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SEX ROLE PERCEPTIONS OF PALISTINIAN
MALES AND FEMALES IN ISRAEL

By

Mariam Mahmood Mar'i

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ABSTRACT

SEX ROLE PERCEPTIONS OF PALISTINIAN
MALES AND FEMALES IN ISRAEL

By
Mariam Mahmood Mar'i

The objectives of this study are twofold. First, to discover how Palestinian educated males and females perceive their real and ideal respective sex roles in society. Second, to examine differences according to sex, religion (Muslim-Christian), residence (rural-urban) and education (student-teachers vs. teachers, and high school vs. university students).

Four hundred and fifty-seven subjects (233 males and 224 females) responded to the Maferr Inventory of Masculine Values (MIMV) and to the Maferr Inventory of Feminine Values (MIFV). The results showed that 32.6% of the males indicated that they are traditional (i.e., women's role is in the home, and men's role is at work outside home); 45.1% of the men indicated balanced perceptions (i.e., both men and women should be family-oriented as well as self-achieving); and 22.3% of them indicated that they are liberal (i.e., to the men, family comes before self achievement).

Among females, on the other hand, only 2.2% indicated that they are traditional (i.e., the major role of a woman is in the home and for the family); 12.5% are balanced in their perceptions (i.e., a woman should be both self- and family-oriented); and 85.3% of the female subjects indicated that they are liberal (i.e., a woman's ambitions come before her family obligations). On the average, men expressed balanced perceptions, and women expressed liberal ones.

In the entire population and within each subgroup sex differences were significant. Males expressed perceptions significantly less liberal than those of females. No significant differences whatsoever were found between Muslim and Christian subjects. No significant differences were found between rural and urban males, but rural females expressed perceptions significantly less liberal than those of urban ones. As far as the differences between teachers and student teachers are concerned, no significant differences existed among females but, contrary to expectation, male teachers expressed perceptions more liberal than those of student teachers. No significant differences existed between high school and university students. Similarly, no significant differences existed between real and ideal perceptions.

In comparing studies using the same instrument in other countries, female subjects in this study expressed sex role perceptions which are closer to those expressed by females in industrialized societies (U.S.A. and Britain) than to those

of less industrialized countries (Brazil and Greece). Among males, it was not possible to draw any comparisons because data relating to male perceptions in other countries are not available.

¹Steinmann, A. and Fox, D. J., The Maferr Inventories of Masculine and Feminine Values, N. Y.: Maferr Foundation, Inc., 1979.

Dedication

To Sami, my husband, who is
both self- and other-oriented.

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Finally, I owe much of what I am now to my brother Abed. He has had to struggle in order for me to have a full educational opportunity of which he himself was deprived.

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CHAPTER I
PROBLEM STATEMENT
Introduction

This research focuses upon the empirical study of sex role perceptions of Palestinian Arab males and females in Israel. Palestinians in Israel comprise 16% (nearly 600,000) of the total Israeli population. While they are a national minority, vis a vis the Jewish majority in Israel, this group is also a segment of the Palestinian people living in the West-Bank, the Gaza strip, and in the neighboring Arab countries as refugees.

For four centuries (1517-1917) Palestine was under the rule of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire. In 1917, following the collapse of the Empire, Palestine became a British Mandate. In 1948, Israel was established on parts of Palestine as a Zionist-Jewish State. Those Palestinians who did not leave became citizens of Israel to comprise the non-Jewish minority in the Jewish state.

Under Turkish rule, centuries-old traditions and values dominated the lives of Arabs. Society was predominantly agricultural; the social structure was tribal; education was limited to few males who came from the landed gentry, and women were secluded and were given an extremely inferior status. In fact, it was during this era of Turkish rule

that the veil (an indigenous Turkish custom) was introduced into aristocratic Arab circles as a status token.¹

Under British rule, many changes were brought about. Agriculture still remained as the major economic base, and the old values and traditions continued to dominate society. However, new modern modes of organization and administration emerged following the British model, and there was more cultural interaction with the more modern Western World. Further, and probably the most salient feature of this era as far as this discussion is concerned, was that the infrastructure of a modern educational system was established. Schools were established outside the urban centers in many towns and small villages; some female schools were established in cities and larger towns; and the education expanded from the 3 R's to include sciences and arts.²

However, as education was not compulsory, the student population was predominantly males of a higher social standing especially in rural areas. In urban centers females had better educational opportunities than their rural counterparts although it was still lagging behind their male counterparts. Also, women awareness and political action evolved during this period in the urban centers.

¹Fatime Mernissi, Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society, Schenkman Books, 1975, p. 84.

²For a detailed account of education in Palestine in this era see, Abdullatif Tibawi, Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine, London:Luzac & Co., 1956.

Women associations were popular and as they were basically committed to socio-cultural humane issues, they could not but be politically active too as the struggle between the indigenous population (Palestinians) and Zionist settlers was at its peak. Women awareness as to their active role especially in urban centers were reported in a book written by a Palestinian woman as early as 1937.³

Since 1948, education has become not only compulsory but popular for both sexes, too.⁴; polygamy was outlawed;⁵ economic conditions have improved;⁶ and agriculture was no longer the main base of economy.⁷ Furthermore, political socialization, awareness and action became a tremendous force in the transformation of Palestinian society inside and outside Israel.⁸ Especially for Palestinians inside Israel, education and political socialization are of great relevance not only in terms of their value in the

³Matiele Mugannam, The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem, London, Tonbridge Printers, 1937, Passim.

⁴Sami Khalil Mar'i, Arab Education in Israel, Syracuse: Syracuse University press, 1978, p. 18.

⁵Aharon Leish, "Religious organization of Muslims in Israel" in A. Leish (ed.), Arabs in Israel: continuity and Change, Magness Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1981 (in Hebrew), p. 105.

⁶Moshe Semyonov and Andrea Tyree, "Community segregation and the costs of subordination", Social Forces, Vol. 29, No. 3, 1981.

⁷Uziel Schmaltz, "Arab labor force in Israel" in A. Leish (ed.) Arabs in Israel: continuity and Change, p. 46.

⁸Alice K. and Yasumasa Kuroda, Palestinians Without Palestine: A Study Political Socialization, Washington, D.C., University Press of America, 1978, p. 13-16.

transformation of male-female position and roles, but also, in terms of their contribution to the enhancement and maintenance of the cultural-national identity of the Palestinian minority in Israel.

The Palestinian Arabs have been extensively studied politically,⁹ sociologically,¹⁰ anthropologically,¹¹ educationally,¹² and economically.¹³ However, the issue of women's status and roles in society has not been seriously investigated. Except for few studies which are either journalistic,¹⁴ impressionistic,¹⁵ or limited to but one very

⁹Ian Lustick, Arabs in the Jewish State, Austin:Texas University Press, 1980, and Rosemary Sayigh, Palestinians from Peasants to Revolutionaries, London:Zed Press, 1979.

¹⁰Khalil Nakhleh and Elia Zureik (eds.), The Sociology of the Palestinians, London:Croom Helm, 1980, and Elia Zureik, The Palestinians in Israel: A Study of Internal Colonialism, London:Routledge and Kegan, 1979.

¹¹Henry Rosenfeld, They Were Peasants, Tel Aviv:Sifriat Po'alim, 1965, (in Hebrew).

¹²Sami Mar'i, Arab Education in Israel, and Khalil Nakhleh, Palestinian Dilemma: Nationalist Consciousness and University Education in Israel, Detroit:AAUG, 1979.

¹³For a brief overview see Uziel Schmaltz in A. Leish (ed.) 1981.

¹⁴For example see Z. Sabbagh, "Sexual Crisis in Arab society in Israel", AL-Jadeed, No. 1, 1979. Also, see the rebuttal to Sabbagh by Emile Tuma, "The issue: liberation of women and not sexual crisis", EL-Jadeed, No. 12, Dec. 1981, (Both in Arabic). Another more sophisticated journalistic account as to the position of women in Palestinian Society in Israel is Rosemary Sayigh's "Encounters with Palestinian women under occupation", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1981.

¹⁵Mark Tessler: "The emancipation of Arab women in Israel", UFSI Reports, No. 21, 1982.

small community,¹⁶ no studies have been done so far. This study aims to focus on the roles of women, vis a vis those of men, in Palestinian Arab society in Israel. It is an empirical study using a sample from a broad spectrum of society and utilizing an internationally accepted instrument, i.e., the MIFV and the MIMV.

Rationale of the Study:

This study draws its rationale and importance from the basic notion that sex roles and the perceptions as to the distribution of these roles in society are a significant determinant in national and social development if development is to be comprehensive and to involve the input of both sexes in a relatively egalitarian framework.

Second, as this study focuses upon the perceptions of teachers and student teachers, it was expected that some light would be shed not only on their perceptions of sex roles but also on the potential impact of these perceptions on the pupils through the formal and informal student-teacher interactions. It was also expected that this study would provide empirical evidence for conclusions and recommendations for teacher education and preparation.

¹⁶For example see: Joseph Ginat, Women in Muslim Rural Society, Transaction Books, 1981, and Moshe Shokeid, "Ethnic identity and the position of women among Arabs in an Israeli town", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1980. both studies are limited to one small community; the first relates to a small rural community and the other relates to another small Arab community in a predominately Jewish city.

Third, as pointed out earlier, education and political socialization raised male and female consciousness towards more equality between the sexes both at home and at the work-place. As education and political socialization are at their zenith among Palestinians at this point in their history, it becomes quite important to detect the extent to which these factors have been successful in the transformation of Palestinian males and females towards liberal and traditional perceptions of the mutually interdependent roles of men and women in their society.

Finally, since cross-cultural evidence and data are readily available from six developing as well as developed countries, comparisons can be drawn in order to provide an analysis and develop an understanding of the dynamics of change from a cross-cultural, international perspective.

Conceptual Framework and Definitions of Terms*

Conceptually, as well as in real life, three roles for men and/or women emerged as dominant in the findings of previous research. First was the domestic role traditionally associated with women. This role involved housekeeping, child rearing and providing compassion and confinement to the family. It was looked upon as the subordinate position in the hierarchial order of the male-female relationship and was organically linked to the

*This framework was developed on the basis of the literature available concerning the issue of male and female roles in society in general and in Arab society in particular. A review of this literature is presented in Chapter Two.

ideology of female inferiority vis a vis male superiority. It represents one extreme in the dichotomy of roles in which the person is other-oriented.

The second role was the nondomestic role, traditionally attached to men. It involved work outside, representing the family through external relations, decision making and total freedom of movement and action. It was perceived as the upper, or dominating, position in the hierarchial order of male-female relationships. It was, of course, also linked to the male superiority vis a vis female inferiority and represents the other end of the spectrum of roles in which the person is self-oriented, aggressive and self-achieving.

The third role was a mixture of both of the first two. It was a dual role which was seen to be simultaneously domestic and nondomestic. It involved both family (internal) orientation and work (external) orientation. However, even in modern society, the fully symmetrical nonhierarchical role in which males and females are equally involved in both roles has not yet emerged as a strong reality in female-male relationships, nor in perceptions of ideal roles. Instead, as research shows, what we are witnessing is a redefinition of male-female relationships in such a way as to keep a hierarchical balance.¹⁷

As a general rule, a female's primary role is associated with the family and her secondary role may be

¹⁷Corvitz, Elaine and Ann Steinmann, "A Decade Later: Black-White Attitudes towards women's Familial Role", Psychology of Women Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1980), p. 176.

outside the family limits at the workplace. On the other hand, a male's primary role is at his workplace and his secondary role is in the family. This is what Smock¹⁸ has labeled as "modified" hierarchial order in the roles of males and females characteristic to modern society.

A person (male or female) is considered "traditional" if he or she perceives the women's role as family and other-oriented, as the other counterpart of her man and children in her life. she performs a nurturing role. Her distinguishing feature is that she fulfills herself by proxy.¹⁹

A person (male or female) is also considered traditional if he or she perceives the man's role as self-oriented, self-achieving, seeking fulfillment through work, education and other involvements. For males and females alike, then, a traditional perception is one which associates women with domestic roles and men with nondomestic roles. Traditionality is identical for both men and women in both content (specific dichotomous roles) and direction (inside or outside).

Being "liberal" is opposite and inversely related to women and men. A liberal woman is the one who holds a self-achieving perception of the feminine role. She is a woman

¹⁸Smock, Audrey Chapman, "Conclusions: Determinants of Women's Roles", in J. Giele and A. C. Smock (eds.), Women: Status & Roles in Eight Countries, Wiley & Sons, 1977, p. 398.

¹⁹Steinmann, Anne, "Female and Male Concepts of Sex Roles", International Mental Health Research, Vol. 27, No. 4, (1975), p. 2.

who embraces a self-fulfilling orientation. She strives to fulfill herself directly by realizing her own potentialities. Her distinguishing feature is that she seeks fulfillment through her own accomplishment. She also perceives the role of the man not only as self-achieving but also as family oriented, growth facilitating for the female and children in his life.²⁰

The liberal man, then, is the one who nurtures, takes care of the house and children, and is self- as well as other-oriented. He is also the one who perceives the female's role as self-achieving, less other-oriented, and more externally active.

A real perception, as contrasted with the ideal one, connotes the way a subject perceives roles now and as they are. The ideal perception reflects the desirable role perceptions as they might be more equal to, or less liberal than the real perception.

Subjects:

Four hundred and fifty-seven 11th and 12th graders, student-teachers in teachers' seminaries,* teachers, and university students were the subjects of this study. The high school students were in a school which enrolls pupils from Palestinian communities throughout Israel. The

²⁰Steinmann, A. "Female and Male Concepts of Sex Roles", p. 2.

*In Israel, elementary school teacher's preparation takes place not at the University level but in separate institutions called "Seminaries" in which the standards of admission are considerably more permissive in comparison with admission to the University.

teachers' seminaries also have students from all sections of the Palestinian society. Similarly, the University of Haifa which is located at a central place attracts students of varied backgrounds from the same society. Teacher subjects are drawn from both the Galilee and the Triangle in which more than 90% of the Palestinians in Israel reside. A balance between male and female numbers among the subjects has been maintained.

Procedures:

All subjects were asked to respond to (a) a sheet of personal and background information including items such as age, sex, religion, residence, occupation and family background, (b) females were required to respond to the Maferri Inventory of Feminine Values (MIFV) and males to the Maferri Inventory of Masculine Values (MIMV). These responses were scored according to the Manual For Scoring and Interpretation Provided by Steinmann and Fox.²¹ Then raw scores were analyzed statistically in the testing of the hypotheses of this study.

Instrument: MIFV and MIMV

Each of the inventories consists of 34 value charged items. Items are identical in both the feminine and masculine form except for the pronouns provided in accordance to sex. The inventories are designed to measure male and female attitudes and perceptions as to the sexes'

²¹Steinmann, Anne, and David Fox, Maferri Inventory for Male and Female Values, N.Y. Maferri Foundation, 1979, p. 6, 8.

respective roles at home and in society (work, education, etc.). The respondent is required to indicate his or her agreement or disagreement to each of the statements ranging from "completely agree" through the midpoint "I have no opinion" to "I completely disagree".

Half of the items (17) in the inventory relate to the liberal position in terms of self-achieving and self-oriented females (such as: a woman should have interests outside the home, Item #30); the other half relate to the traditional position in terms of family-oriented nurturing role of the female (such as: a woman's place is in the home, Item #33). As far as males are concerned, their inventory also consists of 17 items related to the liberal position in terms of a family oriented man (such as: the needs of the family come before man's personal ambitions, Item #19); the other half relates to the traditional perception in terms of self-achieving, out-oriented man (such as: when a man has a conflict between what he wants to do for himself and what he has to do as a husband his ambitions should come first, Item #14).

Implied in these inventories is a reversal of directions. Self-achieving and self-oriented indicate liberal female position as a departure from her traditional confinement to the family. Yet, the same values of self-achieving and self-oriented indicate a traditional position for men as a fixation to their traditional role. On the other hand, home and family orientation indicates a traditional perception of females as it reflects a fixation

to their traditional family role. Yet, a family oriented man's perceptions indicate a liberal position as it reflects a departure from his traditional self-achieving role in society.

Theoretically, three "pure" types of perceptions emerge. A person who is balanced tends to zero score reflecting a midpoint position. However, zero final score may also well represent a person torn apart by conflict: he or she is totally against or for both liberal and traditional stands. The second "pure" type is the person whose total score is +68. As plus-scores are assigned to self-achieving orientation, it results in opposing positions: +68 for males indicates a "pure" traditional perception. For females, on the other hand, it indicates a "pure" liberal perception. -68 is assigned to the family oriented "pure position". Thus, while it indicates a liberal perception for males, it indicates a traditional perceptions of the females.

The following chart summarizes these indications:

<u>Family Orientation</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Self-achieving Orientation</u>
liberal males	both sexes	traditional males
traditional female		liberal females
-68	- 0.00 score	+ 68

As the chart indicates, there is a continuum ranging from -68 (through zero) to +68. Respondents could be located on this continuum as tending to be liberal, balanced, or traditional rather than in absolute "pure" types which

usually do not exist in reality. Steinmann and Fox have developed and followed the following pattern:

-4 to +4 Balanced

-5 to -68 Liberal for men, Traditional for women

+5 to +68 Traditional for men, Liberal for women.

As far as reliability and validity of the inventories, it was found that the split half reliability is estimated at .81 based upon the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula. Content validity is based on the unanimous judgment of seven experts. The items in the inventory have face validity and a validity check is built into the instrument in the sense that each item is expressed both positively and negatively. The concurrent validity is expressed in positive correlations with more than 90 research students.²²

Analysis of Data:

Data were analyzed in two ways. The first one involved general groupings according to numbers and percentages of the subjects who fall in every one of these three categories according to all the subjects as well as to the different subgroups. Secondly, more specific and detailed statistical analyses were carried out in order to arrive at more accurate findings and conclusions. These statistical methods included T-Tests and analyses of variance.

In the following chapter, an extensive review of the relevant literature will be presented in order to help put the current study in perspective as well as to provide a framework of research findings with which the findings of this study can be compared.

Hypotheses:

This study focuses on the following major hypotheses:

1. Among subjects of this study, males will express perceptions less liberal than those of females.
2. It is expected that Christian subjects will express perceptions which are more liberal than those of Muslim ones.
3. Rural subjects will express perceptions which are more traditional than those of urban areas.
4. Student-teachers, (as a younger age group which also does not yet hold formal responsibility), will reflect more liberal perceptions than teachers.
5. High school students will tend to be more liberal than teachers and student teachers.
6. University students will express perceptions more liberal than those of all other groups.
7. It is expected that the real perceptions will not differ from the ideal ones.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this section, previous research which is pertinent to this study will be reviewed. The review will focus on a few issues some of which are general and the others are more specific. While Palestinians are Arab and predominantly Muslim the position of Arab women in general will be discussed to provide a general picture. This will be followed by a specific discussion of the available literature concerning Palestinian women as a topic directly related to, and organically linked, with this study.

While Palestinians may have much in common with other Arabs and Muslims they do have characteristics which make them different from the rest of the Arab world. The ratio of Palestinians in higher education is higher than in any other Arab nation; illiteracy rates are lowest among all Arabs; and the education of females has been quite common for the last few decades. Further, Palestinians differ from the other Arabs in the sense that, due to their dispersion and forced fragmentation, they have had more international exposure and experience than any other Arab group. Thus, modernization trends, such as women's emancipation, are more likely to impact them more than others.

1. Arab Women In Transition

Traditionally, the status and position of Arab women is viewed as low, inferior and marginal. They are looked upon as objects to be manipulated and controlled rather than as partners in a dialogue which involves subject-object relations where each of the partners plays the role of subject-object successively or simultaneously.

The reasons behind the great gaps between men and women in Arab society are varied and occasionally conflicting. Some ascribe women's inferiority to the Islamic religion by contending that Islam places women at a very low position in the family and society.²³

Edward W. Said dealt quite extensively with the issue of how Islam is covered by Western media and experts. He suggests that due to subjective interpretations as well as the cultural insensitivity to others' cultures and our own, our understanding of cultural phenomena and processes are distorted. Thus, we develop our picture of what is theirs often without authentic correspondence to what really exists. He writes:

"Once we really grasp the sheer power and the subjective components of interpretation, and once we recognize that many of the things we know are

²³Patai, R. The Arab Mind, New York:Scribners, 1973.

ours in more ways than we normally admit, we are well on our way to disposing of some naivete, a great deal of bad faith and many myths about ourselves and the world we live in..... Only after we have understood those things can we go on to grasp the "Islam" that is ours and the different kinds of Islam that exist for Muslims".²⁴

Shilling, in her account of the social and political roles of Arab women, suggests that women in Arab-Muslim society indeed occupy a lower position than that of men due to Muslims as a human society rather than to Islam as a religion (which is not unique in placing women differently than men in the social order). She suggests further that it is not Islam as a religion but Muslim society as a traditional less-developed has generated values and traditions which place women at a lower position.²⁵

El-Saadawi, an Egyptian feminist and author on women in the Arab world suggests that a host of variables has led to this inferiority of Arab women's position. She differentiates between "universal" variables and local particular ones. On the general plane, she suggests that religion, every

²⁴Edward, Said, Covering Islam, New York:Pantheon Books, 1981, p. 72.

