriages that are responsible for conversion cases. This movement has been met with great enthusiasm by Groups A and B. This is illustrated by the large amounts of contributions offered by the community members, and by the great haste in building a modern religious center to fulfill their social and religious goals. Many of the members regard this Center as the last refuge.

These two movements were found in progress during the field work in the summer of 1963 and during the write-up in 1964. It seems that the other sequential stages, especially of the religious movement, such as inventing new ways to adapt Islam to the American culture, cultural transformation, and routinization, will take place in the next ten years. These two movements, which aim at maintaining the ethnic group as an organized in-group, may be considered as delaying factors in acculturation, or specifically, in assimilation.

#### D. Identification of Differential Patterns in Acculturation.

This last section of acculturation analysis deals with the interplay of the two cultures in contact. Comparing the cultural patterns of the cultures in contact with the way of life of the community members reveals that these members manifest two types of cultural elements,

"standard" and "modified" patterns. Standard patterns refer to either the indigenous cultural patterns or the American ones that do not involve considerable change in comparison with those followed by the native carriers. The fact that cultural patterns always in a process of change reflects the importance of the time factor in such an analysis. The indigenous-culture standard elements were practiced during the twenties and thirties by the immigrants in the old land. Many of these elements are still found in the mountainous villages in Lebanon.

The American culture standard elements have been practiced for the last thirty years in the United States. The descriptive material of the community were collected in the summer of 1963. These dates should be taken into account in acculturation analysis.

Modified cultural patterns refer to the indigenous and American cultural elements that became different from their original forms. This change was originated by the influence of the second other culture in contact. The changes in cultural elements that stem from the autonomous change of the patterns are beyond the study. The following analysis is confined to acculturative changes in culture elements. Thus we have now four types of cultural patterns. These are:

Arab-Moslem "standard" patterns. These are regarded as "survivals" or "unacculturated" elements.

Arab-Moslem "modified" patterns.

American "modified" patterns. These and the other modified patterns are considered as acculturated patterns.

American "standard" patterns. These are referred to as assimilated elements. In order to define the mechanism of acculturation the cultural patterns of the community were analyzed in the following on the basis of the above four types.

1. Habitat, technology, and economics

Settlement pattern. Although the immigrants live in an American city, they established two mosques in a central spot in their area of concentration. This reflects some influence of the settlement pattern of the Lebanese village. Therefore this pattern is rated as an American "modified."

Occupations and subsistence. Most of the emigrants and their descendents have worked as unskilled and skilled industrial workers, clerks, and professionals. These occupations represent American "standard" patterns.

Houses, furniture and clothes. In general, the community members live in American-style houses, own American furniture and put on American clothes. Thus these are mainly American "standard" elements.

Food Habits. The field notes indicate that all the community members prefer to eat Lebanese food. The existence of the Eastern market has played a role in facilitating their access to their native food and native ways of cooking.

Few of the descendents eat American food. Therefore there are two forms of food habits, indigenous "standard" patterns and American "standard" elements.

## 2. Conduct and Social Relationships

The patrilineage. Although the pattern is retained in the community, it is modified in a form of a bilateral group. This change is considered as an influence of the American bilateral kinship system. Consequently this pattern is classified as an old culture "modified" element.

Extended family. This has lost all its original functional significance in social structure. Very few extended families are found in the community. This pattern is rated as indigenous culture "modified" element.

Polygynous family. The complete disappearance of the polygynous family in the community represents the enforcement of American law. This extinction is regarded as an American "standard" pattern.

Nuclear family. The prevalence and the new functions acquired by the nuclear family in the new land mainly belong to the host culture. Some aspects of patriarchal authority, however, are found among Group A fathers and husbands. Therefore we can say that there are two forms of nuclear families, old culture modified elements and American culture "standard" complexes.

Marriage patterns. These represent the point of focus of the study, therefore they are examined in more detail.



The comparison of chapters four, five and six show that these patterns involve patterns of behavior that may be identified with the previously mentioned typology as follows:

1) Ancestry of spouses. While most of Group A married Arab-Moslems, most Group B married American Christians. Religious intermarriage was not found in the old land, but has been found, although in small numbers, in the donor culture. Thus these forms may be rated as Arabic culture "standard" elements and American culture "standard" patterns.

2) Spouse- selection techniques. These involve family arrangements, matchmaking and self-selection based on love and dating. Love technique as applied in the old land has been modified in the new land by the incorporation of dating as a way of love. Therefore we can see three different forms existing together, original "exact" and "modified" patterns and American "standard" elements.

3) Preferable qualities for a wife. The indigenous stress on cousin marriage right has disappeared in the new land. The qualities of being Moslem or Arab-Moslem, beauty, descending from a good family, and politeness are original standard or modified patterns. These are more emphasized by Group A than by Group B. In addition, some American highly valued qualities are found especially among Group B members. These are education, attractiveness,

beauty<sup>1</sup>, and wealth. The responses presented as reasons for selecting the best age of marriage for girls reflect the same coexistence of the two cultures. Therefore these patterns are considered as indigenous culture "standard" and "modified" patterns and American culture "standard" elements.

4) Preferable qualities for a husband. The quality of being Moslem that was highly valued in the old culture retained its significance in the new land. The old emphasis on cousin marriage has declined. Some American preferable qualities are found among Group B such as youth, education, physical appearance and approving the principle of women-men equality. Reasons for selecting the best age of marriage for boys represent similar influences from the two cultures in contact. Thus these patterns of behavior are rated in the same way as the preferable qualities for a wife.

