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A STUDY OF AN ETHNIC GROUP:
THE YEMENI COMMUNITY IN THE
SOUTH END, DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

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Hamad S.O. Al-Yami

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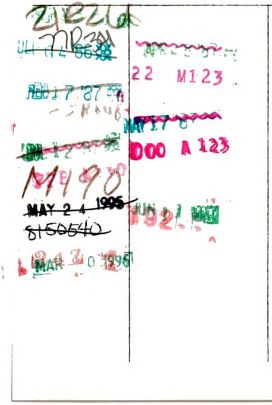

A STUDY OF AN ETHNIC GROUP: THE YEMENI COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH END, DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

By

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF AN ETHNIC GROUP:
THE YEMENI COMMUNITY IN
THE SOUTH END IN DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

By

Hamad S.O. Al-Yami

Arab immigrants are found in every state, but cluster where work opportunities are available, where relatives and neighbors from their villages of origin can be found. These, plus factors such as cultural background and national origin, have contributed to the formation of Arab ethnic communities like the one in the South End in Dearborn, Michigan.

In this study, the focus is on the North and South Yemeni immigrants who can be distinguished from the rest of the Arab immigrants in Dearborn by their appearance and way of life. Although the largest proportion of the Arabs in Dearborn are Muslems, Yemenis are generally considered more conservative compared to some other Arab groups.

This exploratory study provides an overview of the immigration patterns of this group, their residence, occupation, education and the structure of their community which has survived over ten years as a distinct community, isolated from the larger U.S. society. In this context, ethnicity and acculturation of the Yemeni groups were examined to determine the extent of the interaction between these groups and the host culture.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Every year thousands of migrants from foreign countries come to the U.S., either temporarily or permanently. Whether or not immigrant "foreigners" become "Americans" in a real sense has little to do with obtaining formal citizenship papers. Rather, it has more to do with the adoption of American ways, adoption to the host culture, and similarity to others in the society in which they find themselves.

Emigration from the Arab countries to the United States started around the end of the nineteenth century. Up to the period before World War II, it is estimated that about two hundred thousand Arab immigrants had come to the United States, a large percentage of them from Syria and Lebanon. Othman stated that, "89,971 Syrian immigrants entered the United States between 1899 and 1969." (1970:23) More recently, Arabs have emigrated from other countries of the Arab world, such as Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Jordan and Yemen.

Early Arab immigrants to the United States were attracted by the American economy. "Trade and commerce

were the dominant occupations of these immigrants." (Othman, 1970:24) About half of these early immigrants ended their trip on the east coast and settled in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the New England states. They also settled in the Midwestern states (Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa) in considerable numbers. Thus, the Arab immigrants are scattered throughout the states, but tend to be concentrated in the industrial, metropolitan areas. Although a large number of the early immigrants came from agricultural backgrounds, only .01 percent settled on farms. This can be attributed to the fact that many Arab immigrants were attracted by the high pay offered by the auto industry, steels and other related industries. However, they "never gave up the intention of returning to their native countries after they had saved enough of the quick money they came here to make." (Othman, 1970:26) From the beginning of the Arab migration, then, until the present day, many immigrants had no intention of settling in America permanently. Their goals were to accumulate as much money as possible, in the shortest time possible, and then return home. This, plus their limited knowledge of English, interferred in the assimilation process and contributed to the formation cf ethnic clusters. "The less English-speaking an ethnic community is, the more clannish it is, and the more it segregates itself from American life." (Elkholy, 1976:153)

After the 1950's, new groups of Arab immigrants began arriving in the United States, many of them intending to settle permanently. Examples of such groups are the Palestinian refugees and Egyptian immigrants. These more recent immigrants came seeking refuge from conditions back home "...to escape the strife in the Middle East" (Detroit News, December 15, 1978:B-1). Many of the new immigrants were highly educated and skilled professionals. In addition, they were more mobile and dispersed more widely than the first generation of Arab immigrants. Table 1.1 provides estimates of the number of Arab immigrants in various states.

Statistical data records very large increases in the number of recent Arab immigrants to the U.S.A. This can be attributed, at least in part, to the political unrest in the Middle East. "Every time fighting breaks out in the Middle East, we get another 500 immigrants in Dearborn" (Detroit News, March 29, 1982:A-1). Between 1971 and 1975, an average of 10,430 Arab immigrants entered the U.S.A. every year. Of these, an increasingly large proportion were young people. In 1977, 14,375 Arab immigrants from Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt were admitted to the U.S.A. (statistics compiled from the 1971-1977 Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service). A proportion of the recent Arab immigrants to the U.S. are Yemeni emigrants from both North and South Yemen (Appendix A). The focus in this study will be on the Yemeni immigrants

TABLE 1.1 Arab-American Populations of the Various States

State	Arab-Americans[a]
California	258,000
New York	195,000
Ohio	117,000
Illinois	116,000
Pennsylvania	115,000
Michigan[b]	220,000
Texas	90,000
Massachusetts	62,400
North Carolina	56,000
Virginia	51,000
Wisconsin	49,500
New Jersey	44,000
Florida	42,000
Maryland	39,400
Washington	37,500
Indiana	35,000
Missouri	33,000
Connecticut	30,000
Minnesota	26,000
Goergia	25,000
Louisiana	22,000
Colorado	17,400
Tennessee	16,400
Alabama	16,200
Arizona	15,800
West Virginia	15,800
Oklahoma	14,000
Oregon	11,500
Kentucky	10,200
D.C.	9,000
Iowa	9,000
South Carolina	9,000
Rhode Island	8,800
Kansas	8,500
Utah	7,800

SOURCE: Beverlee Turner Mehdi, "The Arabs in America 1942-1977", Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1977, p.137.

[a] based primarily on incomplete surveys and the 1970 U.S. Census, the chart shows the states with significant Arab-American populations in 1970.

[b] Ismael Ahmed. "Arab American" (Sound Recording) [Ismael Ahmed: John Callaway, Moderator] Racine, Wisconsin: The Johnson Foundation, 1981.

who have settled in the Detroit metropolitan area, specifically the Yemenis in Dearborn's South End.

About 98 percent of the entire Yemeni immigrant population in the Detroit metropolitan area came from rural areas (N. Abraham, 1978). Most of them came from a specific area in North Yemen, known as the "Central Province," and their immigration began from the Liwa Ibb and Liwa al-Baidha regions within that Province. (See Appendix B)

All the Yemeni immigrants in the Detroit metropolitan area are Muslems. However, they are affiliated with two Islamic sects, being either "Shafi Sunni" or "Zaidi Shia" (See definition, p. 16). It is important to point out that there are no major differences between these two religious groups. In Liwa Ibb and the other areas of Yemen, the "Shafi Sunni" and "Zaidi Shia" live together and intermarry (N. Abraham, 1983:115-118). The situation in the Yemeni community in Dearborn is not different from that in their original country, where there is no religious separation, despite different sect affiliations.

Yemeni emigrants from South Yemen constitute groups from the urban city of Aden and rural regions such as Shaib, Dhala and Upper Yafa. All three regions border on North Yemen's central Province from where the majority of U.S. Yemeni immigrants originated. Warren (1967:44-45) reports that many of the immigrants from these three regions in South Yemen, trace their origins back to families living

in the Central Province in North Yemen (Appendix B).

From a number of studies done by N. Abraham and S. Al-Khamri, it is apparent that factors of both "push" and "pull" were responsible for the Yemeni migration from 1900 to the late 1960s. Since the 1960s, their migration to the United States has been affected by a "chain" of interrelated political, social and economic factors.

> Chief among the circumstances that have driven them--Yemenis--from their native land are: poverty, political and social oppression, colonialism and war. With notable exceptions, the immigrants are either illiterate or semi-literate, unskilled peasants who have little knowledge of English. (N. Abraham, 1978:3)

Yemen, during the Imamate period was isolated from the rest of the world and political power was held by the "sayeds" and "sheikhs"--landlords and heads of the tribe who considered themselves to be of high status (see definition, p.15). Sayeds claimed they were descendents of the messenger Mohammad and acquired their power because of their religiousity. The religious and political power acquired by both groups put them in a position where they could exploit other people from lower strata, such as the farmers (tribal men) and groups like musicians and carpenters. These people from lower classes suffered from high taxation and misrepresentation carried on by the sayeds and sheikhs. A

picture of their poverty may be derived from the statement, "Infant mortality is 160 per 1000 live births, literacy is 10 percent, there is one doctor for every 30,000 people, daily food intake is only 1900 calories." (Bisharat, 1975: 29)

Regardless of an improved social and political situation in today's South and North Yemen, emigration of young men is still high, to the extent that "each household in Yemen has at least one of its members out of the country." (Al-Masar, April, 1983:34) This is primarily because Yemen is still one of the poorest nations in the Middle East, which can be attributed to the scarcity of natural resources and a shortage of fertile land. These factors and some others, such as individuals' aspirations to improve their economic status and unemployment in Yemen, combine to push the young men to look for employment in rich oil countries, like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and in the United States where wages and opportunities for work are relatively high.

Based on this review of Arab migration to the U.S. it may be said that Arab immigrants are different, on the whole, from the majority of Americans who came mostly from Western Europe. Arab immigrants arrive from the Middle East and carry with them a different culture, a different religion (mostly Muslem) and are of various nationalities. Their immigration puts them in a situation in which they

are culturally different from the white Anglo-Saxon majority, a situation which exposes the Arab immigrants (Yemenis) to problems which can be overcome to some extent by adoption of the American culture.

This research will be devoted in large part to investigating the problems that face immigrant Yemenis, their attitudes toward American life, and how these affect their adaptation to the host culture. More specifically, this research effort will be addressed to the factors that help or motivate, or hinder and prevent, Yemeni acculturation in the U.S. Yemeni immigrants came from a culture widely different from the host culture in language, religion and norms. It is the intent of this research to examine how its characteristics have prevented or at least delayed the acculturation of this specific group. It is important to point out that the Yemenis' differences may led these immigrants to isolate themselves from the larger society. Thus, they have concentrated themselves in specific ethnic communities, many of them in an Arab community of Yemeni immigrants in Dearborn, Michigan. This investigation will include identification and examination of some of the causes that have contributed to the formation of the ethnic community of Yemenis in Dearborn. The immigrants' nation of origin, culture, religion and, particulary, the attitudes of the host society toward the immigrants, demonstrated through work, school and residence, will be taken into account in elaborating this matter.

Statement of the Problem

Racial and ethnic studies have a long tradition in American sociology. Numerous studies have been devoted to ethnicity and ethnic awareness among such different groups as Hispanics, Blacks and Jews. Despite efforts to help immigrants overcome cultural differences and assimilate more easily in the American society, some distinctly different cultural groups remain visible. These groups usually comprise people from a common cultural background (such as Arab Yemenis), who tend to cluster in specific residential areas (e.g., the South End of Dearborn).

This research, then, is an attempt to investigate the factors that have motivated the Yemeni immigrants to cluster in their South End community. The intent was to determine their residence, kinship, occupational, religious and cultural origins, to provide a comprehensive picture of the characteristics of the study sample and their community. When two groups from different cultural backgrounds live within a common area, one will ordinarily be superordinate and the other will be subordinate. It was the researcher's intention to examine the Yemenis' subordinate role in the larger U.S. society, to determine whether this role isolates them from the larger society, and consequently affects their coping as well as extent of acculturation within it.

Specifically, the researcher tries to examine to what degree Yemeni immigrants show favorable attitudes toward the American culture. Moreover, the relationships between Yemenis' experience in ethnic isolation (discrimination) and the meaning of their centralization in one specific area are examined. National origin, religion, kinship, culture (language, values, norms) are all elements around which ethnicity centers. Therefore, the functions of these elements are examined in relation to what extent they isolate this group from the rest of the American society and encourage them to cluster together. In so doing, the researcher seeks answers to the following questions and examines six hypotheses.

Research Questions

1. What are the characteristics of the Yemeni immigrants (region of origin, religion, education, and occupation)?
2. What factors motivate Yemeni immigrants to leave their own country to come to the U.S.A., especially the Detroit area?
3. What are the characteristics of the Yemeni community in the South End of Dearborn?
4. Why do Yemenis cluster in the South End community?
5. How do the Yemenis interact with each other?

6. How does the Yemenis' ethnic identity separate them from the larger society? Do they isolate themselves from the larger society or does the American society discriminate against them as a separate ethnic group?

7. How does ethnicity affect the acculturation of this group?

8. What are the future expectations of these Yemeni immigrants toward remaining in the U.S. or eventual resettlement in Yemen? How do such expectations affect their acculturation?

9. What kind of relationship, if any, is maintained between the Yemenis in Dearborn's South End and those who remain in their country? Does this affect their acculturation?

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: The younger the person, the more acculturated he is likely to be.

Hypothesis 2: There is a relationship between degree of acculturation and level of education, that is, people with more education are expected to be more acculturated than people with little or no education.

Hypothesis 3: As length of stay in the host country increases, degree of acculturation will increase.

Hypothesis 4: There will be significant differences between people who are sorry they came to the U.S. and people who are satisfied. People who are satisfied will be more acculturated than those who are sorry they came to the U.S.

Hypothesis 5: Individuals with their families in the U.S. will be more acculturated than those whose families remain in Yemen.

Hypothesis 6: People who are American citizens will be more acculturated than those who remain Yemeni citizens.

Purpose of the Study

This study is intended to provide updated information about Arab migration to the United States, and the factors that motivate Arabs, specifically the Yemenis, to immigrate to this country, as well as their acculturation within the larger society. The research, as mentioned before, is of an exploratory nature. Investigation of the cultural background of the Yemeni immigrants is essential since there is little acculturation and ethnicity research on this specific group. The completed study is intended to provide useful information in the field of race relations and ethnic grouping and can be used as a comparative source to facilitate understanding of the Yemeni culture in the South End of Dearborn. It will assist in defining the cultural problems facing Yemeni immigrants and will provide information on the formation of the Yemeni community as well as the dynamics of their interrelationships which determine their grouping and acculturation.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined in the context in which they are used for the purposes of this research.

North Yemen--(the Yemen Arab Republic) is located in the southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula (Appendix A). It is bordered on the north and east by Saudi Arabia, on the

south by South Yemen, and on the west by the Red Sea. Its population is estimated to be more than 5,700,000, but no census has ever been taken (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1982).

South Yemen--(the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) is located in the southeastern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Its capital is the port city of Aden. To the west and northwest it is bounded by North Yemen (Sana), to the north, across the great stretch of desert known as the Rub'al-Khali (Empty Quarter), by Saudi Arabia; to the east by Oman; and to the south by the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea. Its population is estimated to be 1,467,000 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1982). (See Appendix A)

Emigrant or Immigrant--refers to a person leaving a country of origin (emigrant) to go to another country for purposes of permanent settlement (immigrant). Although many of the Arab immigrants did not intend to settle permanently in the U.S., continued strife and economic problems in their countries of origin have made some settlement here essentially permanent, although many still retain intent of eventually returning "home."

Acculturation--the definition of acculturation (as it applies to this study) refers to the degree of acceptance and adoption of American cultural characteristics, such as language, food, norms and values. When immigrants live for a period of time in a host country, they tend to take on some of the cultural elements of that society that

differ from their culture of origin. The reaction of individual immigrants to the cultural elements of the host society is an indication of the degree of his or her cultural change or acculturation.