²⁵Shilling, N.A. "The Social and Political Roles of Arab Women", in Jane I. Smith, (ed.) Women in Contemporary Muslim Society, Associated Universities Press, 1980.

religion, has placed women lower than men. Furthermore, the social structure and order in most human societies has manipulated women in order to maintain and even reinforce the privileges of men through overt as well as subtle social, political, economic and cultural processes and dynamics.²⁶

Further, El-Saadawi suggests that there are certain values and traditions centuries old that are unique to Arab-Muslim society that have placed women in a lower position. The veil and separation between the sexes (seclusion) are examples. She contends that even though these variables may seem as particularistic they are, nonetheless, local expressions of a universal issue which take different forms in different historical periods and different societies.²⁷

Another Arab female student of women affairs in Arab society is Salwa El-Khammash. In her book concerning the inferiority of women in the backward Arab society especially in rural areas, she submits that socio-economic processes and dynamics are to be held responsible for the backwardness and low position of women. Feudal society has exploited women for cheap labor and has treated them as mere "birth machines". Traditions as well as religion, as

²⁶El-Saadawi, Nawal, The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World, London: Zed Press, 1980.

²⁷Ibid.

understood by people, are perceived according to the nature and needs of society and its power structure. Islamic religion and Arabic tradition (often overlapping) are thus, reinterpreted and consequently conveyed to the masses as placing the women in such a position. Thus, it would appear that religion and tradition function in the service of socio-economic ruling groups or classes. At least they had functioned so overwhelmingly in the past.²⁸

John Gulick takes an anthropological approach in looking at Arab society and suggests that the position of women is as low as it is (or was) because of a certain basic "ethos" in Arab Middle Eastern culture. It is the "ethos of insecurity" in the male's personality which drives him obsessively to manipulate and control women whether through kinship relations or marital bonds. Arab males are socialized in their life as to grow insecure due to polygamy, kinship jealousy, the patriarchal nature of society, and through his responsibility over females in his family (nucleus or extended).²⁹

In other words, in Arab society there exists a hierarchy of control systems. Families control their male children through emotional arousal of jealousy among them; polygamous families form rival sub-groups according to natural mother; and patriarchs control through a variety of

²⁸El-Khammash, S., Arab Women and the Traditional Society, Dar EL Hagigah, Beirut, 1974 (in Arabic).

²⁹Gulick, J. , "The Ethos of Insecurity in Middle-Eastern Outline" in G. A. DeVos (ed.) Responses to Change, D. Van Nostrand & Co., 1976.

means including the exclusive control over land and other economic assets. This develops a "fragile" male ego which is dependent on his mother and later on other females. But then, society, in the form of a clan, neighborhood, or a whole village community controls men through their ego's dependency on females and even reinforces that dependency. Here, emerges the powerful need for Arab males to control females in order to avoid social pressures and sanctions.

As Gulick's approach is interactional-cultural in nature and limited to the interpersonal domain, others adopted a macro level of analysis (see p. 18-21). It seems that neither the macro nor the micro approaches alone can provide a comprehensive analysis and explanation of the notion that women in Arab society hold (or held) a position greatly lower than that of men.

Only in integrating both approaches can one arrive at a more thorough and integrative explanation of the phenomenon under discussion. It appears that processes of socialization, values, traditions and religious beliefs, and socio-economic and political variables have all supplemented and reinforced each other for many centuries to keep women at a greatly lower position than that of men in the Arab society.³⁰

However, like any other society, Arab society is not static. Especially in modern times, change is taking place at a rather fast pace. Change is permeating in that it

³⁰ EL-Saadawi, 1980.

affects all social institutions, intergroup relations and interpersonal interactions. Male-female relationships and the position of women are no exception.

Changes in attitudes of society towards women in the realms of family life, freedom of choice, decision-making, education and work have taken place during the last few decades in Arab society. Nelson reported that in urban Egyptian centers the roles of women and men have changed in such a way as to transform the job structure as more and more females penetrated the work place in production, services, teaching and even highly professionalized occupations (e.g., law and medicine).³¹ The reaction of society was not as negative as was expected. In fact, it was positive with certain constraints: society supports work for women as long as interaction with men is kept at its lowest, when family relations are involved and when highly specialized profession was the case. Even though such a change was accepted with reservations it is, nonetheless, an outstanding one which not only leads to economic productivity and independence of women but also to opportunities of self-realization and social recognition. Furthermore, the significance of such a change can be seen in its being as breakthrough and as a model for other, more traditional sections of urban areas as well as for the rural community.

³¹Nelson, C., "Changing Roles of Men and Women: Illustrations from Egypt", Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 41, No. 2, 1968.

In a study which involved more than two thousand women in Arab Middle-Eastern countries, Prothro and Diab reported similar shifts of society from traditional to more modern positions on women's work, education, choice of husband, etc.³² As one would expect, they reported that change is taking place gradually rather than immediately. Furthermore, these changes have usually been expressed and more readily observed in middle and upper classes more than among lower ones and in urban setting more than in rural ones. Lower classes and rural communities have been slowly yet steadily following the others by assimilating these changes.

Prothro and Diab emphasized that in both form and content changes were selective rather than general.³³ These changes constituted modifications and adaptations of modern values and behaviors rather than a total abandonment of established traditional values and patterns. This is a natural dynamic of the evolutionary process of cultural change, a dynamic which minimizes conflict and reduces pain while change takes place. Change is gradual and slow, selective, and partial. As such, change does not bear in itself the necessary safeguards against its being controlled, manipulated and guided by males in order to maintain a

³²Prothro, E. T. and Diab, L.N., Changing Family Patterns in the Arab East, Beirut, American University Press, 1974.

³³Ibid.

superior positions held by them for centuries and thus, create a relatively new social order in which females are not less inferior. But on the other hand, change when fast and drastic may indeed produce conflict and encourage reactionary forces to react and block its occurrence. At any rate, the authors chose not to become involved in this dilemma and preferred to qualify their study as one which dealt with modification, adaptation and gradual evolution rather than one which dealt with revolutionary change and relative collapse of tradition.

However, unlike other researchers, Prothro and Diab in their comprehensive study dealt with reasons behind the changes which took place or indeed the forces of modernization which have led to these cultural and structural changes in the life of Arab women in the Middle-East.³⁴

Colonization of the Arab Middle-East by Western European countries has had some influence as far as change is concerned. The colonizers have presented the colonized with values and behaviors not only different but also associated with the Western man who is more modern, educated and, indeed, powerful. Certain groups among Arab society have adopted these new patterns especially with regard to women, their style of life, education and interaction with men. This was done due to two mutually reinforcing dynamics. One is that those groups who were in direct

³⁴Prothro, E. T. and Diab, L. N., 1974.

contact with the colonizers initiated them as symbols of civilized and powerful people. Second, in order to benefit and be successful in serving the colonizers they had to communicate and interact with them on similar personal and cultural ground.

However, as Prothro and Diab suggested, the impact of colonization as a modernizing force was extremely limited to those elites which were in direct contact with them. Those elites were isolated from the masses and in fact took pride in that they are Western-like and, thus, different from the masses. In fact, Bendix suggested that colonization has created dual sets of values and attitudes among the colonized.³⁵ While upper classes were in contact with the colonialists they developed and exhibited patterns of behaviors similar to them. Other classes, which constitute the vast majority of society were far removed from such influences. Furthermore, one can add that colonialism was of limited direct modernizing effect because, in the process of decolonization and independence, those elites associated with colonialists became discredited if not expelled.

The major conclusion to be drawn is that even though colonialism has had a minor effect in bringing about socio-cultural change to Arab society it cannot explain the changes which took place in many aspects of Arab society life including changing role of women. But neither can

³⁵Bendix, R. "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered" Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 9, 1967.

urbanization and industrialization account for the premeating changes which took place during the last few decades.

Granted, so suggested Prothro and Diab, urbanization and industrialization are definitely modernizing forces which bring about changes in the perceptions and roles within the family and within the whole web of male-female relationship in society. Furthermore, Inkeles and Smith in their extensive study of the processes involved in becoming modern suggested that urbanization and industrialization have tremendous impact as forces of modernization which bring about structural and cultural changes in the status and position of women in developing society as was the case in developed ones.³⁶ Urbanization and industrialization are processes which set the grounds for "complex work frameworks and organizations" to emerge. Also, by their nature they bring about opportunities for women to enter the labor force. In these complex work places the roles of the social game and male-female interaction are quite different from those set by tradition at the home and the community. This, coupled with relative economic independence of women workers and with shared experiences at work, brings about tremendous changes in the attitudes towards and position of women in society.

However, urbanization and industrialization, even though playing a role as modernizing forces, are still

³⁶Inkeles, A., and Smith, D., Becoming Modern, Cambridge:Harvard University Press, 1974.

of very limited impact. Arab society is neither urbanized or industrialized yet. Even though those processes are in motion now they have not been powerful enough to transform Arab society culturally, economically and politically, much less to say about the transformation of women's position and status.

Furthermore, Shilling observed that "urbanization in the Arab world does not seem to set in force the process of individual change that might raise women's consciousness and motivate them to struggle for their own rights and to become an effective interest group on their behalf".³⁷ She found out that urbanization has occurred gradually and slowly and thus did not have the impact in terms of societal disruption and therefore creation of openness to rapid change.

The influx of rural people to urban centers has always been gradual and in most cases closely tied with familial and kinship bonds. Thus, continuity of tradition is maintained and the same village values apply almost as firmly in the city. Moreover, Shilling observed that the migrants from rural to urban setting are, for the most part, of low educational background and thus, so Shilling contends, change among them is most unlikely. However, it seems that this proposition of Shilling might be quite challengeable. The following is an illustration.

Rural people, males and females who migrate to the urban centers usually do so as a consequence of "push and

³⁷Shilling, N. A., 1980, p. 133.

pull" factors. They are pushed away from their original rural settings in order to escape exploitation of feudalists' control of poverty and oppression, and women are no exception. On the other hand, they are attracted by the urban settings as it provides job opportunity, freedom, and a sense of personal worth. Indeed, it is a process of liberation for both male and female migrants. True, they may well be exploited and manipulated by forces in the new setting but, nonetheless, when compared with their original position, tremendous changes take place. This is especially true as urbanization becomes of a faster pace and industrialization becomes accelerated.

However, as it currently seems to the writer, the reservation made by both Prothro and Diab³⁸ as well as Shilling³⁹ appears to be accurate readings of the social reality as far as the position of women in Arab society is concerned. Namely, urbanization and industrialization have limited effects as modernizing forces and their impact towards the transformation of Arab society in general and the role of women in particular is yet to be seen.

Then the question still remains. Colonialism, urbanization and industrialization cannot account as explanatory forces for the changes which took place and observed by researchers of the patterns of Arab family life and the position of women. What then are the forces which

³⁸Prothro, E. T. and Diab, L. N., 1974.

³⁹Shillings, N. A., 1980.

have played the major role in changing the patterns of family life and position and role of women in Arab society?

Generally speaking, Inkeles and Smith in their extensive comparative study of the dynamics of modernization in six nations have considered mass media and education to be most powerful modernizing forces which can account as explanatory dynamics for the changes that take place in developing societies in general and in the position of women in particular.⁴⁰ Similarly, yet more specifically Prothro and Diab in their study of Arab society and culture and which included 2000 women in the Arab-East have defended the case of mass media and education as powerful modernizing forces upon the background of which we can explain and analyze the changes which take place both structurally and culturally in the position of women in developing society in general and in Arab society in particular.⁴¹

The mass media exposes men and women in developing societies to ideas and concepts of equality and freedom for both sexes. These principles even though appearing to be relative and not absolute in Western society, when encountered by men and women in traditional developing societies have a great impact and often are absorbed as absolute in their original contexts as if in Western societies no gaps exist between the sexes. Thus, these principles when they are conveyed at a rather high frequency

⁴⁰Inkeles, A. and Smith, D., 1974.

⁴¹Prothro, E. T. and Diab, L. N., 1974.

by Western media to non-Western social contexts they become very powerful and influential as they convey alternative sets of values and behaviors found in modern (Western) more advanced societies. Not only that this kind of exposure helps men and women in traditional society to discover the gaps between Western society and their own but also such an exposure facilitates the discovery of the gap by and between men and women in their own traditional contexts. In other words, exposure to mass media creates and/or raises women awareness as to their disadvantaged position in their own societies. Women's consciousness becomes transformed and geared into the direction of action for the improvement of their lot in society. Men, on the other hand, as a general rule, either support or, at least agree, to women's action in the direction of achieving further rights in the areas of education, work, freedom of choice, etc. In short, in both studies, mass media as a transmitter of Western-modern values and behaviors was portrayed as a positive powerful modernizing process in developing societies in general and in Arab society in particular.

However, by ascribing an ultra modernizing quality to Western mass media, some researchers believe that both Inkeles and Smith as well as Prothro and Diab have fallen into the trap of naive and simplistic analysis. They viewed media as a one-directional, one-sided, positive modernizing force and failed to look at it comprehensively. Others before them have also used the same pattern of scientific explanation by overemphasizing the Western

egalitarian ideology as a prevailing and influential content in 3rd world mass media.⁴²

Media, as a transmitter of Western-modern values and patterns of behavior, has contradictory effects some of which function as hindrances to change and modernization. Indeed, it could be threatening and instead of facilitating change it elicits a counterforce calling for the "return to the source" rather than becoming more modern or, indeed, more Western. As media sometimes bear the seeds of change in terms of modern values and behaviors and thus helps transform men's and women's awareness into becoming more modern, it also sometimes bears the seeds of a threat to and cultural invasion of the traditional yet indigenous culture. These threats are often transformed by the already existing fundamentalist forces and groups (e.g., Muslim Brothers or Moral Majority), into a strong, sometimes militant force towards conservation and further traditionalism.

Dissatisfaction of Third World countries with the domination of their culture by the Western one through mass communication media is growing. In his analysis of how Western culture dominates the world, Anthony Smith suggests that a "New World Information Order" had been created. According to Smith, it is an order in which the West is "active", "seeing", "imperial", and "exploring" while the

⁴²For example, see: Khal, J. A. The Measurement of Modernization, Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1968. The Passing of Traditional Society, The Free Press, 1958; and Rogers, E. Modernization Among Peasants, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969.

Third World is "passive", "seen", "empire", and "explored". He concludes that "the Third World has accused the West of cultural domination through its control of the major news collecting resources, the flow of its cultural products, the financing power of its advertising agencies, its news print companies, and its hold over the electromagnetic spectrum."⁴³

Furthermore, while Inkeles and Smith recognize media as a modernizing force they mention its other aspect only in passing. For example, they observe that some people in the developing societies define contents of the media programs as "inherently dangerous to public morality". In their theoretical analysis and while reviewing Klapper's⁴⁴ extensive work they suggest that

Even if the media carry a high proportion of materials which might be thought of as unambiguously "modernizing" audiences have a remarkable capacity to approach this material selectively. People pay attention mainly to what they want to hear and see, filtering out that part of the message they find too foreign or too likely to conflict with their inherited traditions and established beliefs. Mass communication may, therefore, be much less effective in bringing about fundamental changes in attitudes and values than many imagine.⁴⁵

Media, so it seems from our analysis, can indeed play a major role as a modernizing force when it does not threaten

⁴³Smith A. The Geopolitics of Information: How Western Culture Dominates the World, Cambridge:Oxford University Press, 1980.

⁴⁴Klapper, J. The Effects of Mass Communication, The Free Press, 1960.

⁴⁵Inkeles, A. and Smith, D. Becoming Modern, p. 144-45.

the cultural integrity of audience and readers who are exposed to it. It can do so by presenting to people ideas, concepts and values which are viewed as "original" and not "imported" and as stemming from the same cultural background and/or as serving the cultural integrity, national independence and social development.

Goode⁴⁶ in his multinational study of the revolution in statistical family life patterns, and consequently the changes in the position and role of women in traditional society stated that these are misunderstood as they are often labeled as "Western trends in non-Western societies". He stated that such labeling distorts our understanding and analysis "by leading us to believe that countries are changing only under the impact of Western influence, whereas often the most important pressure is nationalist and indigenous".⁴⁷

El-Khammash (1974) suggests that, late in the 19th century and early in the current one, liberal Muslim thinkers have reinterpreted religion as to support women's emancipation as part and parcel of the long hoped for national liberation. This was an indigenous socio-cultural movement which was widely spread both in North-Africa and the Arab Middle East. Then the ground was set for later developments the principles of which are not "foreign", "imported" and thus threatening but they were

⁴⁶Goode, W. J., World Revolution and Family Patterns, The Free Press, 1963.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 18-19.

"original" in the sense that they drew their legitimacy from the Muslim-Arab historical and cultural background.

Indeed, by mid-century the grounds were ready to set in motion women's emancipation organizations and associations. It was suggested that in the first half of this century, not only women's awareness was significantly raised but feminist movements have sprung out all over the Arab world. However, their impact was limited to the educated and in urban settings mainly. Furthermore, the leading women (and men) in these movements were Western-educated.⁴⁸

Granted, these leading women and men were greatly influenced by their encounters with and exposure to Western culture. However, as they returned to their society they seemed to have succeeded in integrating Western cultural values into their own thinking and beliefs in a relevant way as to not only protect them against alienation from their society but also to make them influential while presenting their new ideas, thoughts as Muslim-Arab and, thus, not threatening. In fact what helped them most was that these ideas were not only based on cultural foundations of their own but also they were compatible with and supportive of the national interest in liberation and independence from foreign rule and colonialism. Nationalist media then competed to present the feminists' views along with views and news of national liberation.

⁴⁸Khuri, F., (ed.) Leadership and Development in Arab Society, Syracuse University Press, 1981.

In conclusion, it appears that media is a "neutral" means that could be used by either the conservative-traditionalist forces or the liberal-modern ones. When it is loaded with Western content, media usually play the double and conflicting role by reinforcing modernization trends among those interested in it and by eliciting a counter attack. Instead of modernization, the call for conservatism becomes the safeguard against the perceived threats. At its best, media really mediate between modernism and the educated. This was the most salient finding of many studies including that of Inkeles and Smith as they concluded that "half of the effect of mass-media exposure stemmed from its mediation between education and modernity".⁴⁹ Thus, the more education becomes widespread the more mass media become an effective force in facilitating modernity. Put more specifically, the more females become modern, media reinforces and accelerates the process.

Prothro and Diab have found that in their sample of more than 2000 subjects, females have had education more than the preceding generation of males.⁵⁰ Thus, the gaps between men and women of the same generation are narrowing as females get their share of schooling. However, in rural areas and among lower classes, the gaps were significantly

⁴⁹Inkeles, A. and Smith, D., Becoming Modern, p. 148-149.

⁵⁰Prothro E. T. and Diab, L. N., Changing Family Patterns, 1974.

greater as education is still primarily the privilege of males. They, conclude that, due to education, progress has occurred in noticeable measures. Kamla Nath in her study of education and employment among Kuwaiti Arab women concludes that "Mass education of women and their working in the modern service sector in large numbers constitutes an advanced stage of modernization for the male-dominated society of the Arab Gulf states".⁵¹

Education is often found as the most single powerful predictor of a person's attitudes. As far as modernization is concerned, education was found to be the most powerful factor.⁵² Most other factors acquire their significance through their mediation between education and modernity.

After we have established the empirical link between education and modernization, it becomes necessary to shed some light on how education brings about modernization. However, as the specific ways in which education brings about modernization were not established empirically by research this analysis will be theoretical. The empirical validity of such a theoretical analysis or others like it is yet to be established by research.

Kamla Nath's study implies that the power of education lies in that it provides the person with skills useful in the world of work. Women, when deprived of those skills are

⁵¹Nath, K., "Education and Employment Among Kuwaiti Women" in L. Beck and L. Keddi (eds.), Women in the Muslim World, Cambridge:Harvard University Press, 1978.

⁵²Inkeles, A. and Smith, D., Becoming Modern.

consequently deprived of work at least at its higher echelons. One could add that these skills are divideable into specific and general. Specific skills relate to the specific tasks at work (e.g., typing skills, knowledge and touching skills, accounting.....). General skills on the other hand, relate to the general environment of work in complex situations. These include interactional and communicational skills, the skills of making sense out of interrelated, interdependent and seemingly fragmented complex setting.⁵³

In his study of Arab education in Israel, Mar'i suggested that education has a modernizing effect on all school children in general and on females in particular not only through acquiring knowledge and developing skills but also through exposure to female teachers as role models.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the more experience common for both sexes, and the departure from the traditional bonds of the home environment are expected to have an egalitarian effect on both sexes even though the effect on females may be stronger than that on males because the former group is the oppressed in society and, thus, is much more eager for liberating experiences.

⁵³Nath, K., Education and Employment Among Kwaiti Women.