5) Circumstances of first meeting. Within the patterns of behavior invoked we find a combination of influences from the two cultures. Friendship relationships and matchmaking are responsible for first meetings between some members, especially those from Group A, and their wives. These patterns included some new patterns such as

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<sup>1</sup>This quality is highly valued by the two cultures in contact.

the trips from the new land to Lebanon in order to get married to a relative or native. Most Group B members met their wives in American schools, dancing parties, and restaurants. Consequently these patterns are considered as indigenous "standard" and "modified" patterns and American "standard" elements.

6) Engagement: Cultural elements classified under this subject also presented some acculturative mechanisms that combine patterns from the two cultures in contact. Most of Group A members followed original patterns such as proposals made by the parents, conducting Arab style engagement parties and giving golden engagement presents. At the same time American patterns are found, such as diamond rings, quiet engagement parties and bridal showers. Thus the previously mentioned three types are also found here.

7) Wedding. Although the religious ritual, akd Keran is found in many weddings, it has involved basic changes. The most important changes are:

a) While in the old land it is strictly observed in every marriage and is sanctioned by law, many marriages of the community members took place without it. American marriage laws are separated from religion.

b) In the old land Islam emphasizes that marriage contracts should include the bride's representative for marriage, as women are not permitted to represent themselves

in such contracts. In the community many contracts were performed by the sheiks without bride's representative, and the bride represented herself. This modification is regarded as an impact of women-men equality principle that belongs to the new culture.

c) Conducting weddings in Dearborn mosques represents an important change in the functions of mosques.

Within the wedding ceremonies we find some American rituals such as American clothes, bridal processional including the bride and groom attendants, taking pictures for the occasion, kissing the bride, the wedding cake, and throwing the bridal bouquet ritual. The best man and maid of honor system and sprinkling the couple with rice were found in the old culture but in different forms. Elnokoat system, Arabic music, songs and dances, and conducting the wedding breakfast that consists of Lebanese food in the evening belong to the old culture.

Although the honeymoon ritual is exclusively related to American culture, some modification has taken place such as the stress on consummation of marriage the first night and on the bride's chastity. In general we can say that wedding patterns represent all the four forms of the typology.

8) Marriage forms. The exclusive existence of monogamy, the performance of civil marriages, the disappearance of polygynous marriages and the spread of mixed

marriages represent American culture patterns. Although monogamy is found in the two cultures in contact, it is not an exclusive form in the receptor culture. The sororate system that belongs to the old culture, is found in limited prevalence in the community. Consequently marriage forms are rated as old culture "standard" and modified elements and American "standard" patterns.

9) Husband-wife relationships. Some aspects of these relationships belong to the indigenous culture such as terms of address and referring to the spouse and attempts to exercise husband's superiority in family affairs. This superiority, however, is modified and weakened by the equality principle provided by the American laws. American patterns of behavior such as exchanging gifts on birthdays and Christmas are conducted by many members. Problems related to mixed marriages never occurred in the old land. Patterns involved in these relationships represent the previously mentioned three types.

10) Termination of marriage. Although the three possible ways are found in both cultures in contact, some of their aspects vary greatly. In the old land annulment was unknown in practice, divorce was an exclusive right for men, and religious laws administered death consequences. In the new land the members have followed Michigan laws with respect to these three ways of terminating marriage. These civil laws are completely different from their

original religious regulations. However, some members conducted divorce Islamic rituals, after they had obtained divorce through American judges. The impact of the host culture is strong with regard to the termination of marriage. Therefore it is inferred that Dearborn Arab-Moslems follow American culture "standard" and "modified" elements.

Kinship terms. Descriptive material indicates the coexistence of three types of kinship terms in the community. These are Arab-culture "standard" and "modified" (mainly practiced by Group A) and American culture "modified" patterns (especially among Group B).

Feasts. American and Islamic feasts are celebrated in the community. Islamic celebrations became very different from those in the old land. In general we can say that the members conduct indigenous culture "modified" elements and American culture "standard" patterns with regard to feasts.

Greeting, visiting and hospitality. Data show the coexistence of American and Arabic "exact" patterns. Some indigenous "standard" patterns involve some changes, such as the decline of hospitality.

Coffee-houses social functions. These still retain the form of the indigenous culture. Therefore they are regarded as old culture "standard" forms.

Political activities. The previously mentioned differences between Groups A and B with respect to

politics indicate that there are three types of patterns, American culture "standard" and "modified" elements and arabic "modified" patterns.

Color discrimination. Their prejudice against Negroes, especially in housing, represents their identification with the inhabitants of Dearborn city. Consequently the pattern is rated as an American "standard" element.

Voluntary associations. This form of social structure was not found in the indigenous culture, and at the same time it is a common characteristic of American communities. This pattern is considered as American culture "standard" form.

Leadership. The existence of religious leadership in the community refers that they retain an indigenous pattern. The lack of authority of these leaders represents a considerable change. The pattern of women leadership mainly belongs to the new culture. The emerging pattern of young political and social leaders who are distinguished by high education and successful careers represents a clear impact of the American culture. Thus these patterns are regarded as American "standard" and Arabic "modified" patterns.

### 3. Symbolic Behavior

Language. Three forms of language coexist in the community, correct Arabic and English and a combination of the two languages. These patterns may represent the four items of

the typology.

Education. Islamic education conducted in the mosques is considered as Arabic "modified" pattern. Secular education is provided by American schools is rated as American "standard" element.

