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CHILD-REARING PRACTICES IN THE HOMES OF ARAB IMMIGRANTS:
A STUDY OF ETHNIC PERSISTENCE

By
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ABSTRACT

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The thrust of this research was to investigate the role of Arab ethnic families in the process of assimilation. Child-rearing practices were used as indicators of ethnic persistence and/or change. The general theoretical guidelines assumed that as these immigrant families live in this society and interact with it, they experience conflicts over values associated with rearing of children and that these conflicts result in certain outcomes.

The research was conducted on a randomly selected sample of 41 Arab immigrant women who resided in an ethnic community in Dearborn, Michigan. The data for the research were collected through a formal interview schedule with the women, personal interviews with concerned individuals in the community and some participant observations.

The data were used for two main purposes: first, describing the organization of Arab families and their child-rearing and second, testing hypotheses on the relationship between designated child-rearing and societal

variables. The child-rearing variables were: physical and emotional dependency, handling aggression, rewards, punishments, and sex-role differentiation. These were dependent variables. The societal variables were: interaction with the host society, mass media use, participation in the ethnic community and attachment to the land of origin. These were independent variables. A number of questions from the interview schedule were designated for each variable. The responses to these questions were given scores and then placed in scales.

The analyses of the data indicated that the Arab mothers under study are basically traditional but are experiencing changes in certain areas. The women are taking on added non-traditional responsibilities in making family decisions. Even though they perceive their own roles as home-centered, they expressed different role expectations for their daughters including equal educational opportunities with their sons. Certain changes are being experienced in the areas of physical independence training, types of rewards, and handling aggression. The changes are due basically to exposure to the host society through mass media use and interaction with the host society. Small changes were also detected in emotional independence training, types of punishment, and male and female roles. Basically, though, the mothers were persisting in traditional Arab values when it came to these areas.

DEDICATED

To David C. Alldredge, my husband, whose sacrificial love,
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Assimilation of racial and ethnic groups into the mainstream American culture has long been an important issue for social scientists. Traditionally, sociologists have adopted "Anglo conformity" as a model to study ethnicity. The basic idea of Anglo conformity is to turn the ethnics into "white" Americans and thus assimilate them into the American mainstream. Anglo conformity was often disguised in the "melting pot" metaphor which was popular in the early part of the twentieth century. The metaphor "embody(ies) the notion that immigrants from all over the world somehow fuse together here in America, producing a new and better amalgam combining the best cultural contributions of each" (Mindel and Habenstein, 1976:1). A classic study of that model was Park's race relations cycle. For him the phenomenon of race relations is to be studied in a theoretical framework of competition and conflict (between the minority and the dominant groups) at the time of initial contact, to be followed by stages of accommodation and ending in a stage of assimilation of the minority in the society (Park, 1950). The "melting pot" concept has survived and is still considered valid by some

researchers such as Scott Greer¹.

Sociologists continue to be occupied with ethnic and racial groups, especially with the more recent resurgence of ethnic awareness. Analysts have argued that America is experiencing a revival of ethnicity and ethnic consciousness (Novak, 1971; Greeley, 1975; and Kinton, 1977). Even though the "ethnic revival" focuses on second and third generation white European immigrants, interest in what Rollins calls "hidden minorities" has also become salient. These are ethnic groups who have little primary influence in the political and economic spheres. Yet their experiences provide a microcosm for the study of the processes of acculturation and assimilation in the American environment (Rollins, 1981:1). Conflicts and resolutions involved in those processes can also be studied.

The Arab immigrants are one of those "hidden minorities". Their experiences in the American society are the focus of this study.

The general theoretical guidelines for the present study assume that the Arab immigrants who live in this society and interact with it experience conflicts over certain values associated with the rearing of children. The assumption is also made that as a result of these conflicts the immigrants either adapt their child-rearing

¹See Greer, Scott, The Urbane View (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1972).

practices to those of the society or persist in them. The central focus of the research then is to assess changes and/or persistence in certain designated aspects of child-rearing.

The study was conducted in a community in Southeast Michigan which has continued to receive large numbers of Arab immigrants especially during the last two decades. The Arab immigrants have resided in two areas of that community, one of which is an older ethnically segregated community referred to as the Southend, and a newer one which is not segregated and is referred to as the Northeast community. Both are viable ethnic communities because they meet the specific religious, educational, dietary and socializing needs of their members and are characterized by strong social networks.

The study involved the collection of data regarding designated areas of child-rearing practices and certain societal factors. The child-rearing variables were dependency, discipline (rewards and punishments) and sex-role differentiation. The societal variables were interaction with the host society, participation in the ethnic community, attachment to their land of origin and exposure to the host society through the use of mass media. The data was collected mainly through a formal interview schedule, personal interviews with concerned individuals in the community and some participant observations. The sample was made up of 41 Arab women who are mothers of

kindergarten students drawn randomly from school records. These Arab mothers came from Lebanon, Palestine, and Yemen. Based on observations made by anthropologists and sociologists (Patai, 1983; Prothro, 1961; Ammar, 1954; and Miner and DeVos, 1960) who have studied families in the Middle East, an assumption was made that general patterns of child-rearing practices existed that could be considered Arab. Moreover, since very few studies exist on the Arab family and specifically on child-rearing, Prothro's study in Lebanon (Prothro, 1961) was heavily relied on and used as a guide for this research in the area of child-rearing.

The research generated a large body of data which was used for two main purposes: describing the organization of Arab families in America and their child-rearing practices and in testing hypotheses on the relationship of the designated child-rearing practices and the above-mentioned societal variables.

In chapter two, the relevant literature is reviewed and the theoretical framework within which the research data are analyzed is developed. Chapter three describes the research design. This includes a statement of variables and hypotheses, a description of the research setting, the sample studied, and the collection of the data. In the fourth chapter, the findings of the research study are presented. Finally, in chapter five, the theoretical and practical implications of the findings are discussed and further research recommendations are made.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

I. Overview of Arab Group

A. Immigration History

The Arabs arrived in America around the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The early immigrants were overwhelmingly Christian from Syria who came here as a result of poverty, depletion of farm lands and religious persecution during the Ottoman Empire. They were attracted to this country by an expanding economy and news of wealth that could be acquired. About a quarter of these early immigrants ended their journey in the Southern states where many became successful farmers in Georgia, Texas, Tennessee, Mississippi, New Mexico and Arizona. About fifty percent of them stayed on the East coast and settled in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and the New England States. The rest settled in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa (Elkholy, 1969:5). Most of these early immigrants were not well educated and came mostly from rural areas and thus provided cheap labour for the rail, auto and steel industries. A small portion of them, though, struggled to achieve financial success in small businesses such as grocery stores and restaurants

(Al-Qazzaz, et.al., 1978:45).

From the beginning of the Arab migration to the end of World War II, the immigrants did not intend to settle in America permanently. Their main goal was to accumulate as much money as possible in the shortest time possible and then return home. This, plus their limited knowledge of English, slowed their assimilation process and contributed to the formation of 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). This has been true of many Arab communities, and it is true of the community which is the focus of the present research.

After the 1950's a new pattern of Arab immigration emerged. While the early immigrants came here intending to return home, those who came after 1950 came to settle. A good example of these were the Palestinian refugees and the Egyptian immigrants. Most of the new immigrants were highly educated and skilled professionals. Many were employed as university professors, doctors, school teachers, engineers, and lawyers. Additionally, they were no longer overwhelmingly Christian nor restricted to Lebanon and Syria as the early immigrants were; 78 percent of them were Muslims. They also started to come from a number of other Arab countries as well, such as Iraq, Jordan and Egypt (Ibid).

The political unrest in the Middle East during the

last few years has contributed to a constant flow of Arab immigrants. Between 1971 and 1975, an average of 10,430 immigrants entered the United States every year. Of this number, an increasingly large proportion have been young people. The increase is noticeable among children ages 5 years and under and older youth ages 19 years and under (TESOL Quarterly, 1978). For example, in 1973, twenty-seven percent of the immigrants from Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt were under 19 years of age. In 1974, that figure rose to thirty-five percent and, in 1975, it increased again to forty percent. Since the pattern of Arab immigrant settlement has traditionally tended toward grouping rather than dispersal, this increase in youthful immigrants has significant implication for schools in those areas with large Arab populations.

The number of these recent immigrants means that there are enough Arab-Americans to warrant their recognition as a minority. Sources conflict as to the exact number of Arabic-speaking Americans, but it ranges from 990,000 (Elkholy, 1966:3) to 1,500,000 (Al-Qazzaz, 1978:45) to roughly 2,000,000 (Naff, 1983:9). The reason for the conflicting numbers is a lack of sound and reliable statistical data due to the fact that Arabs are classified according to the region they immigrated from. Naff says that in official immigration records until 1899 and in census records until 1920, all Arabs were recorded, together with Turks and Armenians, under "Turkey in Asia".

After 1920, they were classified as Syrians, but their religion was not recorded and non-Syrian Arabs might be counted as "other Asian" and North African Arabs as "other African". Since 1948, after the creation of the state of Israel, the majority of the Arab immigrants have been Palestinians, but in official records they have been designated as refugees, or as from Palestine or Israel, or as nationals of the country where they last resided before coming here (Naff, 1983:11). In the census tracts that were studied for the present research the Arabs were categorized under "foreign born". For this reason, and except for school records, specifying the size of Arab population concentrations depends mostly on estimates.

The Midwest is a region that has witnessed the settling of large Arab migration to the United States. They were mostly attracted by the auto industry and the presence of already- established Arab communities. Michigan, in particular, has now the largest number of Arab immigrants in the U.S.A , and they have resided mainly in the Detroit Metropolitan Area. See figure 2-1.

The Arab community in the Detroit area has continued to grow, especially during the last ten years as political conflicts in the Middle East intensify. The Iraq-Iran war and the Lebanese civil war are two of the political events responsible for the major share of the recent growth.

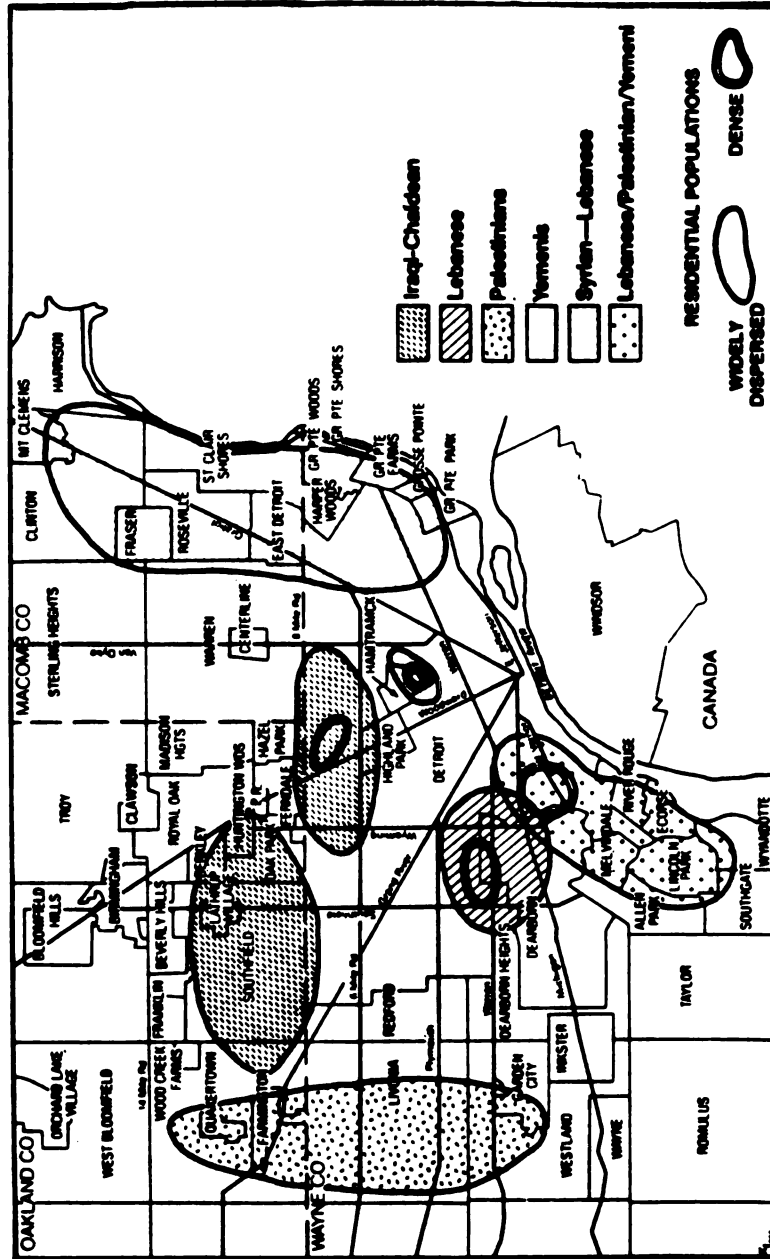


Figure 2-1

Arab-American Population Distribution-Metropolitan Detroit

Source: Abraham S. and N. Abraham, eds. Arabs in the New World. Detroit: Wayne State University, Center for Urban Studies, 1983. P. 96. Used by Permission.

B. Ethnic Identity

The Arabs have migrated to America from a number of Arab countries which have had varied political experiences. They also come from different religious backgrounds which continue to be a source of division here as they were in their countries of origin. Nevertheless, the Arabs are still bound by a common language and a common cultural heritage. In addition, continued crises in the Middle East, America's increasing involvement in that strategic region and the emerging importance of that region in world economy have worked to give the Arab community a more cohesive structure. This cohesiveness has countervailed the divisive elements. The Arabs have also become victims of stereotyping and prejudice especially in the mass media and in public school social studies curricula.