⁵⁴Mari, S. Kh., Arab Education in Israel, 1978, p. 39-43.

⁵⁵Inkeles, A. and Smith, D., Becoming Modern.

Inkeles and Smith⁵⁵ in their study of the dynamics of modernization in six developing countries provide a theoretical analysis of how education brings about modernity. The school, so they contend, is a most powerful socializing agent in developing societies as far as modernization is concerned. Due to its nature as a social organization, its "incidental" rather than "formal" qualities make the difference. In other words, it is not the curriculum and the academic subject matter that leads to modernization as much as it is the underlying mechanisms of reward and punishment, modeling, exemplification, and generalization. To these mechanisms the authors ascribe the modernizing effects of education. They say that through reward and punishment, school children learn to differentiate between right and wrong, effective and ineffective, and appropriate and inappropriate modeled after complex organizations characteristic of modern society. Through modeling, children acquire characteristics in the realms of feeling, thinking and behaving exhibited by their teachers-role models who not only function in a relatively modern institution, the school, but whose responsibility is to bring about changes into their own society also.

Exemplification is similar to modeling in that it also involves the incorporation of examples. It differs however, in that it relates to rules, schedules, systems, timings all of which are impersonal. Modeling relates specifically to significant human figures the qualities of which children incorporate.

While each of the three mechanisms of incidental learning relates to specific realms of limited scope of application, the fourth one extends far and beyond. Generalization involves the application of the ability to differentiate through reward and punishment, the qualities acquired through modeling and the rules learned through exemplification in contexts other than the school. It also involves the application of the sense of efficacy and achievement into the wider scope of life. It only remains to be said that these mechanisms of learning involve both males and females and transform them into becoming modern with varying degrees according to a host of variables (e.g., familial background, individual abilities quality of teacher-pupil relationship.....etc.).

However, it seems that the authors disregarded the formal school learning mechanisms as well as the academic contents learned through these mechanisms. However, the mechanisms of incidental learning highly emphasized by the authors would not be of much use without the ability to learn, to think, to analyze and criticize, to arrive at conclusions and to solve problems. All these abilities are directly approached and developed through the direct planned teaching-learning process. Furthermore, knowledge in and of itself has a liberating meaning. The mere content children learn at school along with skills acquired through the direct learning of these contents constitute the basis without

which modern attitudes acquired through incidental learning cannot be functional.

School curriculum in traditional society is often found to be sexist in that it directly or indirectly reinforces the traditionally conditioned positions of males and females.⁵⁶ In fact, in a society as Western as U.S. society, sexism in school curricula is commonplace.⁵⁷ In an article entitled "Silence is a Woman's Glory; the Sexist Content of Education," Mahony suggested that despite the widespread movement of women's liberation the male's conception of women's education is still permeating the educational system. However, sexism is not limited to the schools' formal curricula only. It exists in the school as a social organization and affects the incidental mechanism of learning as well, at least, not less than the formal contents of academic subject matter.⁵⁸

Furthermore, especially in developing society, the mere learning of how to read and write and basic arithmetic often signifies a revolutionary departure of the young generation from the one preceding it. And finally, the authors themselves conclude that due to the socializing processes related to incidental learning mechanisms the more the child stays at school the more he develops a positive and

⁵⁶Mar'i, S., Arab Education in Israel, 1978, p. 70-89.

⁵⁷Mahony, P., "Silence is a Woman's Glory: The Sexist Contents of Education", Women Studies International Forum, Vol. 5, No. 5, 1982, p.464.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 363-364.

appreciating attitude towards science. The question is, How is it possible to develop a positive and effective attitude towards science in isolation from scientific inquiry process in the lab and without the incorporation of the structure of science all of which are processes organically related to the direct planned mechanisms of learning and to knowledge, contents and formal curricula. In short, both attitudes acquired through incidental mechanisms of learning as well as knowledge and skills acquired through the direct involvement in content and subject matter are mutually supplementary conditions if education is to have a modernizing effect for both males and females in the school.

In her study of Arab women's position in society and politics, Shilling recognized the powerful role of education as a modernizing force.⁵⁹ She contends that as education becomes the privilege of all regardless of sex, the gaps become more narrow and, as a consequence, women are able to penetrate not only the work place but also the power structure even though on a limited scale. However, she presents few reservations which pertain to the educational scene in the Arab world. Namely, not only do females not have the same access to education as males especially in the higher levels of the educational hierarchy, but also the segregation of the sexes in the educational setting is often found to hinder modernization as it reinforces the seclusion of women in society.

⁵⁹Shilling, N.A., *The Social and Political Roles*, 1980.

As this may be the case in general, especially in less developed Arab locales, it is not the case among Palestinians. More than 80% of both sexes attend school up to the junior high level, higher education ratios are among the highest in the world, and, alongside the formal educational system other institutions of socialization are readily available, too.⁶⁰ This undoubtedly is expected to have some impact on the position of women.

2. Palestinian Arab Women:

From 1517 to 1917 Palestine was under Turkish-Ottoman rule. Following the collapse of the Turkish-Ottoman Empire in the 1st World War, Palestine became a British Mandate until 1948 when Israel was created as a Zionist Jewish state and established on major portions of Palestine. The remaining portions, referred to as West-bank and the Gaza Strip were occupied by Israel in the 1967 war. More than half of the Palestinian nation which consists of approximately four million people are in exile as refugees existing mainly in the neighboring Arab countries.

Thus, Palestinians came in contact with Western culture embodied either by the British colonizers or by the Western dominated Jewish culture. While these contacts may have had their impact on Palestinian society as far as modernization

⁶⁰Mari, S., Arab Education in Israel, 1978, p. 87-89.

is concerned, this impact has remained marginal in the sense that other more powerful modernization forces were and still are at play among Palestinians whether on their homeland or in diaspora.

Kana'na suggested that Western culture in the eyes of Palestinians, as well as others, represents that of the conqueror, invader, and exploiter. It is, thus, more rejected than assimilated.⁶¹ Indeed, in his study of ethnicity, identity and the position of Palestinian women in an urban mixed community in Israel, Moshe Shokeid attempted to detect the extent to which Arab women are influenced by Western ideas and values as presented by Israeli media and as encountered through Arab women's contacts with the Jewish Western Society. He observed resistance to westernization as it is foreign and thus threatening to undermine the cultural foundations upon which the society is based.⁶² He contends, based on Patai's very dubious and biased work,⁶³ that Arab women are, sexually uncontrollable, and that is why they are prohibited and inhibited as far as

⁶¹Kana'na, Sharif, Socio-Cultural and Psychological Adjustment of the Arab Minority in Israel, San Francisco,:Rand, 1976.

⁶²Shokeid, Moshe, "Ethnic Identity and the Position of Women Among Arabs in an Israeli Town", Ethnic & Racial Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, (April), 1980, p. 200.

⁶³For a critique of Patai's work see: Kerr Malcom, Review of Patoi's "The Arab Mind", The Muslim World, vol. 66, No. 4, 1976; and Hogopian, Elaine, Review of Rafael patai's "The Arab Mind", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1977.

change is concerned.

Mark Tessler emphasized the point that Western influence on Third World societies in general, and on Arab society in particular (including Palestinians in Israel) is observable in two opposing directions: One is of acceptance and accommodation, the other of rejection and resistance.⁶⁴ However, such generalizations as "Third World Societies", even though appropriate in certain studies which adopted carefully designed and suitable paradigms of field research, often mislead the scientific inquiry and, thus, make conclusions unbiased and often reality mystifying.⁶⁵ Furthermore, even such generalities as "Muslim World" "Arab World" not only are often found uncarefully and falsely interchangeable but also within each of these "worlds" great differences and varieties are often found.

As far as the Palestinian society is concerned, Zureik in his conclusions concerning the sociology of the Palestinians stated that two myths exist. One is that Palestinian society is often treated and indiscriminately so, as a third World society. Thus, it is treated as categorically traditional. Yet, Zureik presents evidence related to the level of educational achievement, sense of motivation, level of political socialization and the high

⁶⁴Tessler, Mark, "Arab Women's Emancipation in Israel," UFSI Reports, No. 21, 1982, p. 3.

⁶⁵Schatzman, L. and Strauss, A., Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology, Prentice Hall, 1973.

level of upward mobility which tends to exclude Palestinians society from the category of Third World traditionality.⁶⁶

Another "myth" which Zureik attempts to eradicate is that there is a "oneness" of Arab society, that it is homogeneous and that differences between societies in the Arab nation hardly exist. However, while Zureik does not fail to recognize the validity of the "oneness" among Arabs due to historical, linguistic and cultural common grounds, he suggests that uniquenesses exist nonetheless. He contends that at this point of Palestinian struggle for national liberation and social development, uniquenesses should be uncovered and emphasized.

At this point, then, it becomes imperative to look at the most salient features of Palestinian society as far as the position of women vis a vis that of men is concerned. Over 96% of Palestinian school age children are enrolled in elementary school. At this school level no difference is observable between the ratios of male and female pupils. Over 50% of those in elementary school pursue their education at the secondary level while ratios of male-female become slightly imbalanced (60% and 40% respectively). The

⁶⁶Zureik, Elia, "Toward a Sociology of the Palestinians", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 4, No.4, 1977, p. 15.

dropout rate does not exceed 12% in the first 9 years of schooling. All this is true among Palestinians regardless of their locale whether in Israel or in the occupied territories. There is no reason to assume that among Palestinians, in their diaspora, ratios are less than those presented.⁶⁷

However, at the college and university level differences and gaps become greater not only between different segments of Palestinian society but between males and females as well. Among Palestinians in Israel the ratio of college and university students in the past few years was near 400 students in 100,000 inhabitants, one of the lower ratios in the world. This is due to the peculiar situation of Palestinians in Israel, as their educational system is completely controlled by authorities and the fact that universities are not very open to Arab students in all fields as well as it is due to the lack of job opportunities for Arab graduates as they are almost excluded from the Israeli job market. Among Palestinians elsewhere, Mari has discovered that ratios of higher education are among the highest in the world (3,500 in 100,000 inhabitants). In fact, this ratio is next to that existing in the U.S.A.⁶⁸

Unlike many other Arab societies teachers of Palestinian children are all Palestinians, in fact, especially in the Gulf states and North African ones many of

⁶⁷Mari, S. Arab Education in Israel, p. 109-110.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 111.

the teachers at all levels of the educational hierarchy are Palestinians. Furthermore, Zahlan and Zahlan⁶⁹ have found out that one of every ten high skilled individuals in the Arab world is a Palestinian.

As accurate data are not available as to the male-female ratios among Palestinian students in higher education, one gets the impression from the scenes of universities in Israel and the West-Bank that there are 60% males and 40% females. The percentage of female university students has been increasing more than that of males. It is anticipated that this trend will continue until the gaps become minimal. Furthermore, the traditional pattern of parents objecting to their daughters studying abroad seems to have been broken to a large extent. Palestinian female students are found in many of universities in the Arab world as well as in countries of Western and Eastern Blocks.

Parents' attitudes towards the education and role of their daughters is changing in many other ways. In a survey which involved 210 parents of high school pupils, Mar'i has found that over 85% of them encourage their daughters and others to pursue their education to the secondary level. Furthermore, in the same survey it was found that 92.5% of those parents surveyed do not object to their daughters' work. In fact, over 15% of those 92.5% in favor of work for their daughters did not object to manual labor. The others

⁶⁹Zahlan, A & M, "Palestinian Future: Education and Manpower", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1977, p. 104.

(77%) preferred clerical and white collar jobs for them.⁷⁰

As mentioned earlier, education was found the most powerful single force in modernization and in the transformation of consciousness towards equality between men and women as to their role and position in society. This was established in the comparative study which involved six nations⁷¹ as well as in a study which involved 2000 Arab women.⁷² While gaps still exist between males and females among Palestinians, they are, nonetheless, minimal in comparison with other developing societies including Arab ones. This, in fact, places Palestinians closer to developed societies at least as far as educational achievement of both sexes is concerned.

In a recent study of women's position and role in Palestinian rural communities in Israel, Joseph Ginat has concluded that the ideology of male supremacy vis a vis female inferiority typical of rural communities has collapsed. He concluded that such an ideology - "is no longer an attitude assumed by the younger generation." Those who have acquired formal education, and their number is steadily increasing, do not hold women in low esteem.....Educated young men avoid making derogatory statements about women, so as not to be classified as "old fashioned" which in their eyes is synonymous of "poorly

⁷⁰Mari, 1978, p. 152-162.

⁷¹Inkeles and Smith, Becoming Modern.

⁷²Prothro & Diab, Changing Family Patterns.

educated, many found men are proud of the formal education of their wives and feel it enhances their own status".⁷³

Ginat also found that women have both formal and informal power. (i.e., economic and socio-cultural). They participate in decision-making in the family as well as many of them are active politically even though usually in community politics. Furthermore, in his attitudinal surveys, he found out that women's views as to the components of their improved (modern) status are reflected as follows: 28% felt that education reflects their improved position, 26% felt that greater freedom of action (as it is enhanced by better education) is reflected in their new position, 27% felt that improvement in their position is reflected in a better status in the family, and 17% referred to their modern clothing as a reflection on their improved position.⁷⁴

Palestinian men are not happy with these developments. As hesitant and ambivalent as they are, they, nonetheless, did not object or at least actively object to them. While they adopt a realistic approach they move with the time. Females are probably ahead of them as far as women's position and role in society are concerned.

Ginat went further into surveying women's attitudes towards their ideal or preferred occupations for women. 80% of 121 female (age 81-30) respondents were found to view

⁷³Ginat, Joseph, Women in Muslim Rural Society, Rutgers:Transaction Books, 1981, p. 156.

⁷⁴Ibid, p. 161.

work, education and family responsibilities together as their ideal conception of a woman's occupation. Furthermore, 60% of those of 31-50 years of age (124 respondents) stated that they held the same position. These findings reflect, more than anything else, a definite and overwhelming orientation among Palestinian women to achieve a balance between education and work on the one hand and household responsibility on the other, a position which divorces them from the traditional bounds.⁷⁵

When men were asked what are the forces of change and modernization in the position and role of women in their own communities, they pointed to education as the single most significant change agent (67% among single aged 18 years and over). Forty seven percent of married and 54% of single men pointed to freedom of activity (associated with work and other activities) as a significant changing force.⁷⁶

The third most emphasized force of change as viewed by male respondents was the interaction between Palestinians in Israel and those in the West-Bank. 38% of married and 53% of single men viewed this interaction as having a modernizing effect on Palestinian communities in Israel. Through such interactions, Palestinian consciousness increasingly flows in its totality. While Palestinians in Israel held to their traditional cultural identity as a safeguard against the eminent threats through its

⁷⁵Ginat, J. 1981 p. 156-162.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 161.

subjugation to Israeli policy and domination by Jewish-Western foreign culture, through interactions and reunion with their fellow Palestinians on the occupied territories the grounds were set open for change. Not only internal confidence was tremendously increased and so the ability to cope with threats to national and cultural identity, but also the struggle for national independence and social development exemplified by West Bankers have had a great revolutionizing impact on Palestinian men and women in Israel.⁷⁷

Another variable involved in our discussion of the position and role of Palestinian women is the impact of political socialization (as stemming out from the revolutionary movement) on the position of women in Palestinian society in general and that in Israel in particular. Mar'i and Mar'i in their study of women as change agents among Palestinian Arab society in Israel have found that change and the role of women in it were highly susceptible to major political events. These events bear special significance to the sense of internal security (or insecurity) among Palestinians in Israel as a controlled minority. The more secure they felt over their cultural and national identity the more change took place. Of course, the rise of the Palestinian national struggle embodied by the PLO has reinforced and strengthened the sense of security as far as anxieties over the loss of identity is

⁷⁷Ginat, J. 1981, p. 163.

concerned. As a consequence, women, especially the highly educated and the economically independent played an active, or indeed, a leading role. As mentioned earlier this was due to the reinforced cultural and national identity coupled with relatively high political awareness as a result of political socialization.⁷⁸

Apparently, political socialization which resulted in high political awareness was and still is a sweeping force which transforms Palestinian consciousness in its totality. It's impact is readily observable on the attitudes and behaviors of men and women regardless of their locale. It has far reaching effects on those who remained on their homeland as in the case aforementioned and it has had its effects on those in exile. Farah found no observable differences in the attitudes of female and male Palestinian youth in Kuwait as far as national and social issues are concerned.⁷⁹ Mansour found out that while differences exist yet the consciousness of Palestinian females and males in a refugee camp in Lebanon follow in the same direction as far as attitudes are concerned.⁸⁰

However, these studies are limited in the generalizability of their conclusions as they were of small scope

⁷⁸Mari, M. & S., "Women as Change Agents Among Arabs in Israel" in preperation, 1983.

⁷⁹Farah, Tawfik, "Political Socialization of Palestinian Children", Formal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 4, No. 4., 1977, p. 97-98.

⁸⁰Mansour, Sylvie, "Identity Among Palestinian Youth: Male & Female Differentials", Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1977, p. 86-87.

Farah's study was conducted in few classrooms and Mansour's in two. Further, as far as empirical research is concerned, the realm of position and role of women as well as male-female relations in Palestinian society is still in its infancy stage.

The proposed study attempts to detect the mutual role perceptions of several hundred Palestinian male and female subjects in Israel. These subjects are drawn from the northern, central and eastern regions of the country, involve rural and urban, Muslims and Christians, secondary school students' student teachers and university students.

3. Cross Cultural Evidence: Roles and Role Perceptions of Males and Females.

Rosaldo and Lamphere analyzed extensive cross-cultural and comparative studies on the position of women in many societies: Western and non-Western, developing and developed; and capitalist and socialist. They concluded that "It seems fair to say that all contemporary societies are to some extent male-dominated, and although the degree and expressions of female subordination vary greatly, sexual asymmetry is presently a universal fact of human social line."⁸¹

Giele, while providing a comprehensive introduction and overview to studies on women's roles in eight countries (Middle and Far East, Eastern and Western Europe; and North and South America), concludes that "The overwhelming evidence

⁸¹Rosaldo, M. and Lamphere, L., Women, Culture & Society, Stanford University Press, 1974, p. 3.

so far is that virtually no society in the world provides women equal status with men."⁸²

Thus, the discussion and analysis on the factors that determine the roles of males and females in society becomes in order. In her discussion of sex roles and sexuality Gullahorn suggests that female sexuality has been evaluated as "shameful" by the male-dominated human society.⁸³ Thus, females have been placed at an inferior position to that of males whose sexuality, if not a source of pride at least neutral and "shame free". Fitzgerald attacks the same issue from a different angle and attempts to uncover the channels through which such a belief and others effect the hierarchical differentiation, of sex roles and positions in society.⁸⁴ He suggests that those beliefs and attitudes which relate to differences between males and females are transformed into strategies and methods of socialization at the early stages of the individuals' development. While socialization is determined, at least to a large extent, by those beliefs and values of adults relating to sex differences, it, in turn, determined the outcome, that is, the differences in the position and role of males and

⁸²Giele, J. Z., "Introduction: The Status of Women in Comparative Perspective", in J-2, Giele and A. C. Smock (eds.), Women: Rolest Status in Eight Countries, Wiley & Sons, 1977, p. 3.

⁸³Gullahorn, J.E., "Sex Roles & Sexuality", in E. Donelson & J. E. Gullahorn (eds.) Women: A Psychological Perspective, Wiley & Sons, 1977.

⁸⁴Fitzgerald, H. E., "Infants & Core Givers" in E. Donelson & J. E., Gullahorn (eds.) Women: A Psychological Perspective.

females. These differences reinforce the beliefs and attitudes and thus, a self-perpetuating order is created.

Others suggested that it is not the cultural forces in terms of values and beliefs as much as it is structural forces which hold women in a lower position in society. For example, Reiter offered the explanation that the more women participate actively in the production process and the more they have a control over their income the higher their status becomes in society. This explanation falls within the structural approach which looks at the position of men and women in society from a socio-economic point of view.⁸⁵

Yet another model of explaining the hierarchical ordering of the position of males and females in society is neither cultural nor structural. It is, rather, biological. Steven Goldberg's book "The Inevitability of Patriarchy" has stirred a great deal of controversy. He concluded that male dominance is inevitable and patriarchy is irreplaceable. They are rooted in biological structures and processes different in males and females. Namely, male and female hormones are different in such a way as to make males unquestionably superior to females in logical thinking and abstract intellectual capabilities.⁸⁶

Maccoby and Jacklin have challenged Goldberg's model of explanation. They found, based on an extensive review of

⁸⁵Reiter, R. (ed.), Toward an Anthropology of Women, N.Y.:Monthly Review Press, 1975.