Religion. This includes the following patterns:

- a) Degree of religiosity: The weakness of this degree in comparison with that in the old land is accounted for by the impact of the secular stress in the American culture. This pattern is regarded as Arabic "modified" element.
- b) The mosque: Conducting wedding and entertaining parties in the mosque is regarded as a big change. The change is explained as a conformity with the American pattern of conducting weddings in churches. Therefore the patterns of behavior related to the mosque are rated as Arabic "modified" elements.
- c) Conversion to Christianity: This pattern never occurred in the indigenous culture. Religious and individual freedom provided by the American culture seems to be responsible for the cases of conversions that occurred in the community. This limited pattern is rated as American "standard" element.
- d) Attempts to unify the two sects: These attempts were similar to revitalization movements. Although this pattern is originated as a reaction to certain



threats related to American culture, the content and functions of the pattern belong to the community itself. Therefore this pattern does not fit in our typology, and it is regarded as an innovation.

e) Magic: A few members practice "el-ors" and "Koraneic charms" rituals. These are rated as indigenous "standard" elements.

Art. Most of the members prefer Arabic music, songs and dances. Some youths began to be attracted by the American music and dances and at the same time began to modify Arabic dancing in order to adjust it to American music. They are interested in Arabic poetry and they know nothing about English ones. These patterns are considered as Arabic "standard" and modified elements and American "standard" patterns.

Values. Comparison of comparative data reveals that the community highly values Arabic and American ideals. Group A are more interested than Group B in Arabic values and vice versa. These values are rated the same way as the above art patterns.

#### 4. The Life Cycle

Birth techniques and rituals. Although most of these are American patterns, some limited indigenous elements such as nursing and "leffa" rituals are still practiced. In general we can say that while most of the patterns are American "standard" elements, a few are indigenous "modified"

patterns. It should not be overlooked that these patterns are experienced only by Group B members. Almost all Group A people were born in the old land.

Early Childhood. Group A members follow indigenous ways in dealing with their children, such as teaching them Arabic and Islamic principles and emphasizing their patriarchal authority. Television has played an important role in introducing the American language and other cultural aspects to these children. Group B members apply none of the indigenous patterns. Therefore the patterns involved are rated as Arabic "modified" and American "standard" patterns. These patterns are only experienced by Group B.

A age of six years. Group B members go to American schools at the age of six years, where they follow the American "standard" patterns.

Youth culture. Parents interfere in their girls' movements, clothes, and cosmetics. Moreover, group A parents prevent their girls from dating. These represent some indigenous patterns. Group B parents approve dating under supervision. All the parents give permission to their boys to date girls, especially American ones. Teenagers have begun to be drawn strongly to American teen music, songs and dances. The patterns involved are rated as American "standard" and "modified" elements and Arabic "modified" patterns.

Death rituals. The comparison of descriptive accounts reveal the strong impact of American culture in these

patterns. Some indigenous elements such as the ghosl Kaffan and Koranic recitations are still existent. However, these involved some changes such as the pattern of conducting the ghosl by the sheik, this never occurs in the old land. Therefore the four items of the typology are found in these patterns with the dominance of American elements.

### Summary

An analysis of the preceding data is the main concern of this chapter. The analysis was categorized into three major divisions based on the selected cultural level and the variation in the aspects of the case of acculturation in question.

The first division deals with the general characteristics of the culture contact. It is found that the contact has taken place between two populations that differ greatly in number and political dominance. It is also noted that the involved cultures are greatly different from each other.

The second section examines the situations of acculturation. Forced and voluntary situations are determined and illustrated.

The third major division presents the acculturation processes. The order of selection of pattern is defined and the factors involved are examined. Factors of accelerating and delaying the processes of acculturation are determined and differentiated on the basis of its cultural source. An analysis of the components of the culture

patterns found in the Arab community is conducted. A typology of four items is regarded as the basis of the analysis which aims to identify the origin and the degree of modification of these patterns.

The conclusions inferred throughout this analysis are summed up in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

This last chapter presents the relationships between the study and other relevant studies on acculturation and the general conclusions reached by the study.

#### The Study and Other Relevant Studies

Many sociological and ethnological studies dealt with the acculturation of ethnic groups in America. The relationships between our study and the relevant ones are presented as follows:

#### Studies on the Community

In addition to our study, there is only one sociological study that dealt with the Dearborn Arab-Moslem community (Elkholy 1960). Elkholy was concerned with comparing the degree of religiosity of the three generations of the community with that of the Arab-Moslem group in Toledo, Ohio. Although the two studies differ in problem and theoretical orientation, some relationships are found. The conflicts between the immigrants and their descendants, the increasing weakness in the degree of religiosity, and the Arabic political attitudes of the immigrants are stressed by the two studies. However, some differences are found. While this study referred to the pattern of sending some descendants to the old land to be reared as full Moslems, Elkholy did not mention it.

This study indicated that, in general, the second generation members are more educated, more advanced in the socio-economic level, and more acculturated than the first generation members. While the cultural aspects of the conflicts between the two generations were emphasized, Elkholy stressed the psychological aspects of these conflicts (1960:138).

Studies on the Arabs in America.

The most important study is Tannous' paper dealing with acculturation among a small Christian-Lebanese community<sup>1</sup> (366 persons) in the South (1943b:264-271). Although this community differs from the Dearborn Arab-Moslem community in size, religion, and occupations of the members, (the Christian members worked as peddlers and grocers) the two communities shared some aspects such as the strong relationships with the old land and the considerable cultural differences between the immigrants and their descendants, the breakdown of the joint family, and changing their Arabic names to American ones. The two communities, however, differ with respect to the factors involved in maintaining community consciousness and identity as an in-group. While the difference in faith between the Arab-Moslems and Americans was a crucial factor, the social barriers that

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<sup>1</sup>Although the title is "Arab-Syrian," the study deals with Arab-Lebanese immigrants. The specific location of the community in the South was not mentioned in the paper.

the Southern middle and upper class Whites had established between themselves and the Arab immigrants were the basic factors (1943b:271). It should not be overlooked that Tannous' study was conducted twenty years ago.