Assimilation--Gordon sees assimilation as when a person from another culture has taken on completely the cultural pattern of the host society, has thrown off any sense of peoplehood based on his/her national origin, has changed religion to that of the host society, has eschewed the formation of any communal organization made up principally or exclusively of his original group, has entered and been hospitably accepted into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society at various class levels, has intermarried with the major group in the host society, encounters no prejudice or discrimination, and raises no value conflict issues in host society public life. Gordon differentiates between behavioral assimilation (acculturation) and structural assimilation. He argues that assimilation is a long process which does not happen overnight. Much depends on the willingness of the migrant to assimilate and the personal characteristics of the migrant toward acceptance of the host society culture (Gordon, 1964:62-77).

Ethnicity--American sociologist Milton Gordon (1964) has defined ethnicity as a convenient term for a sense of peoplehood between people who are defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin or by a combination of

these characteristics. To this delineation, Allport has added the specific characteristics of language and cultural traditions which are particularly relevant for this study (Lippman, 1977, p.3).

Ethnic Community--An ethnic community has adopted one or more of its marks of cultural distinction--in this case, social and religious organizations--and use them as symbols to create internal cohension and differentiate itself from other social, cultural or religious groups (Brass, 1976:226).

Ethnic Group--An ethnic group is defined as a collection of individuals who share a feeling of peoplehood on the basis of "...race, religion, national origin, language and cultural tradition." (Lippman, 1977, p.3).

Imam--an Islamic leader, example, model or pattern to be followed. In its most common sense the term is applied to the leader of prayers in a mosque. An imam is not the equivalent of a priest for there is no priesthood in Islam. The founder of a theological system or school of Islamic law is also termed an imam. The term used in this study refers to the period (1934-1962) when the Zaidi Imamate were the governors of Yemen. However, the principal meaning of the word is that of a leader of Muslems (Ingram, H., 1963:1954).

Sayed--title given to descendants of the Prophet through his grandson Husein (Ingram, H.:155).

Sheikh--A man of sufficient position to be treated with some respect. In this study it is used to refer to the head of a tribe (Ingram, H.:156).

Shafi (Sunni)--one of the four orthodox (Muslem Sunni) schools of jurisprudence. Named after its founder, Muhammad bin Idris ash-Shafi (A.D. 767-855).

Zaidi (Shi'a)--Muslems who do not differ much from Shafi (Sunni). They follow the line of Zayd Ibin Ali Zayn al-Abidin, a grandson of the martyred Husein, the son of Ali (Dweik, B., 1980:21).

Overview of the Study

The problem statement, research questions and definitions given in Chapter One will be followed by a discussion of the theoretical constructs of assimilation and acculturation that have guided this study. The research design and procedures will be found in Chapter Three. Research findings and analysis are presented in Chapter Four while Chapter Five is devoted to a summary, conclusion and a few predictions and suggestions for the future.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Cross-cultural contact is a phenomenon resulting from the immigration of people from one culture to another or from material and cultural diffusion. The focus of this study is the process and events that occur when individuals from one culture emigrate to a country with a vastly different culture. Theories of acculturation and assimilation are applicable to this situation and help to explain how and why those individuals accept and adopt discrete elements of their host culture.

Yemeni immigrants living in the South End in Dearborn, Michigan have emigrated from the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) and People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) carrying with them a different culture, values, and religion that did not exist in Dearborn before their immigration. The intent of this study, then, was to examine this group in the context of their interaction with the American culture. The researcher has undertaken to determine whether or not these Yemeni immigrants are motivated to become an integral part of American society and the extent to which this has been accomplished, if at all.

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Assimilation and Acculturation

A brief discussion of the theory of assimilation and acculturation is important to provide a framework to guide the study. The Yemeni community and its inhabitants can then be measured by using this framework to determine how they are coping with the culture they found in their new country.

Discussion of assimilation can be traced back to the early Eighteenth Century, a time when white Anglo-Saxon Protestants first established their own values and ways as the dominant culture in America. At that time, miscellaneous other immigrant groups had come to North America from different cultural backgrounds, but they were outsiders and few in relation to the large numbers of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants from western Europe.

Several theories have evolved since that time in relation to the racial and ethnic composition in the United States. Some, like the assimilation, "melting-pot" and pluralism theories, have contributed to understanding some of the immigrants' problems regarding their adjustment to the American culture.

According to Gordon (1964), assimilation has different meanings and can be assessed at different levels. He differentiates between cultural and structural assimilation, and argues that the immigrant group in the process of

assimilation may proceed through several levels or may be halted at any given level (Siryani, 1977:137). Gordon (1964) has analyzed the process of assimilation and divided it into the seven subprocesses listed in Table 2.1.

In differentiating between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation, the first refers to the fact that all immigrants learn, to some degree, the appropriate and required modes of action, degree, language, and other day-to-day norms of the host culture. The second refers to the level at which immigrant groups obtain access into the public institutions of the society through primary group relations (Newman, 1983). Gordon placed cultural assimilation, (acculturation) within his framework of assimilation, suggesting that an individual can conceivably become acculturated but still not be assimilated into the host culture (Padilla, p.48). Moreover, he noted that when one type of assimilation occurs, it will not necessarily be followed by a succeeding type of assimilation (Siryani, 1977:139).

Anglo-Conformity

The theory of Anglo-conformity first appeared as a dominant intellectual notion in response to the new wave of immigrants that arrived in the U.S. between 1820 and 1860. These immigrants were different from the majority white, Anglo-Saxon group. Most of them came from eastern Europe and looked a little different, spoke differently and had

TABLE 2.1: The Process of Assimilation

Subprocess or Condition	State of Assimilation Achieved
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation (acculturation)
Large-scale entrance into host society cliques, clubs and institutions on primary group level	Structural assimilation
Large-scale inter-marriage	Marital assimilation (amalgamation)
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation
Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation
Absence of value and power conflict	Civil assimilation

SOURCE: Gordon, Milton M., 1964:71.

different lifestyles than the western Europeans who had preceded them.

Gordon has defined the theory of Anglo-conformity in the following statement:

> Anglo-conformity has received its fullest expression in the so-called Americanization movement which gripped the nation like a fever during World War I. While "Americanization" in its various stages had more than one emphasis, essentially it was a consciously articulated movement to strip the immigrant of his native culture and attachments and make him over into an American along Anglo-Saxon lines. (1964:98)

As the notion of Anglo-conformity gained popularity, there was a movement to persuade immigrants to learn English, to take out naturalization papers, to forget origins and their national loyalties. However, this notion had emerged as a result of successive wave of immigration. The social structure of the U.S. changed in two important ways. First, the number of different social groups (both ethnic and religious) increased greatly. Second, the geographical distribution of the different groups became more hetrogeneous (Newman, 1973:54). This notion was apparent in a 1978 statement by New York's Superintendent of Public Schools, who interpreted "Americanization" to mean that the American culture was superior to any of the immigrants' native cultural heritage (Mansour, p.20).

However, the "Americanization" notion, which had arisen to support the Anglo-conformity concept, lost its popularity after the war. It served as a starting point for the "melting pot" notion which was substituted for it.

The "Melting Pot"

The "melting pot" concept tends to look at all races with the same eyes and without making judgements of "rightness" or preference. It claims that all races and cultures contribute in the society, that people should be integrated and amalgamate their diverse cultures into an American culture that is not patterned on any of them but contains elements of all of them.

Even though the notion of the "melting pot" achieved considerable acceptance and is still popularly referred to in American children's history books, it lost favor in the years between the two World Wars (Gordon, 1964). Sociologists have argued that this theory did not prevail because it needed modification and such modification could not be achieved as long as there were--and still are--major religious differences between the groups that make up the American society. "Melting in one pot" is impossible in light of deeply felt and strongly held differing religious beliefs. Ruby Jo Kennedy, (1952) for example, conducted a study of the intermarriage trends in New Haven, Connecticut. She reported that while there is decreasing emphasis on national

origin in choosing a mate, there is still a considerable tendency to marry within one's own religious group (Mansour, 1978:24).

To comment on the melting pot theory, it may be argued that it is too "utopian" an idea for an American society composed of widely diverse ethnic and religious groups. The theory may be useful for those groups who want to give up their ethnic identity, but not for their counterparts who do not. Additionally, it is not only religious differences that permanently separate ethnic groups, but hundreds of options and traditions that have been built up for centuries around religious practices.

Gordon argues that the evidence of the American society is that different groups have become culturally assimilated, but he still sees the American situation as one of structural rather than cultural pluralism. In this context, it is appropriate to discuss cultural assimilation (acculturation) which refers to the fact that all immigrant groups learn, to some extent, the appropriate behavior and ways of communication necessary to cope with day-to-day life in the new culture.

Acculturation

The theories of assimilation discussed in the last few pages have all invovled the notion of integrating diverse

immigrants into conformity to a common culture, whether "Americanized" or amalgamated, regardless of their racial and religious differences. If it is true that assimilation is a matter of degree, then complete assimilation or integration would take a long period of time, especially because we know that one level of assimilation will not necessarily be followed by another level.

As mentioned before, Gordon (1964) has divided the theory of assimilation into seven processes. Acculturation or cultural assimilation is the most integrative of the seven processes and can be defined as "...change of cultural patterns to those of host society. It is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a migrant group arrives to the host society, and it may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later." (Gordon, M., 1964:71-77) Since acculturation involves the acceptance of the culture elements of the host culture, this research investigates the cultural characteristics of the Yemeni immigrants in Dearborn, in an effort to determine what factors or processes have helped, prevented, or hindered their coping with American culture.

Gordon argues that, regardless of their differences, the majority group (superordinate) and the minority (subordinate) immigrants may acculturate but not fully assimilate. He postulates that immigrants may learn the day-to-day

habits and lifestyles of the majority group but may not strip from themselves their own beliefs and culture. He believes that assimilation and acculturation occur at different rates, and assimilation is likely to occur at a slower rate than acculturation.

It is our intention, then, to view acculturation in the context of the cultural pluralism theory. The framework of this theory can be found in the writings of Horace M. Kallen, who believes that even though the society is composed of widely diverse ethnic groups, only minimal change within the immigrant communities needs to and can be achieved. He argues that any attempts to eliminate ethnic groupings or communities will contradict the "cultural democracy" which was innovated by the American system (Kallen, 1956).

E. George Pyne has interpreted the concept of "cultural pluralism" as follows:

> No culture contains all favorable elements, but each group that makes up the total American population has unique values, and the nation will be richer and finer in its cultural makeup if it conserves the best that each group has brought. The theory assumes, furthermore, that minority groups have been so thoroughly conditioned by their heritage that the historical past could not be sacrificed even if they chose to forget the past experiences. Their natures, characteristics, and personalities are built out of culture different from our own and the method of effective cultural transmission requires that the fundamentals of their heritages be preserved for generations. The only option is cultural deterioration, the disintegration of family and maladjustment in our social life. (1937:501)

In the case of the Yemeni community in the South End of Dearborn, it is clear it centers on some inherent elements including nationality, religion, kinship and cultural heritage. Nationality and kinship were the most important elements which motivated the Yemeni immigrants to concentrate in one particular area. Their national identity and kinship play a strong role in strengthening the ethnic solidarity of this group. The visible evidence of this type of solidarity is found in the presence of the social organizations that have been built to carry on this function.

Gordon (1964:20) points out that the ethnic institutions and organizations are "an integral part of the make-up of ethnic minorities," including organizations and institutions which are usually based on national background and religion. To preserve the solidarity of the group, they also serve as symbols which with the immigrants may identify.

Kinship and family is another element that supports the ethnic grouping of the immigrants. New immigrants feel safe and secure when they come into a community that includes family and friends from the village of their own origin. Tabias has described the role of kinship in the immigrant community.

> ...kinship is the basis of the felt bond to one's own kind, it is the basis of one's right to presume upon them in time of stress. It is the basis of one's dependency, sociability and intimacy with them "as a matter of course." (1973:17-18)

However, in the case of Yemeni immigrants, it is apparent that keeping their own language and their religious and social organizations are also very important for them. Yemenis participate in their families, their work, their mosque and in the community's organizations. In the first part of this study, attention will be devoted to examining the voluntary nature of the acculturation of the Yemeni immigrants, based upon the assumption that their participation in, and affiliation with, the American culture are largely by choice and not mandatory for their existence here.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sample Selection

According to N. Abraham, there were 5,000 to 6,000 Yemeni immigrants in the Detroit area in 1978. The majority of them resided in the South End of Dearborn, i.e., 3,000-4,000 (1978:17-21, 23). When this research was conducted, there were about 1,300 Yemeni immigrants living in the South End area, according to informants' estimations. The researcher had intended to interview 60 persons but ended up with a sample of only 40 persons. Two reasons were responsible for the smaller number. One was the refusal of large numbers of immigrants to participate in the study; the other was a time constraint.

Sample size is unlikely to be a serious weakness in this study because of the high degree of homogeneity and similar life patterns of Yemenis in Dearborn. Sample selection included only males aged 20 to 60 years old. Limiting the study to males was necessary because of religious law, which forbids the Islamic woman to have contact with males other than her husband and family. The age limitations were based on the assumption that younger individuals in

the community are either American born or have had considerable opportunity to be exposed to the American culture through their schools and play groups since infancy. This situation does not generally apply to those over 20 years of age. People aged 20-60 are mostly recent arrivals who have lived in Yemen during their childhood and formative years and carry with them a Yemeni educational and cultural background. They came to the U.S. seeking an opportunity to work, but have had little access to the American culture. They work most of the day, have little time for activities outside their work, and generally lack the English language skills for much communication with those in the host culture. The researcher's knowledge of Arabic and background in a similar Arab Islamic culture were essential in carrying out the research because most subjects knew too little English to be interviewed in English. Also, his background gave him access to information which would not ordinarily be available to an American researcher.

Outside of their tendency to cluster in the South End of Dearborn, there was no comprehensive information available about the residences of the Yemeni immigrants. It was only possible to locate them in the context of their organizations, that is some public places where they could be found. The location of places such as the coffee houses, the Mosque, and stores where they shopped was accomplished with the help of community informants. However, in selecting

these places, it was necessary to take into account the interests of the people. For example, some people who go to the Mosque do not go to the coffee houses. The density of some groups was also a function of their village or regional origin. For example, more than 70 percent of the clients of one coffee house were determined to have come from Juban City and the area immediately surrounding Juban.

Data Collection

In order to accomplish this study, the two methods employed were participant observation and structured interviews. Through participant observation and field work it was possible to determine the dynamics of the relationships among the members of the community and obtain an in-depth picture of the community. Through participant observation, qualitative data were obtained about the research setting, which is a necessary first step in investigating problems such as this one. This data made a major contribution to the development of meaningful quantitative data, which was collected through structured interviews.

Participant observation and unstructured interviews were used in the field to examine and describe the social institutions and organizations in the Yemeni community and how they function. Specifically, the focus was on the external and internal activities of the social institutions and organizations and their structure. By employing

participant observation and unstructured interviews, an effort was made to investigate the dynamics of the relationships between the members of the community and to find out what kind of relationships determine group interaction.

Throughout the field work the researcher depended on selected primary informants to provide general information about the community. These informants were selected on the basis of their continuous residence in the community. Informants from particular groups were sought, such as the older head of a larger extended family, a religious man, a young man, and male leaders of community organizations. The reliability of each of these informants was carefully considered. The researcher devoted one month to frequent visits to the community to establish friendly relationships between himself and the general population and to select informants. Participants in community activities was sought and the project was explained to community leaders and potential informants.