⁸⁶Goldberg, S., The Inevitability of Patriarchy, N.Y.:Morrow Publishers, 1973.

research studies that in the realms of intellectual abilities , decision making processes and leadership positions nothing is biologically determined as far as sex differences are concerned.⁸⁷ Smock has contended that Goldberg's explanations are inaccurate as they are based on dubious data collected on animals. According to Smock, Goldberg is also simplistic in that he jumps from hormonal differences to determining human destiny. It seems that this is yet another attempt of the male dominated world to reinforce or, indeed to eternalize the female inferiority ideology especially when transformations in modern human culture and civilization have seriously challenged that "ideology". Thus, it remains that the presumed sex differences are creations of culture and society.⁸⁸

Smock provided a comprehensive conceptual framework as to the cultural and structural determinants of females' roles vis a vis males' roles in society based on studies in eight different countries (North and South American, Capitalist and Socialist, Western and Eastern Europe; and Middle and Far Eastern).⁸⁹ In the cultural domain, she suggested that religion, both Christianity and Islam, is a powerful determinant of the position and roles of females.

⁸⁷Maccoby, E. E. and Jacklin, C. N. The Psychology of Sex Differences, Stanford University Press, 1974, p. 370.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹The following formulations are based on Smock's analysis.

Religious creeds have become embodied in and interpreted through a religious hierarchy from which females are excluded. Furthermore, the nature of religious symbolism has made the belief common and powerful that females are inferior to males as "ultimate being" is portrayed as exclusively masculine.

Another cultural factor which determines the position and role of females in society is female sexuality and her sexual virtue. The degree to which potential sexual conduct of women reflects on the honor of the entire social group was found to be important in determining their position and role. This was found true, with various degrees, across cultures. It is, of course, organically linked with religion as world religions have, for many centuries, secluded women from economic, cultural and political mainstreams of society on the grounds of divinity. However, in the modern world, where secularization and decline in the perceived religious valuation of women have taken place, some opportunities for greater economic, social and political participation have opened up for women.

The third cultural force that determines the females' position and role in society across cultures is the widespread belief that women are inferior to men in intellectual abilities and in their suitability for leadership positions. These beliefs are significant components in the cluster of images human cultures have developed of women over the centuries. These beliefs are self-fulfilling as they have limited the access to female

education and female work especially in their higher levels. In the modern world these images have remained to a certain extent and, thus, resulting in male-dominated scientific political and economic circles. This is true, so contends Smock, even though it is not stylish anymore to express these beliefs in public.

In the structural domain, Smock suggested the following as factors determining the position and role of women. First, the structure of male-female relations or, as she, calls it, the "hierarchical order" in which males and females are placed according to the aforementioned cultural attitudes and beliefs. Second, is the availability, or inavailability, to females of institutions to complement, compete with or even substitute for the family, namely the workplace as a complementary framework to the family. Workplace could be more effective in that it competes with the institution of the family in providing security and self-esteem for women. Indeed it could be so powerful as to substitute for the family and thus lead women to great independence from men and family by choosing divorce or remaining single. In developing societies, institutional affiliations of women (other than the family), if existing, complement female's role in the family.

Thirdly, access to education is probably the most powerful structural determinant of women's position and role in society. Where educational equality in access and quality exist, gaps between males and females are more narrow. This was found true across cultures regardless of

level of development and stage of industrialization. Education, so it was found, not only provides females and it does to males, with skills and qualifications which enable them to enter society on an equal footing, it also provides the individual with the necessary self-esteem and confidence to do so. However, even in most advanced societies, educational equality for males and females is still to be achieved. While access to education is equally guaranteed for both sexes equality in the quality of education is relatively lacking. Whether through visible factors such as contents or subject matter or through invisible ones such as implicit expectations sex-typing occurs in the school.⁹⁰ Developing societies, on the other hand, vary to a great degree on this matter. While all are expected to have inequality in the quality of education, most have not yet succeeded in availing education to both sexes in an equal manner. For example, 50% of elementary school-age females are not enrolled in school in Egypt.⁹¹

A fourth structural determinant of females' position and role is the socio-economic system prevailing in a certain society. It was found that in private owned economies gaps are greater than in government owned or regulated economies. For example, after the nationalization of major industries and banks in Egypt, females had a greater

⁹⁰Mohany, P., "Silence is a Woman's Glory", 1982,p. 465.

⁹¹Smock, A. C. & Youssef, N. H., "Egypt:from Seclusion to limited Participation" in J. 2. Giele & A. C. Smock (eds.) Women, Table 1, p. 52.

opportunity to penetrate the world of work. Capitalist systems are criticized for the notion that not only do they block women from work but when they don't usually they keep them in the lower echelons and/or pay them less than men for equal work.⁹² On the other hand, Communist systems are criticized for the notion that, women are manipulated by the force of ideology and other sociopolitical forces. They don't choose to work and when they don't work, they are portrayed as "parasites" as in the case of Poland.⁹³

The fifth important factor is class belongingness. Females of upper and middle class usually are advantaged by opportunities of both education and work. Thus, while enjoying the economic return they also fulfill themselves and take active role in decision-making both in the family and at work. Those of the poor classes, on the other hand are paradoxically freer in movement and action. They work out of necessity while education is not as accessible to them. Indeed, their "freedom" to work costs them a great deal. Not only they are oppressed but also their upward mobility is extremely limited. This was found true in across-cultures regardless of their modernity level like in the

⁹²Sacks, K., "Angels Revisited" in M. Rosaldo & L. Lamphere (eds.), Women, Culture & Society.

⁹³Sokolowska, M., "Poland: Women's Experience Under Socialism", in J. 2. Giele & A. C. Smock (eds.) Women.

cases of France, or Mexico⁹⁵

Egypt is one among many, if not all, Arab countries in which women are undergoing a gradual transition from seclusion to participation. In their extensive and thorough discussion of the nature of this transition Smock and Youssef attempted to identify the determinants of the "new" position of women in Egyptian society. They singled out education as the most powerful force which is transforming Egyptian women from seclusion to participation. Its impact permeates all aspects of society as far as male and female positions are concerned. They also discussed Islamic reforms, political socialization resulting from the revolution of 1952, economic changes and demographic transitions resulting from lower fertility rates as influential factors in the shaping of the new perceptions in male female positions in society.⁹⁶

4. Cross-Cultural Research Generated by MIFV and MIMV:

Anne Steinmann, in cooperation with others at the MaFerr Foundation and in affiliation with the Post Graduate Center for Mental Health in New York, has developed and revised the MaFerr Inventory of Feminine Values (MIFV) and the MaFerr Inventory of Masculine Values (MIMV) the revised edition of

⁹⁴Silver, C. B. "France: Contrasts in Familial and Societal Roles", in J. 2. Giele and A. C. Smock, (eds.).

⁹⁵Elemendorf, M. "Mexico: The Many Roles of Women" in J. 2. Giele and A. C. Smock (eds.).

⁹⁶Smock & Yussef, "Egypt...in Giele & Smock (eds.). p. 63.

both of which appeared in 1979.⁹⁷ She and her colleagues have been involved through these inventories in research on mutual male and female role perceptions for almost three decades. During the early seventies, they launched cross-cultural studies in different developed societies.

Steinmann and Fox have carried out a study comparing U.S. and South American samples as to their perceptions of the feminine role in society in general and of careers for women in particular. She found out that North American women valued careers for a woman while not abandoning family responsibilities. They presented a composite perception in which career and family responsibilities are integrated and balanced. South American women, on the other hand, perceived the family role far more important than a career and felt that balance can not be achieved.⁹⁸

In another study involving U.S. female college students, Steinmann found out that even though integration and balance dominated the role perception of women, conflict and ambivalence were not lacking, especially so when portrayed in a role which integrated career and family yet, at the same time, felt that their male counterparts resent such a role. This finding was further illuminated by another

⁹⁷Steinman, A., & Fox, D., The Maferr Inventory for Feminine Values: A Manual, New York: The Maferr Foundation, 1979; and The Maferr Inventory for Masculine Values, The Maferr Foundation, 1979.

⁹⁸Steinman, A. & Fox, D., "Specific Areas of Agreement and Conflict in Women's Self-Perception in South America and the U. S. A.", Journal of Marriage and the Family, May, 1969, p. 281.

when it was found that neither married couples nor dating ones agreed on the role females should play.⁹⁹ While both married and dating females perceived themselves as outward oriented, self-fulfilling, their male counterparts perceived the feminine role as one which should be mainly confined to the family.¹⁰⁰

In another study involving married and single college female students, Rappaport and Steinmann found an interesting situation: Single females were found to be family oriented in their real perceptions but the ideal perception was threat of a liberal nature. Married women, on the other hand, expressed perception of outward orientation and self-fulfillment. These findings are explained by the researchers through the notion that single females having been in college were ready to make the shift toward traditionality, or family orientation to achieve the balance. Married women, on the other hand, having been married were ready to make the same shift in the other direction, also in order to achieve balance.¹⁰¹

Steinmann and Fox studied Black-White differences as far as role perceptions are concerned. The basic finding of this study was that while black males and females were in agreement as to the role of females, white males and females

⁹⁹Steinmann, A., "The Ambivalent Woman", New Generation, Fall 1969, p. 29.

¹⁰⁰Rappaport, A., and Steinman, A., "Marriage as a Factor in the Dyadic Perception in the Female Sex Role", Journal of Marriage and the Family, August, 1970.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 441-442.

differed. Blacks perceived women's role as outward oriented and self-fulfilling. White females also presented similar perceptions but white males presented a traditional perception of women's role. Put differently, while both groups of females agreed that the preferred women's role is the liberal one, black and white males disagreed, but with ranging degrees, favoring black males. The authors suggest that such findings in White-Black gaps are related to the rise of and commitment to the struggle of blacks for civic and ethnic rights in American society. Commitment and struggle for rights, so it seems, liberalize people's attitudes and tend to narrow the sex gaps among them. What happened to women movements for liberation then, seems to have transformed their consciousness into more liberal perceptions.¹⁰²

A decade later, Corvitz and Steinmann have repeated the study on Black-White differences as to the perceived feminine roles in society. Their findings could be summarized as (a) increasing liberalization of perceptions took place among all groups of males and females blacks and whites, (b) blacks, both males and females presented views more liberal than whites, and (c) the gap between white males (traditional) and females (liberal) as to feminine roles still existed after a decade. The conclusions were that while liberalization took place among all groups of

¹⁰²Steinman, A., & Fox, D., "Attitudes toward Women's Family Role among Black and White Undergraduates", The Family Coordinator, October, 1970, p. 367.

subjects, certain continuity in the pattern of ethnic differences persisted.¹⁰³

In a series of cross-cultural studies, Steinmann has found some rather unusual results. While summarizing and reviewing her twenty years of cross-cultural research on feminine and masculine role perceptions as transformations of social and cultural values in the respective countries she concludes that in the opinion of women across cultures, "men desired a type of woman that women had no wish to be". Put differently, the generalization that could be reached at from cross-cultural evidence is that while females perceive their role as self-achieving and fulfilling, males perceived their role as mainly family oriented.¹⁰⁴

However, among the educated elites in different cultures, the general finding was that both males and females perceive the feminine role in a similar manner, that of self-achieving and fulfilling. Yet, when females were asked as to what is the role of the ideal woman in the eyes of men they portrayed a traditional female figure.

¹⁰³Corvitz, E., and Steinmann, A., "A Decade Later: Black-White Attitudes towards Women's Familial Roles", Psychology of Women Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 2, (Winter) 1980. p. 174.

¹⁰⁴Steinmann, Anne, "A brief report on 20 yrs of cross-cultural research on male-female concept of sex roles". Paper presented at the International Sociological Association, Toronto, Canada, August, 1974; Steinmann, Anne, "Male and female concept of the feminine role in U.S.A., Czechoslovakia, Greece, England, and Israel", paper presented at the 5th International congress of Social Psychology, Tel Aviv, Israel, Sept. 1974; Steinmann, Anne, "Female and male concept of sex role across-culture", International Mental Health Research, Vol. XVII, #4, (Winter) 1975, p. 8.

Steinmann concludes from such a finding that not only no understanding but also no communication exists between both sexes as to their perceptions of females sex roles: while both groups are liberal, female think that males are traditional.¹⁰⁵

All females in U. S., Czechoslovakia, Brazil, England, and Israel scored positively affirming a liberal perception, Greek women, however, preferred a traditional feminine role. Furthermore, while Brazilian professional females emerged to hold liberal perceptions, Brazilian female school teachers emerged as traditional and home oriented.¹⁰⁶

All but the Czech female workers perceived themselves as traditional more than liberal. Czech working class women portrayed a feminine role that is liberal and not significantly lower than their professional counterparts.

As far as the ideal feminine perceived role in the eyes of women in those six countries, the general finding was that the ideal is close or more liberal (yet not significantly so) than the real role perception. However, again Greek women were an exception. Even though their real perception of the feminine role was traditional, the perception of the ideal feminine role was significantly even more traditional. It seems that the culturally-conditioned perception of the ideal woman as a home and family oriented one has persisted in the perceptions of Greek women despite the tremendous

¹⁰⁵Steinman, A., 1975, article of 1975, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶Ibid, p. 9.

changes which have taken place on a worldwide scale.

In conclusion, education appears once again as the most powerful correlated positively with liberalization of perceptions as to the respective roles of males and females are concerned. In different studies, using different methodologies and in many of the world cultures education appears once and again as a powerful force which helps transform females' and males' consciousness into a more egalitarian, democratic and self-fulfilling beliefs that are gradually replacing the myths of superior inferior ideologies which have prevailed for many centuries. Education provides skills, awareness and self-esteem necessary for both men and women to involve in more equal roles and positions and thus, facilitating and reinforcing the symmetrical family relations as Steinmann and Lenz called it.¹⁰⁷ The symmetrical family relations between males and females, it is hoped by many, will gradually replace the hierarchical order as Smock labels it.¹⁰⁸

The second salient conclusion that could be drawn across cultures is that exposure to, involvement in, or at least identification with liberation forces and movement transforms men's and women's awareness into more liberal stands as far as male and female roles are concerned. This

¹⁰⁷Steinman, A., and Lenz, E., "The Man in Your Life: personal Commitment in a Changing World" in R. K. Loring and H. A. Otto (eds.), New Life Options, p. 293.

¹⁰⁸Smock, A. C., "Conclusion: The Determinants of Women's Role and Status" in Giele and Smock, (eds.), Women: Role and Status in Eight Countries, p. 398.

was the case of those who participated or identified with women emancipation movements, with blacks and their activism for civil, human and ethnic rights, with Egyptian women after the 1952 revolution and with Algerian women through and after the revolution for independence.

The role perceptions of Palestinian men and women had not been studied yet. At this point in the Palestinian people's history, while both males and females advanced tremendously in education, this study will focus on these mutual perceptions of young educated men and women among Palestinians in Israel.

The following chapter will focus on the methodological nature of this study. Further methods, techniques and special procedures used in this study will be discussed in order to arrive at a more comprehensive picture with regards to the methodology of this study.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY
Background and Design

This study followed four years of professional involvement in counseling and personal participation in women's activities and issues in Israel, where the researcher had an opportunity to meet and discuss the research with Dr. Anne Steinmann, author of the Maferri Inventory for Masculine and Feminine Values. In accordance with Dr. Steinmann's advice, a research strategy, which combines statistical methods with field research principles and guidelines, was adopted to make use of the researcher's extensive personal experience while, at the same time, avoiding or neutralizing the subjective bias that is almost unavoidable in field work when the investigator has strong personal opinion about the study subject.

Population and Sample

The subjects of this study were chosen according to two criteria. The first was theoretical sampling. As this study focused on educated Palestinians in Israel, its subjects were high school students (11th and 12th graders), student teachers, teachers, and university students. The second criteria was the representativeness of the sample. In the interests of conclusions and generalizations

applicable to the larger, educated portion of the society under discussion, the study population, the sample had to be representative in the sense that it fairly represented the two religious groups (Muslims and Christians), the two types of residential area (rural and urban), and both males and females from various areas of the country (Table 1). In order to meet this criterion, a regional high school, teachers training institute and university, which attracted students from throughout the area, were chosen as sites from which subjects were drawn. All are located at the city of Haifa, a central location for the Palestinians in Israel. Teachers were drawn from both the Northern and Eastern parts of the country where most of the Arabs in Israel reside.

Table 1

Distribution of Subjects
According to Sex, Religion, Residence and Education

	Religion		Residence			Education			Total
	Christian	Muslim	Urban	Rural	High School Students	Student Teachers	Teachers	University Students	
Male	64	169	73	160	44	73	53	58	233
Female	95	129	108	116	45	69	63	47	224
Total	159	298	181	276	89	142	121	105	457

Table 1 reflects the distribution of study subjects according to sex, religion, residence, and education. The total number of the subjects of this study was 457, of whom

233 (51%) were males and 244 (49%) were females. One hundred and fifty-nine subjects were Christian and 298 were Muslims; 181 subjects were urban and 276 were rural. educationally, the sample comprised 89 high school students, 142 student teachers, 121 teachers, and 105 university students. The smallest number of subjects in a subgroup was 44 (male high school students) and the largest was 169 (Muslim males).

Instrumentation

Survey Questionnaires

The Maferri Inventories of Feminine and Masculine Values are self-administered scales designed to measure male and female attitudes towards sex roles. The measurement (dependent) variable is sex role perceptions (see Appendix A).

Each of the inventories (one for males, one for females) consists of 34 statements, each of which expresses a particular value or value judgment related to women's activities and satisfactions vis a vis those of men. The respondents indicate their attitudes toward each item on a five-point-continuum ranging from "completely agree" through the midpoint of "no opinion" to "completely disagree". To avoid habitually positive or habitually negative answers, or fixation at any point on the scale, half the items are stated positively; the other half are stated negatively.

The 34 inventory items are value-charged statements bearing on women's needs, rights, and obligations in their relationships with men, children, and the world in general vis a vis men's needs, rights and obligations. Half of the

items delineate family-oriented values (traditional for women, liberal for men), the other half depict self-oriented values (liberal for women, traditional for men). Following are a few examples of the family orientation for each sex.

For women (family oriented traditional):

Item 31: "I am sure that what a woman gains from marriage makes up for the sacrifices".

Item 3: "A woman who works cannot possibly be as good a mother as the one who stays home".

Item 21: "The greatest help a wife can give her husband is to encourage his progress."

For Men (family oriented liberal):

Item 19: "The needs of the family come before a man's personal ambitions".

Item 25: "Marriage and children should come first in a man's life".

Item 31: "A father who spends his free time away from home cannot possibly be as good a father as the one who is home a great deal".

The second half of the inventory items relate to self-achieving and self-oriented values (liberal for women and traditional for men). The following examples represent this position for both sexes:

For women (self oriented liberal):

Item 12: "I argue with people who try to give me orders".

Item 20: "A working mother can get along as well as with her children as can a mother who stays at home".

Item 30: "A woman should have interest outside the home".

For Men (self-oriented traditional):

Item 2: "An ambitious and responsible husband does not like his wife to work".

Item 4: "I am not sure that the joys of fatherhood make up for the sacrifices".

Item 27: "If a woman is smarter than her husband, the marriage will not work".

The purpose of these inventories is to distinguish between family-oriented and self-achievement oriented values among males and females. The data generated by the instrument aids the researcher by presenting the overall scores for comparative analysis of the subjects' responses in terms of family or other-oriented (traditional for women, liberal for men) and in terms of self-oriented (liberal for women, traditional for men).

Thus, the attitude reversal is implicit: traditional concepts for females are "family", "home", "children", and "other-oriented"; for the male traditional concepts are "ambition", "progress", and "self-orientation" and "self-achievement". On the other hand, liberal concepts for women are "work", "achievement", "progress", and "self-achievement"; for men they are "fatherhood", "encouraging", and "family-oriented".

Reliability and Validity

The split-half reliability of the female inventory using the Spearman-Brown formula is estimated at 0.81 (Steinman & Fox, Female's Inventory Manual, 1979, p. 4).

The split-half reliability of the male inventory using the same formula is estimated at 0.86 (Steinman & Fox, Males Inventory Manual, 1979, p. 5).

As for validity, Steinmann & Fox affirm that seven judges, all professionals in the social sciences, have agreed on the categorization of the items comprising the instrument. Further, the items have face validity in that they are statements with generally accepted connotations.

Another validity check is built into the instrument by expressing the same idea in two different ways: sometimes positive and sometimes negative. Evidence of concurrent validity has been provided, in that the inventory (instrument) has been tested in more than 90 research studies. These studies indicated that scores on the Inventory correlated positively with a wide variety of other measures (personality tests, self-concept scales, ego development sentence completion forms, etc.).

Translation and Adaptation of Instrument

With Dr. Steinmann's permission, the inventories were translated and the Arabic versions checked by three Arabic language instructors. Following revisions, the inventories were administered to ten individuals (five males and five females) to further check the translation for clarity. Pilot subjects all agreed that the items were clear. Their responses were scored and analyzed for practice in scoring and to determine whether the questionnaires would produce the data required to test the hypotheses. Five of the ten pilot subjects volunteered to help administer the

questionnaires and were given instructions for the procedure.