Studies on Ethnic Groups in the Detroit Area.

The most relevant studies are those conducted by Humphrey on Detroit Mexicans (1944a, 1944b, and 1946). The studies stress the problem of "race prejudice" as an obstacle in acculturation. The existence of an Indian appearance significantly affects Mexican adjustment in the United States (1944b:332). These Mexicans are forced by economic circumstances to live in areas of cheap rentals, and, for the same reason, frequently to keep roomers (1945:433).

The previous two aspects of Detroit Mexicans were not found among the Arab-Moslems. It is interesting to note that while the Mexicans often keep dogs as pets and the largeness of this animals may well be interpreted as a means for the attainment of status (1946:436), the Arab-Moslems never keep dogs as pets. This is accounted for by the Islamic tradition that regards dogs as profane animals that abolish the religion ritual of abolution in the case of any contact.

The two ethnic groups, however, share some aspects such as:

1. Both came from peasant cultures.
2. In general, as rapidly as the economic

situation allows, the two groups adopt American ways in shelter (1946:433).

3. The second generation, and particularly the boys of this generation, have been so broadly exposed to the dominant American culture that they have obtained values which are at times in direct opposition to those of their parents (1944a:625).

4. Girls should be vigilantly protected from personal contact with men (1944a:623).

5. A decline in status of the father. Among the Mexicans this loss of status is mainly due to the father's failure to provide adequate income for the family (1944a:623). Among the Arab-Moslems the situation is different. This decline is mainly due to the emerging authority of the wife and the adult offspring.

In spite of these similarities, descriptive data show that the Arab-Moslems are much more liable to assimilation than the Mexicans. Indeed, the difference in physical appearance is a basic reason.

#### General Studies on the Ethnic Groups in the United States.

Handlin, in his analysis of the peasant origins of immigrant movements, presented many culture aspects that were found in the cultural background of the Dearborn community (1952:7-36). Moreover, our descriptive data in general support his general theory. He said:

"The immigrants lived in crisis because they were uprooted. In transplantation, while the old roots were sundered, before the new were established, the immigrants existed in an



"extreme situation. The shock, and the effects of the shock, persisted for many years; and their influence reached down to generations which themselves never paid the cost of crossing."

According to Handlin, the term "roots" mainly referred to the original cultures and countries.

Spiro conducted a survey of the literature on the acculturation of American ethnic groups (1955:1240-1252). He pointed out some generalizations concerning most of these groups. The nonexistence of Middle Eastern ethnic groups in this literature persuaded the writer to indicate the relationships between this study and Spiro's generalizations as follows:

1. There is a positive relationship between acculturation and social mobility. Ethnics with high social status tend to be the most acculturated. This pattern was accounted for by the American class system that prevents the mobility of the unacculturated (1955:1243-44). This relationship is also found in the study. The fact that the Arab descendants are characterized by a higher family income (almost double) than that of the Arab immigrants clearly represent the relative high socio-economic status of the descendants. At the same time the findings emphasize that the Arab descendants are more acculturated than the immigrants.

2. The desired assimilation of ethnics is hindered by some prejudices conducted by the dominant group (1955:1244). The Arab-Moslems reported the existence of this

situation in the past. Today their assimilation is mainly based on their desire. This difference may be due to the time factor as the literature studied by Spiro was written at least ten years earlier than this study. In addition, it should be taken into account that these Arab-Moslems live in a city where 45% of its population are from foreign stock.

3. Religion may be viewed both as a dependent and an independent variable in acculturation.

"Viewed as a dependent variable, it is to be noted that in those groups whose distinctiveness includes both ethnicity and religion, acculturation is more rapid in ethnic than in religious characteristics" (1955:1245).

The findings emphasize this generalization; religion was considered as the most resistant to change.

"But religion is also an independent variable in acculturation; it may, that is, serve to accelerate or retard the general acculturative process" (1955:1245).

The analysis of the factors of accelerating and delaying the process of acculturation points out that the principles of Islam are very effective.

4. "The family, too, may be viewed both as an independent and as a dependent variable in acculturation. As an independent variable, it seems to be primarily an anti-acculturative influence" (1955:1246).

This study recognizes such an influence of the family, but under certain limitations. When both parents are immigrants, this anti-acculturative influence is clearly found among pre-school childrens. The American schools have played a crucial role in minimizing this influence

after the age of six years.

Viewing the family as a dependent variable in acculturation, it is noted that acculturation is a threat to the integrity of the ethnic family. Acculturation is responsible for encouraging intermarriage and altering the structure of the family, such as the serious diminution in the traditional parental authority (1955:1247). This conclusion is strongly emphasized in our findings.

5. Food patterns seem to be among those most resistant to acculturation (1955:1249). This point is also found in the Dearborn Arab-Moslem community.

#### General Conclusions

The conclusions reached by this study may be summed up as follows:

As this case of acculturation was a result of a voluntary migration of several hundreds of poor Arab-Moslem peasants to a rich country of more than 180 million population, the process of acculturation was mainly a one-way process. However, some slight influences of the recipient culture might be traced in the social life of Detroit.