Structured interviews were employed later in order to collect quantitative data. Questions to guide these interviews were prepared in advance and both closed and open-ended questions were used. Data relating to personal background, ethnicity and acculturation were collected using the structured interview (See Appendix D).

Statistical Procedures

Frequency distributions and percentages were used to describe the characteristics of the respondents and their responses to specific questions. Four inferential statistical procedures were used to analyze the data: correlation, "t" tests for the differences in group means, Chi Square tests for goodness of fit, and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA).

Correlation

Pearson product moment correlation coefficients were used to determine the degree of relationships among variables investigated in this study. Zero order correlations were computed (zero order correlations indicate the strength of relationship between variables when no other variables are considered). The statistical significance of the correlation coefficients was determined using the appropriate statistics (see SPSS manual, page 281) and the students' "t" distribution with N-2 degrees of freedom.

"T" Test

The "t" test was used to determine if the observed mean scores for two different groups were actually different or if it was likely that any observed difference was the result of sampling error. When two groups are compared it is likely that small differences in their observed mean scores will be found due to measurement errors and sampling errors, even if the group means are truly equal. The "t" test allows the researcher to determine the probability that the two observed means are actually different. The researcher selects a probability level (called the alpha level) which will satisfy him/her that the observed difference was not just due to chance. There is no correct alpha level but most researchers select an alpha level of .10 or below depending upon how important or costly they feel it will be to reject a hypothesis when it is in fact true. If a researcher sets his alpha level at .10 he can expect to reject a null hypothesis (that there is no difference in means) erroneously 10 percent of the time. Conversely, he will make the correct decision 90 percent of the time. The significance of the "t" test statistic is determined by comparing it to the students "t" distribution.

When comparing two sample means, the appropriate form of the "t" test statistic is dependent upon the variances

of the groups. One form is used when the samples have variances which are not statistically significantly different and another form is used when the samples have variances which are statistically different. In this study the variances of the groups were compared and the appropriate form of the "t" test statistic was used depending upon the results.

Chi Square

The Chi Square test of statistical significance was used to determine if there was a systematic relationship between two variables. A cross-tabulation of the values of each variable was produced and the frequency of the joint occurrence of each pair of values was observed. The significance of the relationship was determined by calculating the cell frequencies (joint occurrences) that would be expected if no relationship existed between the variables. The expected cell frequencies were then compared to the observed cell frequencies and the resulting chi square statistic was referenced to the chi square distribution in order to determine the probability that the observed differences were due to chance. The larger the discrepancy between the expected cell frequencies and the observed cell frequencies the larger the calculated chi square statistic and the less likely that the differences were due to chance.

In this study the variables were temporarily coded into dichotomies (each variable was allowed to take on only two values--high or low, or yes or no) before the chi square statistic was calculated. This was to insure that there were an adequate number of responses in each cell in order to insure that the test was valid.

ANOVA

The One-Way Analysis of Variance is a statistical procedure which was used to determine if the observed means of two or more groups were actually different. The "t" test statistic only allows one to compare two group means at a time. In ANOVA, the groups were divided on the basis of an independent variable and the dependent variable means of the groups were compared.

ANOVA deals with the decomposition of variation in the dependent variable into components. The total variation in the dependent variable is divided into variation of the group means from the total mean (between variation) and variation of the individual scores from the group mean (within variation). The between variation is the portion of the variation which is due to the groups. The within variation is the portion of the variation which is not attributable to group membership. The total variation is the sum of the between variation and the within variation.

The relative magnitude of the between variation increases as the group mean differences become larger and the within group variation decreases. If there is no difference between group means then both the between and within variation come from the same source: individual differences and not group differences. In ANOVA an F statistic is produced by calculating the ratio of the between variance to the within variance. The F statistic increases as the ratio of the between and within variation increases. The significance of the F statistic is determined using the F distribution.

Acculturation Scores

For the purposes of this study nine dependent variables were combined to produce a composite acculturation score. The nine variables were: (1) everyday language, (2) preferred publications' language, (3) preferred music language, (4) celebration of American holidays, (5) participation in drinking, dancing, or dating, (6) perception of discrimination, (7) preferred language for everyday communication, (8) frequency of eating Arabic food, and (9) frequency of eating American food. Each independent variable could assume a value as low as 1 or as high as 5. Values of 1 indicated the strongest attachment to Arabic ways while values of 5 indicated the strongest attachment to American ways. Values in between represented the range

from Arabic preferences to American preferences. The composite acculturation score was then compared with independent variables in the study.

Limitations of the Study

No social research can achieve 100 percent accuracy. In any case, a high percentage of credibility is an indicator of the strength of that research. In this research validity might be threatened in several ways.

Since there was no comprehensive information or official directory listing the residence of the Yemeni immigrants in the South End (Dearborn), it was necessary to interview sample subjects in public places where they congregate, such as in coffee houses, the Mosque, and shops. This means of obtaining a sample may or may not provide representation of the whole population. Additionally, it did not allow for full control on the intervention of others. For example, it became obvious that the Yemenis are very curious people, eager to know what is going on around them. The researcher, sitting at a table in a coffee house or some other public place became a target for the attention of all the immigrants around him, especially when interviewing one of them. This attention and the interruptions and digressions it caused may have affected the reliability of the subjects' responses, especially when personal questions

were asked. Sometimes it was necessary to avoid personal questions until I was alone with a subject. This secured the privacy of his replies, but cost a lost of time and some subjects lost interest in the investigation when it had to be delayed.

In trying to lessen the effects of others on the responses of the subject, I had to encourage the individual to concentrate on the questions and had to take his first response. In going through this process, it was determined that Yemeni informants tended to give very similar responses to the interview questions. It is hypothesized that this reflected their similar lifestyles in an isolated setting, similar blue collar occupations, class, education and cultural and national background.

Another limitation of this study was generated from restrictions on its geographical setting. We restricted this study to the Yemeni immigrants in the South End community (Dearborn). This community is unique among Yemeni communities in the U.S., in relation to those found in California, New York City and Lackawana (Buffalo, N.Y.). The uniqueness of this community comes from the concentration of a large number of Yemenis and the foundation of several local organizations which serve to strengthen the cultural and national affiliation of community members. Thus, the results of this study can be generalized only to

Yemenis in the South End (Dearborn). Keeping in mind these limitations, the findings of this research are provided in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the sample characteristics. These include the immigrants' region of origin, age, occupation, education in the U.S. and in Yemen, marital status, presence of wife and family in the U.S., length of stay in the U.S., citizenship, and reasons for migration. Subjects were also asked whether or not they regretted their decisions to come to the U.S.

The second section of this chapter deals with the concept of ethnicity, the notion that each diverse group has its own social and cultural characteristics. It includes a description of the Yemeni community in South End and its religious, cultural, and social organizations. A general perception of the group's ethnic identity and kinship is also included. National origin, kinship and cultural aspects are what determine the Yemeni interrelationships. At the end of this section, relations between the Yemeni in South End and the society at large are considered.

Section three comprises the results of the statistical tests of the hypotheses used to measure the degree of acculturation of the Yemeni immigrants. Some American cultural

aspects were combined as indices of acculturation. These elements included the use of the English language; preferences for American food, music, and publications; celebration of American holidays; drinking, dancing, and dating; and feelings of discrimination. From data gathered in the structured interviews, subjects' responses were scored using a modified Likert scale.

Sample Characteristics

About 98 percent of the entire Yemeni immigrant population in the Detroit area came from rural areas according to N. Abraham (1978). In Table 4.1, the distribution of the study sample is shown by region of origin and by the immigrants' city or village.

It appears that the highest percentage of the immigrants in the study sample came from the Al-Baidha region (60 percent), and from Juban City (35 percent), and from Ibb City (25 percent). Although this study revealed a smaller rural percentage (65 percent from rural villages), the results are consistent with the studies which were conducted by Abraham (1978) and Al-Khamri (1979). Both reported that the highest percentage of the Yemeni immigrants came from Ibb and Al-Baidha which are located in the Central Province of North Yemen (See Map in Appendix B). Table 4.1 also shows that 10 percent of the sample were from the

TABLE 4.1: Frequency and Percentage of Immigrants by Their Regions and City or Village of Origin

Region & City or Village of Origin	Frequency	Percentage
Regions		
Al-Baidha	24	60.0
Ibb	10	25.0
**Lahej	2	5.0
**Yefa	2	5.0
Taiz	1	2.5
Other Regions	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0
Cities or Villages		
Juban City	14	35.0
Riyashiah	6	15.0
Redha	2	5.0
Bkhal	2	5.0
Mawr	2	5.0
Mlah	2	5.0
Megbenah	2	5.0
Other Villages	10*	25.0
Total	40	100.0

*The sample contained one person from each of the following villages: Morais, Rbeaatain, Al-Mesnedah, Al-Droom, Kharbil, Al-Subori, Agrab, Al-Swar, Mehjiba, Namosia.

**Yafa and Lahej are regions located in South Yemen. Among the sample population there were four immigrants who came from South Yemen.

Lahej and Upper Yafa regions, both of which are located in South Yemen near the border of North Yemen's Central Province (Al-Mantigah Al Westa) from which the majority of Yemeni immigrants originally came. Warren (1967:44-45) reports that many of those who came from Yafa and adjacent regions in South Yemen trace their origins back to families living in the Central Province.

Table 4.2 indicates that 82.5 percent of the sample were found to be young men in their prime working years, aged from twenty to forty years. Only 17.5 percent are 41 years old and over. These results support other studies which indicate that the immigrants who arrived after the mid-1970s are young and came from rural areas in Yemen. A larger percentage are married males who left their families behind in Yemen, as may be seen in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.2: Frequency and Percent of Immigrants by Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
20-30	17	42.5
31-40	16	40.0
41 and above	7	17.5
TOTAL	40	100.0

TABLE 4.3: Marital Status of Yemeni Immigrants

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	37	92.5
Not Married	3	7.5
Total	40	100.0
Wife in U.S. With Husband	17	42.5
Wife in Yemen	20	50.0
Not Married	3	7.5

It is important to report here that during the interviews some informants indicated that there is a trend in Yemeni attitude to bring their families to live with them in the U.S. However, only two persons (5 percent) of the entire sample reported that they would bring their families to live with them in the U.S. Both said they had concluded that life in the U.S. was far better than in Yemen and they wanted their families to share this experience with them. Another reason is that the travel expense to Yemen is very high. One person said "If I want to visit my family and relatives I have to spend almost $10,000 every time I go there; $3,000 air fare and the rest for gifts for my family and relatives." Another 45 percent indicated that they would not bring their families to the U.S. for two reasons. Fifteen percent of the sample said that the main reason not

to bring their families was that their income was not sufficient to support a family (family needs such as health insurance, a car, suitable residence), another 20 percent of the entire sample or eight informants who left their families behind reported that the reason for not bringing them was the cultural differences between Yemenis and the American culture. They have the idea that if they bring their families and children they will be affected by the American culture. Most of the Yemenis feel it is preferable to leave their families in Yemen to learn the Arabic language and Yemeni culture. Four of the individuals who left their families in Yemen reported personal reasons such as a desire for their families to stay behind to take care of their land; two others reported that they left their families in Yemen because they work on a ship most of the year.

Table 4.4 shows the immigrants' reasons for coming to the U.S. Of the 40 persons interviewed, 82 percent were motivated by economic reasons to come to the U.S. Another 15 percent (6 persons) were motivated to come because some members of their families were already in the U.S. Finally, 15 percent (6 persons) indicated they came for other reasons such as education and personal ambition.

TABLE 4.4: Immigrants Reasons for Coming to the U.S.

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Economic	28	70.0
Family is in U.S.	4	10.0
Combination of Economics, Education and Family	4	10.0
Education	1	2.5
Ambition	1	2.5
Economics and Education	1	2.5
Education and Family	1	2.5
Political	0	0.0
Total	40	100.0

For Yemeni immigrants in general, researchers such as Abraham, Carlson, Swanson, Al-Khamri and others agreed that economic factors provide most of the motivation for Yemeni migration.

> The economic motivation underlying Yemeni immigration to the Detroit area is expressed in the immigrants' overall goals and objectives to make as much money as possible in the shortest period of time. After this they plan to return to Yemen permanently to enjoy the fruits of their labor. (Abraham, 1978:31)

The results of this study confirmed the findings of Abraham and Al-Khamri, who concluded that economic factors were the most important elements behind the Yemeni immigration to the Detroit area.

Yemen is considered one of the poorest nations in the Middle East, a situation which is attributed to its scarcity of natural resources, and shortage of fertile land. These factors and others, such as individuals' aspirations to improve their economic status and unemployment in Yemen combine to push the young men to look for employment in the U.S. and in the oil rich Middle Eastern countries such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Yemeni immigrants to Saudi Arabia alone account for 1.5 million of the current Saudi population. Further, it was apparent from sample subjects' responses that Yemeni migration to the Detroit area follows a family chain pattern of migration (more discussion on this will be presented at the end of Section Two in Chapter Four).

Table 4.5 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of the immigrants according to their educational achievement in Yemen and in the U.S. Only 7.5 percent (3 persons) have no education and can be considered illiterate. Over half (21 persons or 52.5 percent) have little formal education or what may be considered rudimentary education. These figures include people who have had varied minimal formal or informal education. For example, 8 of the 21 persons (20 percent of the sample) had only studied the Qura'an

TABLE 4.5: Frequency and Percentage of Immigrants According to Their Level of Education in Yemen and in the U.S.

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Education in Yemen		
None	3	7.5
Elementary (Grades 1-6)	21	52.5
Intermediate (Grades 7-9)	10	25.0
High School (Grades 10-12)	5	12.5
College (Grades 12 & Above)	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0
Education in the U.S.		
None	14	35.0
English Program	23	57.5
High School	1	2.5
College & Above	2	5.0
Total	40	100.0

and some math principles through an informal education program which is provided by religious scholars. Accordingly, it cannot be assumed that this 52.5 percent has the equivalent of a primary education. Rather, this category is a "catch all" for anyone with minimal education and most must be regarded as only semi-literate.

However, the education which most informants had acquired in Yemen was not sufficient for employment and daily life in America because all classes in Yemen are taught in the Arabic language. Thus, while we found that 35.0 percent (14 persons) had not undertaken education in the U.S., 57.5 percent (23 persons) had enrolled in English language programs. It should be mentioned here though, that based on the field observation, the majority of the Yemeni immigrants lacked English language proficiency. Among the 57.5 percent who had enrolled in English programs, a large percentage had not completed their programs. During the interviews, the researcher talked with people who reported that they had taken an English language course, but did not know how to read a newspaper or write an English sentence. Taking all this into account, it is apparent that the Yemeni immigrants, regardless of their level of education in Arabic, have little knowledge of English, lack rudimentary English reading and writing skills and generally are limited in speaking and listening to the simplest terms required for daily life activities.

Table 4.6 shows that 42.5 percent of our sample subjects were without jobs. This has resulted from the economic downturn in recent years which has severely affected the auto industry. These study results confirm reports from the Detroit News, which have described the employment situation of the Arab immigrants in Dearborn.