All the above factors have led to pan-community organizational activities on the part of the Arab ethnics. The association of Arab-American University Graduates, the National Association of Arab-Americans and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee are examples of that. Such activity reflects a need on the part of the Arabs in America to be recognized and to operate as an ethnic group. A newly developing Arab-American identity is taking shape and has caught the attention of many researchers (Hagopian and Paden, 1969: Aswad, 1974; Abu-Laban, 1980; and Abraham and Abraham, 1983).

II. Theoretical Overview

This newly developed ethnic identity on the part of the Arabs in America is in line with the ethnic revival which was characteristic of the 1970's. Both these developments have accentuated the need for more analysis of ethnic groups and their interaction with the society at large. Generally, sociologists have resorted to a number of theoretical models for the analysis of ethnicity, namely, structural-functionalism, symbolic interactionism and conflict models. These models have generated three frameworks which are appropriate for the study of ethnicity - the consensus, the interdependence and the conflict frameworks (Barth and Noel, 1982:77).

These models vary in their utility depending on the specific issue to be analyzed. Each of them is relevant to the study of ethnic groups, but only two are utilized for the present study - consensus and conflict. Moreover, these models are not exclusive ways of looking at the same phenomena. Elements of both models are used to create an integrated framework within which to analyze the data from the Dearborn Arab community.

Basically, both models are concerned with relations among different subsystems or subsections of a society. Specifically, they are interested in how a group, such as the Arab ethnic group, becomes part of the whole society. An ethnic group can be defined as a "collectivity within a

larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity...religious affiliations, language or dialect form, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features or any combination of these" (Schermerhorn, 1970:12). Moreover, the members of an ethnic group should have some kind of consciousness of the above features (Ibid). This consciousness is influenced by discrimination and prejudice against the group (Rollins, 1981:3). These groups persist as ethnic groups because of certain boundaries they experience . Having strong ethnic boundaries serves to perpetuate the ethnic group. Barth distinguishes four necessary boundaries: 1) biological (racial) differences that are self-perpetuating; 2) cultural differences that are shared by the group members; 3) language and communication differences; and 4) membership which identifies itself and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (Barth, 1969:10-11).

An ethnic group becomes part of a society through migration. The type of migration, whether forced or voluntary, that a group experiences, determines the initial pattern of relations at the time of contact between the group and the society. When groups enter a society different from their own they either come into a situation

of superordination and thus become the dominant group of that society or they come into a subordinate position (Lieberson, 1972:40). In a situation of migrant superordination, the indigenous population is subjugated and conflict might arise and persist over a long period of time. A good example of this is the subjugation of the aboriginal Indians in America by the white immigrants. When the migrant group comes into a situation of subordination, it is more likely to accept assimilation into the dominant society. Migration in this case is of the voluntary type. Examples of these are the European immigrants around the turn of the century and the Arab ethnics.¹

A. Consensus Models

1. Assimilation

After the initial contact, conflict may exist, but according to the consensus model, eventually a situation of order and stability will result as the subordinate ethnic groups adjust to and adopt the values and life styles of the superordinate group. One of the earliest classic studies concerning the above was the race-cycle model developed by Robert E. Park. For him the phenomenon of race relations is to be studied in a theoretical framework of competition

¹For the Arab ethnics, the term "subordinate" is not used here in a derogatory manner but only to signify that the group as a group did not assume a position of dominance. This does not preclude the case of "brain drain" from the Arab world where individuals who are professionally qualified have assumed secure economic and political positions.

and conflict (between the minority and the dominant groups) at the time of initial contact, to be followed by stages of accommodation and ending in a stage of assimilation of the minority or subordinate group in the society (Park, 1950). His model though was a unilinear evolutionary model in that he implied that the minority group will go through each stage of the cycle until its experience culminates in the last stage of assimilation-amalgamation (Barth and Noel, 1982:78). The weakness of this model lies in the fact that it fails to explain the experiences of certain ethnic groups such as the Black Americans. Their initial contact with the white society, characterized by accommodation, has not lead to inevitable assimilation but instead has reverted to an earlier stage of competition and conflict.

Since Park, some theorists have adopted a basic assimilationist perspective but have departed from Park's cycle in important ways. One such theorist is Milton Gordon who, in 1964, expanded on the assimilationist model. Gordon spoke of levels of assimilation. One level he called "cultural assimilation". At this level, an ethnic group adopts certain cultural patterns of the core society such as language and dress. Another level he called "structural assimilation". At this level, ethnic group members enter into cliques, clubs and associations of the host society at the primary group level (Gordon, 1964:71). Gordon saw a real possibility that ethnic groups may assimilate only culturally but not structurally. Moreover, Gordon placed

great emphasis on the historical factor. He said,

"while this process (of acculturation) is only partially completed in the immigrant generation itself, with the second and succeeding generations, exposed to the American public system and speaking English as their native tongue, the impact of the American acculturation process has been overwhelming...On the other hand, the success of the acculturation process has by no means guaranteed entry of each minority into the primary groups and institutions of the white protestant group" (Gordon, 1964:78).

2. Cultural Pluralism

The persistence of cultural identity among many new and old immigrant groups has led to a renewed emphasis on "cultural pluralism". This theoretical area has received serious attention because, as Michael Novak expresses it in his work, the assimilation, especially of the white ethnics has not been as extensive as the assimilationists expected (Novak, 1971).

The "cultural pluralism" model is not a new one. In fact, Kallen used the term in print for the first time in 1924 (Gordon, 1964:144). Kallen was protesting against the demand for cultural assimilation on the part of such movements as that of Americanization. This movement was apparent in the imposition of a strongly Anglocentric school curriculum on the children of immigrants and the denigration of their cultural tradition and values (Appleton, 1983:4). Following in Kallen's footsteps more recent analysts, specifically in the 1970's, agree that even though a certain amount of assimilation is inevitable,

ethnicity is not on the decline. These analysts, such as Greeley (1975), Novak (1971) and Kinton (1977), have all observed that America was experiencing an ethnic revival. For example, Glazer and Moynihan in their book Beyond the Melting Pot bring out the continued ethnicity of European immigrants. Even though by the third generation they had assimilated to some degree and lost certain original customs and ways they remained culturally distinctive in many ways. Specifically, they still voted differently than white Americans, had different ideas about education and sex and were in many essential ways still as different as they were when their grandfathers immigrated here (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963).

The cultural pluralists insist that ethnic diversity is a reality in this culture and that the assimilation model is not useful in explaining the persistence of ethnicity. Both models though are based on a consensus view. Assimilation predicts that as the immigrants spend time in this society and begin to adopt the values and lifestyles of the superordinate group that order will ensue. Conflict that may exist among the groups is solved by consensus. Cultural pluralism also assumes that some stability and harmony will ensue, but the difference is that assimilation assumes that a homogeneous and orderly society results from interaction while pluralism assumes both a higher level of interaction among the groups and a resultant harmonious yet diverse society. Thus for both

the issue of conflict will eventually be resolved basically by consensus.

Even though ethnic groups may retain their distinctiveness, a measure of assimilation takes place. Greeley, in his theory of ethnogenesis, stresses that an ethnic group, as a result of interaction with the American culture, such as through the public schools and the of the mass media, will develop cultural traits common with the host (dominant) culture. This is assimilation. But he goes on to say that the growth of the common cultural traits "bank" does not eliminate cultural traits distinctive to the ethnic group. In fact, some of these traits may become more emphasized as a result of interacting with the American society. This way the resulting traits are different from those of the immigrant predecessors and those of people who stayed in the homeland (Greeley, 1970:306-310). A good example of this is the Sunday School system adopted by the Muslims in America to teach their children about Islam. Sunday School is completely alien to Islam in the Arab world, and this institution is different from Sunday School in America. Greeley goes on to say that the result of interaction is an ethnic group that shares some traits with the host society, some with the original immigrant group and some traits that are "new" or "modified", developed specifically by the immigrants (Ibid.). See Figure 2-2.

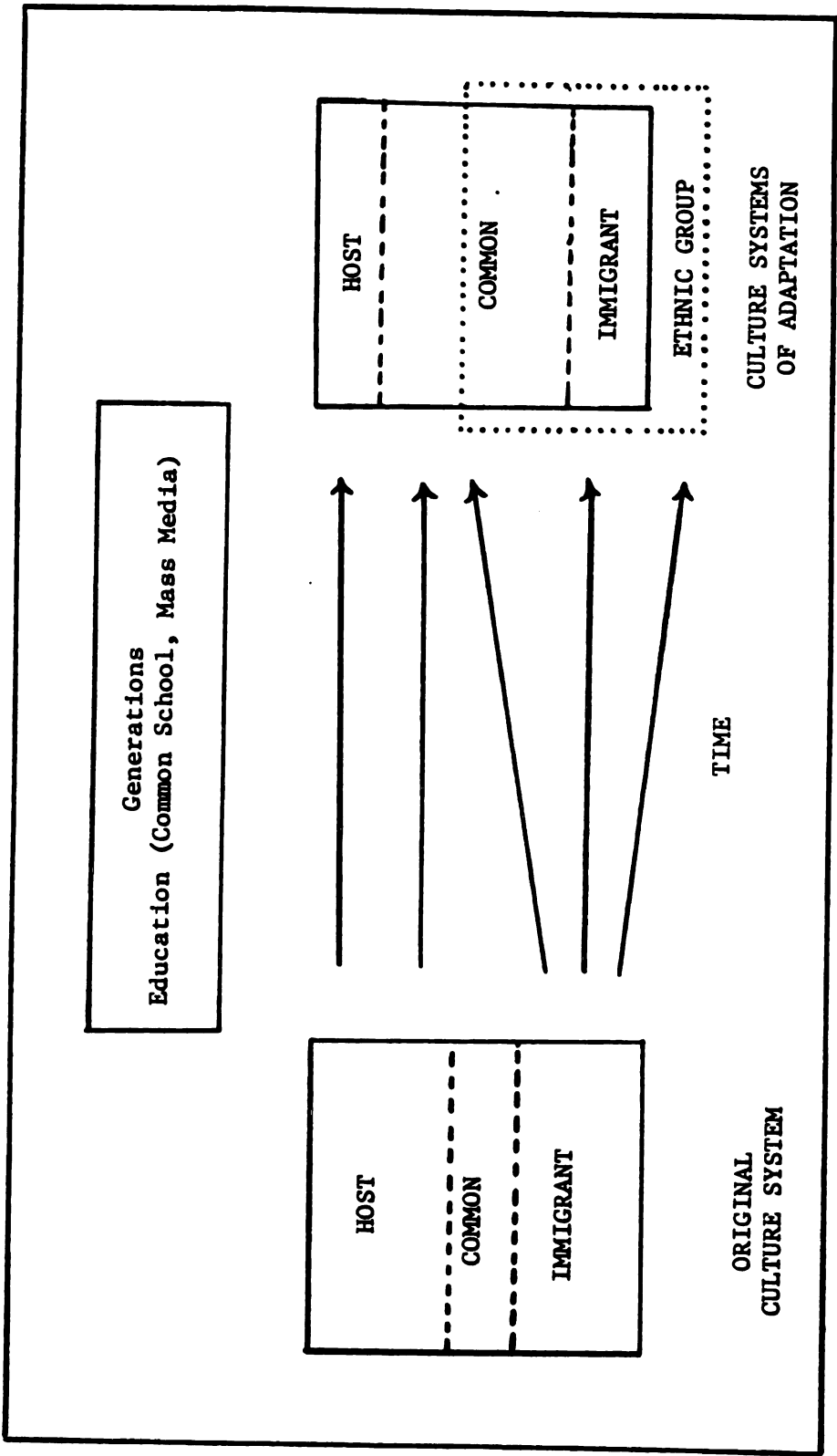


Figure 2-2

Greeley's Ethnogenesis Model

Source: Greeley, Andrew. Ethnicity in the United States. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974. Page 309.

B. Conflict Theories

Theories that follow the conflict model differ from the consensus theories in that they see conflict as a basic factor in social change and part of an ongoing process. A conflict relationship exists when different interacting social units in a society operate on the basis of conflicting vested interests. That is "the crucial, shared values or objects in which some groups have an established claim operate to the disadvantage of other groups; differential vested interests assure that pressures for change will be opposed and thereby generate a continuous struggle for power and advantage" (Barth and Noel, 1982:87). Thus conflict can be generated in a number of areas such as economic and political power, rewards and resources of society and social values.

Politically and economically, conflict is generated when groups experience inequalities among them and they struggle over the available rewards and resources. A good example of this is in the area of bilingual education. As Appleton puts it,

"in a shrinking economy, there is increasing competition for resources needed to fund education. Since the funding of one plan means the exclusion of another, conflict along cultural lines is sure to develop. Bilingual education, ethnic studies and multicultural education, and remedial academic programs for struggling minority students must compete with one another and with other programs for funding" (Appleton, 1983:166-167).

Conflicts over social values also exist. These conflicts do not necessarily involve material resources but are concerned with important cultural differences that exist between different groups. Conflict is generated because the values may be incompatible and thus cause clashes among groups.

Cultural conflict does not necessarily have to involve confrontation or a "struggle" of some sort if the interaction among the groups is minimal. Appleton remarks "such might be the case if the contenders had no need to interact or compete with one another or if they were unaware of each other and the resulting social arrangement might be described a peaceful existence" (Appleton, 1983:168). The Amish group is a good example of that. For groups that do interact with other groups certain tendencies result. Those tendencies on the part of the subordinate group that foster separation from the dominant group are called centrifugal tendencies (Schermerhorn, 1970:81-82). In cultural terms, this frequently means retention and preservation of the group's distinctive traditions like language and religion together with particularistic values associated with them (Ibid.). Centripetal tendencies, on the other hand, refer to both cultural trends such as acceptance of common values, and styles of life, as well as structural features such as participation in a common set of associations. The first aspect can be referred to as assimilation and the second as

incorporation (Gordon's structural assimilation). When both subordinate and superordinate groups come in contact the outcomes vary according to Schermerhorn's typology. See Figure 2-3.