Situations of acculturation are either forced by the donor culture or accepted voluntarily by the community members. Situations of enforced acculturation took place, before voluntary selection. However, with the progressively increasing number of descendants, the voluntarily selected patterns began to outweigh the enforced traits.

The force of time is a second factor in increasing the selected patterns. As the descendants usually do not feel the compulsory aspects, this differentiation becomes obsolete, according to them.

Friendly relationships were the common aspect of the relationships between the community members and Americans. Today no discrimination of any type is practiced by the host culture carriers against these Caucasian newcomers.

In technology, the impact of American culture is great upon the community. The only technological element that strongly retains the indigenous patterns is the matter of food habits. Symbolic behavior, especially religion and art, are the least in change. Social structure patterns are greatly influenced by the new culture, but not the same way as in technology.

The study revealed some aspects of conflict between the emigrants and their descendants. Although this situation involves cultural, social, and psychological aspects, it seems that the cultural aspect, especially the values are the source of the others. All the interpersonal differences, arguments, and quarrels between the two groups may be accounted for by the difference in cultural orientations of the two groups. The emigrant parents believe in the father's (patriarchal) authority, male superiority, collective cooperation, personal, strong bonds with the family and relatives, and girls' chastity and

shelter. The descendants believe in individual independence, men-women equality, freedom, girls' rights to date and enjoy their lives, and change.

The study is full of quantitative evidences proving that the descendants or, to be more accurate, Group B, are more oriented toward the host culture than their emigrant parents, all of whom are included in Group A. Although it is easy to explain this difference by referring to the influence of the first or original culture, it should not be overlooked that many members from Group B were reared by Group A parents who retained many indigenous patterns. Here we have three different enculturated forces--the family, which partially represents the Arab-Moslem culture, the community, that in part belongs to the old culture, and the American culture. From birth to the age of six years, the Group B child is mainly enculturated by the first two forces. A slight influence of the American culture reaches the child through television, a common item in the community. The strong impact of the indigenous culture during this period is clearly presented by speaking only Arabic, reciting Koranic statements, and showing a full obedience to the parents. At the age of six the child goes to an American school where the balance of the intercultural influences is reversed. The school seems to be the most important force in enculturating American patterns of behavior. In the school the child begins to establish friendship relations with Americans and to master the English language. Through this mastering he reads

English newspapers and understands American broadcasts and telecasts.

Dating Americans is another source of American culture influence on Group B teens. The increasing pattern of mixed marriages among Group B men is another explanation of their closer identification with the American culture. In addition, working with Americans and the nonexistence of any type of discrimination against them are other important explanations of the big cultural differences between Groups A and B. It seems that the most important factor in the previous forces is the American school.

Group A members, conversely, did not go to American schools, did not master the English language, and very few of them dated and married Americans. Moreover, Group A members spent their childhood and adolescence in the old land where the family is the main force of enculturation. Besides, there was no conflict between the cultural patterns provided by the family and those furnished by the village. On the contrary, the family was generally the only enculturative force in the village. Taking these differences into account, we may not only explain the differences between the two groups, but we can also interpret the Group A resistance to many American patterns of behavior.

This case of acculturation has four results that co-exist in the community.

1. Acceptance. This refers to the process of the

taking over of the greater portion of another culture and the loss of most of the older cultural heritage (Redfield and others 1936:152). This process is clearly experienced by Group B members who become assimilated not only to the behavior patterns, but to the inner values of the American culture. These members usually move out of the community and gradually cut off their relationships with the community.

2. Adaptation. This indicates the process where both original and foreign traits are combined so as to produce a smoothly functioning cultural whole, with either a reworking of the patterns of the two cultures into a harmonious, meaningful whole to the individuals concerned, or the retention of a series of more or less conflicting attitudes and points of view (Redfield and others 1936:152).

Descriptive and analytical data stress that the immigrants and their descendants, especially those who were reared in the old land, experience this process. Bearing in mind that these constitute the majority of the adult members in the community, we can say that this process is the prevalent mechanism of acculturation in the community.

3. Reaction. This refers to the case where, because of oppression, or because of the dangerous results of the acceptance of foreign elements, contra-acculturative movements arise (Redfield and others 1936:152). Description and analysis reveal that some members regard mixed

marriage as a way to the future disintegration of the whole community. As a reaction, secular and religious nativistic movements are in progress in the community. The secular movement is much weaker than the religious movement. Both movements are arranged by Group A members. The religious movement involves adaptive goals, as its supporters intend to adapt their religion to the new culture in order to maintain their community. Thus the movement has acculturative and contra-acculturative effects at the same time. Their emphasis on retaining the community as an in-group may be regarded as a boundary-maintaining mechanism.

4. Cultural Creativity. Acculturation is neither a passive nor a colorless absorption. It is a culture-creating as well as a culture-receiving process. Creative mechanisms in acculturation have been variously described as "reorganizations," "reinterpretations," and "syncretisms". In general, the very act of copying alien traits entails some modification of them since no copy is a perfect reproduction (Barnett and others 1954:985).

The community retained the indigenous cultural focus. The materials presented showed that religious values were the basic ethos of the Lebanese village. Comparing the concentration of the Arab-Moslems in a ghetto-like community with the dispersed number of their Christian natives in Detroit, may be a sufficient evidence that the cultural focus of the community is still the Islamic religion which represents a basis of unity.



Thus the Dearborn Arab-Moslem community has represented a case of contact between two different cultures. This contact has resulted in several processes of acculturation, cultural and social conflicts and assimilation. The community members live as Arabs and as Americans. How they have handled this cultural duality is the theme of the study.