> Most newly arrived Arabs hunt jobs in the hope of earning enough money to bring other family members to the United States. They often fail. We probably have around a 25 percent unemployment rate among Dearborn Arabs. Abdeen Jabara of Dearborn's Arabic Community Center for Economic and Social Service said, 'when they do find a job, most of the time it is in the most menial positions like busboys, custodians, and dishwashers'. (Detroit News, March 29, 1982)

Although the percentage found in this study is higher than the 25 percent estimated in the Detroit News, our study may only reflect that the study was conducted more than six months after the Detroit News estimate. From field observation and the interviews, it was very clear that Yemeni immigrants in Detroit were strongly affected by the downturn of the U.S. economy and particularly the effects of the recession in the auto industry.

Contributing to the continuing joblessness of many Yemeni immigrants is that most of them are recent arrivals who lack familiarity with the English language. Of our sample, 82 percent had no knowledge of English before they came to

TABLE 4.6: Characteristics of Yemeni Immigrants by Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Laid Off	17	42.5
Landlord	1	2.5
Business Owner/Operator	3	7.5
Ford Auto Worker	5	12.5
Chrysler Auto Worker	1	2.5
Seafarer	3	7.5
Busboy	3	7.5
Dishwasher	1	2.5
Auto Related Factory Workers	4*	10.0
Sales	1	2.5
Student	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

*These occupations include welder, machine operator, line operator.

the U.S. Finding employment in a tight economy is particularly difficult when communication is so limited. Moreover, the Yemenis are unskilled laborers. One Yemeni informant described the situation,

> Because of the scarcity of jobs Yemeni immigrants have left the city, either to Yemen or other states, especially California. Three years ago there were about 3,000-4,000 Yemeni in the South End community and 1,500-2,000 Yemeni in the Hamtramak community in Detroit. Today there are about 1,300 in South End and about 300 in Detroit.

Table 4.6 also reveals that 10 percent have their own businesses, 15 percent work in the Ford and Chrysler auto plants on the assembly lines, body shops or as spot welders. Another 7.5 percent are seafarers on the Great Lakes, 10 percent are busboys and dishwashers, and 10 percent are doing auto related factory work. Other categories represented were students (2.5 percent) and sales (2.5 percent).

It is clear from the Table that 25.0 percent are working in the auto and auto-related industries, a percentage which constitutes about 50 percent of the employed persons. When asked about their last employment, 70 percent of laid off individuals reported that they had been working at Ford and Chrysler auto plants (42.5 percent) or in auto related factories (27.5 percent). This indicates that people who were laid off at the time of the study were previously working in the auto industry. Knowing that these people cannot

compete in today's labor market for reasons already mentioned, such as the lack of the language and occupational skills, will help us to predict the future of the Yemeni community.

In considering the Yemeni immigrants by length of stay in the U.S.A., Table 4.7 indicates that the majority of the sample, (about 72.5 percent), came to the U.S. during the 1970s. Our research findings are similar to other research findings, namely those of Abraham (1978) and Al-Khamri (1979). It was interesting that none of the subjects in our sample had come to the U.S. after 1979. This indicated that the Detroit area had become less attractive to Yemeni immigrants, because of the downturn in the U.S. auto industry and auto related employment opportunities in Detroit. Some comments made to the researcher by one Yemeni immigrant (Ali), who came to the U.S. during the 1970s, show an interesting perception of the Yemeni immigrant situation. "We came here because we were attracted by the economic achievement of other, previous immigrants to U.S. When an immigrant came back to Yemen from U.S. it would be easy to identify him because of his wealthy appearance which indicated the prosperity of his economic achievement." Ali, who is planning to return to Yemen, expressed his regret at coming to the U.S., saying that "we are the victims of our own aspirations and the propaganda of others about the U.S."

TABLE 4.7: Yemeni Immigrants by Length of Stay in the U.S.A.

Number of Years in U.S.A.	Frequency	Percent
4	1	2.5
5	1	2.5
6	2	5.0
7	2	5.0
9	2	5.0
10	8	20.0
11	5	12.5
12	3	7.5
13	5	12.5
14	3	7.5
15	1	2.5
16	1	2.5
17	1	2.5
18	1	2.5
21	1	2.5
23	1	2.5
27	2	5.0
TOTAL	40	100.0

Ali is not the only Yemeni immigrant who is sorry that he came to U.S. Table 4.8 displays the frequency and percentage of immigrants by their satisfaction or regret about coming to the U.S.

TABLE 4.8: Yemeni Immigrants' Attitudes of Satisfaction or Regret About Coming to the U.S.

Attitude Toward Decision to Come to the U.S.	Frequency	Percent
Regret	22	55.0
Satisfaction	18	45.0
Total	40	100.0

Twenty-two (55.0 percent) indicated that they were sorry that they had come to the U.S. Eleven out of the twenty-two attributed their regret about coming to the U.S. to economic factors, that they hadn't accomplished much because of the scarcity of employment opportunities. Three felt that a person had to be able to compete on equal terms in order to find his place in this society and agreed that they would be better off if they had sufficient education. Eight reported they were sorry because they were so far from their country. They reported that if they had had the opportunity to find an adequate job in Yemen they wouldn't

have left their country. Thirteen of the people who were not sorry they had come to the U.S. or 32 percent of the sample explained that they had improved their economic circumstances and had learned how to compete in the U.S. labor market. Five other satisfied individuals felt that the situation in Yemen (political,social and economic) is not tolerable, at least at the present time. So, regardless of the scarcity of employment opportunities in the U.S., they still feel that they are better off here than in their homeland. Further analysis regarding these points will be undertaken in discussing the relationship between length of stay in the U.S., attitude toward the decision to come to the U.S., and acculturation.

In summary, the sample population in this study may be classified as young and largely illiterate or semi-literate, particularly in English communication. Almost all of these Yemeni immigrants came to the U.S. for economic advancement or, by their expression, for livelihood (lugmat Alaish). They are all men, most of them are married and many have left their families behind in their homeland. Most of them have been affected by the recessionary economic situation of the late 1970s and early 1980s in the U.S., particularly because of their lack of English and occupational skills, which has limited them in competing in a tight employment market. Lack of economic accomplishment

has led to feelings of regret about coming to the U.S. among more than half of them. It is anticipated that the economic situation and these feelings of regret may affect their degree of acculturation in the American society and their intentions to stay in the U.S.A. or return to their homeland.

Ethnicity

In this part of Chapter Four, attention will be devoted to examining the ethnicity of the Yemeni immigrants. The basis of the ethnicity notion is that each diverse group has its own social and cultural characteristics. These characteristics, which create distinctions between groups within a society and between societies, are based on language, religion, race and national origin or some combination of these.

It is assumed that the Yemeni immigrants in the Detroit metropolitan area represent a distinct group, since they have their own religion, language and national origin distinguished from those of the larger society around them. Moreover, they have their own community which is located in the South End of Dearborn. Throughout the rest of this Chapter, an effort is made to elaborate on this assumption, taking into account the social and cultural differences between the larger society (Dearborn) and the Yemenis in

the South End. The purpose of such elaboration is to consider whether the Yemeni immigrants have isolated themselves in their South End community on the basis of their religion, language and nationality or whether they have been isolated by the host society.

In determining the Yemeni immigrants' ethnicity according to the definitions on pages 14 and 15, we could lay out some criteria which would help identify this immigrant group as different from the American majority. However, it appears to the researcher that national origin, religion, and the indices of cultural inheritance represented in the interaction among individuals are the most important criteria for group identification.

The Community Setting

In the following pages, a description of the community, its people and their cultural background, based on the field research, personal observation and subject interviews will help determine to what extent the Yemeni immigrants can be considered an ethnic group and what contributes to their ethnic identification. Moreover, we will see to what extent their ethnicity affects the process of acculturation.

The South End community in Dearborn comprises the largest concentration of Arab Muslems in North America, a fact which is largely attributed to the presence of so many Yemeni immigrants in this area.

> The Yemenis are largely Muslems in their residential clustering in Dearborn's South End contributing to that area's distinction as being one of the largest Arab Muslem concentrations within any metropolitan area of the United States (Carlson, 1974:292).

Within this community, the Middle Eastern culture is very visible, especially on the east side of Dix highway which divides the community (See Appendix C). Middle Eastern shops and general stores, designed in a way that is similar to Islamic architecture, can be seen. In the summer of 1983, the city and the owners of these buildings and shops were involved in a renewal project that included painting the buildings and shops on the outside and placing stones around the entrancesof the shopsin a way which clearly added to the impression of Middle Eastern architecture. The costs of this project were shared between the city (90 percent) and the building owners (10 percent). Even more symbolic than the touches of Middle Eastern architecture are the Mosques.

Religious Institutions

Within the boundaries of the community stand some of the religious institutions (Mosque, Church). As the centers of religious practice, they also function as cultural symbols. Sameer Abraham and others (1983:172) described the role of the Mosque in the South End community.

> While the religious functions of the Mosques have been vital, the Mosques have also played an important social and educational role.* In fact, the South End Mosques were primarily established with the equal purpose of servicing the immigrant community's... cultural needs, as much as their religious needs.

Although Mosques in the South End community or other Muslem communities play a very considerable cultural and religious role, their role as a cultural symbol also makes them a focus for any feelings of uneasiness or hostility, harbored by the majority society in and around Detroit. Therefore, the religious institutions in the Muslem communities within the Detroit area have endured a lot of discrimination and controversy in order to be free of some of the restrictions put upon them by some of the American people and the city. Imam Mohammed Jauad Chiri explains,

> There is discrimination against us, but not to the degree of extreme repression. Most people in America view Muslems with some degree of disgust. They see Islam as something abhorrent. (Detroit Free Press, Nov. 28, 1983:3C)

Imam Chirri supports his observation by giving an example of an incident which occurred in 1979 when South End Mosque started announcing times for prayer using an outdoor public address system.*

*The Mosque in the South End currently restricts its functions to a place for worship, teaching religion and the Arabic language and culture. Social gathering are no longer allowed in the Mosque there.

> Although the South End is hardly a quiet neighborhood (referring to the noise created by trucks, trains and the Ford Auto plants which surround the community from the West) the strange new sound irritated some non-Arab residents. They flooded police with complaints and Dearborn's City attorney charged the Mosque with violating the city's noise ordinance.(Detroit Free Press, Nov. 28, 1983: 3C)

It is suggested that the complaining residents might not have objected to church bells. Another means of discrimination is to restrict "non-conforming" architecture though the use of city building codes. An Arab resident of the community reported a similar incident to the Detroit News.

> We tried to open a religious studies building on Michigan Avenue and 300 neighbors came out to fight it. The city sided with them. One of the biggest problems we face, is that some of the American people of Dearborn are inhibiting us from practicing our faith. (Detroit News, March 29, 1982:A1-2)

It was noted through the field work and personal interviews that, regardless of the situations mentioned, the Muslem Mosque remains strong and continues, even more actively, to enhance the Islamic culture. The Mosque has taken the initiative in opening classes to teach the Arabic language, Arabic traditions and Islamic religion.

However, community attitudes toward the Mosque and its administration have changed. Some of the Yemeni immigrants told the researcher that in recent years the Mosque

has become more conservative than before. One explained, "to be conservative is ok, there is nothing to be ashamed of. Most Yemenis are religiously conservative." Most of the study subjects felt, however, that the Mosque has limited its activities to services delivered on an individual level rather than on a group level. It is possible that this attitude arose from the decision to stop allowing social gatherings in the Mosque (See Footnote, p. 59). How this attitude affects the Mosque's role as a cohesive element in the Yemeni community is at least partially explained through study data regarding immigrants' reasons for residence in the South End community and their attendance at the Mosque.

From Tables 4.9 and 4.10 it appears that more than half of the sample did not consider the presence of the Mosque an important influence when they chose to live in the South End community. Moreover, Mosque attendance seems to be relatively low if one takes into account that Muslems should pray five times a day and that it is considered preferable to pray in the Mosque. In addition to the evidence of diverse attitudes toward the Mosque and low attendance, there was low membership--only three of our sample were members of the American Muslem Society (Mosque).

It should be pointed out that, based on the field observation, the Yemenis tend to be religiously oriented people, so that low attendance at the Mosque would not

TABLE 4.9: Yemeni Immigrants' Reasons for Residing in the South End Community by Frequency and Percentage

Reasons for Living In the South End	"Yes" Responses(F)	Percent	"No" Responses(F)	Percent
Close to work	20	50.0	20	50.0
Close to friends	34	85.0	6	15.0
Close to relatives	31	77.5	9	22.5
Close to Arabic stores	29	72.5	11	27.5
Close to Mosque	18	45.0	22	55.0

TABLE 4.10: Frequency and Percentage of Mosque Attendance

Mosque Attendance	Frequency	Percent
Never	7	17.5
Less than Once a Week	3	7.5
Once a Week	7	17.5
Three Times a Week	3	7.5
Every Day	20	50.0
Total	40	100.0

generally be anticipated on religious grounds. Several other factors contributed to our results. One was that most of the Yemenis work all week, including Fridays,* and some of them work shifts that don't allow them the opportunity to observe traditional specific times for prayers. Some live too far from the Mosque for frequent attendance. Other have tended to form attitudes toward the recent administration of the Mosque that have limited their attendance.

Social and Fraternal Associations

Along with the religious institutions, other social organizations and clubs serve as cultural symbols in the South End community. These organizations and clubs, such as the coffee houses, fulfill the role of satisfying the social needs of members of different groups (Lebanis, Palestinians, Yemenis). Groups from specific Arab countries and backgrounds are often affiliated with one specific organization or clients of one specific coffee house.

Yemeni immigrants were found to be affiliated with two formal fraternal associations in the South End community. Both the Yemeni Benevolent Association (YBA) and the Grand Union of the Yemeni Emigrants (GUYE) serve the community's

*Friday is the last day of the week and it is very important religious day in the Muslem world, everybody is urged to go to the Mosque for the mid-day prayers and listen to the speech of the Imam.

cultural, social and political needs; they are less religiously oriented and less conservative than the Mosque.

The functions of these formal associations are to sponsor activities and to furnish their members with newspapers and books concerning the situation in both the community and the country of origin. The organizations play a nationalistic role by centering their activities around the notion of Yemeni unity (North and South), inside and outside the South End community, regardless of the political situation in South and North Yemen.

The most salient and characteristic relationships in the Yemeni community occur outside the formal organization. Within the coffee houses, national and even village origin play a large part in dividing the groups. In the three coffee houses operated by Yemenis in the South End, the clientele follows lines of national and village origin and even kinship. It is important to note that the coffee houses represent the center of Yemeni informal interaction. The food service function of these coffee houses appears to be secondary to their social functions. In fact, "the coffee houses are more like men's clubs than business enterprises." (Wigle, 1974:164) The following statement was offered by a Yemeni immigrant when asked why he comes to the coffee house. "Within the framework of informal structure, I can find opportunity to relax and meet people

that I know. Also I receive information relating to the community and the Middle East and discuss events in language that I know very well."

In this study thirty-seven (92.5 percent) of the sample reported thatthey attend the coffee houses; about half of them attend every day and the attendance of the other half ranged from one to three times a week. In conducting the interviews in these coffee houses, the strength of the interrelationships among fellow Yemenis was apparent. Each person knows every other person there; they are either relatives, co-villagers or close friends. This extends to the community. It is seldom if ever, that one finds a Yemeni in the South End community who does not have relatives or co-villagers there. One Yemeni reported that there are about 600 people residing in the community who came from the city of Juban or its surrounding villages in the Al-Baidha region (See Appendix B).