When both groups favor a centripetal policy, such as in the case of the Northern European immigrants, then this favoring facilitates integration. If both groups should favor a centrifugal policy, then integration in this society will be of the "live and let live" type. When both groups do not agree on any policy, conflict results. Conflict could be of many types. Cell C represents the situation of the American Blacks and Cell D represents internal struggles such as in many new states in Asia and Africa (Ibid.). These types of conflicts are generally over the unequal distribution of political and economic rewards in these societies.

C. Integrated Theoretical Framework

The present study is focusing on two main groups interacting together within the American society. These two groups are the dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant institutions and the Arab ethnics. The Arabs have entered the American society through voluntary migration and, as a group, have assumed a subordinate position in its structure. The Arab immigrants interact with the society mainly through their employment, their contacts with the public schools and through the use of the mass media. This interaction introduces the Arabs to values prevalent in the society and

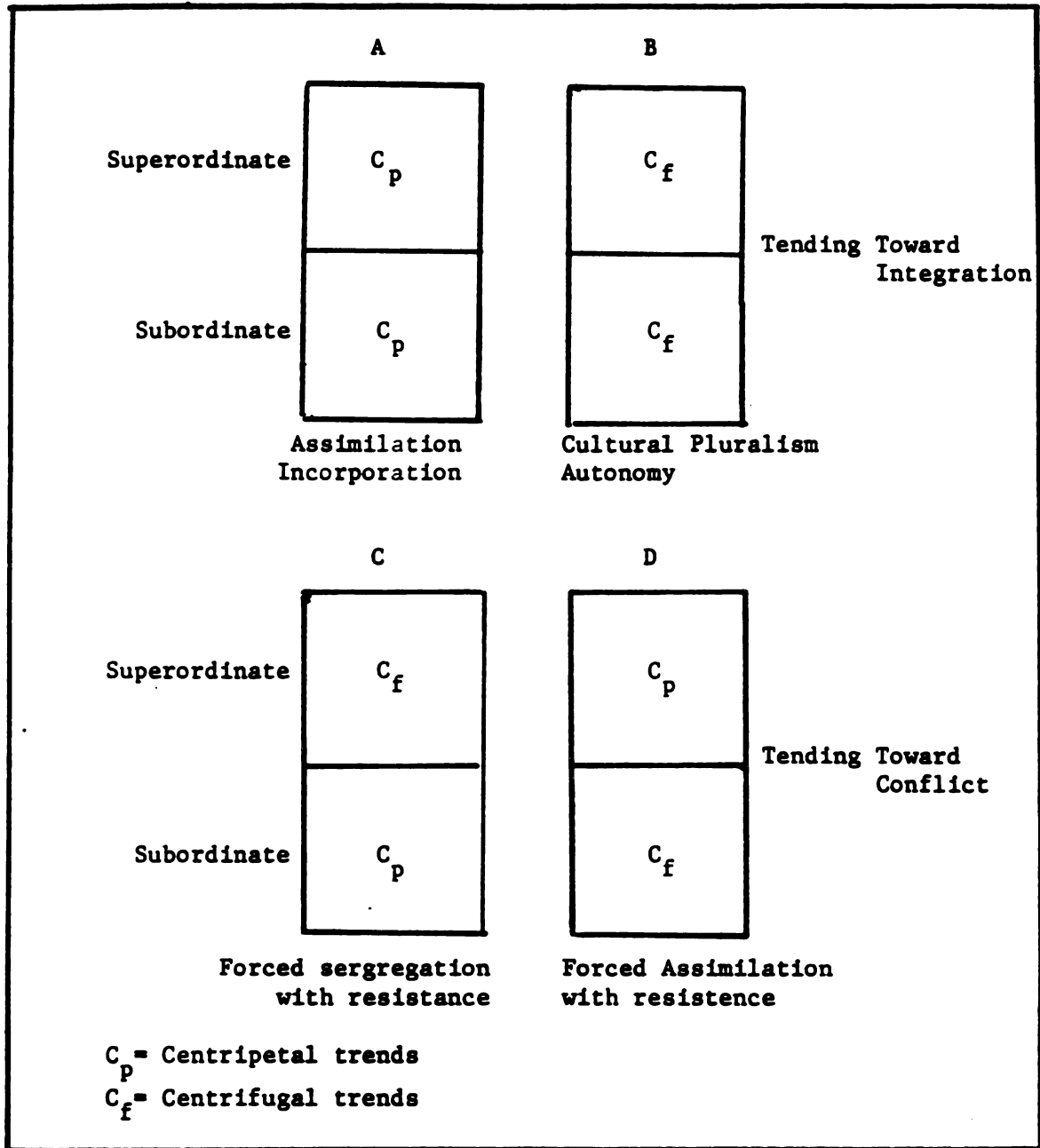


Figure 2-3
Schermerhorn's Conflict Model

Source: Schermerhorn, R.A. Comparative Ethnic Relations.
New York: Random House, 1970, Page 83.

thus generates conflict because Arab culture is basically different from American culture with respect to language, religion, cultural values and life styles. The conflicts that this research is concerned with have to do with values and goals associated with child-rearing practices.

To understand the above-mentioned conflicts, aspects of both Schermerhorn's conflict model and Greeley's pluralist model are integrated.

The experiences of the Arab ethnics have not resulted in forced segregation, forced assimilation or complete assimilation. Therefore they do not fit any of Schermerhorn's cells but do fit a position in it as shown in Figure 2-4. Certain cultural values that the Arabs want to retain and keep separate, Cf, may be the ones that the superordinate group wants them to change, Cp. With time, if they change then these values belong in the "common features" category in Greeley's model. If they do not change, these values remain in the "immigrant group" category. If these values are modified in a way that is different from both the original immigrant group and the host, then they fit in the "ethnic group" category in Greeley's Ethnogenesis model. Yet another outcome that may exist is a mixture of values of both groups. The Arabs may be mixing aspects of American culture and aspects of their own culture with regards to raising children.

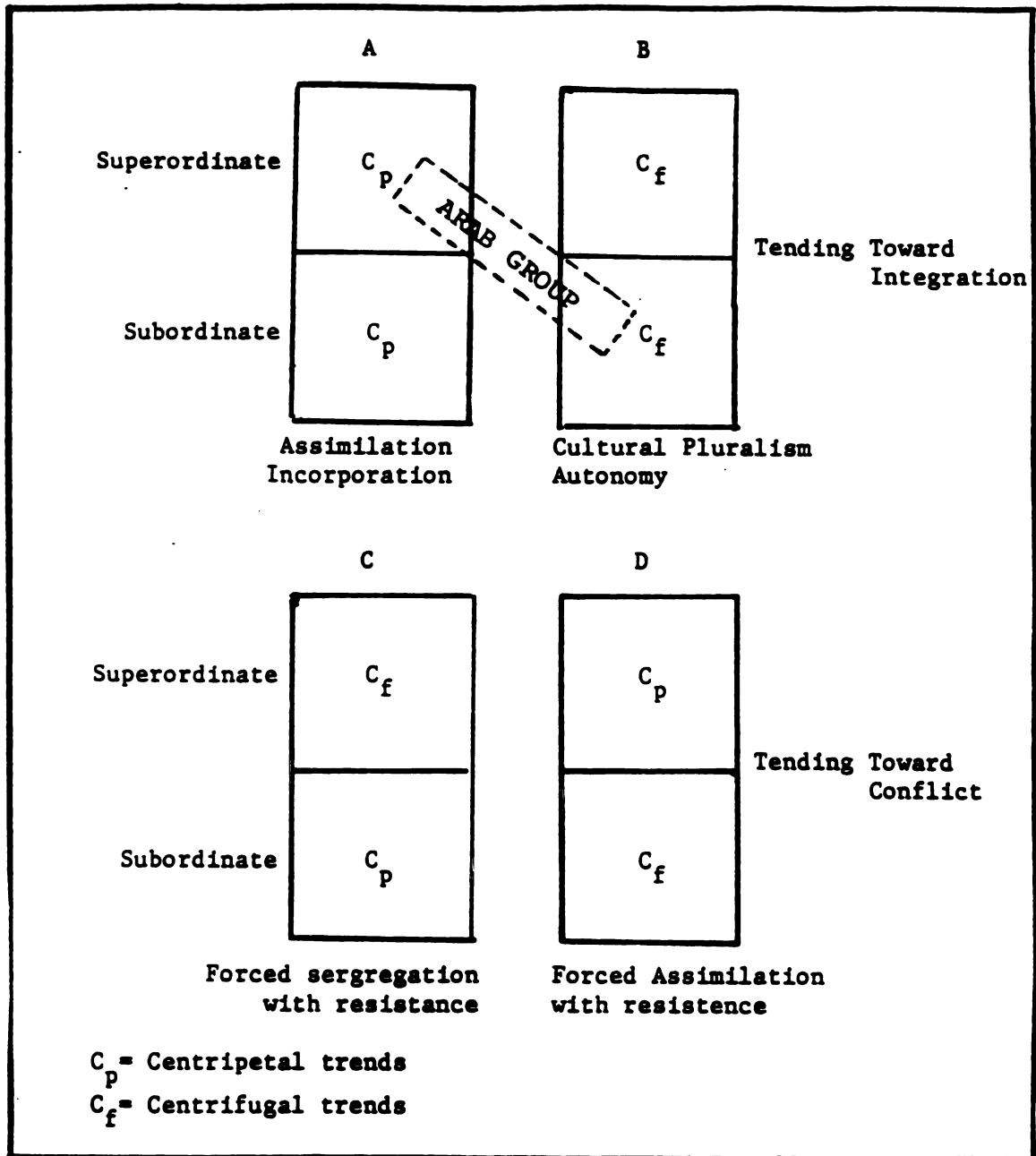


Figure 2-4

Arab Ethnics' Relationship
 to Schermerhorn's Conflict Model

III. Factors in Ethnic Persistence

Certain factors play a crucial role in the assimilative process of ethnic groups. Some of these factors have already been discussed. First is the extent to which the ethnic group's "values, cultural propensities and goal-orientations are shared with the dominant society" (Yetman and Steele, 1975:233). Second is the role of public education and the use of mass media (Gordon, 1964; Greeley, 1974). Third is the length of residence in America. This factor has been referred to as the historic factor (Gordon 1964; Greeley, 1974; Mindel and Habenstein, 1976).

A. Mediating Role of Social Groups

Another factor that contributes to continued ethnicity is "the role of the social institutions of the minority group in mediating its experiences and communal life within the dominant society" (Yetman and Steele, 1975:233). These social institutions include economic institutions, such as businesses, social clubs, voluntary organizations, religious institutions and the family institution.

The Arab ethnics have maintained certain institutions and developed others in order to protect their values and meet their special ethnic needs. These institutions contribute to their separateness from the dominant group. Greeley (1969) contends that religion is linked to continued ethnic identification. This is true for the Arabs under

study. The Dearborn Arabs have contributed to the building of a Mosque basically to preserve their religion and to pass it on to their children. Moreover, the mosque institution has acquired a social function not common in mosques in the Middle East; it has become a place where weddings, funerals and fund-raising activities take place. Even women are taking part in the life of this institution, which is not traditional. These adopted activities , based on the functions of a Christian church, have been curtailed in areas, such as Dearborn, where recently arrived immigrants, who are affected by the Islamic revival movement in the Middle East, have succeeded in bringing about more fundamental Islamic worship and eliminating all non-religious activities.

Another institution which has contributed to ethnic continuity is the coffee house. The coffee houses are social clubs for men rather than business establishments. These traditional institutions help maintain the Middle Eastern character of the Dearborn community. Haddad, in her study of Chicago's Syrian community, observed that coffee houses were in use when the male immigrants first came to gather wealth and then to return to their homeland. When they brought their families with the intention of settling permanently, the coffee houses were abandoned and later replaced by a new pattern of socializing centered around different clubs (Haddad, S., 1969:96). In the community under study, the coffee houses have not been abandoned but

are still centers not only for socializing but also for political activities. Wigle and Abraham report that certain nationality, village and regional divisions appear in the coffee houses. Within them tables are frequently arranged according to village loyalties. But in the presence of an external threat, such as a political crisis in the Middle East, the coffee houses unite and their members interact with each other to plan for a demonstration or for a lecture (Wigle and Abraham, 1974:288-290). Therefore, I can say that the coffee houses in the Dearborn area serve the social and political needs of males in a traditional manner, and thus these social men's clubs are contributing to the continuance of the ethnic character of this community. The continued functioning of the coffee houses, which are based on informal relationships, has not been completely detrimental to the formation of other formal organizations. Some formal organizations have emerged in that community as a reaction to nationalistic need but when the need for the expression of nationalistic sentiment and solidarity subsides the membership in those organizations does too (Ibid).

A new formal organization was formed in 1972 in response to local community needs. This organization, the Arab Community Centre for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS), is definitely a western-type organization formed to meet the needs of the Arab ethnics who live here. ACCESS provides legal aid for community residents, vocational

counseling, English classes and help in dealing with certain government agencies such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service. ACCESS is still in operation and has served to give the community a greater cohesiveness (personal interview with the assistant director of ACCESS).

The above factors led to the formulation of certain hypotheses for this research. These involve the role of public education, the use of the mass media, the length of residency and participation in the institutional life of the ethnic community. These variables were presumed to contribute to ethnic persistence or change in Arab child-rearing practices.

B. The Mediating Role of the Ethnic Family

Another very important institution which plays a crucial role in ethnic continuity and change is the ethnic family. The family plays an essential role in a society by assuming the duty of socializing its members. The family "continues to function as the major vehicle for the socialization of particularistic norms and provides the major link between the individual and the community" (Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978:97). In an ethnic milieu, the family role is yet more crucial. "The maintenance of ethnic identification and solidarity ultimately rests on the ability of the family to socialize its members into the ethnic culture and thus to channel and control, perhaps program, future behavior" (Mindel and Habenstein 1976: 6-7). Moreover, it is within the family that an individual

acquires an ethnic identity in the first place, and if the family socialization is successful, that individual will develop a group consciousness. This consciousness will strengthen the individual's loyalty to the group. The development of an ethnic identity and its maintenance "may provide for many an alternative link to the broader society, compensating in part for the...impersonal qualities of modern life" (Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978:3), and may provide a haven for new immigrants. For example, the Chaldeans, Arab Christians from Iraq, are very successful in the retail grocery business. This has helped them provide jobs for relatives who are recent immigrants. This has strengthened the family ties and the ethnic community (Sengstock, 1974:27-28) and has provided the immigrants a place in the society almost on arrival.