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**APPENDIX A**

**CONTACT LETTER**



APPENDIX A  
CONTACT LETTER

Michigan State University  
East Lansing, Mich.

African Language and Area Center  
June 11, 1963

To Whom it May Concern:

This letter will serve to introduce Mr. Atif Wasfi. Mr. Wasfi is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Anthrepology at Michigan State University. Currently I am directing the Ph.D. program of study for Mr. Wasfi and would greatly appreciate any assistance that you could offer him in his field research.

I have every assurance of Mr. Wasfi's responsibility and integrity in the proper analysis and use of the information you may impart to him, and of his discreteness with respect to the confidentiality of the data.

Very truly yours,

Charles C. Hughes, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor  
Anthropology

COH:mg

**APPENDIX B**

**FIELD-INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

**APPENDIX B**  
**FIELD-INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

Sample unit number:

Date:

Interviewer: ATIF A. WASFI  
Interviewee(s):

1. Family head, Male\_\_\_\_\_ Female\_\_\_\_\_
2. Others, specify:

- Language used:
1. Arabic
  2. English
  3. Arabic and English
  4. Others, specify:

NotesI. Facts Concerning Family Head

1. Where and when were you born?

Place:Date:2. If non-immigrant,

Do you have relatives who migrated to Dearborn?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If Yes - who are they?

3. If immigrant,

When did you come to the U.S.A.?

Where did you live in the U.S.A. for the first time?

When you first came to the U.S.A. did you have relatives there?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If Yes, who are they?

4. Where did you spend your childhood and adolescence, between the ages of 3 and 15 years?

5. For how long have you been in Dearborn?

6. Do you own the house where you live?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

7. What is your religious sect?

8. Marital Status (now)

Married \_\_\_\_\_

Divorced \_\_\_\_\_

Widowed \_\_\_\_\_

Separated \_\_\_\_\_

Others, specify:

Notes

9. Which language(s) do you prefer to use -

- a. with your spouse?
- b. with your children?
- c. with your friends (not during work)
- d. with your fellows at work?

10. Are you working now? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

If no, what is your situation?

If yes, a) what type of work is it?

b) what is the name of your job?

11. A. Income per year:

- 1. 0 - \$1,999      2. \$2,000-\$3,999
- 3. \$4,000-\$5,999    4. \$6,000-\$7,999
- 5. \$8,000-\$9,999    6. \$10,000 or more

B. What is the resource(s) of this income?

12. Have you attended school?

Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

If Yes, what is the highest grade completed (a) in U.S.A.?

(b) in home land?

13. A. What language(s) do you read?

B. What language(s) do you write?

NotesII. General Facts Concerning the Family

1. Where was your spouse born?
2. What is your wife's ancestry in detail?
3. What is your wife's denomination?
4. Do you have living children?  
Yes\_\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_\_

If Yes, how many? Males\_\_\_\_\_Females\_\_\_\_\_

5. Are there any children who died?  
Yes\_\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_\_

If Yes, how many?

6. Have any of your children married?  
Yes\_\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_\_

If Yes,

A. How many?

B. What is the ancestry of their spouses?

Children have married	Ancestry of their spouses	What is your feeling?
-----------------------------	---------------------------------	-----------------------------

Male\_\_Female\_\_

Male\_\_Female\_\_

Male\_\_Female\_\_

Male\_\_Female\_\_

Male\_\_Female\_\_

C. How many of them live in Dearborn?

Males\_\_\_\_\_Females\_\_\_\_\_

D. How often do you visit them?

Notes

7. Is your wife now working? Yes\_\_\_No\_\_\_

If Yes, A. What is her work?

B. How do you feel about her working?

8. Is there anyone else living in your house (apartment) apart from your wife and your non-married children?  
Yes\_\_\_No\_\_\_

If Yes, who? (relative, stranger, etc.)

### III. Teenagers Behavior

1. In this community do boys and girls play together, a. before puberty?  
Yes\_\_\_No\_\_\_

b. after puberty?  
Yes\_\_\_No\_\_\_

2. Do the girls date? Yes\_\_\_No\_\_\_

If Yes, with whom?

Do you approve of this behavior?  
Why?

3. Do the boys date? Yes\_\_\_No\_\_\_

If Yes, with whom?

Do you approve of this behavior?  
Why?

4. Do the girls after puberty go swimming? Yes\_\_\_No\_\_\_

5. Do you feel that teenagers should act different from the way you yourself behaved? Yes\_\_\_No\_\_\_

Why?

NotesIV. Spouse Ideal Qualities

1. Before marriage, boys and girls often have a "romantic" notion of the ideal qualities they want in future spouses, what are these ideal qualities as you see them?

A. Ideal wife:

B. Ideal husband:

2. How realistic are these ideas?

3. In your opinion, what is the best age for marriage?

A. For boys\_\_\_\_  
Why?

B. For girls\_\_\_\_  
Why?

V. Marriage Steps

1. How did you meet your wife for the first time?

2. Who selected your wife?

a. Your mother \_\_\_\_  
b. Your father \_\_\_\_  
c. Self-selection \_\_\_\_  
d. A middle-man \_\_\_\_  
e. Others, specify:

3. Did your parents object to the match? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

Why?

4. Was it possible to object to your parents' choice? Yes\_\_\_\_No\_\_\_\_

Why?