Ethnic Identity and Kinship

In the South End community, then, it appears that ethnic identity characterizes fraternal and social groups within the community. National origin is also one of the effective factors shaping the interaction between groups and determining residency patterns. On observation, it is apparent the community is roughly divided into two residency

areas. Most of the Yemenis live east of the Dix highway business district, while most Lebanis and Palestinians live north of the Dix business district.

Table 4.11 shows that the study sample divided themselves into two categories, as either Arabs or Yemeni. Few stressed the specific locality with which they identify.

TABLE 4.11: Yemeni Immigrants' Ethnic Self-Identification*

Self-Identification	Frequency	Percent
Arab-American	2	5.0
Arab	19	47.5
Yemeni	17	42.5
Southern Yemeni	1	2.5
Arab and South Yemeni	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

*Refers to an individuals' use of national origin to identify himself.

However, this may not be the case for other Arabs, such as most of the Lebanis and Palestinians who tend to come to the U.S. to stay and become American citizens. With 90.0 percent of the sample identifying themselves as Arab or Yemeni and only 5.0 percent calling themselves Arab-Americans, it is of interest that twenty-seven (67.5 percent) of the

sample Yemenis have U.S. citizenship and eight (20.0 percent) are planning to apply for U.S. citizenship. However, this could be attributable to the fact that most Yemenis in the South End (37 persons or 92.5 percent of the sample) are planning to return to Yemen and settle there. One stated,

> We applied for American citizenship in order to get good jobs, and benefit from social security and other things such as retirement, but not to become Americans. We came here having in mind that one day we will return back to Yemen.

It was clear that family migration or "chain" migration characterized the Yemeni movement into the South End community and contributed to their residency and work place concentration. Data from the sample revealed that a large number of the Yemeni immigrants have been assisted in coming to the U.S. by their relatives (Table 4.12).

TABLE 4.12: Those Who Assisted Respondents in Coming to the U.S., by Percent and Frequency

Assistance Given By:	Frequency	Percent
None	2	5.0
Father	20	50.0
Brother	9	22.5
Uncle	3	7.5
Cousin	5	12.5
Friend	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Of the respondents, thirty-seven (92.5 percent) reported they were helped to come to the U.S. by relatives (father, brother, uncle, cousin); 67.5 percent reported that the relatives who helped them are still living in South End.

From the previous description of the South End community, its organization and the groups, we may conclude that the social organization and its institutions are "integral parts of the make up of the Yemeni groups." (Gordon, 1964:207) The organization and institutions have been established based on the geographical, national and religious origins of the immigrants which function to preserve the cultural heritage of the group, such as language, food and norms, which emphasize their distinctiveness and express their continuous estrangement from the dominant American culture.

The Yemeni people in this community live in a way that does not differ much from their lives in Yemen. They eat their traditional foods, speak and write their native language, and even import "Qat"* to chew during their leisure time. Each Friday night friends and relatives get together to socialize and chew "Qat". On Friday nights, few Yemenis are on the streets or in the coffee houses; they

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*Qat is a perennial shrub. When chewed it produces a pleasant sense of well being. It is, to say the least, highly popular in Yemen where most people spend one or more afternoons per week attending parties with friends, relatives, business associates. "A key element in Yemeni social life,..." (Swanson, 1977:35)

are all home, enjoying their friends and family and chewing "Qat".

In general, Yemenis can be considered religiously conservative and loyal to their culture and land. Some other Arabs in the South End community view them as "backward because they cling so tenaciously to folk ways influenced by religion and kinship. But others revere the Yemenis as the embodiment of uncorrupted Arab values." (Detroit Free Press, Nov. 29, 1983:2C) Regardless of the attitude among Yemenis toward the Mosque, they proudly say that they interact with others and within themselves on the basis of norms and values they learned from the religion of Islam. They believe that religion plays two important social roles; it provides both meaning and belonging. By meaning they interact with others, by belonging they identify themselves.

On the basis of their culture, religion, kinship and national origin, it appears that upon their arrival in the Detroit metropolitan area the Yemenis isolate themselves from the majority. As noted earlier, the majority of the Yemeni immigrants have relatives, co-villagers or friends in the South End community. As new immigrants arrive, they tend to take up residence, initially, with their relatives or friends from whom they obtain assistance in learning the language and finding a job. Table 4.13 shows where the respondents in the sample first lived when they came to South End.

TABLE 4.13: Yemeni Immigrants' Initial Place of Residence in South End, by Frequency and Percentage

Residence on Arrival in South End	Frequency	Percent
Hotel	2	5.0
Relatives	26	65.0
Co-villagers	11	27.5
Rental House	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

The high (92.5) percentage of the Yemeni immigrants who initially lived with relatives or co-villagers gives further evidence of their "chain" migration and the influence of this phenomenon on the social structure and residential patterns in the community.

Relations With The Majority Ethnic Group

It appears from the information collected, that the Yemeni immigrants have chosen to concentrate themselves in the South End community. The choice appears to be motivated by their own preferences rather than the preferences of the majority group. The sample indicated a positive attitude toward Americans and gave no indication that they felt "pushed" by the dominant group to live in the ethnically isolated South End community. One immigrant declared, when

asked if he had ever been discriminated against in housing, "I can live any where in Dearborn, not as some other groups, like blacks, who are restricted to living in some (specific) areas." Then he added, "they are not allowed to live in this community, not because of us but because other white Americans are living some where in this community." Yemenis agree they feel relaxed and at home in their South End community. They all know each other, and support each other when in need.

The following data (See Table 4.14) show the responses of sample individuals as to whether or not they had perceived discrimination against themselves in the American society.

TABLE 4.14: Yemeni Respondents' Perceptions of Personal Discrimination in the American Society

Perception of Discrimination	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	5	12.5
Agree	11	27.5
Disagree	19	47.5
Strongly Disagree	3	7.5
Don't Know	2	5.0
Total	40	100.0

From the Table it is apparent that more than half of the sample (55 percent) had not experienced discrimination in the American society. Sixteen persons agreed that they had encountered some sort of discrimination based variously on appearance, religion and/or Arab origin.

However, it was learned from other research and from various conversation with some of the leaders in the community, that some Yemenis have experienced discrimination in employment, especially those who do not speak English. There is a perception about Yemenis that they are very hard workers. This arises, in large part, because they have come to the U.S. to work. For many Yemenis, work and the accumulation of money in order to obtain land in Yemen, build a house and buy equipment, such as a tractor, to farm the land in Yemen are their sole reasons for living in the U.S. Thus, employers know Yemeni workers will not hesitate to work in any circumstance in order to keep their jobs and this willingness to work may be exploited. Because of their deficient English, they often do not know their rights as workers and may be given the hardest and dirtiest jobs.

Neither type of employment discrimination, however, was experienced by this study sample. None of the respondents claimed any job discrimination. Rather, it was understood from most of the respondents that they appreciate the labor laws in the U.S.

Acculturation

In this study the analysis of acculturation was completed using a scale derived by combining a specific set of dependent variables. The dependent variables were scored using a modified Likert scale. The dependent variables consisted of American cultural aspects, such as preference in language, publications and music; celebration of the American holidays of Chirstmas and Thanksgiving; drinking, dancing and dating; dietary habits and feelings of discrimination. Independent variables included age, education in U.S. and Yemen, length of stay in the U.S., plans to remain in U.S. or return to Yemen, attitude toward decision to come to the U.S., presence of wife in the U.S., and American citizenship.

In the study it was hypothesized that the younger the person, the more acculturated he likely would be. For this sample, it appeared that this assumption was not true.

The age and acculturation relationship was tested for significance using the ANOVA technique. The sample was divided into three age groups and the mean for each group was calculated (Table 4.15). The mean acculturation score for the first group (aged 21-30) was 18.59, while for the second group (aged 31-40) it was 18.06 and for the third group (aged 40 and above) it was 18.43. No significant

TABLE 4.15: ANOVA Results Comparing Mean Acculturation Scores With Age Group

Age Group	N	Mean	S.D.	F	Probability
21-30	17	18.59	4.331	.054	.9468
31-40	16	18.06	5.092		
41 & Above	7	18.43	4.035		
	40	18.35	4.498		

R= -.0269 (between age and acculturation score)

differences were found between the means of the three age groups. By comparing the means, we may say that the youngest group tends to have a higher observed mean acculturation score than the second and third groups. However, the differences between the acculturation means for the second and third groups could be attributed to their length of stay in the U.S. People aged 31-40 tend to be recent immigrants while those aged 41 and over tend to be people who came before the 1970s. Regardless of the slight differences between the three means, however, we may conclude there is no significant difference between them at the α.10 level. The hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between the degree of acculturation and age was thus rejected.

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The second hypothesis of this study was that there would be a relationship between degree of acculturation and level of education, that is, people with more education were expected to be more acculturated than people with little or no education. Two forms of education were considered: education acquired in Yemen and education acquired in the U.S., although typical Yemeni education and typical U.S. education are very different.

Table 4.16 shows that mean acculturation scores, according to years of education in Yemen, were higher for those with more education. The data show that individuals with 0-6 years of education had a mean acculturation score of 17.00, while those with 7-16 years of education had a mean acculturation score of 20.38. The results of this analysis demonstrated that there is a relationship between level of acculturation and years of education acquired in Yemen, since there was a significant difference at the α.05 level for the acculturation means of the two groups.

TABLE 4.16: ANOVA Results Comparing Yemeni Immigrants' Mean Acculturation Scores With Years of Education in Yemen

Years of Education	N	Mean	S.D.	F	Probability
0-6	24	17.00	3.956	6.1130	.0180*
7-16	16	20.38	4.617		
Total	40	18.35	4.498		

*Significant at the α.05 level.

Table 4.17 shows the differences between the Yemeni immigrant group with no education in the U.S. and a similar group with some U.S. education. The group with some education in the U.S. included those individuals who had enrolled in an English language program, and those individuals who had had high school training and above in the U.S. (three persons).

Statistical analysis showed a slight difference between observed group means. The group with some education in the U.S. had a mean acculturation score of 18.38, while the group with no U.S. education had a mean score of 18.29. The ANOVA results indicated, however, that the observed difference between the two means was not significant at .10 level.

In sum, then, education in Yemen was related to the degree of acculturation among the sample. Diversity in the source of education (Yemen or USA) seemed to be a major factor affecting acculturation. Individuals who had spent more years in education in Yemen went through a process which has left an imprint on their personalities and behavior and affected their ability to accept new ideas. Individuals who have acquired some education in the U.S. have generally restricted themselves to learning the English language through an English language program. Additionally, a large number of the respondents reported enrolling in an

TABLE 4.17: ANOVA Results Comparing Mean of Acculturation Scores With Education in the U.S.

Education in U.S.	N	Mean	S.D.	F	Probability
None	14	18.29	4.304	.0043	.048
Some	26	18.38	4.682		
Total	40	18.35	4.498		

English program but never finishing it. Thus, we may conclude that education in the U.S. has had no significant impact on acculturation because people have learned whatever English they needed at work and from friends. These results, however, do not take into account the importance of English quality and its effect on acculturation.

Table 4.18 shows Yemeni immigrants' mean acculturation scores by length of stay in the U.S. The hypothesis is that as length of stay increased, mean acculturation scores would also increase. While observed mean acculturation scores for those who had been in the U.S. 10 years or less were slightly higher than mean acculturation scores for those who had been in the U.S. for 11 years or more, the "t" test for statistical significance indicated that there was no significant differences between the two means. Thus the hypothesis that there would be a difference between the two means at the α.10 level is rejected.

TABLE 4.18: Mean Acculturation Scores Compared to Length of Stay in the U.S.

No. of Years in the U.S.	N	Mean	S.D.	t	Probability
10 or less	16	18.44	4.016	.01	.989
11 or more	24	18.42	4.907		
Total	40				

Mean acculturation scores for individuals who intend to return permanently to Yemen and those who intend to stay permanently in the U.S. are shown in Table 4.19. The hypothesis is that the mean acculturation score would be greater for the Yemeni immigrants who plan to stay in the U.S. In testing this hypothesis, it was shown that individuals who plan to settle in the U.S. had a mean acculturation score of 20.67 while those who intend to return to Yemen permanently had a mean acculturation score of 18.17. Calculating the "t" value for statistical significance, showed no significant differences between the two means. Thus, the hypothesis is rejected at level .10. However, the directions of the difference is in keeping with our expectations.

Studies conducted by Abraham and Al-Khamri have found that the majority of Yemeni immigrants came to the U.S. since 1970. Since 1970, the American economy and most

TABLE 4.19: Mean Acculturation Scores Compared to Intent to Settle in Yemen

Intent to Settle in Yemen	N	Mean	S.D.	t	Probability
Yes	37	18.17	4.494	-.93	.360
No	3	20.67	4.726		
Total	40				

businesses have been affected by high inflation rates which have led to high unemployment in the industrial states, especially in Michigan which is highly dependent on the auto industry. Since the Yemeni immigrants come to the U.S. mainly to seek economic advantage and many seek employment in the auto industry, it is likely that the economic situations will affect their satisfaction with American society. Thus, it was assumed that people who regret that they came to the U.S. would tend to be less acculturated. The "t" test for statistical significance was applied to determine any differences between the mean acculturated scores of individuals who were sorry that they came to the U.S. and individuals who were satisfied that they came. No significant differences in acculturation scores were found between individuals who were sorry they came to the U.S. (mean=18.50)

and individuals who were satisfied that they came to the U.S. (mean=18.33). The hypothesis that there would be a significant difference between the two means is therefore rejected at the α= .10 level (Table 4.20).

TABLE 4.20: Mean Acculturation Scores Compared for Regret and Satisfaction About Coming to the U.S.

Attitude Toward Decision to Come to the U.S.	N	Mean	S.D.	t	Probability
Sorry	22	18.50	1.058	.11	.909
Satisfied	18	18.33	.953		
Total	40				

However, the results presented in Table 4.20 were found to be related to some personal factors other than lack of satisfaction and unemployment. Examining the comments made by the respondents concerning this matter, a high percentage of the sample who say that they are sorry that they came to the U.S. referred to factors such as being far away from their families and country. Some indicated that if they were in Yemen they might finish their education. Others mentioned that if it were not for the bad situation in Yemen, such as the high unemployment and unrest, they wouldn't be

in the U.S. Thus, it is clear that most immigrants are generally satisfied with living in the U.S. Those who are in the South End today are either working or have saved enough money to support themselves through a period of unemployment. This finding is supported by the decrease of Yemeni immigrants in the South End. During the study there were only about 1,300 Yemenis in South End, compared to 3,000-4,000 in 1978. This indicates that over half the original (1978) number of immigrants, most of them affected by the economic recession in the Detroit area, have left for other states or returned to Yemen. Of those in the sample who said that they are sorry that they came to the U.S., only three referred to unemployment as the reason for dissatisfaction.

Table 4.21 shows the comparison between the mean acculturation scores for individuals who have their families (wife and children) or are planning to bring their families to the U.S. and those whose families will remain in Yemen. The hypothesis here is that individuals with their families in U.S. would feel more stable, more able to support their families, and would have fewer ties with their country of origin. Moreover, that those immigrants whose children who go to American schools where there is maximum interaction with American culture, would find more aspects of the American culture transferred into their homes. The hypothesis is that individuals with their families in the U.S. would be more acculturated than people whose families remained in Yemen.

A "t" test for statistical significance was applied to investigate any difference in mean acculturation scores for the two groups. Observed data indicated slight differences between the two group means. However, the statistical test showed that the difference was not significant. Moreover, individuals with their families in the U.S. had a lower mean acculturation score (M=18.24) than those who had left their families in Yemen (M=18.90).