Not only as individuals, but also as ethnic groups attempt to assimilate into the social, political and economic mainstream of a society, they must organize and develop a sense of their group distinctiveness in order to enter the social process" (Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978:3). The ethnic family is the primary unit which brings about the above.

Despite the importance of ethnic families, Mindel and Habenstein report that our knowledge of them is not sufficient (1976:3). Staples and Mirande in their review of family studies in the past decade illustrate the increase in both the quantity and quality of ethnic family literature

but point to the need for more research and theory (1976:3). This applies to the Arab ethnic family studies as well. There is a dearth of studies both about Arab ethnic families in America and about the Arab family in general. Goode, in 1963, anticipated a flood of sociological studies in the major Arab countries in the next decade. He said,

"the rising sense of destiny expressed in the nationalistic fervor which has freed them (Arabs) from foreign domination has also stimulated the beginning of economic planning for the future, with the aim of enjoying the benefits of industrialization. These developments have created a recognition of the need for facts on which to base adequate planning and are already stimulating some surveys and studies; these are attracting the attention of foreign scholars who will carry out additional research. Many of the present gaps in our knowledge of the Arab family will probably be filled within the next decade" (Goode, 1963:87).

In 1981, Dodd acknowledged the fact that a few ethnographies and specialized papers have appeared on the family, but the flood has yet to appear (Dodd, 1981:117).

The role of ethnic families differ among subsections of the same group depending on several factors. These factors include religion, levels of education, socioeconomic standing, time of arrival, length of residency in America, past experiences and reasons for migration. For example, the Ramallah Christian Arabs have experienced more assimilation than other groups because their educational and occupational standing upon arrival helped them interact with this society (Swan and Saba, 1974). The same could be

said of the Syrian Christian community (Kayal, 1974). In her study of Rhode Island Arabic-speaking communities, Smith found that with length of residency and by the third generation more assimilation was taking place evidenced by higher rates of intermarriage and moving out of the ethnic community (Smith, 1981). Despite that, these ethnics, mostly Syrian and Lebanese, were maintaining ethnic ties primarily through the extended family and the ethnic church (Ibid). This is also true of the Arab elites. These are both Christian and Muslim Arabs. The reference is to Arabs who are professionals and whose professional standing has encouraged full acceptance in the society. They come here intending to make America their permanent home, and this facilitates the process of acceptance. Their professional and social class standing has also sped the process of assimilation (Elkholy, 1976:155). The ethnic families of these subgroups are definitely playing different roles especially in the socialization of their children. Thus it was hypothesized for the research at hand that maintaining ethnic ties through the family, reasons for migration and length of residency were variables contributing to persistence of traditional patterns of socialization.

Child-rearing is at the heart of the socialization process. Ethnic families, especially those who are recent immigrants, such as the Arab Muslim families, socialize their children in a manner compatible with socialization common in their countries of origin. When they are exposed

to American patterns of socialization, they experience conflicts. Therefore, child-rearing was selected for study, to assess the ethnic persistence or change Arab families are experiencing.

To study the ethnic family of Arab immigrants and understand its present and future role in assimilation and ethnic continuity, we need to study and understand its origins. "The historical experience of the group both with respect to when the group arrived on these shores as well as the conditions under which the members of the group were forced to live is a vitally important factor in the explanation of the ethnic family and the ethnic group as well" (Mindel and Habenstein 1976:7). Moreover, the immigrants "bring with them much more than their physical possessions. Their view of life and the world has been profoundly shaped by the religious, family and socio-political foundations of their past" (Abu-Laban, 1980; 27).

The following section includes a discussion of the structure of Arab families in the Arab world by type, role of women, sex-role differentiation, child-rearing practices and values associated with socialization. Changes that Arab families have experienced in the Arab world are also discussed. These changes have occurred in areas relevant to this research such as parent-child relationships. Since the focus of the research is on immigrant Arab families, a description of their situation here is included. In some

of these areas, literature is quite limited and thus the discussion tends to be brief.

1. Arab Families in the Arab World

The Middle East is a composite of numerous cultures and subcultures which have interacted together over the centuries. The Middle East ranges all the way from the flood valley of the Nile to the Fertile Crescent. So it is hard to describe a Middle Eastern family which is typical of all Arab regions. The differences among regions stem not only from a geographical nature but also from differences in religion, rural versus urban life styles, political regimes, and economic systems. Yet one can attempt to point to common traits to help define a framework within which to place the present study (Abu-Laban, 1980:158).

The Arab family has been described as extended whereby father, mother, minor children, grown sons, their wives and their children all live under one roof. This has changed in many Arab societies and the trend has been towards a more conjugal type of family. This type of change has generally been associated with urbanization, industrialization and/or general modernization (Goode, 1963:19). The Arab family is experiencing that type of change also but the change is not radical because the values associated with the extended family still persist. The extended family is still a strong social and psychological reality (Prothro and Diab, 1974:70). This

shows up in crisis events such as weddings, births, deaths, economic needs and the like. And even though the individual may be physically living in a nuclear family, he is always a part of the larger family (Ibid).

The influence of the family on the life of the individual in the Middle East is very great, much greater than is usual in the modern urban society of the Western world. The entire Arab world is permeated with family loyalty and influence to such an extent that the terms "familism" and "kinship culture" have properly been applied to it; the individual is much more the product of his family and much less that of other socializing factors than is true in the West (Patai, 1970:578). Individuals are socialized from childhood to be subservient to family authority, to respect elders and to be loyal to the family. This loyalty is ingrained in the individual and stays into adulthood. This brings out a fundamental difference in socialization between the Arab family and the Western family. The Western family socializes its children to learn how to do things for themselves, that is, to be independent. This is most true of the American middle class families (Adams, 1973:105). Moreover, Hsu points out that an American core value is that of self-reliance (Hsu, 1972:241). This value is underscored in families and in schools. Independence is encouraged in a child so that he/she can take his/her position in the society as an individual. In the Middle East the emphasis is on training

the child to be dependent on and subordinate to the father and other elders in the family (Patai, 1970:579). A child learns early that the family comes first and thus subordinates individual interests to those of the family (Kassees, 1972:539). Family loyalty is greatest to the closest kin, but since the child is a part of a much larger family unit, his/her loyalty transcends beyond those (Lutfiyya, 1970:507). The emphasis on the family means that in cases of feuds or serious conflicts involving the individual it is the family that is held liable (Ibid). In the West, the emphasis on independence training means that the individual is responsible for his/her own actions in cases of conflicts. The emphasis of dependence on the family group is reinforced in the Arab world by other mediating institutions including the educational and the religious (Sharabi, 1977:245). In a Western society such as the U.S., the value of independence is reinforced by the schools also. Students are urged to achieve independently, and in general, those who are dependent are looked down on (Appleton, 1983:160). Therefore, to the Arabs dependency is a value that they are socialized into by their families and to the Americans independence is a value in socialization. Dependency was thus selected as a child-rearing practice to investigate in this study.

a. Sex Differences

When children are born in the Middle East, their sex determines how they are treated and how they will be raised. The Arabs love children and usually have a number of them. Children are received with joy and warmth especially if they are males. There is a proverb in the Arabic language which describes the joy Arabs derive from their children and it translates as such, "children are a treasure in the bosom of the Arab". Males are generally preferred because the Arab family is patrilineal and descent is traced through the male line.

The socialization of Arab children differs greatly between the sexes. This contributes in an essential way to the roles males and females assume in adulthood.

When a child is born, he or she is swaddled. Prothro found that, in Lebanon, swaddling was practiced by Arabs and Armenians (a large ethnic group that has settled in Lebanon since the 1920's) by Christians and Muslims, city and village mothers alike. The difference among the groups was observed in length of swaddling. Upper class mothers swaddled their children for a shorter period of time than mothers of other groups (Prothro, 1961:57-58). Arab children are breast fed from one to two years in the case of a girl and from two to three years in the case of a boy (Patai, 1970:579). This is especially true in rural areas of the Arab world and of the more traditional countries

than those which are more modernized. Prothro found that 92 percent of the Lebanese mothers interviewed breast fed their children, and those who did not mentioned health reasons which prevented them from doing so (Prothro, 1961:71). Here again differences were found in the length of breast feeding based on social class. Middle class mothers tended to breast feed their children longer. Moreover, Prothro found that boys were breast fed longer than girls (Prothro, 1961:74). Mothers usually feed their children on demand; whenever he/she shows discontent or hunger. In Buarij, a village in Lebanon, women resorted to prolonged breast-feeding because they believed it was an accepted way of spacing children (Fuller, 1961:36).

Arab mothers tend to indulge their children and to pamper and cuddle them. They are at their children's disposal, so to speak, and pick them up whenever they cry. Mothers care for their infants almost exclusively. If mothers have older girls then they share in the care of the infant. Mothers also tend to be permissive in the care of their children. As one author put it "the permissiveness in regard to nursing, sleep and elimination that are his go far beyond even the most modern Western practice" (Beck, 1970:574). Mothers are also permissive in punishing offenses of small children. They are usually admonished but quickly forgiven since it is said that they have not yet gained understanding (Fuller, 1961:28). But this permissiveness does not last. As soon as the child has

learned to walk and to talk, the amount of care and attention he receives diminishes rapidly. With weaning, there is a sudden break in the close relationship between mother and child. This experience comes early for a female child and she soon learns that she is a rather unimportant member of the family (Patai, 1970:580). This means that females are rarely the center of attention in the family. What this does is allow the female "an opportunity to develop more freely; she learns to cope...to mature more quickly and learn how to deal with frustrations more effectively than a boy" (Sharabi, 1977:245). A girl is also taught at an early age to be subservient first to her family members (especially males) and later in life to her husband and his family (Patai, 1970:580). The male child, who is breast fed almost twice as long as a female child, learns early that his mother is there to serve him. (Patai, 1970:581). Since the mother is exclusively responsible for the development of the child during the early years, her influence on him/her is great. Since the male child receives more attention and concern than the female child, he is allowed to do very little for himself and soon learns to depend on others for his needs (Sharabi, 1977:246). For this reason, it was hypothesized that there would be sex differences in dependency training. As a boy grows older, the father begins to assume a larger share of the male child's socialization and by the time he is seven years old "it is the father who becomes the important

disciplinarian... the mother threatens the child by telling him that she will inform the father" (Lutfiyya, 1970:518). As a result, the child learns not just to love the father but to fear and obey him without questioning. "The child begins to look to the mother for help against...the father, and mothers begin to assume the role of mediator between father and son" (Ibid). The girls remain in the women's world; they rarely even require to be disciplined. When they do, they are harshly disciplined. This socialization pattern influences relationships between the sexes and between family members as individuals move into adulthood. The woman's role is usually restricted to household matters and the man's role is concerned with matters outside the home where he deals with people and the job market. For a female, as she grows older and approaches adolescence her movements are restricted to the house. She is trained to help her mother in the house and with younger siblings. This means that her social relationships are very limited especially when they involve non-family members.

An area closely related to socialization of females is that of family honor. Its basic principle is the chastity of the females. "The virginity of the unmarried female is highly valued and there are often extreme negative sanctions involved against women who engage in premarital sexual relations. Negative sanctions regarding extramarital relations are also very strong" (Abu-Laban,

1980:29). In a more positive way, for the Druz Lebanese, for example, a virgin is worth more than a widow or a divorcee and thus the "mahr" paid is always higher (Alamuddin and Starr, 1980). These standards do not apply to males and thus a double morality exists. To achieve the standard of female chastity, separation between the sexes is encouraged. This is evident also in the unequal educational opportunities open to females. As Prothro and Diab observe, the educational opportunities are limited, and given the fact that the society is patrilineal and that the woman's role centers on the home, boys are given preference and thus are educated more than girls (Prothro and Diab, 1974:122-124). The fear is that if girls go to school then they have more freedom of movement and are not watched by the elders. This might increase the opportunities for them to misbehave. Now that elementary education in many Arab countries is compulsory for everybody, some parents take their girls out of school before puberty and do not allow them to continue their secondary education. What has happened in many of these cases is that males have progressed much farther towards modernization than females and that has created a gap between the sexes in intellectual advancement (Lichtenstadler, 1970:614).

Even though women may have a subservient position and seemingly lack power in the outside society, they have many rights and their power is prevalent in their homes where

their roles are concentrated. As Sharabi puts it, "the female may play a limited role in public but her influence in the family as wife, mother, sister and grandmother is profound" (Sharabi, 1977:245). In Buarij, Fuller found that the village women were the main repository and transmitters of village tradition and lore and since they played a great role in child-rearing they passed on what they knew and that impressed on the children a traditional view of life (Fuller, 1961:18). Women's power is also apparent in the choice of mates especially for their sons. Their rights are evident in having a financially secure position and in inheritance laws. In Islam, husbands must provide for their wives adequately regardless of how much money they might own (from their own family). Moreover, women are entitled to inherit property from their husbands, children, parents or brothers even though their share is smaller than that of the males (Lutfiyya, 1970:510-512).