Data Collection

Inventories were administered to the subjects of this study by volunteers in Israel. Student-teachers and high school students were administered the inventories collectively in their respective classrooms. Teachers and university students responded individually to the inventories. The inventories were then mailed to the researcher by one of the five volunteers, who coordinated the data collection. Scoring calculations and the analyses of the data were carried out at MSU. After the data were analyzed and results were clear, telephone interviews and correspondence with a few individuals was done in order to clarify and help explain some of the findings, especially those which relate to hypotheses which were not verified (see following chapter on findings and discussion).

A sheet consisting of questions concerning the background of the participants was attached to the inventories. These questions were designed to obtain information with regard to sex, familial, religious, residential, and educational background of each individual subject. However, when it was found that families of the subjects were, to a large extent, homogeneous as to the family atmosphere (conservative) and as to parents education (primary), these independent variables were dropped from this study. The variables of sex, level of education, religion, age, and residence were pursued and, indeed, the

data were analyzed accordingly as shown in the following chapter.

Scoring

The Maferri Inventory score represents the difference in strength of agreement to each of two sets of items: the 17 items which delineate self-orientation and the corresponding 17 items which delineate family-orientation. A respondent who takes equal but opposite positions on each set would have a score of zero. Similarly, one who consistently chooses the midpoint of "no opinion" would have a score of zero. A respondent who consistently takes a diametrically opposite positions would have a score of -68 if he or she chooses the strongest possible family orientation (traditional for women, liberal for men); a maximum score of +68 if he or she consistently chooses the strongest possible self-oriented position (liberal for women, traditional for men).

The scoring procedure is carried out as follows: the 34 items are paired into 17 pairs of consecutive odd (family oriented) and even (self-oriented) numbers. One point is assigned for "strongly agree", 2 to "agree", 3 to "no opinion", 4 to "disagree", and 5 points to "strongly disagree". The points in the odd numbered item of each pair are subtracted from the points in the even numbered item of that pair, so that 17 pairings result. All 17 results are then added together to derive the final score for a subject.

Examples:

1. If a female subject responded with strong disagreement to the first half of all 17 pairs, five points would be assigned to each response, indicating that she rejects the family oriented role. If, on the other hand, she responded with strong agreement to the second half of all 17 pairs, 1 point would be assigned to each response indicating that she strongly supports the self-achieving role. Her final score would then be $(5 - 1) \times 17 = +68$, the maximum "liberal" score.

If a male responds identically, his final score would also be +68 but it would indicate an extremely traditional role perception because, in this case, he would have rejected all the family orientations and elected the traditional, self-achieving male.

2. If a male or a female chose to respond identically to each of the items in every pair the final score will be zero, connoting a balanced perception $(5 - 5 = 0, 0 \times 17 = 0, \text{ or } 1 - 1 = 0, 0 \times 17 = 0, \text{ or } 3 - 3 = 0, 0 \times 17 = 0)$.
3. If a female chooses to strongly agree with all the first items, supporting the family orientation, one point would be assigned to each of these responses. And if she chooses to strongly disagree with all the second items in the pairs, thus rejecting self-orientation, five points would be assigned to each of these responses. Her final score would then be $(1 - 5) \times 17 = -68$, the extreme in traditionality since she supports

the family orientation and rejects self-achievement.

On the other hand, if a male subject responds identically, he obtains the identical extremely score of -68 but it connotes an extreme liberal perception as he devotes himself to the family, and, simultaneously, divorces himself from self-achievement.

Analyses of the Data

One way of analyzing the data is to group subjects into one of the three possible categories: liberal, traditional, and balanced. Liberal means positive score for women and negative score for men (the first is self-oriented and the second is family-oriented). Traditional means a negative score for women and positive score for men (the first is family-oriented and the second is self-oriented). A score of zero or around it (-4 to +4) delineates a balanced positions, or a compromising perception for both men and women.

The other possibility for analyzing the data is to use statistical analysis through which male-female and other differences are determined and tested for significance.

In this study both possibilities of data analysis were pursued and presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

All subjects were informed before they started responding to the inventories that there is no right or wrong answer. Each was requested to express his/her personal feeling as a response to the statement (item) in the inventory. Some subjects expressed resentment as to the request of disclosing their religion. They felt that it is compatible with the Israeli government's policy to divide Arab society in Israel along religious lines. When they were told that the researcher is an Arab and does not work for the government and that the objective of the study is to understand differences that may exist according to religion, they cooperated. However, four subjects (less than one percent of the total number of subjects) did not disclose their religion or their residence (rural or urban). They were discarded as subjects of this study.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the hypotheses of this study are: (1) males will express perceptions less liberal than those of females; (2) Muslim subjects will express perceptions less liberal than those of Christian ones; (3) rural subjects will tend to be more traditional than urban ones; (4) student-teachers will tend to be more liberal than teachers; (5) high school students will tend

to be more liberal than teachers and student teachers; (6) university students will express perceptions which are more liberal than all others; and (7) no differences will to be found between the real and ideal perceptions expressed by the subjects of this study.

However, before reporting the findings of this study as they relate to the above expectations, a portrayal of the general picture as to how the subjects are distributed (according to traditional, balanced, and liberal stands), seems to be in order.

1. General Distribution Of Role Perceptions According Sex:

The objectives of this specific section are twofold. First, to obtain a general picture as to what qualities of role perceptions were expressed by how many subjects. Second, to see how the subjects of this study compare with subjects of other studies carried out with the same instrument in recent years.

Table 2

Distribution of Subjects According
to Quality of Role Perception

	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total	53.2%	29.1%	17.7%	100%
	(243)	(133)	(81)	(457)
Male	22.3%	45.1%	32.6%	100%
	(52)	(105)	(76)	(233)
Female	85.3%	12.5%	2.2%	100%
	(191)	(28)	(5)	(224)

Table 2 expresses the absolute number as well as the percentage of subjects who expressed traditional perceptions (less than a score of -4 for females and more than +4 for males), balanced perception (between -4 and +4 for all subjects), and liberal perception (less than -4 for males and more than +4 for females).¹⁰⁹

As far as the total population is concerned we can see in Table 2 that 53.2% (243) of the subjects expressed liberal perceptions with regards to sex roles in society, 29.1% (133) of the subjects expressed balanced perceptions, and only 17.7% (81) of the subjects expressed traditional perceptions. If we consider balanced perceptions as non-discriminatory because they recognize rights of self as well as those of others, it becomes rather interesting to see that 82.3% (liberal plus balanced) of the subjects of this study hold perceptions which are egalitarian as far as the roles of males and females are concerned.

However, as Steinmann and Fox suggested,¹¹⁰ balanced perceptions also express conflicting attitudes. For

¹⁰⁹We should bear in mind that males' and females' scores are inversely designated. A minus score for a female implies that she is traditional in the sense that she rejects personal achievement. The same minus score for a male, on the other hand, implies a liberal perception in the sense that he departs from his traditional position of self achievement and expresses an orientation positive towards female achievement. All through this chapter, scores were converted (from minus to plus and vice versa) when necessary, in order to create homogeneity needed for statistical analysis.

¹¹⁰Steinman, A. and D. J. Fox. The Male Dilemma, N.Y.,: Jason Aaronson Publishers, 1974.

example, a subject may in one item fully agree with right of females to self-achievement in education but, on the other hand, fully agree with the statement that her basic role as a housewife. The score in this case is zero, or balanced, yet it definitely expresses a conflict in perceptions.

Table 2 also provides data as to how subjects of each sex separately are distributed according to the quality of their perceptions. Only 22.3% (52) of males expressed liberal perceptions, while 32.6% (76) of them expressed traditional ones. However, nearly half of the male subjects of this study (45.1%) expressed balanced (or conflicting) perceptions. Females, on the other hand, responded differently. The majority of them (85.3%) expressed liberal perceptions and only 2.2% (5 subjects only) expressed traditional perceptions. Further, only 12.5% (28) of the female subjects reflected balanced or conflicting perceptions.

A comparative look at the distribution of male and female perception reveals striking differences: while the vast majority of females (85.3%) expressed liberal perceptions, only 22.3% of males expressed such perceptions while almost a third of male subjects (32.6%) expressed traditional perceptions only a negligible minority of female subjects (2.2%) expressed such a standpoint. Further, the relatively central group among males is the one which expressed balanced (or conflicting) perceptions (45.1%).

Females expect definite gains in position and status by adhering to liberal perceptions. This is the reason behind the fact that 85.3% of them expressed such perceptions. On

the other hand, males expect a loss in position and status as well as in the traditionally guaranteed privilege should they hold liberal perceptions. When this is the case a major shift is expected to take place in their role as it becomes more domestic than external, less financially supporting (less power) and more nurturing. This seems to be the reason why nearly half of them (45.1%) expressed balanced perceptions which imply an attitude of moderation and gradual change which is not conflict-free.

This conflict ridden situation has often been labeled in the literature as the "male dilemma"¹¹¹ to imply the males' hesitation to change in the direction of more liberal perceptions. Steinmann and Fox pointed out to a universal dilemma which faces males. While females are changing rapidly, so the authors contend, males are withholding, hesitant, and conflict-ridden. This is the dilemma of males. On the one hand they see and recognize the justification of women's motivations to become equal, yet, on the other hand, they are not willing to concede their traditionally given privileges.¹¹²

However, as true as it is that such a situation creates a dilemma for males, other consequences are not lacking. As males and females hold different and, in many cases, opposing perceptions as to their relative roles in society, communication between the sexes becomes increasingly

¹¹¹Steinman, A. & D. Fox, 1974.

¹¹²Ibid.

difficult. Such difficulties and conflicts in the communication between men and women have far reaching implications to the whole web of relationships between the sexes. Marriage and the family are the major social institutions to be affected by such a lack of or conflicting communication which result from different role perception. Thus, such a situation is better labeled as "social dilemma" than "male dilemma" for neither males nor females live and function in isolation from each other in a society. "Social dilemma" may be a better label because it is more comprehensive as it captures the complexity and implications of the differences and conflicts in the perceptions of males and females as far as their respective roles are concerned.

The social reality in the Western world expresses such a dilemma in terms of relatively high divorce rates and other forms of broken relationships between men and women. However, the reality of the Palestinian Arab society from which the subjects of this study are drawn does not express such phenomena yet. Divorce is almost non existent. This could be considered as a transitory period for as females realize their perceptions the conflict becomes inevitable and it may result in higher divorce rates. However, as individualism is not an appreciated cultural value in the Palestinian society, the consequences of male-female conflicting perceptions which took place in the individualistic Western societies may not take place. Different cultures may react to similar problems differently.

Another point of comparison with other cultures is the mean score of role perceptions achieved in different cultures. In 1975, Steinmann¹¹³ reported that undergraduate females in the U.S.A., England, and Israel subjects achieved mean scores which reflect liberal stands (+3.2, +4.7, and +10.7 respectively).¹¹⁴ The mean scores achieved by undergraduate females in the developing society of Greece was -2.6 and thus reflecting a traditional tendency. The mean score achieved by female subjects of this study was 15.9. Thus, in comparative perspective, educated Palestinian Arab females expressed perceptions which are not only liberal but also more so than comparable samples drawn from both developed and developing societies. However, it should be remembered that the data for Steinmann's study were collected in 1973 and the data of this study were collected ten years later (1983). This gap in time may account for the gap in mean scores.

Indeed, in 1981, Stevens, Baston and Koge reported data which reflect quite a change in American college females' perceptions. In their study of black and white role perceptions of female college students they found out that the mean score for black females was 11.00 and it was 18.00 for white females. Among British women, in the same study, it

¹¹³Steinman, A. "Female and Male Concepts of Sex Roles", International Journal for Mental Health Research, Vol. 17, No. 5, 1975.

¹¹⁴Ibid. Table 1, p. 9.

was found that the average score was 13.5.¹¹⁵

Whatever the case may be, one thing is clear: Palestinian Arab females express role perceptions which are liberal and, at least, as liberal as those expressed by their counterparts in England, Israel, and U.S.A. This finding supports Zureik's critical observation that while uncritically Palestinian society is related to as a developing one, its characteristics make it similar to developed more than to developing ones.¹¹⁶

The mean score for males subjects of this study is -1.3. This reflects an overall picture which is balanced (or conflicting) but, nonetheless, in the liberal direction (a minus score for males implies liberal direction). As research in this area had focused on female perceptions, data are not available as to the role perceptions of males. Thus, the comparison of male subjects of this study with other male subjects of other studies carried out in other societies is difficult.

2. Sex Differences:

As mentioned earlier, one of the main objectives of this study was to find out whether or not and to what extent

¹¹⁵Stevens, G., E. Barton, and P. Koge, A Comparison of Attitudes Toward Gender Role, A paper delivered at the 1st International Multidisciplinary Congress on Women, University of Haifa, 1981.

¹¹⁶Note that males' mean score is converted from negative to positive because as negative it is compatible with the positive for females--both imply liberal tendencies. Then the first is subtracted from the latter in order to obtain the size of the gap.

differences between males and females exist with regard to their perceived respective roles in society. The general pattern in the existing literature focuses mainly on the study of women alone. It is assumed generally that while women are motivated and active towards the achievement of equality they hold liberal perceptions as to their roles, position and status. Literature usually supports that assumption especially among educated women.

It is also assumed that while women hold liberal perceptions, men, as a reaction to their challenged position in society, tend to be more traditional or less liberal, or in conflict. However, very little if any has been done to test this assumption empirically. For many years this assumption has remained as common sense. In this study, an attempt has been made to uncover women's perceptions in relation to, and in comparison with, those of comparable men.

Table 3 expresses the differences between male and female perceptions among all the subjects of this study and within each subgroup. The most salient finding that Table 3 reflects is that across groups and within each group alone there exist sex differences which are significant at a level of 0.000. Without exception, female groups hold role perceptions that are significantly more liberal than those held by male groups. Thus, consistently and significantly, the main hypothesis of this study (males will express perceptions less liberal than those of females) appears to be verified. It is worth noting that while the range of mean scores of males is between 0.37 (student teachers) and -2.57

Table 3

Sex Differences in Role Perceptions Across Groups
and Within Each Group.
One Tail Test

		<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>T-Value</u>	<u>Sig. level</u>
Overall	M	233	-1.32	8.37	455	-18.44	0.000
	F	224	15.89	11.41			
Christian	M	64	-0.66	8.60	157	-9.66	0.000
	F	95	15.60	11.46			
Muslim	M	169	-1.57	8.29	296	-15.49	0.000
	F	129	16.11	11.42			
Urban	M	73	-1.23	9.41	179	-11.72	0.000
	F	108	18.80	12.28			
Rural	M	160	-1.41	7.87	274	-13.68	0.000
	F	116	13.19	9.84			
High School	M	44	-2.75	9.98	87	-9.35	0.000
	F	45	19.56	12.37			
Student Teachers	M	73	0.37	6.77	140	-8.40	0.000
	F	69	11.33	8.70			
Teachers	M	58	-2.33	7.76	119	-8.95	0.000
	F	63	13.25	10.97			
University Students	M	58	-1.36	9.34	103	-12.26	0.000
	F	47	22.62	10.52			

(teachers), the range of mean scores of their female counterparts is between 11.33 (student teachers) and 22.62 (female university students).

Another salient pattern reflected by Table 3 is that with the exception of one case only (male student teachers) male groups achieved a mean score which reflects a tendency, even though tentative or small, towards liberal perceptions. All mean scores except the one mentioned are of a minus value--a reflection of liberal tendency for males. Male

student teachers are an exceptional group in relation to others in one minor sense only. Its mean score is in the positive yet very close to zero (+0.37) theirs reflecting a very slight tendency toward traditionality. Again this difference could be overlooked because in the general categorization, all male groups fall into the category of "balanced" positions as without an exception, all of them acquired mean scores between -4 and +4.

A third observation that could be drawn from Table 3 relates to the size of the gap between males and females in each group. A look at the mean scores for males and females within each group reveals that while the gap is significant in all cases it is, nonetheless, smallest among teachers and, perhaps surprisingly so, it is greatest among university students. Male teachers achieved a mean score of -2.33 and female teachers' mean score was 13.25. The gap between both mean scores is 10.92.¹¹⁷ It should be stated again that this gap is significant in and of itself. What makes it salient is that, in comparison with all other gaps it is the smallest. It seems that males and females in the teaching profession while have their differences are still closest than in other groups as to their role perceptions. They, more than others, share similar values and role expectations. This explanation is supported by the fact that the second smallest gap between male and female perceptions is found among student teachers.

¹¹⁷The same procedure was followed here also.

Surprisingly, the greatest gap between male and female mean scores of role perceptions is found among university students. Males in this group acquired a mean score of -1.36, while the mean score of females was 22.62. Thus, the gap is 21.26¹¹⁸ nearly twice as much the gap among teachers. This is surprising because one might expect that among university students, the highest educated group, both sexes will hold perceptions similar to each other. A deeper look reveals that the university has an atmosphere and experience that has affected females and did not have an impact on males. The mean score of female university students is higher than that of any other female group in the sample of this study. This makes it also quite higher than the mean score of all females (21.26 for female university students and 15.9 for all females combined).

On the other hand, male university students acquired a mean score which is similar to other groups of males. It is also very close to the mean score of all males combined (-1.36 for university male students and -1.3 for all males combined). The observation that the university atmosphere and experience did not have an impact on males as to their sex role perceptions might be ascribed to the notion that, while in a predominantly Jewish cultural atmosphere, Arab male students in Israel feel threatened as to their cultural identity--hence, a balanced role perception.

¹¹⁸Note here that males mean score was treated as one of a plus value because as it is in the same direction with that of females--liberal. Thus, it was subtracted from it in order to determine gap.

Females, on the other hand, may feel less threatened and, thus, develop attitudes and perceptions which are far more liberal than their male counterparts. Further, for an Arab female to cross the barriers of tradition and enroll in an institution of higher learning and to cross the cultural and national barriers and enter a foreign (Jewish) cultural atmosphere, she must have had developed (before and during her enrollment) a strong sense of selfhood and self-achievement. For her male counterpart, if he is capable and willing, the right for higher education has always been traditionally recognized.

This finding is compatible with another one in a different yet related context. As late as 1982 it was found out that Arab female university students in the Department of Counseling at the University of Haifa are more flexible, openminded, and more personally influenced by their training than their Arab male counterparts. This was explained by the notion that females have to achieve the right for higher education and thus it is a dear opportunity for them. Hence, they use it for their self development and enhancement. Males, on the other hand, are guaranteed that right, and thus, they often fail to recognize the need for self awareness and personal enhancement.¹¹⁹

In conclusion of this section, the results reflect significant sex differences in the sense that females are

¹¹⁹Even when combined the mean score for Christians becomes higher than that of Muslims (9.36 and 7.88 respectively), the differences is still non-significant (T-Value 0.31 and significance level is less than .211).

consistently more liberal than males. While significant in all cases, these differences are lowest among teachers and highest among university students. Further, while significant, these differences do not reflect contradictions between males and females in role perceptions. In other words, males and females are not found on the opposite sides. Instead, they are on the same side, the liberal one. Thus, the difference, while significant, is between liberal (males) and far more liberal (females). This is expected to make communications between the sexes easier and the social costs of differences lower.

Differences According To Religion, Residence and Education:

The findings to be reported and discussed in this section relate to differences in sex role perceptions that may result from differences in religion (Muslim vs. Christian), residence (urban vs. rural) and education (student teachers vs. teachers, and high school students vs. university students). However, these comparisons will be done between males only and females only and not on the basis of the overall subjects in each subgroup (males and females combined).

The reason behind such a strategy of analyzing the data is to prevent possible distortions which may result from combining males and females in each group (for example Muslim) and comparing them with combined males and females in another (Christian). To illustrate a possible distortion which may result from combining both sexes in each group and

comparing them with both sexes combined in another we can look at the example of Christian-Muslim differences: The mean score for Christian males is -0.66 (N=64) and the mean score for Muslim males is -1.57 (N=169). On the other hand, the mean score of Christian females is 15.60 (N=95) and the mean score for Muslim females is 16.11 (N=129). These mean scores within each sex show that Muslims obtained mean scores that are slightly higher than their Christian counterparts. However, due to differences in the numbers of each subgroup, namely the far larger number of Muslim males, when males and female scores are combined we receive an opposite picture. The mean score of all Christians becomes higher than that of their Muslim counterparts (9.36 and 7.88 respectively). Had the number of male and female subjects been identical between the groups, the combined mean would have been accurately characterizing each of them. This procedure of comparing males with males and females with females between the subgroups will be followed all through this section.