The statistical results here were surprising, considering that the Yemeni immigrants living with their families have children going to school, American neighbors with whom they visit and economic stability in the U.S. A number of the immigrants who live with their families in the South End commented that they celebrate the American holidays of Christmas and Thanksgiving because of their children. One informant said, "They always insist that we buy them something at Christmas and have turkey at Thanksgiving." One explanation for the statistical results in this matter may be that individuals who have left their families in Yemen are more outgoing and more open to the American culture since they are not as restricted in their interactions with American people. People with families in the U.S. tend to be very conservative. They are concerned that their children retain their native culture and language and they don't let their wives go shopping in the business area. During the field work the researcher

never saw a Yemeni woman in the local business area, even though there were about one hundred Yemeni families living in the immediately adjacent neighborhood. Yemenis with families in the U.S. do not go to visit Yemen as often as those who left their wives and children there. However, they made it clear that they all do return to Yemen periodically in order that their children can learn and retain their culture and language.

TABLE 4.21: Comparison of Mean Acculturation Scores for Individuals who Have Their Families in the U.S. and Those Who Left Their Families in Yemen.

Family in U.S.	N	Mean	S.D.	*t	Prob.
Yes	17	18.24	3.945	-.44	.662
No	20	18.90	5.025		
Total	40				

*Not significant at α .10

The differences in mean acculturation scores between individuals who are American citizens and those who are Yemeni citizens are shown in Table 4.22. The hypothesis here was that people who are American citizens would be more acculturated than people who remain Yemeni citizens. This

hypothesis was based on the fact that individuals who are American citizens benefit more from services for American citizens only, such as unemployment compensation and retirement. Moreover, it was anticipated that a person's citizenship would give him a feeling of belonging to one culture or the other. However, this did not seem to apply to this sample and possibly for the whole population of Yemeni immigrants to the Detroit area. For example, when participants were asked how they identified themselves, only two persons said they were Arab-Americans and thirty-eight persons identified themselves as either Arabs, Yemenis or a combination of these.

When a "t" test for statistical significance was applied to the mean acculturation scores of individuals who were American citizens and those who were Yemeni citizens, the results indicated that there was no significant difference in mean acculturation scores between the two groups. People with American citizenship had only a slightly higher mean acculturation score (M=18.55) than non-U.S. citizens (M=18.15).

With no significant difference between the two means, the hypothesis that there would be a difference in the degree of acculturation between the two groups was rejected at the α .10 level.

TABLE 4.22: Comparison of Mean Acculturation Scores for Yemeni Immigrants Who Are American Citizens and Those Who Are Yemeni Citizens

Citizenship	N	Mean	S.D.	t	Probability
American	27	18.55	3.806	.26	.796
Yemeni	13	18.55	5.900		
Total	40				

Table 4.23 shows the correlation coefficients between the dependent variables of the "acculturation composite". It appears from the matrix, that there was no strong correlation between one variable and any other variable. The strongest correlation (.513) was found between variables #7 and #8. The relationship between these variables was found to be significant at the .001 level.

Despite the fact that there were no strong correlations between the dependent variables, there were some significant relationships between a number of the variables. For example, there was a significant correlation between variables #1 and #2 at the .05 level. Variables #2 and #3 (Prob. = .063) variables #2 and #5 (Prob.=.064) and variables #2 and #6 (Prob. =.08) were significantly correlated at the .10 level. Variables #2 and #4 were significantly correlated at the .05 level (Table 4.23).

TABLE 4.23: Matrix of Intercorrelations Between Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Use of English Language		.427[a]	.203	.184	.121	.167	.024	-.009	.131
2. Reading Preferences			.250[c]	.356[b]	.245[c]	.224[c]	-.139	-.097	-.206[c]
3. Music Preferences				.147	.410[a]	.285[b]	-.084	.080	.013
4. Celebration of U.S. Holidays					.372[a]	-.077	-.198	-.187	-.304[b]
5. Drinking, Dancing Dating						-.009	.129	.170	-.400[a]
6. Language Preference							.146	-.129	.180
7. American Food Preference								.513	.243
8. Arabic Food Preference									.170
9. Personal Discrimination									

Correlations Significant at a=.01, b=.05, c=.10

The correlation between Variables #1 and #2 indicated that people who tend to use the English language tended to prefer American publications for reading. Also, people who preferred American publications also tended to prefer American music, to celebrate American holidays, to drink, dance and date and preferred the English language for communication. There was a significant correlation between Variables #3 and #5 (Prob. = .004) and between #3 and #6 (Prob.=.04) at the .05 level. People who preferred American music tended to drink, dance and date and preferred the English language for communication. Variables #4 and #5 are significantly correlated at the .05 level. There existed a negative correlation between variables #4 and #9, which was significant at the .05 level and negative correlations between Variables #2 and #9, and #5 and #9. The correlation between variables #2 and #9 was significant at the α.10 level, and the correlation between variables #5 and #9 was significant at the α.05 level.

Even though no strong correlations were found between the use of English and the other dependent variables, it was clear that a person's English ability was important in acculturation. Using the Chi Square test of statistical significance it was found that poor English speakers were likely to favor the Arabic language while good English speakers were likely to favor the English language for everyday

communication. This relationship was significant at the α .10 level. Moreover, people with poor English skills were not likely to favor American publications. The relationships between quality of English and preference for American publications for reading was significant at the α .01 level. Another Chi Square was calculated to investigate the relationship between English skills and the number of an immigrant's American friends. People with good to fair English skills were found to be more likely to have American friends. There is a systematic relationship between the person's quality of English and tendency to have American friends, which is significant at the α.05 level. There was also a significant positive relationship between immigrants who have American friends and the tendency to celebrate American holidays, which was significant at the α .05 level.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The context of this study was essentially exploratory. Its aim was to determine some of the characteristics of the Yemeni immigrants in the Yemeni community of South End in Dearborn, Michigan.

Specifically, it was the purpose of this study to examine why the Yemeni came to the U.S. and why they clustered here in the metropolitan Detroit area. Which part of Yemen they originated from and their educational, cultural and occupational backgrounds were taken into account. Moreover, it was the intent of this researcher to determine the structure of the Yemeni community in the South End and its functions in shaping the interaction between the Yemeni immigrants and the host society.

One of the major questions was whether the immigrants had chosen to reside in South End community. Had they chosen to isolate themselves upon arrival in this country or were they isolated by the host society? As Yemeni immigrants may be characterized as culturally different from the dominant culture, it was the aim of the researcher to assess the degree to which the Yemeni immigrants have become acculturated to an American way of life.

Summary of Important Findings

Yemeni migration to the U.S. was found to be economically motivated. The Yemeni migration to Detroit area and specifically to the South End, may be explained as follows: the first generation of the Yemeni immigrants (1920-1965) came to the Detroit area pushed by a bad social and economic situation in Yemen and pulled by the economic prosperity of the U.S. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Yemeni migration to Detroit area took on a different pattern. It followed a "chain" migration pattern that resulted from a new U.S. immigration law (1965) which allowed early immigrants to bring in their immediate relatives (e.g., unmarried sons and daughters, spouses, and parents) but placed restrictions on immigration of unrelated persons. This pattern was consistent with traditions of strong kinship ties and extended family structure.

It was found that most of the Yemeni immigrants in the South End came from specific areas of North and South Yemen that include Al-Baidha, Ibb, Yafa and Taiz. Of the sample, 85 percent came from Al-Baidha and Ibb, especially the Juban district which is situated in Al-Baidha region (See Appendix B). It was reported that about 600 immigrants in the South End have come from this district.

The present Yemeni immigrants were found to be either illiterate or semi-literate, semi-skilled or skilled laborers and mostly they were young married males who had left their families behind in Yemen. The data indicated that twenty-one persons (52.5 percent) of the sample had completed some or all of their elementary education, which included the study of Qura'an and some math, through the informal education system which is dominated by religious scholars (imams) in Yemen. Twenty of the sample (50 percent) were married and had left their families in Yemen. In their employment, Yemenis were found to be concentrated in the auto plants (Ford and Chrysler) and auto-related industries. A small number were found working as busboys or dishwashers. However this number is expected to increase because of the high percentage of the unemployment among the Yemenis (about 27 percent, 45 percent among our sample). Most of the Yemenis came to the area to work in the auto plants--from their relatives they had heard that such work was easy to obtain. When the recession in the auto industry came, some Yemenis, especially those who were unskilled laborers were forced to take work in such occupations as busboy and dishwasher or to return home. The researcher was informed that Yemenis, especially those who regard themselves as tribal members, feel degraded by such occupations because they conflict with their tribal pride. Some would not admit to doing such work.

The high concentration of Yemeni immigrants in South End community was attributed to the unique formation of this community. It is considered one of the largest Muslem concentrations in North America. Shops, Mosques, coffee houses and some other social and political organizations were found within the boundaries of the community. The function of these business and religious, social and political organizations was to preserve the native culture. Along the Dix highway business district (See Appendix C) there are several shops that import and sell typical Middle Eastern merchandise, such as Qat which is typical of Yemenis. The Mosque is a very important Islamic symbol. Its function is to emphasize Islamic principles through daily prayers and the educational services which include religion, history and Arabic language teaching. Coffee houses were found to be very important socially. Inside the coffee houses, friends meet each other and exchange information concerning the Middle East and the community. We may conclude that these coffee houses are a new phenomenon, peculiar to the Yemeni and Arab communities in New York City, Buffalo (N.Y.) and in Detroit since they do not seem to exist in this particular form in the American culture. In these coffee houses, Arabic coffee and tea are served and sometimes Arabic food. Several playing card decks are supplied for people to use. It was very common to see five or ten men surrounding one table

playing cards. This game attracts Yemenis of different ages but players are always men. The women do not go to the coffee houses. On the walls of the coffee houses, business advertisements and announcements of community events were posted. It may be concluded that the function of these coffee houses as business enterprises is minor in comparison to their social functions. Yemeni coffee houses are owned and operated by Yemeni immigrants.

In this study, thirty-seven (92.5 percent) of the sample reported that they attend coffee houses regularly and their attendance ranged from everyday (47.5 percent) to three times a week (45 percent). The clientele of a coffee house follows lines of village and tribal origins, friends and relatives congregate there together. It was found that everyone knows everyone else; unfamiliar faces are rare and a cause for comment.

There were found to be four formal organizations serving the local Yemeni community. They were the American Muslem Society, Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services, Yemeni Benevolent Association and the Grand Union of Yemeni Immigrants. Both the last two organizations were founded in the U.S. to serve the Yemeni immigrants only. The function of these organizations was found to be the preservation of national identity and the cultural heritage. These functions were emphasized through activities such as the distribution of Arabic and Yemen publications and the

celebration of the liberation days of any of the Arab countries represented in the community.

Walking along the main strees of the community, a person speaking Arabic has no trouble getting along well. Use of the native language is expected from any Arab person. Among the sample, the use of Arabic and the preference for Arabic language in daily communications was very high: Five persons (12.5 percent) reported that they use the Arabic language all the time, twenty-three (57.5 percent) reported that they use the Arabic language most of the time. Thirty-six (90 percent) of our sample reported that they prefered Arabic language over English in communication.

Loyalty to the country of origin and pride in their culture were also found to be extremely high among the Yemenis in the South End. Although a large number of our sample (twenty-seven or 67.5 percent) had acquired American citizenship, most of them identified themselves as either Yemenis or Arabs; only two persons identified themselves as Arab-Americans. Returning to Yemen to settle permanently was a non-negotiable issue among the Yemenis. Thirty-seven (92.5 percent) of our sample reported that they will return to Yemen when the time is suitable. Some explained that when any Yemeni immigrant comes to the U.S., he has in mind that he will return to Yemen one day.

This attitude was supported by the fact that almost 80 percent of the Yemeni immigrants in the South End were married males who have left their spouses and children behind

in Yemen (Abraham, 1978). Abraham reports that Yemenis are tied to their land which they have inherited from their families. They don't sell their land and very often go through very long disputes in order to maintain possession of the inherited land. We found that a large number of our sample were in the U.S. to earn enough money to buy some agricultural machinery in order to take it to Yemen to help cultivate their land.

From the study data and personal observation, it may be concluded that Yemeni immigrants have tended to isolate themselves from the majority society. Such isolation in their own community is based on their ethnic uniqueness which is centered around adherence to a unique religion and language and patterns of kinship, national origin and memberships that are not shared with the majority culture in the U.S. In the South End community most people are either relatives, co-villagers or friends. Study results indicate that this has resulted both from extended family traditions and "chain" migration. Thirty-eight of the sample (95 percent) came to the U.S. through the assistance of their relatives (father, brother, uncle, cousin) and earlier emigrants from their villages. Moreover, they have chosen to live in the South End to be close to their relatives (77.5 percent), to their friends (85 percent), to the Arabic stores and facilities (72.5 percent), to

to the Mosque (45 percent) and to their places of work (50 percent).

This study concluded that little discrimination from the host society has been perceived by the Yemeni immigrants. Twenty-two (55 percent) of our sample reported that they had not encountered any kind of discrimination. Sixteen (40 percent) said they had experienced some sort of discrimination but felt that what they considered discrimination was not very serious. It was determined that the most obvious reasons for discrimination against the Yemenis and Arabs in general came from the influence of the American mass media and arose from misunderstanding of such major issues as the Arab-Israeli conflict. Some Yemenis felt that discrimination against them was the result of some stereotypes that all Arabs are "camel jockeys" or rich sheikhs. Some found that the assumption of other blue collar workers was that all Arab countries are oil rich. On the basis of this assumption, some American workers view the Yemeni immigrants as taking the job opportunities which more rightfully belong to American persons.

However, most Yemeni felt that their Amreican fellow workers were open-minded and soon learned the truth about the real situation in the Middle East. The majority of the sample felt that most of the administrators and supervisors in American business were fair in their treatment. One

Yemeni worker explained "we are all the same in the eyes of the Constitution. Administrators are controlled by the Constitution, and we workers are protected by the Constitution.

It was determined in the study that the Yemeni immigrants scored low in acculturation within the American society. Nine American cultural factors were investigated as indicators of Yemeni acculturation. These cultural indices were: use of the English language; preference for English; preferences in music and publications; celebration of American holidays; drinking, dancing and dating; food preferences (American and Arabic); and feelings of discrimination.

Mean acculturation scores were calculated for the Yemeni immigrants' responses on each cultural index. Statistical comparisons between the calculated means were undertaken to measure degrees of acculturation according to age, length of stay, education in Yemen and in the U.S., wife in the U.S., American citizenship, plans for returning to Yemen permanently and regret or satisfaction in coming to the U.S.

Quality of English language and level of education were found to have the most significant effects on acculturation scores. People with good English were also likely to celebrate American holidays, to have American friends, to prefer the use of English and to read American publications.

Conclusions

From the study it may be concluded that the degree of acculturation is related to the intensity of ethnicity on the part of Yemeni immigrants in the South End. The immigrants have created a cultural environment which does not differ greatly from their original homeland. They have gathered themselves together where they have their own food, language, organizations and customs. Life goes on much as it did in Yemen. In the unique setting of their community they have limited their interaction with the dominant culture, except in their work places.