Beliefs regarding the proper role of Arab females are changing throughout the Arab world. Variations still exist among the different Arab countries and among rural and urban areas. Through education and urbanization, and in some countries industrialization, women are enjoying more freedom. But the process is slow. Tomeh says in this regard that changes in attitudes and values are occurring but sufficiently slowly so that it is an evolutionary process rather than a revolutionary one (1975:98). Even in Saudi Arabia, which is considered by many Arabs to be the

typical traditional society, the government has opened many schools for girls. These schools hire female teachers. Teaching is considered a highly respectable profession. To meet the demands of a highly urbanizing society, Saudi Arabia also sends females abroad to attain high levels of education. It is not uncommon, for example, to see Saudi women on American or Lebanese college campuses. In general, educational opportunities are increasing for women, but more importantly, family attitudes toward the education of women are changing. In a study conducted in Lebanon, Prothro and Diab found that most city women and a substantial number of village women would approve of their daughters attending a college for girls. Most city women would send their daughters to a coed school (1974:123). In another study of higher secondary male and female students in Lebanese schools, Dodd found that females themselves were more liberal than males regarding women working, women's occupational status, pay and education (Dodd, 1981:127). Through such studies, one can detect the beginnings of change, but the equality of the sexes is far from being realized. In the Arab world in general, participation in the labour force outside agriculture, (a measure of change) is still low (Tomeh, 1975:100) and is due to the persistent traditional cultural values regarding the role of women. Based on the centrality of differentiation among the sexes, differential sex-roles are selected for investigation in this study.

b.Marriage

Changes in educational opportunities for females and their educational attainment have caused changes in the area of marriage and mate selection. Highly educated women are marrying at a later age and young married couples are breaking away from larger family units and establishing their own independent homes (Tomeh, 1975:99). From my experience in that part of the world, I would say that the above is true of urban areas but not of rural ones.

The marriage institution itself is experiencing change as well. Marriage used to be almost exclusively arranged by male elders of the two families involved and the young people had no choice in the matter (Goode, 1963:91). Even though the marriages may still be arranged, sons and daughters are consulted before an agreement is reached between the families. This is true of areas that have experienced urbanization and where education is open to females. Daghestani reports that in many Arab cities, it is not unusual for a young man to meet a young woman and decide to marry her and then ask his family to carry on the process of asking for her hand. (Daghestani, 1970).

Another related feature of marriage which is changing is polygyny. In Islam, men are allowed up to four wives at one time. Even though it is still legal, polygyny is not common due to economic reasons. Goode reports data on polygyny in certain selected Arab countries which show that

from 1944 through 1958, the rate of polygyny ranged from 1.9 percent to 11 percent (Goode, 1963:87). Prothro and Diab report that polygyny is declining and seems to be less common among dwellers of urban areas who are also educated than it is among peasants and farmers (Prothro and Diab, 1974:206). Moreover, in some Arab countries today the practice of polygyny is illegal such as in Tunisia and Syria (Goode, 1963:104).

c. Parent-Child Relationships

Considering the structure of the Arab family and the emphasis on a female's role of bearing children it is not hard to see that Arabs love children. Children are received with warmth and joy. In rural areas where the extended patriarchal family is more of a reality than in urban areas, male children are especially received with joy. Boys and girls are socialized to be dependent on their families for support and even for identity. This was discussed earlier. In exchange for that the child (usually a male child) is expected to return the succor of his parents by taking care of them in their old age. Parents expect that and are proud when a son takes care of them nicely. The child is also expected to be loyal to the family, to support it and care for its members in return for the security and identity it gives (Melikian, 1977:180). This just shows that the value of dependency permeates the parent-child relationship on both sides. Moreover, a family which offers so much to its members

expects, in fact demands, respect and obedience. Obedience to parents is a sacred duty to the Arabs both Christians and Muslims. Both the Koran and the Bible exhort children to obey their parents.

If the child does not obey then he/she is severely punished. "All those who have made first-hand observations of Arab family life agree that the incidence and severity of corporal punishment administered to Arab children is much greater than is the case in the Western world" (Patai, 1983:26). Patai goes on to say that as far as this particular feature of Arab child-rearing practices is concerned, one can generalize to all Arab societies (Ibid). It is usually the father who administers the severe punishment while the mother serves as a haven to whom the child runs for compassion. Within the family then, obedience, especially to the father, is tinged with fear.

There are sex differences in relation to discipline the implications of which are important for this present study. Both girls and boys are socialized to be dependent on their families but more so the boys since the girls will marry and become members of their husband's families; it is the boys who are expected to take care of the parents in their old age. Moreover, since a woman's position in her husband's family improves with the bearing of male children, a mother tends to be more partial to her sons. "She will be more lenient with him, will take better care of him, devote more attention to him and be more

affectionately inclined toward him than she would be to a daughter" (Patai, 1983:29). In his study of Lebanese mothers of varying ethnic and religious groups, Prothro found that boys were treated with more warmth than were the girls (Prothro, 1961:121).

The emphasis on obedience and discipline as characteristics of the learning process in Arab families leads to a logical assumption that aggression, especially towards parents, is strongly disapproved of. The ideal child is one who is obedient, quiet, neat and clever (Racy, 1977:286). To Lebanese mothers, the most salient characteristic of a good child is obedience to the parents; more than half of the mothers in that study mentioned that characteristic and nearly half of them mentioned polite or some similar term (Prothro, 1961:125). It is not surprising then that parents would frown on aggression expressed against them. In Prothro's Lebanese study, 90 percent of the mothers stated that children should not be allowed to express aggression against their parents and when they do, then mothers used beating to correct them (Prothro, 1961:93-94).

Since an Arab child in a family is usually one of many aggression against siblings takes place. Some authors have implied that parents instigate sibling aggression by creating rivalry between children. A younger child is urged to imitate an older sibling and the older sibling is shamed in front of the younger one (Racy, 1977:286). I

personally feel that aggression expressed by siblings against each other is a release of frustration resulting from the taboo on aggression towards parents. Another way of letting out aggression is by playing aggressive games. This is especially true of the games that boys play.

A great emphasis on punishments as a means of discipline also assumes a de-emphasis on rewards. Punishments are negative reinforcers while rewards are positive ones. Since Arab families rely on punishments, a question arises as to the use of rewards in child-rearing. The love a mother expresses to her children is a reward in itself but the use of specific rewards is limited. In the review of the literature, only Prothro's study investigated specific rewards of specific behaviour such as eating and household chores. Prothro found that differences existed among the various ethnic groups but in general, Lebanese mothers used positive reinforcement, through verbal praise and other rewards, such as food, less often than did American mothers and that a sizeable minority never rewarded their children for good behaviour (Prothro, 1961:104-105). Sharabi mentions, but without discussion, that the Arab family de-emphasizes rewards in the process of raising children (Sharabi, 1977:250). Punishments, rewards and aggression are also investigated in this research.

The learning process in Arab families involves still another aspect. Besides the emphasis on dependence,

punishments, and lack of rewards, Arab families rely on rote learning to achieve expected and desired behaviour of children. Basically this method depends on encouraging the child to repeat and memorize. This style of learning reinforces the values and attitudes into which their families had socialized them. The feelings of respect and obedience are transferred to the teacher. The teacher resorts to rote learning as a means of achieving results. Here again, this method discourages inquiry and experimentation (Sharabi, 1977:251). Moreover, children's "spontaneity, imagination, individual initiative and enterprise are discouraged. Instead of individual responsibility, children are taught docility, respect toward elders and acceptance of fate" (Beck, 1970:575). As in the family, the classroom includes hardly any prolonged exchanges between pupils and teachers or exchanges initiated by pupils (Miller, 1970:150).

A great deal of change is being brought about in the Middle East through exposure to a more Westernized style of education and through western mass media available in the urban areas. As a result children are rejecting the basic values of their families, basically that of dependency and authority, and insisting on different norms of behaviour. This means that they face conflict within their homes and outside. The conflicts they face outside stem from the fact that they find themselves thrown into a situation where the traditional behaviours will not longer be of help

to them in coping (Miller, 1977:152). This situation is basically an urbanized and changing structure with different values.

For the parents, the tragedy is that they lose their role of giving advice and of being leaders to their children. They lose the obedience and respect they have long anticipated (Beck, 1970:576).

There is one more area concerned with child-rearing that should be mentioned. That is the area of privacy. In Buarij, Fuller remarks on the extraordinary lack of privacy of any kind within the village world (Fuller, 1961:29). I feel that the lack of privacy is a result of being born in a group situation, being socialized into dependency on the family and being oriented from infancy towards social relations and not towards things. Sharabi says in this regard:

"The child grows up without ever being left alone; he is always surrounded by people. The moment he wakes up, there is someone to pick him up and bring him into the company of others. If he happens to oversleep, the mother gets worried: 'See if the baby is awake.' If he is awake (happily playing or observing the world around him), he will be immediately brought in. Privacy is denied him from infancy...He is habituated into accepting constant togetherness and to regard wishing to be left alone as odd or abnormal" (Sharabi, 1977:252-253).

The value of privacy is minimal and it follows that children are not encouraged to develop individual interests. It is not common for children to develop

hobbies which require being alone. The child is most interested in cultivating social relationships and learning how to deal with people.

2. Arab Families in America

When Arab families uproot themselves and migrate to the United States they, like other ethnic groups, bring with them all the traditional and transitional values that they have. These families have to go through a period of adjustment, which may be prolonged because Arab society, despite urbanization and modernization, is still sharply different from American society. This makes them different from the European immigrants because they come with fewer common values shared with the host society. When ethnic families, of all ethnic origins, come here they might find themselves in a conflict situation. They can either socialize their members to integrate quickly into the new society or they can socialize them to cling to traditional customs and values. In the first case, rapid integration may require changes in "values and traditions, seldom an easy, if at all possible, task for people imbued with centuries-long sets of distinct values. On the other hand, maintenance of cultural distinctiveness will inevitably create problems for the generations raised or born in the new society, and exposed to the influences and values of their environment" (Radecki, 1980:47).

Elkholy reports that for the Arab families, the process of socialization "oscillate(s) generally between

preservation of traditional culture and acculturation" (1976:155). One of the areas where the above is true is familism. When Arab families come here they maintain the value of familism. Kassees found that Ramallah (West Bank) people living in the United States were significantly more familistic than the Ramallah people living in Ramallah. Education was the variable that weakened familism for all his sample (1972). Another area is that of mate selection. Arabs, both Muslim and Christian, do not desire intermarriage with Westerners but Elkholy reports that Muslims strongly resist intermarriage more so than Christians (Elkholy, 1976:156). But in his own study of Arab professionals he found that education and professional standing were more of a factor in intermarriage than religion (Ibid). The Ramallah Christians, because of high educational attainment and good mastery of the English language on arrival, have experienced a high degree of assimilation. This group, though, has retained its ethnic identity by maintaining a high rate of endogamy (Swan and Saba, 1974:103). The Maronites (Lebanese Christians) have also been highly endogamous. In her study, Ahdab-Yehia found that only nineteen percent of her Maronite sample married non-Maronite Christians (Ahdab-Yehia, 1974:147). So Elkholy's contentions may be true for Christians as a whole, but within certain sects, endogamy is high.

Traditionally, mate selection was a family affair. As was mentioned earlier, even in the Middle East, this area

of family life is experiencing change. In an alien milieu, and in an effort to maintain ethnicity, the Arab family still intervenes in that. For example Abu-Laban reports that in Canada the family still intervenes in mate selection by socialization patterns and indirect parental pressure which guide children to appropriate mates (1980:160). But conflicts still exist because children through contacts with the host society and the mass media develop the value of free choice and individual freedom in that area. This area of mate selection is so crucial that religious and non-religious organizations have intervened to facilitate ethnic marriage. For example the Coptic Church in Canada initiated charter flights back to Egypt to facilitate contact with potential Egyptian spouses. The Muslim Student's Association of the U.S. and Canada developed a match-making service. The only problem was having females apply. Moreover, Arab Canadians (and Americans) make an effort to attend annual conferences and special socio-cultural gatherings where young people can meet marriage partners (Abu-Laban, 1980:163). Intermarriage, nevertheless, is taking place especially with the passing of time. Barclay studied Arab males in Lac La Bishe, Canada, and found a relaxation of tradition on their part regarding intermarriage of their children (Barclay, 1969:71).

a. Role of Arab Women

Another area where the Arab family has oscillated between preservation and change is that of the roles of women. Here again differences among the different Arab groups exist especially with regards to religious and educational standing.

Working outside the home is common for Arab women who are in rural areas. In fact, peasant women are very essential to the maintenance of the agricultural system. Besides their work in the fields women still manage their homes and are solely responsible for the rearing of children. Though women are "employed", so to speak, outside the home, they are never economically independent and always in a lower position in the family hierarchy. Men are the authority figures and have the power of decision. When these women come here they have skills that could be marketable. S. Haddad in her study of the Syrian-Americans in Chicago (1969) reported that the early immigrant women helped their husbands in their economic endeavors by baking and selling bread or making other items for sale while the men took to peddling. When their economic standing improved, many of the men established their own businesses and the women were right there to take charge of certain aspects of those businesses (Haddad, S., 1969:88-91). The implications of the women's economic activities were many. First, the men could not maintain

their patriarchal status within the family. Wassef, in a study of Christian and Muslim men found that they had to assume certain responsibilities for the maintenance of the household. These activities involved cleaning windows, shoveling snow and mowing the grass. Moreover, the wives reported that their husbands contributed to housework in general (Abu-Laban, 1980:167). Second, a woman who is employed outside the home comes in contact with the host society. This could contribute to a faster assimilation of their families. S. Haddad said that the Syrian women's employment contributed to the social mobility of the Syrian family in the American environment (1969:92). Third, to meet the demands of the American economic and urban society the immigrant had to be away from his home and thus the woman had to take responsibility for certain decisions such as purchasing clothes for the entire family; a skill necessary for survival in the American milieu (Ibid). But, the woman, even when employed, still had the major responsibility of caring for the family (Ibid). That is how the Syrian families looked at the role of the woman.

b. Arab Parents and Children

The area of parent-children relationships is another one where Arab families are experiencing cultural conflicts. Discipline of children is a good example of an area of concern to Arab parents here. It is a value in the Arab culture for parents, especially fathers, to be harsh with children and administer corporal punishment. This has

lead many Americans to report Arab parents to the police after they have witnessed a harsh beating and to charge the parents with child-abuse. This is an important source of confusion to the Arab parents. In my own childhood, I remember that neighbours would commend my father when they heard him "beat" one of my brothers because harsh fathers are believed to be good fathers. After all, a father would only beat a son harshly because he wants him to be a man. Here, a few Americans have commented to me that Arab fathers and mothers who are violent are so because they do not know how to deal with their own aggressive tendencies. Harshness is valued differently in the two cultures. Even though fathers are the ones who are usually harsh and severe, I observed that mothers have assumed a similar role. Basically the fathers are not around the home a lot; they work different shifts in the auto plants or they spend a lot of time in the coffeehouses meeting a need for socializing with other males. This has led many mothers to assume more of the discipline of the children, and they are the ones who are being charged with child-abuse. This conflict over values with regard to harsh discipline may have caused mothers in my sample to deny "hitting" their children a lot.