5. Did you visit your wife before engagement? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, A. How often?

B. Under what circumstances?



Notes

6. Did you date your wife before engagement? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, for how long?
7. Did you date your wife after engagement? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, for how long?
8. Who asked your wife's hand?
9. To whom was this proposal addressed?
10. What did you give your spouse in the engagement party?
11. Will you please describe what happened in the engagement day? (activities, special problems, etc.)
12. Did you pay a "bride wealth?"  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, A. When?  
B. How much, or what goods did you bring?
13. Was there any late "bride wealth" after your marriage? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, how much?
14. Did you date your spouse after engagement? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
15. How long did your engagement period last?
16. How many times did you visit your spouse during this period?
17. Did you give your spouse any presents in this period? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, A. When?  
B. Like what?
18. What did you do as preparations for the wedding?
19. What did your spouse's family do as preparations for the wedding? (bridal shower)

Notes

20. How many ceremonies did you have in your wedding?
21. What is the name of each?
22. Do you remember the dates of these ceremonies? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, what are they? \_\_\_\_\_
23. Will you please describe to me what happened in each ceremony:
24. After the last wedding ceremony, where did you go with your bride?
25. Did you have "a honeymoon?"  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, A. How long did it last?  
B. Where was it?
26. Where did you live after the honeymoon (if there is any)?
27. Do you like to live with any of your relatives? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, specify exactly: \_\_\_\_\_
28. In the next morning of the wedding, did you have any celebration?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, what was it? \_\_\_\_\_

VI. Some Interpersonal Relations Between Husband and Wife.

1. What do you call your wife?
2. What does your wife call you?
3. What do you refer to your wife in conversations with others?
4. What does your wife refer to you in conversations with others?
5. Who selects the daily menu?
6. Who keeps the house-keeping budget?

Notes

7. Does your wife know the exact amount of
  - A. Your income? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
  - B. Your savings? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_  
(if any)
8. Are there any problems that come up over finances? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_  
If Yes, like what?
9. Does your wife drive your car? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_  
If no, why?
10. Do you celebrate,
  - A. Your birthday? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
  - B. Your wife's birthday? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
  - C. Your wedding anniversary? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
  - D. Christmas? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
  - E. Moslem feasts? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
  - F. Others, specify:
11. Do you offer your wife any presents? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_  
If yes, when?
12. Does your wife offer you presents? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_  
If yes, when?
13. Do you go to social visits together? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
14. Do you attend community activities (such as musical parties) together? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
15. Do you dance together? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
16. Do you accept that others dance with your wife? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
17. How do you get along with your wife's family?

Notes

18. Are there any disputes over property? Yes\_\_\_ No\_\_\_
19. What types of problems do you feel a person of Near Eastern backgrounds faces in Dearborn?

**APPENDIX C**

**CONSTITUTION OF ISLAMIC CENTER  
FOUNDATION SOCIETY**

APPENDIX C  
CONSTITUTION OF ISLAMIC CENTER  
FOUNDATION SOCIETY

PROCLAMATION:

We, the Moslem group which is deeply concerned with the promotion of the religion of Islam in America through all good and available means, including constructing mosques and religious institutes and working through them, determine to cooperate fully in order to reach these goals, mainly in the Detroit area, which contains a very substantial Moslem community.

For the accomplishment of these great goals, we organize our efforts, and for these purposes do hereby proclaim the formation of Islamic Center Foundation Society.

ORGANIZATION ARTICLES

The Constitution, which has been adopted by the official members of this organization, being the Trustees, is composed of the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

The name of this organization shall be ISLAMIC CENTER FOUNDATION SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II

The location of this organization and the Islamic Center, which is one of its goals, shall be in the State of Michigan in the United States of America.

## ARTICLE III

The goals of this organization are:

To establish and construct an Islamic Mosque and Institute to be used solely for religious purposes, and to maintain them ; and in connection therewith to purchase, acquire and hold title to land and personal property to be used in such connection.

To solicit and accept donations for the purpose of acquiring and constructing the required building and equipment for such mosque.

To engage in the teaching of the religion of Islam and the providing of a place of worship for believers in such religion, and to provide facilities and a program for religious services, study and training in such religion and such missionary and other charitable work as permitted by such religion.

This corporation is organized and shall be operated exclusively for the above described purposes; and no part of any earnings realized by it on account of any of its activities or property shall inure to the benefit of any member of the corporation or any other private individual, but shall be used solely for such religious purposes.

No part of the activities in this corporation shall be devoted to attempting to influence legislation by propaganda or otherwise; and the corporation is further prohibited either directly or indirectly from participating or intervening in (including the publishing and distributing of statements) any political campaign in behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office; the corporation is

further prohibited from engaging in any activities which, under the provisions of Section 501 (c) of the Internal Revenue Code, would deny it exemption as an exempt organization under said Section.

#### ARTICLE IV

The Islamic Center, thus established, shall be perpetuated for the Moslem community.

#### ARTICLE V

The Islamic Center Foundation Society is a non-profit organization.

#### ARTICLE VI

The Islamic Center Foundation Society is composed of:

- a. Board of Trustees
- b. Executive Committee
- c. Director

A General Membership may also be developed in the future.

#### ARTICLE VII

The Director's qualifications:--the Director shall be:

- a. Moslem of good standing,
- b. Theologian,
- c. Well educated in both English and Arabic languages, in order to be capable of preaching Islam in both, and possessed with a broad knowledge of Islamic laws;
- d. An American citizen, if possible,
- e. One who advocates equality between the following Islamic schools: JAAFARI, SHAFI, HUNBULI, MALIKI, HANAFI, and ZEIDI.