Outlook For The Future

In predicting the future of the Yemeni community in the South End of Dearborn, it appears that it will continue to exist for quite a period of time. However, its components and size will change dramatically. According to leaders of the community more Yemenis are planning to bring their families, especially those who have secured employment. Accordingly, the number of young children of school age will increase. This could increase the acculturation potential of the community since more people will be exposed to the American culture through the educational

institutions. Rudolph Helling (1967:88) described the role of schools in Detroit.

> Within the Detroit schools, Americanization of the immigrants' children is one of the manifest aims of education policies. The common educational experiences in the public school are considered as one of the unifying forces in American life.

Within the last five years (1978-1983) the size of the community has decreased dramatically from around 4,000 to 1,300. This instability of the community has resulted from a high percentage of unemployment among the Yemeni immigrants. It is expected that new Yemeni immigrants will continue coming to the U.S., especially as the economy of the Detroit area improves. They will continue the "chain" migration seen earlier, but new immigrants will be more educated and more skilled than the previous ones. Yemenis in South End have become convinced that the opportunity for work in American industries has become more challenging than before and to compete takes a lot of skills and an adequate education.

Suggestions For Future Study

During the course of this research some questions and interesting issues have come to light that could not be examined because they were outside the scope of the

current study. In this regard, the question of change over time is particularly salient. In the past five years, with the downturn in the U.S. economy and particularly the economic recession in the Detroit area, over half the Yemeni immigrants have left the area. This study examined the community at the present point in time--but how has it changed over the past five years? Who lives in the homes within the Yemeni neighborhoods where Yemenis have moved out? Have other Yemenis moved in, with the communities growing smaller spatially--or have people of other nationalities moved in and changed the character of the neighborhoods by so doing?

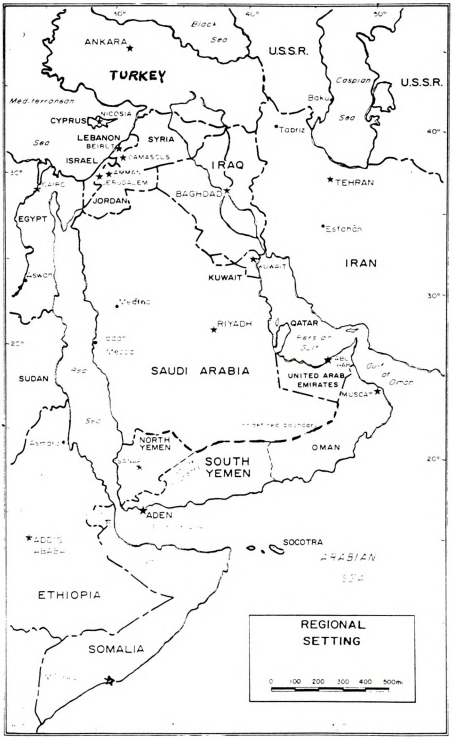
Another interesting issue involves differences in Yemeni immigrant communities across space and cultures. From the researcher's experience in Saudi Arabia, where large numbers of Yemeni immigrants also go to find work; they tend to cluster in isolated communities in that country, even though they share a common language and religion with the host society. The cultures, from superficial examination, do not appear very different. Since their unique religion, language and culture were found to be much of the reason for their ethnic clustering in Detroit, why is the same phenomenon seen in Saudi Arabia? Are the immigrants there more acculturated? Do they eventually assimilate into the host society or is there a similar emphasis on "going home--when the time is right." How do the Saudi and U.S. Yemeni communities differ?

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

REGIONAL SETTING OF NORTH AND SOUTH YEMEN



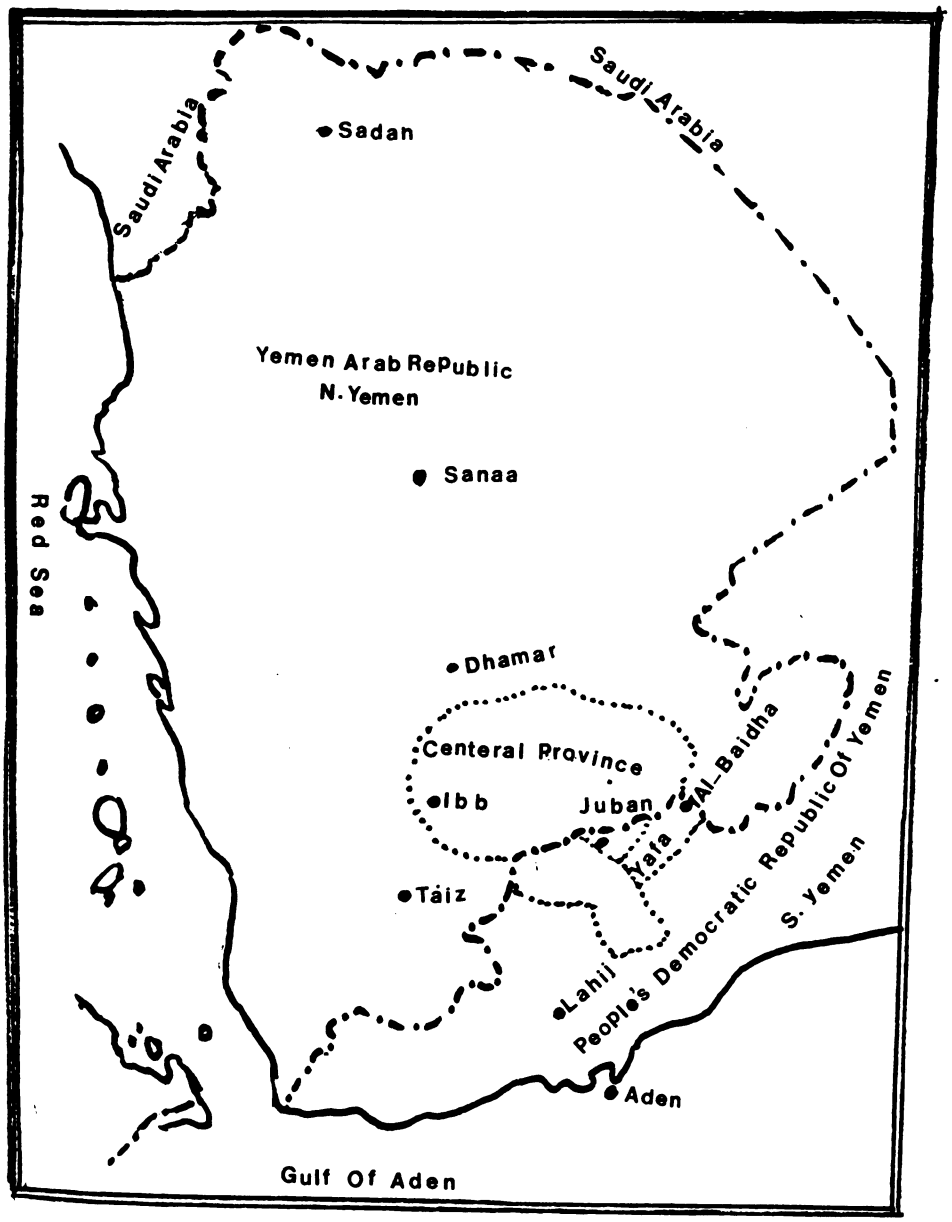
SOURCE: Stookey, W. Robert, 1982.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

MAP OF NORTH AND SOUTH YEMEN

● **MAJOR REGIONS**

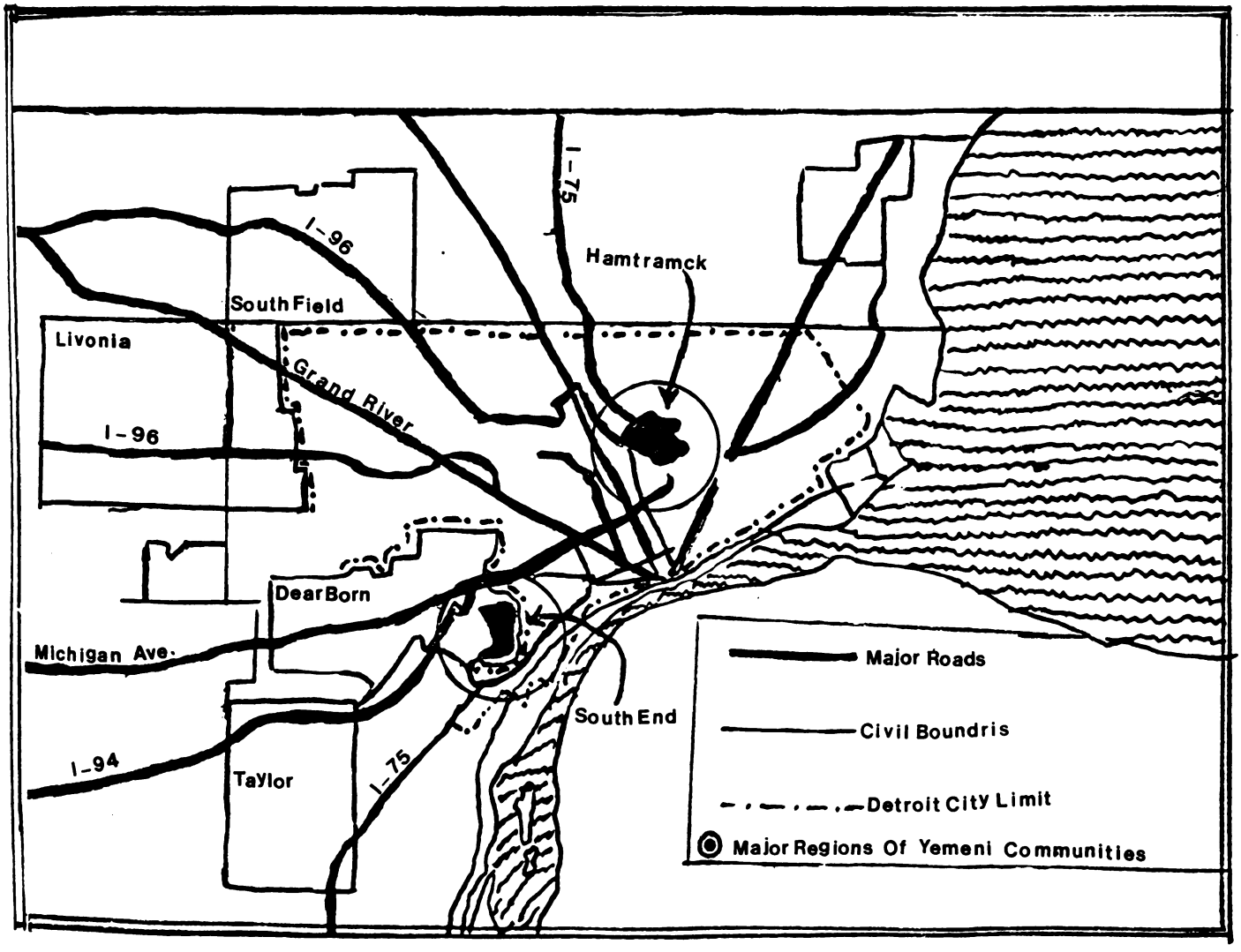


SOURCE: Abraham, Y. Nabeel, 1978:25.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA WITH YEMENI COMMUNITIES



SOURCE: M. Shakib Ak-Khamri, 1979:54

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

I. General Information

1. How old are you? _____years

2. Where were you born? City_____Village_____
   Province_____Region_____.

3. Are you: Employed_____(1)
   Unemployed (# of Months__)_____(2)
   Retired_____(3)

4. What is your occupation?
   Landlord_____(1)
   Merchant (has grocery or restaurant)_____(2)
   Auto worker at Ford_____(3)
   Auto worker at Chrysler_____(4)
   Seafarer_____(5)
   Busboy_____(6)
   Dishwasher_____(7)
   Other (specify)_____(8)

5. If you are a worker at an auto plant, what is your position?
   Foreman_____(1)
   Supervisor_____(2)
   Laborer in the Assembly Line_____(3)
   Laborer in the Body Shop_____(4)
   Laborer_____(5)
   Other (Specify)_____(6)

6. Have you worked in any other occupation since you came to the U.S. other than your recent one? Please indicate.

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

7. How long have you been in this occupation_____
   _____years.

8. Are you married: Yes_____(1)
   No_____(0)

9. If yes, is your family living with you:
   Yes _____ (1)
   No _____ (0)

10. If no, where are they now?
    Yemen _____ (1)
    Any of Arab Gulf Countries _____ (2)
    Europe _____ (3)
    Other U.S. States _____ (4)

11. Are you planning to bring them to live with you?
    Yes _____ (1)
    No _____ (0)

12. Please indicate reasons either way _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

13. What were your reasons for coming to the U.S.?
    Economic _____ (1)
    Personal Ambition _____ (2)
    Political Reasons _____ (3)
    Education _____ (4)
    Family Members Already Here _____ (5)
    Other (Specify) _____ (6)

14. How many years of education have you had in Yemen _____

15. How much education have you received in the U.S.?
    English Program _____ (1)
    High School _____ (2)
    College and Above _____ (3)
    None _____ (4)

16. What language do you speak every day?
    Arabic all the time _____ (1)
    Arabic most of the time _____ (2)
    Arabic and English equally _____ (3)
    English most of the time _____ (4)
    English all the time _____ (5)

17. Do you read Arabic publications or American?
    Arabic all the time _____ (1)
    Arabic most of the time _____ (2)
    Arabic and American equally _____ (3)
    American most of the time _____ (4)
    American all the time _____ (5)

18. What kind of music do you like?
    Arabic all the time (1)
    Arabic most of the time (2)
    Arabic and American equally (3)
    American most of the time (4)
    American all the time (5)

19. How often do you go to the Mosque during the week?
    Everyday (1)
    Three times a week (2)
    Twice a week (3)
    Once a week (4)
    Less than once a week (5)
    Never (6)

20. Which religious events do you celebrate?
    Eid Aladha (1)
    Eid Alfetar (2)

21. Do you fast in Ramadan?
    Yes (1)
    No (0)

22. Please indicate why _____

23. Do you celebrate:
    Christmas (1)
    Thanksgiving (2)
    Both (3)
    Neither (4)

24. Do you drink, dance, or date?
    Drink yes___ No___ (1)
    Dance Yes___ No___ (1)
    Date Yes___ No___ (1)

25. Did you study English before you came to the U.S.?
    Yes (1)
    No (0)

26. Did you have any practice in English before you came to the U.S.?
    Yes (1)
    No (0)

27. How good is your English?
    My English is poor (1)
    I can speak English fairly well, but I can't read or write (2)
    My English, in general, is fair (3)
    My English is good (4)

28. In general, Yemeni immigrants in the U.S. have been discriminated against in:
    Jobs _____ (1)
    School _____ (2)
    Housing _____ (3)

29. Have you encountered feelings of discrimination?
    Yes _____ (1)
    Don't know or not sure _____ (2)
    No _____ (3)
    Please give example _____
    _____
    _____ (4)

30. Have you encountered discrimination because of:
    Accent _____ (1)
    Appearance (physical) _____ (2)
    Religion _____ (3)
    Arabic origin _____ (4)
    Any combination of the above _____ (5)
    All the above _____ (6)

31. What did you know about the U.S. before you came?
    Freedom _____ (1)
    High Employment _____ (2)
    High pay _____ (3)
    All the above _____ (4)
    Other _____ (5)