As the Arab family interacts with the American society the children are demanding more freedom but the parents, especially fathers, desire to retain their control over their children. Ahdab-Yehia found that to be true in the

Detroit Maronite community (Ahdab-Yehia, 1974:152). Arab parents worry about the rearing of their children and not just in the area of discipline. They worry about the permissiveness they observe in the society, especially with regards to females (Abu-Laban, 1980:175). Females are treated with strictness in the Middle East, and their behaviour is closely watched. But here the parents fear that they are loosing their girls to this society where girls are given a lot of freedom just like boys are. This is based on the relatively small differences in the socialization of boys and girls in American society (Barry et.al., 1972:45) which Arab parents observe.

One group that parents consider as their competitor is the peer group. In a study of Lebanese adolescents, Abu-laban found that Lebanese students had a "higher level of concern about potential parental disapproval, a lower degree of concern about peer approval and greater concern about school, homework, and educational values than American students" (1980:176).

C. Mediating Role of Public Schools

Another influence on children's upbringing is that of the school system. In a traditional setting, as was discussed earlier, the school reinforces values that children are socialized into at home. Basically the emphasis is on respect and obedience to authority, dependence and sociability. To achieve the desired behaviour on the part of the children, parents resort to

discipline and shaming them and not to rewards and persuasion (Sharabi, 1977:251). The school relies on basically the same system of handling the children and teaching them.

When Arab children become part of the American public school system certain conflicts arise for the children and for the parents. From talking to teachers who deal with Arab children, their conflicts are basically with misbehaviour on the part to the children. The children come from the restrictive environment of their homes to a free school environment where teachers rely more on give-and-take than on punishment. Children, especially boys, expect heavy-handed discipline and when they don't get it they misbehave. If they do not misbehave then they are quiet (since this is how they are raised) and don't ask questions so the teachers have the tendency to treat them as slow learners. This seems to be more true of female students.

Another area of conflict that teachers are concerned about is that of working individually. As was mentioned earlier, self-reliance is a value in this society and it is encouraged in the school. Teachers ask students to work on individual projects. Arab students have problems in that area because they are not trained to work in that manner but are usually told what to do.

Parents also have problems dealing with the school because of differing cultural expectations. In the Middle

East, those who are educated are highly respected and expected to know what they are doing. Teachers are especially revered because they have knowledge and thus ought not to be questioned. This means that parents do not interfere in the work of the teachers or the schools. Thus, they do not understand why the schools here expect them to be involved in the education of their children. The fact that a great many of these parents have little or no education aggravates the situation. One teacher was so frustrated she asked me if there is a way to "force" these parents to come to the school and talk to her.

In summary, I have discussed the distinctive ethnic character of Arab families which is a result of the values that they bring with them from their countries and what their experiences have been in the American environment. I brought out the fact that the Arab families are a part of the society because they have chosen to interact with it through employment and the schools. This interaction varies from one Arab subgroup to another depending on the time the group arrived here, what experiences group members have had and what their educational and professional standing is. The interaction with the society has not been without conflict for these families, especially over cultural values related to the rearing of children. This research is focusing on that area of behaviour.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

I. Background of the Study

The Dearborn Public School District is one of the school districts in the Detroit metropolitan area which has been flooded by children of Arab immigrants. As a result, in 1976, the school district applied for and received a Title VII basic federal grant for an Arabic bilingual education program. Since then the heavy influx has continued. In 1976, the first year proposal listed 474 children system-wide whose first language was Arabic. By the 1978-1979 school year, that number had grown by 48 percent to 703. In the 1980-1981 school year the number was up to 1,776 students. By 1983-1984, the period of the current study, the number of Arabic-speaking students eligible for the bilingual program had reached nearly 2000; a four-fold increase in just seven years. From an interview with the Bilingual Education Supervisor, it was learned that Arab students now (1984) comprised a large percentage of the total school population in Dearborn. All five schools which were used in the present study had significant percentages of Arab students. School A had 30 to 35 percent, School B had 35 to 40 percent, School C had

40 to 45 percent, School D had 60 percent, and School E had 90 percent.

Besides the bilingual program, the Dearborn Public Schools with the cooperation of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, won a grant for the establishment of the Arabic Language Bilingual Materials Development Center. The established goals of this center were to develop school curricula designed to assist children of limited English proficiency whose home language was Arabic.

The investigator of the present research has been involved in the process of material development for the past three years. This involvement generated a lot of contact with the Dearborn schools and specifically with educators who come in contact with Arabic-speaking students. These educators are committed to understanding the cultural backgrounds of these students. Many of them have faced problems in understanding the school behaviour of Arab children and thus have speculated as to what goes on in their homes. They expressed to me an interest in specific activities that take place at home. Examples of these were types of discipline resorted to by parents, types of expectations that parents have of their children, roles that the children are trained to assume and how these are different for boys and girls, and decision-making on the part of the children.

As a sociologist and an Arab immigrant, the above has led to a pragmatic concern on my part with child-rearing

practices of Arab immigrants. This concern was based on the lack of studies in that area of behaviour. Moreover, there is a paucity of such studies in the Middle East itself. "There exists a few specific studies - all too few, to be sure - of child-rearing practices in certain Arab communities in places as widely scattered as Lebanon, Palestine, Upper Egypt and Algeria" (Patai, 1983:26). It is interesting that even though the family is the keystone of Arab society, Arab researchers have neglected it as an area of study. The reason may lie in the fact that the Arabs are not very open about discussing what occurs within the confines of their homes. The Arabs are also extremely concerned with how people will look at them and what they say about them, and thus they tend to be obscure regarding such personal areas as family life. Moreover, family life has been traditionally a woman's world and her business, and researchers, mostly men, have not intruded on that world or bothered with it. Segregation based on sex is very strong in the Arab culture.

II. The Study Setting

The Arab immigrants who are the focus of this study all reside in Southeast Michigan. This region has a large number of Arabic-speaking people. In fact, the Detroit Metropolitan area houses the largest Arab-American community in the United States, with approximately 200,000 members and it is continuously growing (Naff, 1983:17).

Arab immigrants have settled in different areas of the city depending on availability of employment and/or business opportunities. According to Aswad, the settlements followed religious divisions which correspond to regional and kinship groupings in the country of origin. Thus, most Lebanese Christian Maronites live in east Detroit and the adjacent suburbs of Roseville, Harper Woods and the Grosse Pointes. The Chaldeans of Iraq originally settled in central Detroit and Highland Park and migrated to north Detroit and the northern suburb of Southfield. Recent Chaldean immigrants live in Detroit and Highland Park. Most Muslims (Southern Lebanese, Palestinians and Yemenis) had settled in central Detroit and Highland Park around the first Ford Assembly plant, and moved to southeast Dearborn near the Ford Rouge plant when it was constructed in 1924. This community has remained a region which continuously receives Muslim immigrants and is the only Middle Eastern community in the Detroit area whose members are primarily of the unskilled laboring class. In recent years some of its Yemeni population have been moving to Hamtramck where they work in Chrysler plants. Some upwardly mobile persons have moved from this community, known as the Southend, to Dearborn's higher income suburbs. The Ramallah Christians of Palestine, immigrating somewhat later than the other groups and having educational, occupational and language skills which provide mobility, are fairly scattered, but to some extent they live mostly in Livonia and Garden City

(Aswad, 1974:12).

The women who participated in this study resided in Dearborn. Most of the population from which the sample was drawn resided in the Southend, a community along the Detroit-Dearborn boundary. The rest of them resided in northeast Dearborn. See Figure 3-1.

The Southend has served as a home for a number of immigrant groups from Italy, Romania and Poland as well as Americans from the rural South. This was true from the early 1920's and into the 1940's (Aswad, 1974:55). The Arab immigrants were few then but have increased in number from the late 1940's to the present. The Arab population appears to have become the majority in that community sometime in the sixties (Abraham, et. al., 1983:166). In a 1979 survey, Bowker found that 73 percent of the population identified themselves ethnically as Arab (Bowker, 1979:23).

The Arab immigrants who live in the Southend are primarily from Lebanon, Palestine and Yemen. The Lebanese are the oldest immigrant group in this community, and they continue to come as a result of the civil war which started in the early 1970's and has not yet been resolved. The other two groups became more visible in the sixties. The Six-Day War of 1967 between Israel and neighboring Arab countries prompted many Palestinians, mostly from the villages of El Bireh and Beit Hanina, to migrate and settle

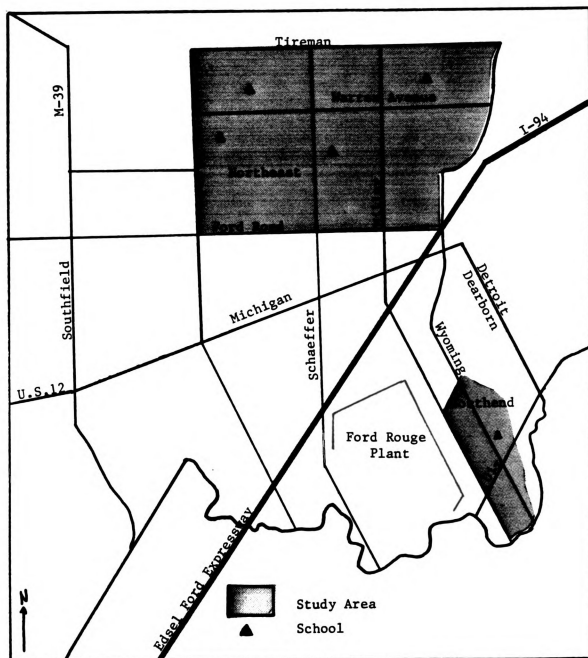


Figure 3-1

Northeast Dearborn and
the Southend

here permanently after Israel siezed their lands. The Yemenis also migrated as a result of political oppression, but mainly because of economic need in their country. Unlike the Palestinians and the Lebanese, the Yemenis do not come here to settle permanently. They come to acquire as much money as possible and return home. Many of the married immigrants do not bring their families with them in order to maintain their ties to Yemen (Abraham, N. 1983:120-121).

The Arabs from these different nationality groups are "bound together by a common language, religion and cultural heritage" (Abraham, et. al., 1983:181). They live in a ghetto-like community which is geographically isolated from its surroundings. The Southend is "adjacent to the Rouge (Ford) Plant and the Levy Asphalt Company on two sides, on the other sides (to) a cemetary, a park and railroad tracks" (Aswad,1974:56).

This community is basically an ethnic one. Even though it is located in the heart of one of the major cities of the United States, it has a distinct Middle Eastern character. If one were to take a walk along Dix Highway, the main street that runs through the Southend community, one would feel that one has stepped into a different world. Middle Eastern groceries, restaurants and coffeehouses make up the major businesses of the community. The coffeehouses are distinctly Middle Eastern and are more like clubs for males than business establishments.

Moreover, females are rarely seen on Dix; it is a congregating place for men (Wigle, 1974:164). Both these are Middle Eastern characteristics of traditional communities. I have seen females on that street while I was conducting the study but not too many. The older women were dressed in traditional clothes and head covers. The younger women wore a variety of styles ranging from the traditional to the more western styles and some mixed both. I met a couple of teenage girls who wore designer jeans and stylish long-sleeve shirts but had their heads covered with scarves.

Another feature of this community is that it is basically a working class and poor community. Most of the immigrants are employed by the auto plant as semi-skilled laborers (Bowker, 1979:58) and 27 percent of them fall below the poverty line (Abraham et. al., 1983:169). Moreover, the educational level of these immigrants is low. Bowker found that a large number of them had limited English skills and about 20 percent were illiterate even in the Arabic language (Bowker, 1979:29). As more and more immigrants of rural backgrounds continue to come, the community will most likely retain its working class features. The situation is aggravated by the increasing unemployment in the community due to the fluctuations in the automobile industry on which it depends.

Despite the above, the Southend community still serves as a receiving area for new immigrants. They continue to

come because they have relatives who have already established residence here. This present research also found that many new immigrants decided to locate in Dearborn because family members or other kin were already living here. After initial settling and as they improve their economic standing some immigrants, especially Lebanese, choose to relocate in other nearby communities.

The Southend has one public school and all the residents send their children there. From an interview with the principal, I learned that in 1982, 85 percent of the students in that school were Arabic-speaking. In January 1984, the Bilingual Education Supervisor informed me that the figure has gone up to 90 percent. Most of the teachers in this school are Anglo-Saxon. A few Arab teachers are involved in English as a second language programmes (ESL) and in the Arabic bilingual programme.