## ARTICLE VIII

The Director's Jurisdiction:-- The Director is the head of the organization and all of its units and of the Center. He shall administer all the religious and functional affairs of both the Islamic Center and the organization. He shall co-sign with the Treasurer for all expenditures. He shall discuss all important administrative matters of non-religious nature with members of the Executive Committee. With the approval of the Executive Committee, he may appoint and dissolve working committees. Any agreement affecting the purposes and property of the Society and made by the Director will be valid only after approval by the Board of Trustees.

## ARTICLE IX

The Executive Committee is composed of:

- a. Director & Vice Directors
- b. Assistant Director(s)
- c. Treasurer
- d. Assistant Treasurer(s)
- e. Secretary(-ies)

The number of vice-directors, assistants and secretaries will be determined by the Board of Trustees according to the need of the organization. Chairmen may also be added if desired by the Board.

## ARTICLE X

The Executive Committee's Jurisdictions:--All members have the right to vote and discuss the issues, when they are present at the Executive Committee meetings.

a. Vice-Director(s): The vice-directors will, according to their respective order of position by title, assume temporarily the executive responsibility during the director's absence from the country or his physical disability. Also, they may be assigned to various missions by the director.

b. Assistant Director(s): The assistant directors may advise the director, coordinate the functions of various committees, and be assigned to various missions by the director.

c. Treasurer:-- The duties of the treasurer are:

1. to receive, record and deposit all donations in a reputable bank,
2. to keep revenue books,
3. to co-sign with the director all expenditures,
4. to prepare and read at the meetings of the organization reports concerning financial developments, expenditures and balancing,
5. to prepare with his assistants an annual financial report,
6. to prepare annual budgets and to supervise the investments of the Society.

d. Assistant Treasurer(s): The assistant treasurer shall function under instructions of the Treasurer, may furnish advice and assistance to him, may study his functions, and shall assist him in preparing annual financial reports and budgets of the Society.

e. Secretaries: Each secretary will fulfill his (her) own respective duties, such as recording minutes, corresponding

in either Arabic or English, and doing financial reporting and recording.

#### ARTICLE XI

a. The Executive Committee can decide and act only on administrative matters of the organization.

b. An official meeting of this Committee would require at least the presence of the Director or a Vice-Director during his absence, a Secretary and Treasurer.

c. The decision of this Committee will be made by a simple majority of the attending members. An attendance of five members shall be a quorum.

d. Excluding the Director, first Vice-Director and Treasurer, the officers of the Executive Committee shall be appointed by the Director with the approval of the Board of Trustees or elected by the general membership in assembly meeting called for by the executive committee. The Treasurer and the first Vice-Director will be appointed only by the Board of Trustees.

e. The Director and Treasurer shall be bonded in an amount designated by the Board of Trustees.

f. Besides the Director, all officers of the Executive Committee shall hold office for a period of one year.

g. An executive officer may be a member of the Board of Trustees.

#### ARTICLE XII

a. The Board of Trustees is a self-perpetuating body. It consists of seven (7) members, which includes the Director and the Treasurer.

b. If the number of members of the Board of Trustees shall go under the minimum number (seven) of members as a result of resignations or deaths, the function of the Board of Trustees will remain the same, so long as a quorum of (three or more) members still exists.

c. In this case, it shall be the duty of the remaining Board members to endeavor to regain the minimum (seven) by appointing, within three months if possible, new qualified members.

d. Only the Board of Trustees can amend the Constitution.

e. The Board may have its own secretaries and co-chairmen from its membership.

f. Regular meetings of the Board of Trustees will be called by the Director or by three members of the Board. It requires the attendance of a simple majority present to validate a meeting. The decisions will be made by a two-thirds majority of the attending members, except in the following cases:

1. In any change of the Constitution or the appointment of any new member to the Board of Trustees, the decision will be passed only if the following conditions are met:

a. The amendment or appointment shall be discussed in two (2) consecutive meetings attended by a two-thirds majority of the entire Board, after the notification to every Board member about the nature of the issue.

b. The appointment or amendment has to be supported by a two-thirds majority vote of the entire Board. The vote shall take place at the second meeting.

2. In case of resignation or death of an existing Director, the appointment of a successor by the Trustees shall require the same conditions mentioned above, except that the appointment should be recommended by the three (3) members of the Board before the appointment is discussed. The Director shall serve for two years with the exception of the founder-director who, with the qualifications as stated above, shall serve his office for life.

3. In case of disagreement between the Director and the majority of the Executive Committee, the Director may call a meeting of the Board of Trustees to consider the disputed issue. The decision of the Board of Trustees will be binding by a majority of its attending members at such meeting with there being a quorum present.

g. The Board of Trustees as the lawmaking body of the Society shall assume responsibility of purchasing lands, constructing buildings and supervising financing for the goals and programs of the organization which include the construction and maintenance of the Islamic Center and perpetuation of said Center and its program for the proper use of the Moslem community.

h. The Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee are to meet separately, though they can meet jointly if so desired. The Board of Trustees shall meet at least twice a year. The Executive Committee shall meet at least quarterly.

1. The Board of Trustees may appoint Honorary Trustees or Honorary officers.

## ARTICLE XIII

a. General membership may be created by the Trustees. The duty of each member will be to participate actively in promoting the goals of the organization. The rights of such a member are:

1. To be informed of the developments of the organization.
2. To attend open membership meetings which are to be held quarterly by the Executive Committee.
3. To participate in elections of officers of the Executive Committee when permitted by the Executive Committee.

b. The Executive Committee may from members create Youth and Women's Auxiliary Divisions whose by-laws and programs shall neither contradict nor supercede this Constitution.



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