32. Are you sorry or satisfied that you have come to the U.S.?
    Sorry _____ (1)
    Satisfied _____ (2)

    Please explain why _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

33. When was the first time you came to the U.S.?
    (DATE) ___/___/19__.

34. How many times have you visited your home country?
    Once _____ (1)
    Twice _____ (2)
    Three _____ (3)
    Four _____ (4)
    Five and Above _____ (5)
    None _____ (0)

35. Are you planning to return to Yemen permanently?
Yes_____(1)
No_____(0)

Please indicate why_____
_____
_____
_____

36. If you have to leave the U.S., do you plan to go to another country other than Yemen?
Yes_____(1)
No_____(0)

Please indicate why_____
_____
_____
_____

37. How long do you think that you will stay in the U.S._____years

38. Where did you stay first when you came to the South End?
Relatives (Father[ ]; Brother [ ]; Uncle[ ];
Cousins [ ]_____(1)
Friends_____(2)
Rental House_____(3)
Hotel_____(4)

39. Why did you chose to reside in South End?
Close to work_____(1)
Close to friends_____(2)
Close to relatives_____(3)
Close to Arabic Stores and Clubs_____(4)
Close to the Mosque_____(5)
Other, specify_____(6)

40. Who do you live with now?
By myself_____(1)
Family (wife and children)_____(2)
American friends_____(3)
Co-villagers_____(4)
Yemeni friends_____(5)
Arab friends_____(6)
Others_____(7)

41. What language do you prefer to use to communicate?
Arabic all the time_____(1)
Arabic most of the time_____(2)
Arabic and English equally_____(3)
English most of the time_____(4)
English all the time_____(5)

42. What foods do you usually eat?
    Arabic _____ (1)
    American _____ (2)

43. How often do you eat Arabic food?
    Every day _____ (1)
    Twice a week _____ (2)
    Once a week _____ (3)
    Occasionally _____ (4)

44. How often do you eat American food?
    Every day _____ (1)
    Twice a week _____ (2)
    Once a week _____ (3)
    Occasionally _____ (4)

45. Do you have close American friends?
    Yes _____ (1)
    No _____ (0)

    Please indicate how many _____

46. How many of these friends are co-workers?

    _____

47. Do you have American citizenship?
    Yes _____ (1)
    No _____ (0)

48. Do you plan to apply for American citizenship?
    Yes _____ (1)
    No _____ (0)

49. How do you identify youself?
    As Arab-American _____ (1)
    As Arab _____ (2)
    As Yemeni _____ (3)
    As Southern Yemeni _____ (4)
    As Northern Yemeni _____ (5)

50. Who helped you to come to the U.S.?
    Relatives (Father[ ]; Brother[ ]; Uncle[ ];
    Cousin[ ]) _____ (1)
    Friends _____ (2)
    Co-Villagers _____ (3)
    None _____ (4)

51. Do they live in the South End community?
    Yes _____ (1)
    No _____ (0)

52. If no, where do they live?_____

53. How many times a week do you go to the coffee houses?
Everyday_____(1)
Three times a week_____(2)
Twice a week_____(3)
Once a week_____(4)
Occasionally_____(5)
None_____(0)

54. What is the average time you usually stay in the coffee house?
One hour_____(1)
Two hours_____(2)
Three hours_____(3)
Four Hours_____(4)
Five Hours or more_____(5)

55. What time of the day do you usually go to the coffee house?
Day_____(1)
Evening_____(2)

56. Of the following, what is the most important reason for going to the coffee houses?
To eat Arabic food_____(1)
To meet friends_____(2)
To play cards_____(3)
To discuss events from the Community and the Middle East_____(4)
Other (specify)_____(5)

57. Are you known to the group that attends the same coffee house you attend?
Yes_____(1)
No_____(2)

58. Is the owner of the coffee house you attend:
Yemeni_____(1)
Syrian_____(2)
Palistinian_____(3)
Lebanon_____(4)
Other (Specify)_____(5)

59. Are you a regular client of any of the coffee houses?
Yes_____(1)
No_____(0)

60. Are you a member of any of the formal community organizations?

Yes_____(1)
No_____(2)

Please give the name if you want to_____
_____.
_____.

APPENDIX E

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نموذج أسئلة المقابلة

معلومات عامة

١. كم عمرك ؟ _____ سنة

٢. أين محل ولادتك ؟ مدينة _____ قرية _____
منطقة _____ إقليم _____

٣ (١) هل أنت : موظف
(٢) عامل عند رب عمل
(٣) متقاعد

٤ ما هي مهنتك
(١) صاحب عمل
(٢) تاجر (يملك محلا أو مطعم)
(٣) عامل سيارات (فورد)
(٤) عامل سيارات (كرايسلر)
(٥) نجار
(٦) فني يعمل في أحد المطاعم
(٧) عمال صيانة في أحد المطاعم
(٨) غير ذلك (أذكر)

٥ إذا كنت تعمل في أحد مصانع السيارات ، ماهي وظيفتك ؟

(١) رئيس عمال
(٢) مشرف
(٣) عامل تجميع
(٤) عامل صبغ وسمكرة
(٥) عامل عام
(٦) غير ذلك (أذكر)

٦ منذ أن قدمت إلى الولايات المتحدة ، هل سبق وأن عملت في مهنة أخرى غير التي تمارسها الآن ؟

٧. كم المدة التي أمضيتها في ممارسة مهنتك الحالية ؟

_____ سنة .

٨ (١) هل أنت متزوج : نعم
(٢) لا

٩ إذا كانت الإجابة على السؤال السابق نعم ، هل تسكن مع عائلتك ؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

١٠ إذا كانت الإجابة على السؤال (٩) لا ، فأين عائلتك الآن ؟
(١) اليمن
(٢) إحدى دول منطقة الخليج العربي
(٣) أوروبا
(٤) إحدى الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية

١١ هل تفكر بأن تحضر عائلتك ؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

١٢ من فضلك ، أذكر الأسباب كلا الحالتين

١٣ ما هي أهم الأسباب التي جعلتك تأتي إلى الولايات المتحدة ؟
(١) اقتصادية
(٢) طموح
(٣) سياسية
(٤) دراسة
(٥) وجود بعض أفراد عائلتي
(٦) غير ذلك (أذكر)

١٤ كم سنة أمضيتها في الدراسة عندما كنت في اليمن ؟
_____ سنة

١٥ كم من التعليم حصلت عليه في الولايات المتحدة ؟
(١) برنامج اللغة الإنجليزية
(٢) ثانوية
(٣) كلية متوسطة
(٤) لا شيء

١٦ ما هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها كل يوم ؟
(١) العربية كل الوقت
(٢) العربية معظم الوقت
(٣) العربية والإنجليزية بالتساوي
(٤) الإنجليزية معظم الوقت
(٥) الإنجليزية كل الوقت

١٧ هل تقرأ منشورات عربية أو أمريكية ؟
(١) عربية كل الوقت
(٢) عربية معظم الوقت
(٣) عربية وأمريكية بالتساوي
(٤) أمريكية معظم الوقت
(٥) أمريكية كل الوقت

١٨ ما نوع الموسيقى التي تحب أن تستمع إليها ؟
(١) عربية كل الوقت
(٢) عربية معظم الوقت
(٣) عربية وأمريكية بالتساوي
(٤) أمريكية معظم الوقت
(٥) أمريكية كل الوقت

١٩ كم مرة تذهب إلى المسجد خلال الإسبوع ؟
(١) كل يوم
(٢) ثلاث مرات
(٣) مرتين
(٤) مرة واحدة
(٥) أقل من مرة
(٦) لا أذهب قطعيا

٢٠ ماهي المناسبات الدينية التي تحتفل بها ؟
(١) عيد الأضحى
(٢) عيد الفطر

٢١ (١) هل تصوم شهر رمضان ؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

٢٢ من فضلك أذكر لماذا

٢٣ هل تحتفل بالمناسبات التالية ؟
(١) عيد الميلاد
(٢) عيد الشكر
(٣) كليهما
(٤) لاشيء منها

٢٤ شرب الكحول ، الرقص ، إقامة علاقة مع الجنس الآخر بعضٌ من عادات المجتمع الأمريكي
هل تمارس شيئاً من هذه العادات
(١) الكحول نعم ـــ لا ـــ
(٢) الرقص نعم ـــ لا ـــ
(٣) علاقة الجنس الآخر نعم ـــ لا ـــ

٢٥ (١) هل درست اللغة الإنجليزية قبل قدومك إلى الولايات المتحدة ؟
(٢) نعم
(٢) لا

٢٦ قبل قدومك إلى الولايات المتحدة ، هل سبق وأن مارست اللغة الإنجليزية في العمل أو للتخاطب بشكل رسمي ؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

٢٧ كيف تجيد اللغة الإنجليزية ؟
(١) لغتي الإنجليزية ضعيفة
(٢) أتكلم اللغة الإنجليزية جيداً ولكني لا أستطيع أن أكتب أو أقرأ
(٣) لغتي الإنجليزية في التخاطب ، قراءة ، كتابة جيدة على العموم
(٤) أنا أجيد اللغة الإنجليزية قراءة وكتابة وفي التخاطب

٢٨ المهاجرون اليمنيون في أمريكا بشكل عام يواجهون بعض أنواع التفرقة العنصرية أو القومية في التالي :
(١) العمل
(٢) التعليم (المدارس)
(٣) السكن

٢٩ هل واجهتك شخصياً بعض من أنواع التفرقة العنصرية أو القومية؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا
(٣) لا أعلم أو لست متأكداً
من فضلك أعط مثال على ذلك
(٤)

٣٠ هل واجهتها أي نوع من التفرقة للأسباب التالية:
(١) لعدم القدرة على تحدث اللغة الإنجليزية بشكل مفهوم
(٢) المظهر الشخصي (اللون)
(٣) الدين (مسلم)
(٤) التدخل العرقي
(٥) لأكثر من سبب
(٦) جميع الأسباب

٣١ قبل قدومك إلى الولايات الأمريكية ، ما الذي كنت تعرفه عن هذا المجتمع؟
(١) حرية
(٢) توفر فرص العمل
(٣) راتب مغري
(٤) جميع ما ذكر سابقاً
(٥) عدا ذلك

٣٢ هل أنت أسف أو سعيد بأنك قدمت إلى الولايات المتحدة
(١) أسف
(٢) سعيد
من فضلك وضح الأسباب التي أدت إلى سعادتك أو عدم سعادتك

٣٣ متى أول مرة قدمت فيها إلى الولايات المتحدة ؟
(التاريخ) ___/___/ ١٩

٣٤ كم مرة زرت فيها اليمن منذ أنك قدمت إلى أمريكا ؟
(١) مرة واحدة
(٢) مرتين
(٣) ثلاث مرات
(٤) أربع مرات
(٥) خمس مرات فوق
(٦) لم يسبق لي زيارة اليمن

٣٥ هل تفكر أنك تعود لليمن للإستقرار الدائم؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

من فضلك أذكر لماذا.

٣٦ إذا لُحِبَ لك الإذن أن تغادر الولايات المتحدة، هل تفكر أنك تذهب إلى بلد آخر غير اليمن؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

من فضلك أذكر الأسباب لكلا الحالتين

٣٧ كم المدة التي تعتقد بأنك سوف تقضيها في أمريكا قبل عودتك للإستقرار في اليمن

٣٨ مع من سكنت عندما جئت إلى الساوث إند؟ سنة

(١) أقارب والدي ( ) أخي ( ) عمي ( ) إبن عمي ( )
(٢) أصدقاء
(٣) بمفردي
(٤) فندق

٣٩ لماذا إخترت السكن في الساوث إند؟
(١) قريب لمقر عملي
(٢) قريب إلى مقر أصدقائي
(٣) قريب إلى مقر أقاربي
(٤) قريب إلى المطاعم والمحلات العربية
(٥) قريب إلى المسجد
(٦) عدا ذلك (إذكر)

٤٠ مع من تسكن الآن؟
(١) بمفردي
(٢) عائلتي (زوجة - أولاد)
(٣) أصدقاء أمريكان
(٤) زميل من القرية
(٥) أصدقاء من اليمن
(٦) أصدقاء عرب
(٧) عدا ذلك

٤١ ما هي اللغة التي تفضل أن تستخدمها في التخاطب؟
(١) عربية كل الوقت
(٢) عربية معظم الوقت
(٣) عربية و إنجليزية بالتساوي
(٤) إنجليزية معظم الوقت
(٥) إنجليزية كل الوقت

٤٢ ما نوع الطعام الذي تفضل أن تأكله ؟
(١) عربي
(٢) أمريكي

٤٣ كم مرة في الإسبوع تأكل الطعام العربي أو التقليدي ؟
(١) كل يوم
(٢) مرة كل إسبوع
(٣) مرتين كل إسبوع
(٤) أحيانا

٤٤ كم مرة في الإسبوع تأكل الطعام الأمريكي ؟
(١) كل يوم
(٢) مرة كل إسبوع
(٣) مرتين كل إسبوع
(٤) أحيانا

٤٥ هل لديك أصدقاء أمريكان ؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

من فضلك أذكر العدد

٤٦ كم من هؤلاء زملاء عمل ؟

٤٧ هل تملك جنسية أمريكية ؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

٤٨ هل تفكر بأن تحصل على جنسية أمريكية ؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

٤٩ بماذا تعرّف نفسك
(١) عربي - أمريكي
(٢) عربي
(٣) يمني
(٤) يمني جنوبي
(٥) يمني شمالي

٥٠ من ساعدك للمجيء إلى أمريكا ؟
(١) أقارب والدي ( ) أخي ( ) عمي ( ) إبن عمي ( )
(٢) أصدقاء
(٤) زملاء من العربية
(٥) لا أحد

٥١ هل يسكنون الآن في الساوث إند ؟
(١) نعم
(٢) لا

٥٢ إذا كانت الجواب على السؤال السابق (لا) فأين يسكنون الآن؟

٥٣ كم مرة في الأسبوع تذهب إلى المقهى؟

(١) كل يوم
(٢) ثلاث مرات كل إسبوع
(٣) مرتين كل إسبوع
(٤) مرة واحدة كل إسبوع
(٥) أحياناً
(٦) أنا لا أذهب قطعياً

٥٤ كم معدّل الساعات التي تمكثها كل مرة تذهب فيها إلى المقهى

(١) ساعة واحدة
(٢) ساعتين
(٣) ثلاث ساعات
(٤) أربع ساعات
(٥) خمس ساعات

٥٥ ماهي الأوقات التي إعتدت الذهاب فيها إلى المقهى؟

(١) نهاراً
(٢) مساءً

٥٦ ماهي أهم الأسباب التي تدعوك للذهاب إلى المقهى؟

(١) لتناول الطعام
(٢) لقاء الأصدقاء
(٣) لعب الورقة
(٤) للتحدث في شؤون الشرق الأوسط والجتمع اليمني في الهجر
(٥) عدا ذلك (أذكر)

٥٧ هل أنت معروف لدى جماعة المقهى الذي إعتدت الذهاب إليه؟

(١) نعم
(٢) لا

٥٨ هل صاحب المقهى الذي إعتدت الذهاب إليه

(١) يمني
(٢) سوري
(٣) فلسطيني
(٤) لبناني
(٥) عدا ذلك (أذكر)

٥٩ هل أنت زبون دائم لأحد هذه المقاهي؟

(١) نعم
(٢) لا

٦. هل أنت عضو في أي من الجمعيات اليمنية في أمريكا ؟

(١) نعم
(٢) لا

من فضلك ما هو اسم الجمعية المنتسب إليها (إختياري)

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