The Southend Arab immigrants are all Muslims of the Sunni sect. They worship in a mosque that was built on Dix Highway by Lebanese immigrants in the late 1930's. The mosque offers weekly classes to instruct children in religious beliefs and in the Arabic language. Over the years, the mosque has taken on aspects of a Christian church. Sunday worship was established in addition to the traditional Friday worship, women were encouraged to attend services and the basement became a social hall for weddings and other social gatherings. According to a report in the Detroit Free Press, a change to a more fundamental style of

worship has occurred as a result of Khomeini's Islamic revolution in Iran. Moreover, the new Yemeni immigrants, who tend to be traditional, opposed the trend towards Americanization. They had succeeded in ousting the American-born Imam (religious leader) and replacing him with more conservative Imams from the Middle East. Their success is due to a steady rise in their numbers in the late 1960's and early 1970's (Abraham, N., 1983:114). An important consequence of this, which is of concern to this study, is that women were discouraged from attending the services and from being involved in any social activities. The Free Press article also mentioned the existence of an American Muslim Women's society which along with a men's religious group have opened their own Sunday School apart from the mosque. The president of that society was quite upset with the return to fundamentalism since she believed that the needs of Muslims here were different than those of Muslims overseas (Detroit Free Press, November 28, 1983). None of the women interviewed for this study mentioned this women's society or belonged to it. An obvious conflict exists regarding the role of the mosque in America between liberal and conservative elements in this community. A study of religious conflicts would be an extremely sensitive topic to address but nevertheless an essential one.

The rest of the Arab immigrants from which the sample for this study was drawn resided in the northeast region of

the city of Dearborn. This community will be referred to as the Northeast community. Unlike the immigrants who live in the Southend, the Arabs here do not live in an ethnically segregated community but are more dispersed. See Figure 3-1. This was deduced from the number of schools that the Arab children attended and from city directories.

The Arab immigrants who have settled here are overwhelmingly Lebanese. In his study, Katarsky found that the majority of his sample came specifically from the village of Bint Jubail, a town located just north of the border of Lebanon with Israel (1980:22). They have come mainly because of political unrest in that country. The Lebanese civil war is also responsible for the continued growth of this community. Moreover, the community has been receiving Lebanese immigrants from the Southend who have moved here in search of better housing. In this present study, a few of the mothers who were selected from the Southend school records had moved to the Northeast community by the time the interview took place.

Even though the Northeast community is not geographically or ethnically segregated like the Southend, nevertheless it is a viable ethnic community. It is new and growing. Most of the Lebanese immigrants arrived here within the last 15 years. Katarsky found that the majority of his sample had lived in the Northeast community for less than ten years (Katarsky, 1980:50). The community's growth

was evident through certain indicators. First, the number of Arab students attending the four schools in that area has grown. In one of these schools, Arab students comprised 60 percent of the total school population. Second, the Northeast community has grown and become established in its provision of a range of services and businesses. Warren Avenue is a major street that runs through this community. This avenue has witnessed the growth of businesses that are owned by Lebanese and so have Michigan Avenue and Schaeffer.

From studying Dearborn's city directories for 1979 and 1983 one can sense the rate of growth in this community. The year 1979 was chosen because the rate of Lebanese immigration peaked in that year and that was when Katarsky conducted his study which provided a good basis for comparison. In 1979, Katarsky counted 5 markets or restaurants on Warren Avenue, 2 stores or restaurants on Schaeffer and 1 on Michigan Avenue. He also counted 2 dentist/physicians and 5 others who were outside Dearborn but accessible to the residents of the Northeast community (Katarsky, 1980:27-30). By 1983 there were 11 ethnic markets and restaurants, a hair salon for women, a dry cleaner, a bike shop, two tailors, a travel agency, a tire centre and bookstore, all on Warren Avenue. Besides the two food stores that were on Schaeffer in 1979, there are now a dental studio and pharmacy both owned by Lebanese. Other businesses are also springing up on other streets.

An advertisement in Arabic for a printing shop attracted my attention but the owner was not listed.

An increase was also noticeable in the area of medical services. There were 2 dentists and 9 physicians that were listed in the city directory who practiced in Dearborn. These were all Arab doctors although I could not distinguish their nationalities from the name listings. In an interview with the ESL Adult Education Supervisor, she showed me information from a local hospital printed in Arabic concerning medical services such as immunization and pregnancy.

All the above indicate that the Northeast Arab community is an established one. There are services to meet a variety of needs that the residents have and the community at large is aware of the presence of the Arab immigrants.

Unlike the working class character of the Southend, the Northeast community is more of a middle-class one. Katarsky found that 60 percent of his sample were laborers in auto plants, 11 percent were teachers (half of them at the university level), 6 percent have professional positions, 6 percent were employed by the City of Dearborn and 9 percent were small shop owners and 6 percent were unemployed (Katarsky, 1980:32-33).

The Arab immigrants here are also Muslims but of the Shia sect and they worship in the Detroit Islamic Centre Mosque on Joy Road.

The Northeast community has a number of schools that the Arab children attend. According to one teacher, the presence of the Arab children now cannot be overlooked when planning school programs. Moreover, the Arab parents have succeeded in initiating an after-school program where Arab children can learn Arabic.

It is within the boundaries of these two communities that the Arab immigrants under study enter into most of their interpersonal relationships. "It is in this context that various aspects of associationships are reinforced and certain values become systemized and shared" (Wigle, 1974:164).

III. The Data Collection

The data for this study were collected through an interview schedule administered to 41 Arab mothers and through personal interviews with community leaders, teachers and bilingual education staff and some participant observation. The data were collected in the spring and summer of 1982. I administered 44 percent of the interview schedules and all the personal interviews. The rest of the schedules were administered by female Arabic-speaking interviewers. Every interviewer administered one schedule to each mother at her home. The interviewing time ranged from one and a half hours to three hours depending on the cooperation of the interviewee and her understanding of the questions. Besides, a number of these mothers were

extremely hospitable which turned this time into a long visit.

The reasons for choosing a face-to-face type of interviewing over a mailed questionnaire were the following: First, the women were assumed to have had little or no previous experience with scientific studies. Second, the level of education of the women was assumed to be low because the whole community was characterized by low educational achievement (Bowker, 1979; Abraham et. al., 1983). Third, the Arab culture is male-oriented and the family is male-dominated. Based on that, I suspected that the males in these families might either fill out the questionnaires or influence the way they are filled out. Fourth, Arab culture is inclined towards face-to-face interactions rather than impersonal ones.

The decision to use a questionnaire over participant observation was made because it was a good way to collect a wide range of data in a short time. To obtain the amount of data that I have collected through participant observation would have taken a number of highly-trained observers and perhaps months or years to accomplish. Both time and cost were instrumental in making the above decision. The interviewers were instructed to make observations which would contribute to this study, especially the socio-economic status of the families and any interactions between mothers and children. Added to the above was the fact that all the interviewers were of

nationalities comparable to those of the respondents. I was brought up in Lebanon, the first interviewer was brought up in the West Bank (Palestine) and the second was brought up in Yemen. All the interviewers came to America as graduate students and thus were considered to have great familiarity with the culture of the respondents.

Even though much of the literature on the Sociology of the Family is based on the perspectives of wives and/or mothers, nevertheless, I decided to concentrate on mothers because of cultural considerations. As Arab women, we would not have had successful interactions with the fathers. In one of the interviews, the husband was unemployed and thus was home during working hours. He refused to leave the room because he wanted to know what was going on. Throughout the interview I was uncomfortable and so was the mother. He was either correcting her responses or she was making sure that he approved of her responses. Another important consideration to keep in mind is that Arab men are not very involved in the early socialization of children. They start to assume more of a role when their children, especially the boys, get older.

The instrument included a large number of open-ended questions and covered a number of areas. The instrument generated data on demographic characteristics, family structure, child-rearing practices, infant care, relations of the family with the outside society, roles of women, interactions within the ethnic community and how the women

feel about living here. Because of the nature of the questionnaire, a tape-recorder was used unless the mother refused that.

Prior to this study, I conducted a pilot study to test the usefulness of the questions. A number of versions of the questionnaire were made and a final one was produced. I constructed the child-rearing section of the questionnaire with the help of the following studies: Sears, et. al., 1957, Patterns of Child Rearing ; Prothro, E., 1961, Child Rearing in the Lebanon ; Prothro and Diab, 1974 Changing Family Patterns in the Arab East and Eron, et. al., 1961 "Comparison of Data Obtained from Mothers and Fathers on Child-Rearing Practices and Their Relation to Child Aggression". The rest of the questionnaire was constructed from the literature review and from personal interest. A copy of the interview schedule is included in Appendix A.

IV. The Sample

The random sample chosen was made up of 41 women who were Arab immigrants and resided in the City of Dearborn. The criterion for selection was having a kindergarten child in the Dearborn Public School District. Five schools from the district had large numbers of Arab students and these were used for drawing the sample. The names of Arab kindergarten students were used as the population and a 15 percent sample was drawn randomly. Then the mothers of

these children were contacted and an appointment was set for an interview at the home of the respondent. After the first selection, the Yemeni mothers were under-represented in the sample so all the names of the Yemeni Kindergartners were pulled out and a small sample was drawn for the purpose of making the total sample representative of the community. The Arab immigrants came here from Lebanon Yemen and Palestine in a ratio of about 66 percent, 15 percent and 19 percent respectively. These figures were based on a personal interview with a community leader who was born, resided and worked in the Southend community.

A majority of these women went to school, 66 percent, but a number, 34 percent, never attended any school. Of those educated, 33 percent finished elementary school, 26 percent had some secondary education but only 15 percent finished high school. Eleven percent had some university education. The level of education of the husbands was higher than that of the wives. Thirty percent of them finished elementary school, 25 percent had some secondary education and 17 percent finished high school. Forteen percent of the husbands had some university education and 6 percent had Bachelor's degrees. None of the women had a university degree. See Table 3-1.

There were large discrepancies between the occupational level of the men and that of the women. None of the women were presently employed and only three of them had been employed previous to their immigration; two as

Table 3-1
Percent of Respondents' and Husbands'
Educational Achievement

Number of Years Educated	Respondents		Husbands	
	N	%	N	%
Under 5 Years	3	11	3	8
5 Years	9	33	11	31
Some secondary	7	26	9	25
High School	4	15	6	17
Some University	3	11	5	14
University Degree	-	-	2	6
Totals	27*	100	36**	101

* 14 women had no education

** 5 men had no education

grade school teachers and one as a janitor. Of the men, only 42 percent were presently employed and 37 percent were laid-off. Seventy-nine of those employed had semi-skilled jobs and one man owned a restaurant. Looking at the employment of the men prior to immigration it was obvious that a number of these families went down on the economic scale. See Table 3-2.

The mothers who were interviewed were young in age. Five percent of them were in the 20-24 year bracket, the majority, 66 percent, were in the 25-34 year range and the rest, 29 percent, were between 35 and over 40 years. This means that the majority of the mothers are still in their child-bearing years and will probably have additional children. All of them were married to Arab men of the same nationality and the same religion.

Table 3-2

Percent of Husbands' Previous and
Present Type of Employment

Type of Employment	Previous		Present	
	N	%	N	%
Professional	1	3	--	--
Proprietor (small)	4	11	1	3
clerical	2	6	--	--
skilled	8	22	6	18
Semi-skilled	11	31	26	79
Unskilled	4	11	--	--
Farmer	6	17	--	--
Total	36*	101	33**	100

* Some husbands were either too young or were students when they came and thus had no previous employment.

** Total does not match unemployment rate of husbands because mothers gave type of employment for laid-off husbands.

The women were asked where they were from and whether or not the place they came from was a city, town or village. It was interesting that the majority, 61 percent, said that they came from cities, 12 percent said they came from towns and 27 percent said they came from villages. The literature review indicated that the Arabs who settled in the Southend came from rural areas. Katarsky found that the largest percentage of the Lebanese immigrants came from Bint Jubail, a village in South Lebanon (Katarsky, 1980:38). The discrepancy between the literature and the mothers' perceptions led me to classify where they came from. The result was that 34 percent originated from cities, 5 percent from towns and the majority, 59 percent,

from villages.

The women have been here for a relatively short period of time. The majority, 81 percent, have been here for a period ranging from 5 to 14 years, 12 percent have been here for less than five years and 7 percent have been here for more than 14 years. Only one of the women was born here in the United States, and she lived in the Southend community.

The reasons for their migration were investigated. A large number of them, 47 percent, came to the United States because they already had family here. Twenty-two percent came because of war situations. Five percent came seeking employment after losing a job in the war. This meant that 32 percent mentioned political unrest as a reason to migrate. See Table 3-3.

Table 3-3

Percent of Families Migrating for Given Reasons

Reasons for Migration	N	%
War	9	22
Family	17	42
Job	9	22
War/Family	2	5
War/Job	2	5
Job/Family	2	5
Total	14	101

All of the women interviewed were involved in raising children and none of them were employed outside their

homes. A majority of them, 75 percent, had relatives living in the neighbourhood or close by. Around 10 percent of them said they had too many relatives to count. In fact, one of the women told me that all her extended family migrated to the Dearborn area after the Lebanese war started.

The size of the families of these women ranged from one to nine children. The majority of them had families consisting of three to five children, 66 percent, while 22 percent had six to seven children. See Table 3-4. The kindergarten children of these women were either five or six years old. There were 18 male and 23 female children.

Table 3-4

Percent of Mothers' Family Size and Their Nationalities

Number of Children	Lebanese		Nationality of Mother Palestinian		Yemeni		American	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	--	--	--	--	1	17	--	--
2	2	7	--	--	--	--	--	--
3	6	22	3	43	1	17	--	--
4	6	22	1	14	--	--	1	100
5	6	22	1	14	2	33	--	--
6	2	7	1	14	2	33	--	--
7	4	15	--	--	--	--	--	--
8	1	4	--	--	--	--	--	--
9	--	--	1	14	--	--	--	--
Total	27	99	7	99	6	100	1	100

V. The Variables

The present study falls in the category of survey research. Because few studies have been conducted on Arab child-rearing practices and most of them are old, the present study includes detailed description of the data. The study, though, is not exclusively a descriptive one but includes testing of hypotheses.