Table 4 expresses the differences between males only and females only according to the independent variables of religion, residence and education. Each of these variable will be discussed separately.

a. Religion: Christian-Muslim Differences:

As stated earlier, it was expected that Muslim subjects would express role perceptions which were less liberal than their Christian counterparts. However, the results clearly

Table 4

Within Sex Differences in Role Perceptions According to
Religion, Residence and Education
(T-Tests)

	<u>Religion</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>T-Value</u>	<u>Sig. level</u>
Males	Christian	64	-0.66	8.60			(n.s.)
	Muslim	169	-1.57	8.29	231	0.75	0.46
Females	Christian	95	15.60	11.46			(n.s.)
	Muslim	129	16.11	11.42	222	-0.33	0.74
<u>Residence</u>							
Males	Urban	73	-1.23	9.41			(n.s.)
	Rural	160	-1.41	7.87	231	0.24	0.80
Females	Urban	108	18.80	12.28			(n.s.)
	Rural	116	13.19	9.84	222	3.78	0.00
<u>Education I</u>							
Males	St. Teachers	73	0.37	6.769			(n.s.)
	Teachers	58	-2.33	7.760	129	2.12	0.30
Females	St. Teachers	69	11.33	8.704			(n.s.)
	Teachers	63	13.25	10.969	130	-1.12	0.26
<u>Education II</u>							
Males	High School	44	-2.75	9.984			(n.s.)
	University	58	-1.36	9.235	100	-0.73	0.47
Females	High School	45	19.56	12.372			(n.s.)
	University	47	22.62	10.524	90	-1.28	0.20

do not verify this hypothesis neither among males nor among females. In both cases no significant results were obtained (mean scores of -1.57 for Muslim males and -0.66 for their Christian counterparts; and a mean score of 16.11 for Muslim females and 15.60 for their Christian counterparts, Table 4).¹²⁰

This unexpected finding calls for an explanation. It

¹²⁰Recall that a minus score for males symbolizes a liberal tendency and a plus for females symbolizes the same.

was hypothesized that Christian subjects would show perceptions which are more liberal than their Muslim counterparts. This was done for two main reasons. First, formal education especially at higher level not only has started among Christian Palestinian Arabs earlier than their Muslim fellow citizens but it has been also more popular amongst Christians.¹²¹ Second, Christian Arabs are far more Western-oriented and have far more cultural ties with the Christian Western world. Muslims, on the other hand are more oriented to the East itself where the majority of Muslims exist.¹²² Thus, it was expected that Christian would be more exposed to Western trends as far as sexual equality and women liberation are concerned. In fact, the majority of the leading figures in Arab women emancipation movements have traditionally been of Christian background.¹²³ Philipp reported that earlier in this century among top 15 feminist leaders in Egypt 7 were of Christian background and 4 unknown (probably Christian as he suggests).¹²⁴

Further, empirical research in other areas also suggests a pattern of findings which clearly points out to Christians as more advanced than Muslims among subjects

¹²¹Mari, S. The Educating Minorities in Israel, The Journal of Christian Education, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1972.

¹²²Philipp, T., Feminism and Nationalist Politics in Egypt, in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (eds.). Women in the Muslim World, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 281.

¹²³Ibid., p. 280, Table 14.1.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 280.

drawn for Arab society in general and from Palestinian Arab society in particular. For example, as late as 1982, Mari and Karyanni have reported that Christian subjects tend to score higher than their Muslim counterparts on creativity tests and that the gap between the sexes among Christians tends to be much smaller than among Muslims.¹²⁵

These reasons combined made the rationale for the hypothesis that Christian subjects will express sex role perceptions which are more liberal than those expressed by Muslim ones. Yet, the analysis of the data (as shown in Table 4) clearly rejects this hypothesis. It seems that the fact that no significant religious differences exist is due to two reasons. One is that both are equal in their educational attainment and they seem to have been equally impacted by it, and the second is that both look up to common Palestinian role models. Especially Christian and Muslim females have available to them both Christian and Muslim Palestinian female role models who are considered national heroes.

In conclusion, it seems that while a significant gap still exists between males and females within Christians and Muslims, no gap at all exists in Palestinian society along religious lines as far as sex role perceptions are concerned. Both Christian and Muslim females are equally liberal and both groups of males are equally balanced.

¹²⁵Mari, S. and M. Karayanni. Creativity in Arab Culture: Two Decades of Research, Journal of Creative Behavior, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1982, p. 231.

Indeed, in as recently as 1981, it was found that "on personality inventories, differences between Israeli Muslim and Christian Arabs tend to be non-significant".¹²⁶ It would seem appropriate to conclude then that Palestinian Christian and Muslim Arabs have become more influenced by their Palestinian Arab culture as it changes more than by their own respective religions.

b. Residence: Urban-Rural Differences:

The second independent variable according to which it is expected to find differences is residence. It is expected to find the urban subjects will express sex role perceptions more liberal than those expressed by their rural counterparts. As used here "urban" and "rural" delineate residential places which are defined as such by the Ministry of Interior. Usually a rural residence is characterized by that the locale hosts up to 5000 inhabitants for whom agriculture is a major source of living. Urban residence on the other hand, is usually characterized by that the locale hosts more than 40,000 inhabitants and where industry is the major source of living.

Table 4 expresses the differences between urban males and rural males as well as between urban females and rural females. It is worth noting that while between urban and rural males there are no significant differences (mean

¹²⁶Sanua, V. D. Psychological Testing of Arab and Jewish Students in Israel, A paper presented at the 89th convention of the American Psychological Association, August, 1981, p. 5.

scores are -1.23 and -1.41 respectively), both also expressed balanced perception with a slight tendency towards liberal positions. Among females however, both urban and rural females have expressed liberal positions. Yet, the difference is significant: urban females are far more liberal in their perceptions of sex roles than rural females (mean scores are 18.80 and 13.19 respectively). The difference is significant at 0.000 level.

It was expected that both males and females of urban background will express perceptions that are more liberal than their rural counterparts. This expectation was only half-met as the results show. Among males there is no significant differences exist yet among females the difference is significant. It seems that rural males are not affected by their residence. Their mobility is less limited as they can and do involve with interactions outside their residence in urban areas. Thus, as far as their sex role perceptions they are similar to their urban counterparts. The perceptions of both are balanced. Further, like their urban counterparts their distance from traditional stands is not as huge as it is in the case of females. Males, urban and rural transformed their perceptions from traditional ones into a midpoint, a balanced one.

Females, on the other hand, have gone a long way. Their perceptions have been transformed from traditional in the past to very liberal in the present. It is within this liberal trend which overwhelmed both urban and rural females that they vary. Urban females seem to have simply gone

further than rural ones while both have transformed their perceptions from one opposite to the other. As far as the females' perceptions of sex roles are concerned, it seems that both urban and rural environments of the subjects allow for liberal perceptions, but the upper limit in the urban context is higher than that in the rural one. This difference in environment may have led to the difference in the perceptions of urban and rural females.

This finding of urban-rural differences is, at least partly, compatible with findings of other studies related to creativity, scholastic achievement and coping ability.¹²⁷ Urban samples generally achieved more than rural ones on these measures. However, the results of this study also point out that these differences are decreasing at least as far as sex role perceptions are concerned. Among males, no significant differences existed; and among females the difference was in degree only as both urban and rural females are liberal but the first is more so than the latter.

c. Education I: Student Teachers vs. Teachers:

It was expected that teachers would express perceptions of sex roles which are less liberal than those of student teachers. The rationale behind such an expectation was that, unlike actual teachers, student teachers are less subject to the expectation of society in general and thus, will hold more liberal perceptions. Society, in general

¹²⁷See: Chapter on Student Variables in Mari, S. Arab Education in Israel, p. 131-144.

expects teachers to instill its values and cultural traditions among the younger generations. Being basically traditional, the Palestinian Arab society is expected to have an impact on teachers in the direction of traditionality more than it would on student-teachers who are still liberated from the formal role of teaching and, thus from social pressures.

Furthermore, another reason behind such an expectation was that while teachers function within their own communities (indigenous environment), student teachers leave their respective communities and attend the teachers seminary in Haifa. This, it was expected, will liberate them, temporarily, from the direct control and pressure of their own communities and thus, help bring a stronger change in their perceptions of sex roles.

However, the results show an opposite picture. Within males the mean scores which were achieved by student teachers and teachers are 0.37 and -2.33 respectively. As a minus score represents a liberal trend for males, it becomes clear that male student teachers are less liberal than their teachers counterparts. The difference is significant at a level less than 0.03 as shown in Table 4.

A similar tendency took place among females. Female student teachers expressed sex role perceptions which reflect a tendency less liberal than among female teachers (mean scores are 11.33 and 13.25 respectively). However, the difference, though consistent with that among males, is not significant. Here again the results show that the

differences are within the same trend: males differ within the category of "balanced" and females differ within that of "liberal" sex role perceptions.

Student-teachers did not only express sex role perceptions which are less liberal than teachers, but in fact, their mean scores are the lowest among male and female mean scores of the subgroups of this study. In other words, they are the least liberal among all groups of males and female subjects of this study.

Two explanations can be made as to why student teachers are the least liberal among all groups.¹²⁸ The first explanation is that, in recent years, Arab Teachers' Seminary has been recruiting student teachers from Palestinian Arab communities which commonly lacked teachers. These communities include remote rural areas, e.g., Beduins and the Druze Muslim sect. Traditionally, teachers in these communities came from the outside, from urban and more advanced rural areas. The new policy of the seminary reflects an attempt to train teachers from these communities so they can return to them and teach there. Having come from these backgrounds, student teachers tended to be less liberal than others because in their communities, formal educational tradition has not existed for long like in the others.

¹²⁸These explanations are based on discussions (short interviews) and correspondence with instructors at the Arab Teachers Seminary and Arab educational experts in Israel. Both the discussions (over the phone) and the correspondence took place in June 1983.

The second explanation is that the seminary is a governmental one. Israeli authorities (the Government) has had a policy of capturing the educated elites among Palestinian Arabs in Israel in order to manipulate and control the whole Palestinian Arab minority.¹²⁹ For the same reasons, the Israeli establishment also maintains a strong control over Arab educational institutions, and the Teachers' Seminary is no exception.¹³⁰ The atmosphere at the Seminary tends to be less democratic and more authoritarian; the freedom of expression is very limited; and those who dare to challenge the regulations usually are punished by denial of jobs also controlled by the Government.

Thus, it appears to be reasonable to assume that under such conditions students of the seminary tend to be more conforming with the norms than others who are relatively more liberated from such direct pressures and threats. This may have expressed itself also in the subjects sex role perceptions.

It is worth noting that the Seminary was the only public (governmental) educational institution which was not co-educational. Authorities claimed that this situation is due to the policy of making it possible for those parents who object to co-education to agree to their daughters

¹²⁹Lustick, I. Arabs in the Jewish State, Austin, Texas University Press, 1980, p. 198-201.

¹³⁰Mari, Arab Education in Israel, and K. Nakleh, A Palestinian Dilemma, 1980.

enrollment in the Seminary. Especially female teachers were needed.

However, the community, represented by members of its educated elite, contended that such a policy aimed at manipulating Arab teachers in the very process of their training in order to reinforce traditionality in Arab communities. When they are more traditional, it is easier to control them. If not, how can one explain the fact that these student teachers are secluded along sex lines when 12 years prior to their enrollment in the Seminary they attended co-educational institutions. Why their parents object after they have approved of co-education for so long. Further, these student teachers, both males and females, will soon become teachers in co-educational institutions.

After many years of communal pressure and criticism, Israel's educational authorities have decided to put an end to the separation between the sexes in the Seminary. But, the atmosphere as far as freedom of expression is concerned has not changed. It is still authoritarian: political views are suppressed; methods of teaching and training are authoritarian, and relationships between the sexes are carefully watched by the administration. When a relationship between a male and female develops, a complaint is often forwarded to their parents by the administration.¹³¹

¹³¹Three out of four instructors in the Seminary with whom the finding was discussed pointed out to this. Further, they also mentioned that the administration of the institution often threatens students by informing their parents about their relations with the other sex. This is often used as a method of control over students.

d. Education II: High School vs. University Students:

One would expect that high school students will tend to express perceptions less liberal than university ones. For one thing, they are not as independent yet. Secondly, unlike university students, their exposure to ideas of sex equality and women liberation is not extensive. However, as shown in Table 4, differences do not exist either between male high school students and their university counterparts nor between female high school students and their university counterparts. High school males obtained a mean score which is slightly higher than university males (-2.75 and -1.36 respectively). Among females, on the other hand, university students achieved a higher mean score than their high school counterparts. But, as mentioned earlier, neither of these differences has reached an acceptable level of significance.

It is worth noting that among male groups, that of the highest mean score (in the liberal direction) was high school group (-2.75). Among all female groups, on the other hand, university females achieved the highest mean score, also in the liberal direction (22.62). Second highest were female high school students (19.56).

These findings suggest that neither relative dependence nor less exposure to extensive education and liberal ideas has put high school students at a disadvantage as far as liberal perceptions are concerned. Both high school and university students have three out of the four highest mean

scores among the different groups of males and females.¹³² Not only have they expressed perceptions more liberal than others, but, and not less interesting, significant differences among them do not exist.

Age, in terms of developmental stage, seems to have accounted for such a surprising result, namely that high school students are among the most liberal of all groups and that no significant differences between them and University students exist. Being younger, overwhelmed by an area loaded with national, cultural and social liberation has made them subjects of a kind of socialization which seems to be far more liberal than traditional. Following is a more detailed analysis of the data with regards to age.

e. Differences Related to Age:

In this analysis, high school students are treated as an age category. The average age among them is 16.5 years as they are 11th and 12th grades. They are compared with "all others" in this study. Put differently, all other subjects fall within the category of adults with average age of 25.5 years (range of 20-35 years). Thus, the comparison will take place between high school students (adolescents) and all others (adults).

Table 5 shows the differences between high school students and all others within each sex. The mean score for high school male students is -2.57, while that of all others

¹³²The fourth group is male teachers who achieved the second highest mean score among male groups in the liberal direction (-2.33).

Table 5

Within Sex Differences According to Age:
Adolescents vs. Adults.

		<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>T-Value</u>	<u>Sig. level</u>
Males	High School	44	-2.75	9.98			
	All Others	189	-0.99	7.94	231	-1.26	0.20
Females	High School	45	19.56	12.37			
	All Others	179	14.97	11.00	222	2.43	0.01

is -0.99. However, while high school males achieved a larger mean score the difference between them and their university counterparts did not reach an acceptable significant level.

Among females, a similar situation exists in that the mean score of high school female students is larger than all other females combined (19.56 and 14.97 respectively). However, while similar in direction to the difference among males, this difference is significant at a level less than 0.01 as shown in Table 5.

It seems clear then that there is a tendency that high school students or adolescents to express sex role perceptions which are more liberal than roles perceived by student teachers, teachers and university students combined (adults). Adolescent males hold perceptions more liberal than adult males, and adolescent females hold perceptions significantly more liberal than adult females. It seems that the needs of their age, the socialization that they were subjected to in the family by younger, more liberal parents, and the "spirit of their time" all together have

made them far more aware than the average adult, who is educated, as far as liberation is concerned. Their era is one of liberation in more than one sense: national, cultural, and social.

4. Interactional Effects

In order to detect how the four independent variables of this study (sex, education, religion, and residence) interacted, the six possible interactions which could be derived from the independent variables were statistically tested through two-way analyses of variance. Only one of the six interactions turned out to be significant. In all others, what seems to have happened is that the difference (variance) which may have existed in one variable was compensated for by the lack of difference in the other when this interacts with the former. Following are brief explanations of the five nonsignificant ones, and a more detailed description of the six which turned out to be significant.

a. Sex and Education: While the differences between the sexes were significant across the board (see Table 3), education did not turn out to be a factor affecting or affected by sex. In other words, sex differences exist within the educated groups regardless of the level of their education. Further, it seems reasonable to assume that sex differences will exist equally among the less educated. Education, thus, does not seem to narrow the differences between the sexes; it may only change the perceptions of each sex independently without narrowing the gap between

them. In fact, Steinmann has already demonstrated that as the women's level of education rises the gap between the sexes becomes greater.¹³³

b. Sex and Religion: Similarly, the striking male-female differences in sex role perceptions were compensated for by the total lack of Christian Muslim significant differences. Sex affects people's perceptions of their role in society regardless of their religion. The gap between Christian males and females is similar to that between Muslim males and females. Thus, it exists independently of religion.

c. Religion and Education: Here we observe a stronger case as far as the lack of significant interaction is concerned. According to religion, no significant differences whatsoever were found (Table 4). According to Education few differences were found significant, but the overall picture was that regardless of educational level, sex differences exist.

d. Residence and Education: While in urban-rural differences males did not differ significantly, females did (see Table 4). However, among the four T-Tests carried out in Education only one was significant (see Education I and Education II, Table 4). However, these significant results within each of these interacting variables were partial but they were also within the same direction. In both cases the impact was on females (rural females and female student

¹³³Steinman, A. Male and Female Concepts of Sex Roles, 1975, p. 9.

teachers). Thus, the interaction did not turn out to be a significant one.

e. Residence and Religion: While significant difference was found between urban and rural females, no significant differences was found between Christians and Muslims. The partial difference according to residence was compensated for by the total lack of significant difference according to religion.

f. Residence and Sex: This is the only significant interaction found among all six possible ones through the analysis of variance carried out in this study.

Table 6

Results of the Analysis of Variance of Residence and Sex

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
<u>Urban</u>	-1.23	18.80	< 0.000
<u>Residence</u>			
<u>Rural</u>	-1.41	13.19	< 0.000
	< 0.80	< 0.000	

Interactions Significant at a level less than 0.01

Table 6 shows the mean scores of urban-rurals males and females. It is worth noting that 3 out of the 4 sub-comparisons possible are significant: Horizontally urban male-female difference is significant at a level less than 0.000 (mean scores are -1.23 and 18.80 respectively), and rural male-female difference is also significant at a level less than 0.000 (mean scores are -1.41 and 13.19 respectively). Vertically, while urban males' mean score is

respectively). Vertically, while urban males' mean score is slightly lower than that of rural males (-1.23 and -1.41 respectively), the difference is nonsignificant (< 0.80). Among females, on the other hand, there is an opposite tendency with a significant difference. Urban females expressed perceptions significantly more liberal than rural ones (mean scores are 18.80 and 13.19 respectively).

The overall interaction of Sex X Residence is found significant at a level less than 0.01. Each of the variables affects subjects results differently. Sex affects urban males and females in the same direction in the sense that, in both, males are significantly less liberal than females; and residence affects subjects inversely in the sense that while rural males are slightly more liberal than urban ones, but rural females are significantly less liberal than urban ones.

In conclusion, results of these analyses point out the single most powerful predicting variable as far as sex role perceptions are concerned is "sex": Females consistently and significantly expressed perceptions more liberal than males. "Residence" is the second strongest. Especially when interacting with "sex" it tends to limit rural females in comparison with urban ones. Education, does slightly predict yet inconsistently and in special cases like male student teachers in comparison with male teachers. However, because of the lack of a consistent pattern, these differences can not be relied upon for prediction. Instead, age was found to be a powerful factor especially for adolescent

females when compared with adult ones. Religion as an independent variable was found totally indiscriminate as far as the detections of sex role perceptions among the subgroups of this study is concerned.

5. Real vs. Ideal Perceptions

Generally speaking, there exists a tension usually between real and ideal perceptions of one's self and role. The gap is between what one actually feels or does and between what he/she would desire to feel or do. On the surface, it would have been reasonable to assume that subjects of this study would express ideal sex role perceptions which reflect more liberal tendency than that expressed in real perceptions. However, it was hypothesized that in this study no significant differences will exist between the subjects real and ideal perceptions of sex roles. This hypothesis was preferred over the other because, in the society under discussion, change has been taking place at a rather rapid and dramatic pace. As a consequence, it seemed that subjects have exhausted the limits of change up to a point where the real and ideal become similar.

Table 7 shows the differences between real and ideal sex role perceptions in the total population (overall) and within each sex. As expected, none of these differences is significant. However, a deeper look reveals that there is a consistent pattern of differences even though non-significant. Without an exception, in all cases there is a tendency of regression in the "ideal" mean scores from the

Table 7

Differences Between Real and Ideal
Perceptions Overall and Within Males and Females.
(Two Tail T-Test)

		<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>T-Value</u>	<u>Sig level</u>
Overall	Real	457	7.12	12.35	456	0.77	0.44
	Ideal		6.81	13.04			
Males	Real	233	-1.32	8.37	232	-1.46	0.14
	Ideal		-0.71	7.76			
Females	Real	244	15.89	11.41	233	1.85	0.06
	Ideal		14.64	13.63			

"real" ones. In other words, subjects of this study expressed ideal perceptions which are slightly less liberal than the real ones expressed by them. The gap is greatest among females whose real perceptions are more liberal than their ideal one (mean scores are 15.89 and 14.64 respectively) this difference is closest to significant ($p < .06$).

It seems that subjects in general and female ones in particular felt that they have gone a bit too far as far as their sex role perceptions are concerned. Steinmann reported similar results in 1975. In Greece, she found out that females have expressed ideal perceptions which were far more traditional than their real ones. She explained such a decrease by the notion that females lack the support of their society in general and family in particular as they behave in a liberated manner. Thus, in the expression of their ideal perceptions they lowered their position on liberalism in order to lower the intensity of the conflict

with others.¹³⁴

In 1970, Steinmann and Fox reported another decrease in the extent to which perceptions are liberal. In a study of American white and black females both groups expressed ideal perceptions which are less liberal than their real ones (for white female the mean score for real perceptions was 2.1 and the ideal was 1.9; among black females mean scores were 4.3 and 2.7 respectively).¹³⁵ Similarly, the researchers explain such a phenomenon by the notion that females' ideal perceptions are less liberal but more compromising as they want stability and understanding with men. The same may have taken place with the subjects of this study.

However, recent studies reflect a mirror-opposite pattern. Females express ideal perceptions which are far higher than their real ones. For example, in a study carried out in 1981 and in which the same Maferr Inventory for Feminine Values was used, Stevens, Barton, and Kope report the following: Among American white females the mean score for real perceptions was 19.00 and that for ideal perceptions was 24.00; among black females the mean scores were 11.00 and 18.00 respectively. A similar phenomenon was expressed by British females: their mean score for real

¹³⁴Steinman, A. Male and Female Concept of Sex Roles, p.4.

¹³⁵Steinmann, A. and D. J. Fox. Attitudes Towards Womens' Family Role Among Black and White Undergraduates, The Family Coordinator, October 1970, (Table 1, p. 364).

perceptions was 13.00 and that for ideal ones was 20.5.¹³⁶ It appears that as time progresses, women are becoming less and less concerned about stability and communication with men if these goal obstruct their behaving in a liberated manner. On the other hand, this may also reflect a "social dilemma" and not a "male dilemma" only. Following this pattern of differences, it would seem reasonable to assume that Palestinian Arab females will also tend to reflect ideal sex role perceptions far more liberal than the real ones. Steinman explains this phenomenon as a consequence of the lack of positive responsiveness of males as far as women's needs and ambitions are concerned.¹³⁷

6. Summary

Summing up, the central findings of this study could be presented as follows: First, significant differences exist between males and females. Males are basically balanced in their sex role perceptions, and females are liberal. These differences are significant not only in the entire populations, but also within each subgroup of the subjects.

Second, education does not play a unifying role as far as the perceptions of both sexes are concerned. Indeed, education seems to increase the perceptive gap between the sexes. While men remain balanced regardless of their

¹³⁶Stevens, G., E. Barton, and P. Koge, A comparison of Attitudes Toward Gender Roles, A paper delivered at the first International Multidisciplinary Congress on Women, Haifa University, December 1981.

¹³⁷Anne Steinman, 1975 Ibid., p. 9.

educational level, females become far more liberal when exposed to higher education.

Third, and unexpectedly, Christian-Muslim differences were not significant. It seems that both draw from their socio-cultural and political Palestinian-Arab realities more than they are influenced by their respective religions as far as the formation of their sex role perceptions are concerned. This finding makes questionable, the uncritical belief that Islam is a powerful determinant of sex roles and sex role perceptions in Arab society.

Fourth, residence was found to have only a minor impact upon subjects' role perceptions. Rural males were similar to urban ones, and, on the average, both expressed balanced perceptions. Similarly, the results show that both rural and urban females expressed liberal perceptions. The difference between them is one of degree only. While both subgroups are liberal, urban females are more so than rural ones.

Finally, no significant differences were found between real and ideal perceptions. This might suggest that each sex, having had to change their perceptions of the past, is quite satisfied with what they are now. Thus, no gaps exist between the perceptions they hold and the desirable ones. It seems that each sex has changed enough up to a point where they exhausted the range of change they are capable of coping with at this point in their life. Indeed, especially the perceptions expressed by females are very similar to those expressed by their counterparts in industrialized

societies like Czechoslovakia, England, and the U.S.A.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The basic questions raised early in this study relate to how Palestinian Arab males and females compare with others in the world as far as their sex role perceptions are concerned. And how they compare with each other according to sex, religion, residence and educational level. As far as the cross cultural comparison is concerned, the findings of this study reflect a clear similarity between the perceptions of Palestinian Arab subjects and those drawn from developed countries (i.e., U.S.A. and England). It seems that when groups from different societies are equally educated, they tend to express similar positions.

However, it also seems that formal education alone does not account for the changes which have taken place in the groups' sex role perceptions. That is why, for example, Greek undergraduate females still tended to be traditional when compared with American or British counterparts. It seems that the general sociocultural atmosphere, the environment within which people's perceptions develop and crystallize also is important in the shaping of people's feelings and viewpoints.

Until a few decades ago, Palestinian Arab culture, like many others in the world in general and in the Arab world in

particular, was a traditional one. Thus, one can reasonably assume that sex role perceptions then were traditional. The question is: Why change took place so rapidly? It seems that both the formal educational reality and the socio-political one account for such a change. Educationally, it is well known that Palestinians perceive of education, especially at higher levels, as a national resource due to their socio-political realities as oppressed and dispersed or divided along geopolitical lines. Yet, this very reality of political oppression and national deprivation has also created awareness and action for liberation. And, it is within this atmosphere that females' awareness develops and crystallizes towards not only political but social liberation too. Education provides the tools (intellectual, social and practical) through which such awareness is created and shaped.

The findings of this study also show that while females reflected a mentality of social liberation, males expressed a mentality of moderation. This difference is explained by the traditional position in society. Oppressed, females adopted a trend of liberation. Privileged, males chose moderation. Such a gap in perceptions is probably not without behavioral consequences in the domain of male-female interrelationships.

This study has determined the positions of both sexes with regard to their perceptions of sex roles and the gap which exists between the sexes. Consequently, another study is needed in order to determine the behavioral consequences

of this gap as far as male-female interactions are concerned. Only then, some rather specific and practical recommendations can be made.

At this point, it only can be said that this study had not and could not have intended to decide upon policy or to value-judge and to recommend. It only can be recommended that males and females within the different categories of the subjects of this study should be made aware through group counseling and other means of the changes that took place in themselves, in the other sex and in their society. Consequently, they will choose the content and direction of their perception in relation to their role vis a vis the other sex. This is of special importance to teachers and student teachers as they influence younger generations directly and indirectly. Again, the further study of the behavioral consequences of the gap between the perceptions of the sexes is expected to allow for more specific and practical recommendations.

Another study which would be complementary to this one is the study of male and female sex role perceptions among less-educated Palestinian Arab groups. Such a study will help determine the impact of education upon the perceived roles of men and women as it will also complete the overall picture concerning the society under discussion in this content of sex role perceptions. Two other variables are recommended to be added to future research in this area. One is the comparison between working and nonworking women of equal education, and the other is between married and

single males and females. It has been established in previous studies that work and marriage do have an impact on peoples sex role perceptions.

However, the Maferr Inventory for Feminine and Masculine Roles may not be as adequate for less educated subjects. For example, those who have elementary education only may have difficulty responding to the inventory as it is complex and lengthy. If this is indeed the case, field research (participant observation and/or in depth interviews) methods should be applied in order to detect the sex role perceptions of the less educated males and females. Field research methods, as compared with quantitative ones such as those used in this study, are expected to have benefits beyond the technical yet important issue of adequacy to the subjects limited educational attainment. It is also expected to portray a more accurate picture of what actually take place in reality as far as the interdependent positions of men and women in society (at work, in school, or in the family) are concerned.

Another line of studies to be recommended in this context is a follow-up series of studies similar to this one. It is recommended that studies similar to this one be carried out every few years in order for us to accompany possible changes or shifts in the way samples perceive sex roles. Consequently, the behavioral consequences of these perceptions should also be followed up not only in order to understand the dynamics of change in both attitudes and behaviors over time but also to be able to derive practical

implications and possible applications in the realm of intersex relationships.

And finally, this study differs from the existing pattern of research usually carried out in Arab and Muslim societies. To start with, the existing research focuses upon women alone and thus, fails to bring to focus the significance of interdependency and relativism existing within the roles of both the sexes. Instead, this study has brought to focus the perceptions of men and women together.

Secondly, unlike the existing research on Arab women, this study attempted to uncover sex role perceptions in light of the existing socio-educational realities. Most other studies on Arab women, on the other hand, are heavily involved in determining the present by uncovering the past. The "great debate" which exists now in the Arab and Muslim worlds is centering on whether or not Islam and Arab culture as heavily influenced by it discriminate against women. There are those who argue that Islam is indeed a seclusionist ideology that determines the position of women as inferior to men. Their opponents suggest the contrary, that Islam is liberal and grants women, like men, the opportunity of education and work. Both are probably right (or wrong depending on one's point of view). Whatever position one adopts, one can find enough documentation in Islam to support that position.

However, as it was assumed in this study the determinants of women's (and men's) role perceptions and positions in society are the existing and prevailing social, cultural,

economic and political realities. Whatever religion one believes in, his or her position is not determined solely by that belief but also and mainly so by the prevailing realities which, combined, form the environment within which that person is shaped or, indeed, within which the person actively shapes his or her perceptions. This study has shown rather clearly that role perceptions of Palestinian Arab men and women are not shaped by their religion (Christian or Muslim) but rather men are moderate and women are liberal as a consequence of their socio-political and educational realities. It is not how Islam (or Christianity) determine the roles of the sexes. It is how Palestinian Muslims and Christians interpret, reflect upon, and react to their realities within the context of sex roles.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MIFV - Form A, Real

Form B, Ideal

MIMV - Form H, Real

Form D, Ideal

Female - Real

FR - FORM A

Please read the instructions at the top of each page carefully. You are asked to indicate your opinion on each item by writing a number from 1 to 5 in the space to the left of the item, using the following scale:

STRONGLY AGREE - 1 AGREE - 2 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW - 3 DISAGREE - 4
STRONGLY DISAGREE - 5

PLEASE RESPOND TO THESE STATEMENTS WITH YOUR TRUE OPINION.
KEEP IN MIND THE WAY YOU REALLY ARE.

- _____ 1. An ambitious and responsible husband does not like his wife to work.
- _____ 2. I usually pay no attention to other people's feelings.
- _____ 3. A woman who works cannot possibly be as good a mother as the one who stays home.
- _____ 4. I would like to do something that everybody knows is important.
- _____ 5. I try to do what I think people want me to do.
- _____ 6. A woman has a conflict in what she has to do as a woman and what she wishes to do for herself.
- _____ 7. A woman should get married even if the man does not measure up to all her hopes.
- _____ 8. I sometimes feel that I must do everything myself, that I can accept nothing from others.
- _____ 9. The needs of a family come before a woman's personal ambitions.
- _____ 10. I am not sure that the joys of motherhood make up for the sacrifices.
- _____ 11. I like listening to people better than talking.
- _____ 12. I argue with people who try to give me orders.
- _____ 13. Marriage and children should come first in a woman's life.
- _____ 14. When I am with a group of people, I usually become the leader.
- _____ 15. I worry about what people think of me.
- _____ 16. I express my ideas strongly.
- _____ 17. Single women need personal success, but all a married woman needs is her husband's success.
- _____ 18. I would not get married if I had to give up what I really believe in order to get along with another person.
- _____ 19. It is up to the woman to make a marriage work.
- _____ 20. A working mother can get along as well with her children as can a mother who stays at home.
- _____ 21. The greatest help a wife can give her husband is to encourage his progress.
- _____ 22. It is unfair that women have to give up more than men in order to have a good marriage.
- _____ 23. I can put myself in the background and work hard for a person I admire.
- _____ 24. A wife's opinion should be as important as the husband's opinion.
- _____ 25. My main interest is to raise normal, well-behaved children.
- _____ 26. How I develop as a person is more important to me than what others think of me.
- _____ 27. If we disagree, I would give in to my husband more often than I would expect him to give in to me.
- _____ 28. The greatest satisfactions in life come from what you do yourself.
- _____ 29. I would like to marry a man to whom I could really look up.
- _____ 30. A woman should have interests outside the home.
- _____ 31. I am sure that what a woman gains from marriage makes up for sacrifices.
- _____ 32. Modern mothers should bring up their boys and girls to believe in absolute equal rights and freedoms for both sexes.
- _____ 33. A woman's place is in the home.
- _____ 34. I would rather be famous, admired and popular throughout the nation than have the constant affection of just one man.

Female - Ideal

FR - FORM B

Please read the instructions at the top of each page carefully. You are asked to indicate your opinion on each item by writing a number from 1 to 5 in the space to the left of the item, using the following scale:

STRONGLY AGREE - 1 AGREE - 2 NO OPINION - 3 DISAGREE - 4 STRONGLY DISAGREE - 5

THINK OF YOUR IDEAL WOMAN AND RESPOND TO EACH STATEMENT OF THIS FORM AS YOU BELIEVE SHE WOULD.

35. I worry about what people think of me.
36. A wife's opinion should be as important as the husband's opinion.
37. A woman's place is in the home.
38. I am not sure that the joys of motherhood make up for the sacrifices.
39. The greatest help a wife can give her husband is to encourage his progress.
40. A woman should have interests outside the home.
41. My main interest is to raise normal, well-behaved children.
42. I argue with people who try to give me orders.
43. Single women need personal success, but all a married woman needs is her husband's success.
44. It is unfair that women have to give up more than men in order to have a good marriage.
45. I can put myself in the background and work hard for a person I admire.
46. I would like to do something that everybody knows is important.
47. It is up to the woman to make a marriage work.
48. A woman has a conflict in what she has to do as a woman and what she wishes to do for herself.
49. I try to do what I think people want me to do.
50. I sometimes feel that I must do everything myself, that I can accept nothing from others.
51. A woman should get married even if the man does not measure up to all her hopes.
52. I express my ideas strongly.
53. The needs of a family come before a woman's personal ambitions.
54. When I am with a group of people, I usually become the leader.
55. I like listening to people better than talking.
56. Modern mothers should bring up their boys and girls to believe in absolute equal rights and freedoms for both sexes.
57. If we disagree, I would give in to my husband more often than I would expect him to give in to me.
58. The greatest satisfactions in life come from what you do yourself.
59. Marriage and children should come first in a woman's life.
60. I usually pay no attention to other people's feelings.
61. I would like to marry a man to whom I could really look up.
62. A working mother can get along as well with her children as can a mother who stays at home.
63. I am sure that what a woman gains from marriage makes up for the sacrifices.
64. I would rather be famous, admired and popular throughout the nation than have the constant affection of just one man.
65. A woman who works cannot possibly be as good a mother as the one who stays home.
66. How I develop as a person is more important to me than what others think of me.
67. An ambitious and responsible husband does not like his wife to work.
68. I would not get married if I had to give up what I really believe in to get along with another person.

Did you have a specific woman in mind when you answered this? YES NO
If so, how related to you? _____

MR - FORM (H)

Male - Real

Please read the instructions at the top of each page carefully. You are asked to indicate your opinion on each item by writing a number from 1 to 5 in the space to the left of the item, using the following scale:

STRONGLY AGREE-1 AGREE-2 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW-3 DISAGREE-4
STRONGLY DISAGREE-5

RESPOND TO EACH STATEMENT WITH YOUR TRUE OPINION. THINK
OF YOURSELF AS YOU REALLY ARE.

- ___ 1. I worry about what people think of me.
- ___ 2. An ambitious and responsible husband does not like his wife to work.
- ___ 3. A father's place is in the home when he is not at work.
- ___ 4. I am not sure that the joys of fatherhood make up for sacrifices.
- ___ 5. To be successful, a man needs his wife's encouragement.
- ___ 6. To be fully satisfied, a man needs interests besides his job and family
- ___ 7. My main interest is to raise normal, well-behaved children.
- ___ 8. I argue with people who try to give me orders.
- ___ 9. Married men should not be personally ambitious if it interferes with their families.
- ___ 10. A man should not give up his personal goals and ideas in order to have a good marriage.
- ___ 11. I can put myself in the background and work hard for a person I admire.
- ___ 12. I would like to do something everybody knows is important.
- ___ 13. A man needs the responsibilities of marriage to develop fully.
- ___ 14. When a man has a conflict between what he wants to do for himself and what he has to do as a husband, his ambitions should come first.
- ___ 15. I try to do what I think people want me to do.
- ___ 16. I sometimes feel that I must do everything myself, that I can accept nothing from others.
- ___ 17. A man should get married even if the woman does not measure up to all his hopes.
- ___ 18. I express my ideas strongly.
- ___ 19. The needs of a family come before a man's personal ambitions.
- ___ 20. When I am with a group of people, I usually become the leader.
- ___ 21. I like listening to people better than talking.
- ___ 22. A husband's opinion should be more important than his wife's opinion.
- ___ 23. If we disagree, I should give in to my wife more often than I would expect her to give in to me.
- ___ 24. The greatest satisfactions in life come from what you do yourself
- ___ 25. Marriage and children should come first in a man's life.
- ___ 26. I usually pay no attention to other people's feelings.
- ___ 27. If a woman is as smart as her husband, the marriage will not work.
- ___ 28. A father with active interests outside of his job can be as close to his children as a stay-at-home father.
- ___ 29. I am sure that what a man gains from marriage makes up for sacrifices.
- ___ 30. I would rather be famous, admired, and popular throughout the nation than have the constant affection of just one woman.
- ___ 31. A father who spends his free time away from home cannot possibly be as good a father as the one who is home a great deal.
- ___ 32. How I develop as a person is more important to me than what others think of me.
- ___ 33. Modern fathers should bring up their boys and girls to believe in absolute equal rights and freedoms for both sexes.
- ___ 34. I would not get married if I had to give up what I really believe in to get along with another person.

MR - FORM (D)

Male-Ideal

Please read the instructions at the top of each page carefully. You are asked to indicate your opinion on each item by writing a number from 1 to 5 in the space to the left of the item, using the following scale:

STRONGLY AGREE = 1 AGREE = 2 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW = 3 DISAGREE = 4
~~STRONGLY DISAGREE = 5~~

THINK OF YOUR IDEAL MAN, AND RESPOND TO EACH STATEMENT AS YOU BELIEVE HE WOULD.

- ___ 201. Modern fathers should bring up their boys and girls to believe in absolute equal rights and freedoms for both sexes.
- ___ 202. I usually pay no attention to other people's feelings.
- ___ 203. A father who spends his free time away from home cannot possibly be as good a father as the one who is home a great deal.
- ___ 204. I would like to do something everybody knows is important.
- ___ 205. I try to do what I think people want me to do.
- ___ 206. When a man has a conflict between what he wants to do for himself and what he has to do as a husband, his ambitions should come first.
- ___ 207. A man should get married even if the woman does not measure up to all his hopes.
- ___ 208. I sometimes feel that I must do everything myself, that I can accept nothing from others.
- ___ 209. The needs of a family come before a man's personal ambitions.
- ___ 210. I am not sure that the joys of fatherhood make up for sacrifices.
- ___ 211. I like listening to people better than talking.
- ___ 212. I argue with people who try to give me orders.
- ___ 213. Marriage and children should come first in a man's life.
- ___ 214. When I am with a group of people, I usually become the leader.
- ___ 215. I worry about what people think of me.
- ___ 216. I express my ideas strongly.
- ___ 217. Married men should not be personally ambitious if it interferes with their families.
- ___ 218. I would not get married if I had to give up what I really believe in to get along with another person.
- ___ 219. A man needs the responsibilities of marriage to develop fully.
- ___ 220. A father with active interests outside of his job can be as close to his children as a stay-at-home father.
- ___ 221. To be successful, a man needs his wife's encouragement.
- ___ 222. A man should not give up his personal goals and ideas in order to have a good marriage.
- ___ 223. I can put myself in the background and work hard for a person I admire.
- ___ 224. A husband's opinion should be more important than his wife's opinion.
- ___ 225. My main interest is to raise normal, well-behaved children.
- ___ 226. How I develop as a person is more important to me than what others think of
- ___ 227. If we disagree, I should give in to my wife more often than I would expect her to give in to me.
- ___ 228. The greatest satisfactions in life come from what you do yourself.
- ___ 229. If a woman is as smart as her husband, the marriage will not work.
- ___ 230. To be fully satisfied, a man needs interests besides his job and family.
- ___ 231. I am sure that what a man gains from marriage makes up for sacrifices.
- ___ 232. An ambitious and responsible husband does not like his wife to work.
- ___ 233. A father's place is in the home when he is not at work.
- ___ 234. I would rather be famous, admired, and popular throughout the nation than have the constant affection of just one woman.

Did you have a specific man in mind when you answered this? Yes No
 If so, how related to you? _____

APPENDIX B

MIFV (Real and Ideal)

MIMV (Real and Ideal)

in Arabic Translation

FR - FORM A

الإناء

الرجاء: قراءة التعليمات الموجودة في أعلى كل صفحة بعناية تامة .
 مطلوب منك، ان تعبّر عن رأيك بواسطة كتابة رقم من ١ - ٥ في المكان المعبّر على يمين كل سؤال .
 اما الارقام فمعناها كالآتي : ١ = اوافق بشده . ٢ = اوافق . ٣ = لا رأي عندي / لا اعرف .
 ٤ = لا اوافق . ٥ = لا اوافق بتاتا .

الرجاء : احببي على هذه العبارات من رأيك الشخصي ذاكره دائما حقيقة ذاتك .

- ١ . الزوج الطموح والمسؤول لا يرغب ان تعمل زوجته .
- ٢ . عادة انا لا اعطي اهمية لاحاسيس الآخرين .
- ٣ . المرأة العاطلة لا يمكنها ان تكون اما صالحة كالا م التي لا تعمل .
- ٤ . ارجب عمل شي * يعرف الجميع انه مهم .
- ٥ . احاول ان اعمل ما يرضي الآخرين حسب رأيي .
- ٦ . تعيش المرأة صراعا بين ما يجب ان تعمله كأم وما تريد ان تعمل لذاتها كإنسانة .
- ٧ . على المرأة ان تتزوج حتى اذا كان الزوج المنشود لا يتناسب مع طموحها .
- ٨ . اشعر احيانا انه على ان اعمل كل شي * بنفسني ، وانه لا يحذر بي ان استعين بأحد .
- ٩ . حاجة الاسره اهم من طموحات المرأة الشخصيه .
- ١٠ . انا لست متأكده من ان نشوء الامومه تعوي عن التضحيات التي تقدمها الام لا ولادها .
- ١١ . احب الاستماع الى الآخرين اكثر من التكلم .
- ١٢ . احادل من يلقي عليّ الا وسير .
- ١٣ . الزواج والاعمال يجب ان يحتلوا المرتبة الاولى في حياة المرأة .
- ١٤ . عندما اتواجد بين مجموعه من الناس غالبا ما اتحول الى نجمة الحلسه .
- ١٥ . يظنني ما يفكره الناس عني .
- ١٦ . انا اعبر عن رأيي بصراحه .
- ١٧ . المرأة العزباء تحتاج الى نجاح شخصي — اما المرأة المتزوجه فكل ما تحتاجه هو نجاح زوجها .
- ١٨ . لن اتزوج ابدا اذا كان الزواج معناه التنازل عن كل معتقداتي من اجل التعاير مع الزوج .
- ١٩ . ان نجاح الحياه الزوجيه يتوقف على المرأة .

FR - FORM A

- ٢٠. الأم العاطفه تتدبر شؤون اولادها تماما كما تتدبر الام الغير عاطفه .
- ٢١. اعلم ساعده تقدّمها الزوجه للزوج هي ان تشيد بنجاحه .
- ٢٢. ليمر من العدل ان تضعى المرأة اكثر من الرجل من اجل حياه زوجها سعيدة .
- ٢٣. استطيع ان اعمل بنشاط وان ابقى في المنزل من اجل انسان يعجبني .
- ٢٤. رأء الزوجه يحب ان يكون ينغمس مستوى ادمية رأء الزوج .
- ٢٥. اهتمامي الرئيسي ان اربي اطفال اصحاء يتحلون بسلوك جيد .
- ٢٦. تظهرى كاتسان اهم عندي بكثير من رأى الآخرين قو .
- ٢٧. اذا اختلفنا اتنازل لزوجي اكثر بكثير من توقعي في ان يتنازل لي .
- ٢٨. اكتر اضع في الحياه تأثر ما تعطه بنفسه .
- ٢٩. اريد ان اتزوج انسان استطيع ان اتسل به واقده .
- ٣٠. يحب ان تكون للمرأة اهتمامات خارج المنزل .
- ٣١. انا متأكده من ان ما تحصل عليه المرأة من الزواج يوازي تضحياتها من اجله .
- ٣٢. يحب على الام الحديثه ان تربي ابناءها ومنااتها على الايمان بالسواواه المطلقه بالحقوق للجنسين
- ٣٣. فكان المرأة الطبيعي هو البيت .
- ٣٤. افضل ان اكون مشيره ومحبيه وشعبيه على مستوى واسع من ان احظى بحب رجل واحد فقط .

FR - FORM B

ملفات

ملاحظة : الاجابة على نفي الطريقة السابقة اى بواسطة ارقام من ١ - ٥ .
 ١ = اوافق بشده . ٢ = اوافق . ٣ = لا رأى عندى / لا اعرف .
 ٤ = لا اوافق . ٥ = لا اوافق بتاتا .

فجئى فو المرأه الثالثه حسب رأيك . ثم احييى على كل عباره من العبارات التاليه بالشكل
 التى كانت ستعيب هي عليهم .

- ٣٥ . يظننى ما يفكره الناس عنى .
- ٣٦ . رأى الزوجه يجب ان يكون بنفصر ستوى اعمده رأى الزوج .
- ٣٧ . مكان المرأه الطبيعي هو البيت .
- ٣٨ . انا لست طامعه من ان نشوه الاموه تعوز عن التضحيات التى تقدمها الام ولا دها .
- ٣٩ . اعظم ساعده تقدمها الزوجه للزوج هي ان تشيد بنجاحه .
- ٤٠ . يجب ان تكون للمرأه اهتمامات خارج المنزل .
- ٤١ . اهتمامى الرئيسى ان اربى اطفال امحاء يتحللون بسلو حسن .
- ٤٢ . احاول من يلقى على الاواسر .
- ٤٣ . المرأه الغزباء تحتاج الى نجاح شخصى ، اما المرأه المتزوجه فكل ما تحتاجه هو نجاح زوجها .
- ٤٤ . ليس من العدل ان تضحي المرأه اكثر من الرجل من اجل حياه زوجيه سعيدة .
- ٤٥ . استطيع ان اعطى بنشاط وان ابقى فو المنزل من اجل انسان يعجبني .
- ٤٦ . ارجو فو عمل شوي يعرف الجميع انه مهم .
- ٤٧ . ان نجاح الحياه الزوجيه يتوقف على المرأه .
- ٤٨ . تميز المرأه صراعا بين ما يحب ان تعطيه كامرأه وبين ما ترغب ان تعطيه لذاتها كإنسانه .
- ٤٩ . احاول ان اعطى ما يرمى الآخرين حسب رأيي .
- ٥٠ . اتمنى احيانا ان اعطى كل شوي بنفسى ، وانه لا يحذر بي ان استعين باحد .
- ٥١ . على المرأه ان تتزوج حتى اذا كان الزوج المنشود لا يتناسب مع طموحاتها .
- ٥٢ . انا اعبر عن رأى بصراحه .
- ٥٣ . حاده الاسره اهم من طموح المرأه الشخصى .

FR - FORM B

- ٥٤ . عندما اتوجد بين مجموعته من الناس غالبا ما اتحير الى نحيه العله .
- ٥٥ . احب الاستماع الى الاخرين اكثر من التكلم معهم .
- ٥٦ . يحب على الام الحديثه ان تربي ابناءها هيااتها على الايمان المطلق بالسواوه بالحقوق للجنسين .
- ٥٧ . اذا اختلفنا ، اتنازل لزوجهي اكثر بكثير من توقعي في ان يتنازل لي .
- ٥٨ . اكثر السع في الحياه تأتي ما تعطه بنفسه .
- ٥٩ . الزواج والا فقال يجب ان يحتلوا العرتبه الاولو في حياه المرأة .
- ٦٠ . عاده انا لا اعطي اهميه لا حاسير الاخرين .
- ٦١ . اريد ان اتزوج انسانا استطيع ان اتحدث به واقلده .
- ٦٢ . الام العاطله تتدبر شؤون اولادها كما تتدبرها الام الغير عاطله .
- ٦٣ . انا متأكده من ان ما تحصل عليه المرأة من الزواج يوازن تضعيتها من اجله .
- ٦٤ . افضل ان اكون مشهوره ومحبيه ونعبيه على مستوى واسع من ان احدى بحب رجل واحد فقط .
- ٦٥ . المرأة العاطله لا يمكنها ان تكون ام صالحه كالام التي لا تعمل .
- ٦٦ . تظهرى كائنات اهم عندو بكثير من رأى الا رين نوره .
- ٦٧ . الزوج المرموج والمسؤول لا يرغب ان تعمل زوجته .
- ٦٨ . لن اتزوج ابدا اذا كان الزواج معناه التنازل عن كل معتقداتي من اجل التعاين مع زوج .
- هل كانت هناك امرأة معينه في بالك عند احاسنت ؟ نعم لا

اذا كان الجواب نعم ، اذكرى علاقتك بها

MR- FORM H

للذكور : الرجاء قراءة التعليمات الموجودة في اعلى كل صفحه بعنايه تامه .
مطلوب منك ان تعبر عن رأيك بواسطه كتابه رقم من ١ - ٥ في المكان المعد على يمين كل سؤال .

اما الارقام فمعناها كالآتي : ١ = وافق بشده . ٢ = وافق .
٣ = لا رأى عندى / لا اعرف . ٤ = لا وافق . ٥ = لا وافق بتاتا .

اجب على هذه العبارات مطلقا من رأيك الشخصي . فكرر في نفسك كما هي حقيقه :

- ١ . يظننى ما يفكره الناصر عنيّ .
- ٢ . الزوج الطموح والمسؤول لا يرغب ان تعمل زوجته .
- ٣ . مكان الاب الطبيعي هو المنزل عند ما لا يكون في العمل .
- ٤ . انا لست متأكدا من ان متعة الابوه تساوى تضحياته لا ولاده .
- ٥ . ليصبح الرجل ناعما ، هو يحاحه الى تشجيع ودعم زوجته .
- ٦ . ليحصل الانسان على كفايه حقيقه في الحياه ، يجب ان تكون لديه اهتمامات خارج نطاق العمل والحياه الزوجيه .
- ٧ . اهتمامي الرئيسي ان اربي اولادا اصحاء وسلوكهم جيد .
- ٨ . احاول من يلقون عليّ الا واصر .
- ٩ . ليمر من الضروري ان يكون الرجال المتزوجون رجالا ضموحين اذا تضارب ضموخهم مع حاجات الاسره .
- ١٠ . ليس من الضروري ان يتنازل الرجل عن ارائه وتطلعاته الشخصيه ليحافظ على زواج ناجح .
- ١١ . استطيع ان اعلم بنشاط وان ابقى في الغل من اجل انسان يعجبني .
- ١٢ . انا ارغب عمل شي يعرف الجميع انه مهم .
- ١٣ . يحتاج الرجل الى مسؤوليه الزواج لينضج كليا .
- ١٤ . عند ما يقع الرجل في صراع بين ما يرغب عله لنفسه وبين واجبه كزوج يجب ان يعطي حق الاولويه لرغباته وطموحه .
- ١٥ . احاول ان اعلم ما يرضي الاخرين حسب رأيي .
- ١٦ . اشعر احيانا انه علي ان اعلم كل شي بنفسي وان لا اقبل اى مساعده من الاخرين .
- ١٧ . يجب ان يتزوج الرجل حتى اذا كانت العراه لا تتناسب مع آماله .
- ١٨ . اعبر عن رأيي بصراحه .

MR - FORM H

- ١٩ . احتياجات الاسره اهم من طموحات الرجل الشخصيه .
- ٢٠ . عندما اكون بين مجموعه من الناس غالبا ما اصبح قائد المجموعه .
- ٢١ . احب الاستماع الى الاخرين اكثر من التكلم معهم .
- ٢٢ . رأى الزوج يجب ان يكون ذات اهميه اكبر من رأى الزوجه .
- ٢٣ . اذا اختلفنا اتنازل لزوجتي اكثر بكثير من توقعي بان تتنازل لي .
- ٢٤ . الشئ العظيم في الحياه هي نتيجه انجازاته انت الشخصيه .
- ٢٥ . الزواج والاطفال يجب ان يحتلوا المرتبه الاولى في حياه الرجل .
- ٢٦ . انا لا اهتم هناكه بشار الاخرين .
- ٢٧ . اذا كانت الزوجه ذكيه بنفس درجه ذكاه زوجها فان الزواج يفشل .
- ٢٨ . اب مع اهتمام خارج الاسره يستطيع ان يكون قريبا من اولاده تطام كلاب الذى يبقى في المنزل .
- ٢٩ . انا متأكد من ان المومر الذى يحمل عليه الرجل من الحياه الزوجيه يوازي تضحياته من احل الحياه الزوجيه .
- ٣٠ . افضل ان اكون مشهورا ومحبا وشعبيا على مستوى واسع من ان احظى على حب امرأه واحده .
- ٣١ . الاب الذى يقضى اوقات فراغه بعيدا عن المنزل لا يمكن ان يكون ابا جيدا كلاب الذى يقضى معظم وقته في المنزل .
- ٣٢ . تطوى الشخصيه اهم بكثير لذي من رأى الاخرين في .
- ٣٣ . يجب على الاباء الحديثين ان يربوا ابناهم ويناتهم على الايمان بالسوايه بالحقوق المخلقه للجنسين .
- ٣٤ . لن اتزوج اذا كان الزواج معناه التغلب عن كل مادي من اجل التمايز مع زوجه .

MR - FORM D

للتذكر : الاجابه على نفس الطريقة بواسطة الارقام من ١ - ٥ .

- ١ = وافق بشده . ٢ = وافق . ٣ = لا رأى عندى / لا اعرف .
٤ = لا وافق . ٥ = لا وافق بتاتا .

فكر في الرجل التالي بنظرك، ثم اجب على كل عبارة من العبارات الاتيه بالشكل الذى كان سيجيب عليها هو بحسب رأيك .

- ٢٠١ . يجب على الاباء الحدشين ان يربوا بناتهم وابنائهم على الايمان بالسواءه بالحقوق المطلقة للجنسين .
- ٢٠٢ . انا لا اهتم عادة بشاعر الاخرين .
- ٢٠٣ . الاب الذى يخضى اوقات فراغه بعيدا عن المنزل لا يمكن ان يكون ابا جيدا كالأب الذى يقض معظم وقته في المنزل .
- ٢٠٤ . انا ارغب عن شئ يعرف الجميع انه مهم .
- ٢٠٥ . احاول ان اعمل ما يرغبي الاخرين حسب رأى .
- ٢٠٦ . عند ما يقع الرجل في صراع بين ما يرغب عله لنفسه وبين واجبه كزوج يجب ان يعطى حق الاولويه لرغباته وطموحه .
- ٢٠٧ . يجب ان يتزوج الرجل حتى اذا كانت المرأة لا تتناسب وآماله .
- ٢٠٨ . اشعر احيانا انه عليه ان اعمل كل شئ بنفسى ، وان لا اقبل اى مساعده من الاخرين .
- ٢٠٩ . احتياجات الاسره اهم من ضموحات الرجل الشخصيه .
- ٢١٠ . انا لست متأكدا من ان شعبة الابوه تساوى تضحياته لاولاده .
- ٢١١ . احب الاستماع الى الاخرين اكثر من التكلم معهم .
- ٢١٢ . اجادل من يلقون علي الاوصار .
- ٢١٣ . الزواج والاطفال يجب ان يحتلوا المرتبه الاولى في حياة الرجل .
- ٢١٤ . عند ما اكون بين مجموعه من الناس، غالبا ما اصبح قائد المجموعه .
- ٢١٥ . يلقيني ما يفكره الناس عني .
- ٢١٦ . اصر عن رأيي بصراحه .
- ٢١٧ . ليس من الضروري ان يكون الرجال المتزوجون رجالا طموحين اذا تضارب طموحهم مع حاجات الاسره .

MR - FORM D

- ٢١٨ . لن اتزوج اذا كان الزواج معناه التخلي عن كل جاد في من اجل التعايش مع زوجه .
- ٢١٩ . اب مع اهتمامات خارج الاسره يستطيع ان يكون قريبا من اولاده تطاما كالأب الذي يبقى في المنزل .
- ٢٢١ . ليصبح الرجل ناجحا ، هو بحاجة الى تشجيع ودعم زوجته .
- ٢٢٢ . ليس من الضروري ان يتنازل الرجل عن ارائه وتطلعاته الشخصيه ليحافظ على زواج ناضج .
- ٢٢٣ . استطيع ان اعمل بنشاط وان ابقى في الثقل من اجل انسان يعجبني .
- ٢٢٤ . رأى الزوج يجب ان يكون ذات اهميه اكبر من رأى الزوجه .
- ٢٢٥ . اهتمامي الرئيسي ان اربي اطفال اصحاء يتحلون بسلوك جيد .
- ٢٢٦ . تطوري الشخصيه اهم لديّ بكثير من رأى الآخرين فيّ .
- ٢٢٧ . اذا اختلفنا اتنازل لزوجتي اكثر بكثير من توقعي في ان تتنازل لي .
- ٢٢٨ . القمه العظميه في الحياه هي نتيجة انجازات انت الشخصيه .
- ٢٢٩ . اذا كانت الزوجه ذكيه بنفرد درجة ذكاء زوجها فان الزواج يفشل .
- ٢٣٠ . ليحصل الانسان على كفاية حقيقه في الحياه ، يجب ان تكون لديه اهتمامات خارج نطاق العمل والحياه الزوجيه .
- ٢٣١ . انا متأكد من ان العود الذي يحصل عليه الرجل من الحياه الزوجيه يوازي تضحياته من اجلها .
- ٢٣٢ . الرجل الطموح وصاحب المسؤوليه لا يجب ان تعمل زوجته .
- ٢٣٣ . كان الاب الطبيعي هو المنزل عندما لا يكون في العمل .
- ٢٣٤ . افضل ان اكون شهيرا ، محبوبا وشعبيا على مستوى واسع من ان احظى على حب امرأه واحده .

هل كان هناك رجل معين بتفكير " عند احابتك على هذه العبارات : نعم ، لا

اذا كان الجواب نعم ، اذكره (قته يا)

APPENDIX C

**Personal Data Sheet
(English and Arabic)**

تفاصيل شخصيه

التاريخ _____ الاسم _____
الجنس _____ الحيل _____

هل انت (ت) : اعزب / غزبا _____ خائب / _____
متزوج / _____ تعيش لوحدها _____ مطلق / _____
ارمل / _____ تعيش مع احد _____

عدد سنوات دراستك: _____ هل تعمل _____
صاذا _____ هل تنوي العمل _____ في اى مجال _____

اذا كنت متزوج / او تنوى الزواج :

- للائناك : (١) هل تنوين العمل بعد الزواج _____
- (٢) هل تنوين الاستمرار في دراستك بعد الزواج _____
- (٣) لماذا _____

- للكم : (١) هل تتوقع ان تعمل زوجتك قبل ان يولد لكم اطفال _____
- (٢) عندما يكون الاطفال بحيل الروضه _____
 - (٣) عندما يكون الاطفال في حيل المدرسه _____
 - (٤) اذا كنت ترغب ان تعمل زوجتك في اى مرحله من المراحل المذكوره اعلاه . لماذا ؟ _____

اى تربيته دينيه حصلت عليها في طفولتك ؟ غير دينيه ، محافظه ، دينيه . _____

انتطاي الديني في الوقت الحاضر هو : غير متدين ، محافظ ، متدين _____

السكن الاصلي . قريه _____ او مدينه _____

كان السكن الحالي : _____

- ٢ -

إذا انتقلت من قرية إلى مدينة ، اذكر عدد السنوات التي قضيتها في المدينة : _____

ما هو المستوى الثقافي للوالده _____

ما هو المستوى الثقافي للوالد _____

ما هو مستوى والديك الاقتصادي (ضع خطأ تحت الاحابه الصحيحه) :
 مستوى عال جدا ، مستوى عال ، فوق المتوسط ، متوسط ، منخفض .

حسب رأيك ، كيف كان الحوفي بيت والديك ، هو محافظ ، ام ديمقراطي : _____

عدد الاخوه _____ عدد الاخوات _____

ما هو ترتيبك في الاسرة : الولد البكر ، الثاني ، الثالث : _____

هل تشعرا انك (ك) قريب /ه اكثر من والديك /ك او والدتك /ك : _____

حسب رأيك من هو صاحب الشخصيه المسيطره في داخل اسرتك ابوك او امك : _____

هل حصل ان ميّز احد والديك احدكم على الآخر : _____

اذا كان الجواب نعم . اذكر اى من الوالدين و اى من الاخوه او الاخوات : _____

حسب رأيك حياة والديك الزوجيه هي سعيدة جدا ، سعيدة ، متوسطة ، غير سعيدة .

غير سعيدة بتاتا : (ضع خطأ تحت الاحابه الصحيحه) .

Background Information

Date _____ Name _____

Sex _____ Age _____

Are you married? _____ Single? _____

Engaged? _____ Live alone? _____

Widowed? _____ Live with someone? _____

Number of years of education? _____

Do you work? _____ What? _____

Do you plan to work? _____ in which field? _____

If you are married or planning to get married:

Females only

1. Do you plan to work after marriage? _____
2. Do you plan to continue your studies after marriage? _____
3. Why? _____

For males only

1. Do you expect from your wife to work before you have children? _____
2. When children are nursery school age? _____
3. When children are school age? _____
4. If you wish your wife to work in any of the above mentioned situations, please state the reason: _____

Religion: Muslim? _____ Christian? _____.

Your Socialization at home: Religious? _____,
conservative? _____, Secular? _____.

Residence: Rural? _____, Urban? _____.

Father's education: _____

Mother's education: _____

Economic situation: High? ___, Middle? ___, Low? ___.

Number of Brothers? _____

Number of Sisters? _____

Are you closer to your mother _____ or father _____.

Who has most impact upon you: father _____,
mother _____, sister _____, brother _____.

Family atmosphere: happy _____

average _____

unhappy _____

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