A dependent variable, child-rearing practices, is studied in relation to a number of independent variables. The dependent variable is made up of the following practices: physical and emotional dependency/independence training, handling of aggression expressed by a child, types of rewards and punishments mothers use to achieve desired behaviour and sex-role differentiation. All these were considered important practices because they are related to basic values in the Arab family structure. A number of questions from the interview schedule are designated for each child-rearing practice. The responses to the designated questions are categorized as follows: if the response indicates that a practice mothers use here is in line with what is followed in traditional Arab families then that practice is referred to as "traditional". The practices that fall in this category are what Arab families here are persisting in. If, on the other hand, a practice is oriented to mainstream American culture then it is referred to as "non-traditional". These practices are

indicators of change. Practices that do not fit either category are discussed as areas of mixture of both Arab and American cultures; an indication of some change and some persistence.

The answers to each question are then given scores. The scores to all the questions dealing with a particular practice are used to create a scale. The scale ranges from a "low" (traditional) category to a "high" (non-traditional) category. As a result, seven scales are created for seven child-rearing practices. An example will explain the procedure. To create a scale for emotional independence training, the answers to the following questions were used:

1. At what age did your child start to make his/her own decisions?
2. How does your child behave when you leave him/her with someone else?
3. Does your child require a lot of attention from you?
4. Does your child follow you around?
5. Does your child ask you for help with something he/she can do by himself/herself?
6. What do you do when your child asks you for help with something when you are busy?
7. Some mothers like to know where their children are all the time and others let their children fare for themselves. What do you do with your child?

The responses of each woman to each of the above questions were given a score of one, "traditional" (low) or a score of two, "non-traditional" (high). Then each woman was given a total score for her answers to all the above questions. All the scores were then put in a scale. In

this example, the Emotional Independence Scale looks as shown in Table 3-5.

Table 3-5

Emotional Independence Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
N =	7	10	9	10	5	0	0	41
% =	17	24	22	24	12	0	0	100

What this scale means is that 7 women scored high on one of the designated questions, 10 scored high on two of the questions and so on. The scale shows that none of the women scored high on 6 or 7 of the questions. The scale categories were then collapsed into three, "low", "medium" and "high". The scale then looks as shown in Table 3-6.

Table 3-6

Collapsed Emotional Independence Scale

	Low	Medium	High	Total
N =	17	9	15	41
% =	41	22	37	100

The study has also designated four independent variables based on the literature review. The first is the amount of exposure to the host society that these women are experiencing through the use of the mass media. The second

variable is attachment to the homeland. The third variable has to do with the amount of interaction that the women have with the host society. The fourth variable has to do with the amount of participation the women have in the ethnic community where they live. Each variable has a number of indicators from which scales are created following the same procedure discussed above for the dependent variables.

VI. Definitions of Major Variables

A. Physical Independence Training

This variable means at what age a mother trained her child to assume certain responsibilities for his/her own welfare. Seven indicators were used to measure this variable:

At what age did your child start to perform the following activities:

1. feed self
2. dress self
3. tie own shoes
4. bathe self
5. venture away from home
6. cross the street by self
7. use the bathroom without assistance.

B. Emotional Independence Training

This variable means whether or not a mother trains her child to be emotionally independent of her. Seven indicators were used to measure this variable:

1. at what age did your child start to make his/her own decisions?



2. how does your child behave when you leave him/her with someone else?
3. does your child require a lot of your attention?
4. does your child follow you around?
5. what do you do when your child asks you for help with something he/she can do by himself/herself?
6. what do you do when your child asks you for help when you are busy?
7. some mothers like to know where their children are all the time and others let their children fare for themselves. What do you do with your child?

C. Handling Aggression

This variable refers to how mothers handle aggression expressed by their children. Four indicators were used to measure this variable:

1. what do you do if your child got angry and hit or insulted you?
2. what do you do if your child was rude to you?
3. what do you do if your child quarrels with siblings?
4. what do you do if your child quarrels with the neighbourhood children?

D. Types of Punishments

This variable refers to types of punishments a mother resorts to in order to discipline her child. The types include hitting, scolding, deprivation of a desired item, threatening to punish, sending child to own room, ignoring the offense and being upset with the child. This variable has 11 indicators:

1. do you hit your child?
2. how much do you hit your child?
3. how do you deprive your child?
4. what do you do if your child breaks something in the house?
5. what do you do if your child misbehaves in front of guests?

6. what do you do if your child lies to you?
7. what do you do if your child jumps on the furniture?
8. what do you do if your child is not compliant?
9. what do you do if your child is not tidy and clean?
10. what do you do if your child runs in the house without clothes?
11. what do you do if your child does not respect the property of other members of the family?

E. Types of Rewards

This variable refers to what rewards a mother uses to reinforce positive behaviour on the part of her child. The rewards were categorized as either emotional such as hugging and kissing the child or tangible such as buying the child ice-cream or giving him/her candy. The indicators for this variable are the following:

1. some parents reward their children when they behave well, others expect children to behave well without rewards. What is your opinion in this matter?
2. how do you reward your child?

F. Male-Roles and Female-Roles

These variables refer to the degree of gender differentiation. Indicators for these variables are the the following:

1. what, in your opinion, is the amount of education a girl should get?
2. what, in your opinion, is the amount of education a boy should get?
3. do you feel that the way girls behave should be different from the way boys behave at this age? (5-6 years)
4. do you expect your child to do housework?
5. what do you hope for your child's future?

G. Exposure to the Host Society Through Mass Media Use

Indicators for this variable are the following:

1. do you watch T.V.? what are your favorite programmes?
2. do you listen to the radio? what are your favorite programmes?
3. do you read magazines? what type of magazines do you read?

H. Attachment to the Homeland

This variable refers to how attached are the mothers to their home of origin. The indicators for this variable are the following:

1. do you have American citizenship?
2. does your husband have American citizenship?
3. do you have contacts with your homeland?
4. do you receive letters from your relatives?
5. do you receive calls (or do you call) your relatives?
6. do your relatives from your homeland visit you?
7. do you hope to return to your homeland to live?
8. does your husband hope to return to your homeland to live?
9. do you own your home?

I. Participation in the Ethnic Community

The indicators for this variable are the following:

1. would you like to move to a different neighbourhood? Why? Why not?
2. do you speak English?
3. what language do you speak at home with your husband and children?
4. do you read and write English?
5. whom do you spend time with as a family?
6. What are the sources of your information? (this question refers to the sources of information regarding the way American mothers raise their children).

J. Interaction with the Host Society

Indicators for this variable are the following:

1. do you think that the American system of education has a good or bad influence on the development of the child?
Please explain.
2. what do you think of the way American mothers raise their children?
3. what are your sources of information regarding that?*
4. do you speak English?*
5. do you read and write English?*
6. what American ways would you like your children to adopt?*
7. do you cook American food?
8. do you go out to eat at restaurants?

Some of these questions were also used as indicators for the ethnic participation variable, but only the relevant responses were considered for each variable.

VII. The Hypotheses

The review of the literature and the theoretical framework generated a number of hypotheses and they are the following:

Hypothesis 1: There is a relationship between the degree of interaction with host institutional and associational life and child-rearing practices so the higher the interaction the less traditional the practices.

* These questions were also used in the scale created for Participation in the Ethnic community. In that variable, only the responses relevant to it were used and the others were dropped. The responses that are relevant to this variable were used and the rest dropped.

Hypothesis 2: There is a relationship between the degree of participation in the institutional and associational life of the ethnic community and child-rearing practices so that the higher the participation the more traditional the child-rearing.

Hypothesis 3: There is a direct relationship between exposure to the host society through the mass media and child-rearing practices so that the higher the exposure the less traditional the practices.

Hypothesis 4: There is a direct relationship between the degree of attachment to the homeland and child-rearing practices so that the higher the attachment the more traditional the child-rearing practices.

VIII. Problems and Limitations

Every researcher faces certain problems when a study of this nature is conducted. Basically, the assumption had to be made that through the interviewing schedule the respondents will give reasonably accurate information. This is a big assumption since the Arabs in general are concerned with what people say about them and are not too open regarding their family life. In some instances, the respondents wanted me to know that they were raising "good" children so after I introduced myself and the purpose of my visit, they reacted by saying, "everything is all right; I have no problems raising my children". My answer was "I want to find out your opinions regarding raising children".

This was usually enough to get started.

Another issue that the interviewers and I faced was that of suspicion. Many of these families had come to America from war zones. They were afraid that our purposes were political or that we had something to do with the immigration services. This was most evident to me in questioning them about being members in organizations. Perhaps the choice of words was not sound. Moreover, many of the respondents were suspicious of signing the Human Subjects release form especially after they were assured that their names would not be used in the study.

Writing down the responses and using a tape-recorder presented problems also. This was not suprising to me since the Arab culture in general is not a verbal culture, and the Arabs have an aversion to forms and signing papers.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The central concern of this research is to investigate the role of ethnic families in the process of assimilation. This process can involve a persistence in ethnic behaviour and/or a certain degree of change. The focus of the research is a group of Arab ethnic families who reside in a community located in Southeast Michigan. The area of behaviour under study is the rearing of children. Child-rearing practices are used as indicators of ethnic continuity or change.

In this chapter, a description of these families and the child-rearing practices they follow in their homes is presented. The description provides a basis for assessing change or persistence. Results from testing relationships between certain designated child-rearing and societal variables are also presented.

I. Description of the Data

In order to describe the social organization of these Arab families certain variables are selected. These variables are: the process of decision-making in the home, marriage patterns, how the mothers perceive their role as

women and how they perceive the role of other women especially those who are employed outside the home. Certain variables pertaining to the rearing of children are also selected. These are: infant care, how mothers train their children to be independent/dependent, how children are punished and rewarded, how mothers handle aggression and sex-role differences.

A. Social Organization of Arab Families

1. Decision Making in the Home

Arab mothers selected for this study were asked who in their families made the final decisions with respect to certain issues. The question was, "who in your family makes the final decision with respect to the following? You, your husband or both of you?" Then a list of issues was presented to them. The response to the above question and the list of issues are presented in Table 4-1.

The data in the table indicate a shift from a traditionally authoritarian family structure to a more equalitarian one with the wives assuming more responsibility in certain areas of family activities than traditionally common. The wives assume more responsibility for house expenses, dicipline of children, children's clothing, and their own clothing. The husbands share with their wives in deciding where to live (59 percent), dicipline of children (56 percent), whom to visit (64 percent) and timing of children (46 percent). In a few cases the women told me that even though their husbands

Table 4-1

Percent of Wives and Husbands Involved in
Final Decisions on Certain Given Issues

Issues	You	Your Husband	Both	NA/No Decision	Total	N
Place to live	7	34	59		100	41
Buy a car	5	44	49	2	100	41
Open a bank account	3	50	42	5	100	40
House expenses	29	25	46		100	41
Dicipline of children	37	7	56		100	41
Children's clothing	52	10	38		100	40
Timing of children	17	5	46	22	100	41
Whom to visit	10	21	64	5	100	39
Wife's clothes	46	25	29		100	41
Wife's visits with women	40	43	15		98	40

made the final decisions they asked their opinions first. The husbands still assume a large responsibility for issues such as opening a bank account (50 percent) and their wives' activities outside the home (43 percent).

2. Marriage Patterns

The emphasis in traditional family settings has been on marriage to relatives especially cousins. In this study most of the mothers were married before they came to this country; only four were married here. The question posed to each of them "how did you meet your husband?" is, if anything, an indicator of family structure before immigration. The data indicated that the family at large still played an important role in marriage but that role was being shared by the involved individuals themselves. See Table 4-2.

Table 4-2

Percent of Mothers Meeting Husbands
Through Certain Channels

Method of Meeting	N	%
Through School or Work	7	17
Through the Family	16	39
Through Neighbors	7	17
Through Other People	11	27
Totals	41	100

Males and females still meet each other through the family in 39 percent of the cases. Other people and neighbors

have a role in 37 percent of the marriages. This means that neighbors or friends who know a girl will talk about her to families with eligible males. In general, though, such marriages are arranged by the elders in the families involved which is basically a traditional way. Moreover, when the mothers were asked about their husbands, 41 percent of them married relatives.

Some changes are evident in the marriage process. Seventeen percent of the mothers met their husbands through school or through a work situation but, as they reported, they still had to go through the traditional way of having families ask for the hand of the bride and approve the marriage. So, in general, the background of these mothers is basically traditional with regard to their marriage patterns.

3. Role of Women

A related issue to the organization of the family is how women perceive their role in life. The question asked was: "what do you think is the role of a woman in life?". The question evoked a number of varied responses. To facilitate the analysis the answers were categorized as follows: a woman's role towards herself, her role towards her husband, her role towards her children, her role towards her household and her role towards society. Only eleven women (27 percent) mentioned that a woman has a role towards herself. The major role mentioned under that category was "to be respected". Only one woman said that

her role should include work outside the home, another that her role should include "taking care of herself", and two mentioned "being educated" as part of a woman's role towards herself

Thirty-three women (80 percent) mentioned that the role of women is to bear and raise children. Twenty-five women (61 percent) mentioned a women's role as involving duties toward their husbands. Their duties were mostly to take care of the husbands, support them, and respect them. Eighteen women (44 percent), mentioned housework as part of their role. Only seven (17 percent) mentioned that a women's role involves duties toward society namely to be an "active member of a society" and to "help others". It was hard to get specific explanations of the latter responses.

From the above one can see that these women view their first responsibility as bearing and raising children, then taking care of their husbands, then keeping house, then being respected and finally to be a part of society at large. So the family is the most important thing in the lives of these women, and that is how they see the role of every woman. Yet, the fact that a few mentioned that their role involves other than their families is an indication of certain changes.

The picture was a little different when these women were asked what they thought of women who worked outside the house. The question was "what is your opinion of a woman who works outside her home?" Now, their responses

were not about themselves, since none of them were employed; they were responding to a situation that does not involve them. The responses were difficult to analyze because each woman gave more than one response to the question. The multiplicity of responses is why the following percentages do not add to 100 percent. Here again the responses were placed into four categories to facilitate the analysis:

1. It is good for a woman to work.
2. It is acceptable for a woman to work.
3. It is not good for a woman to work.
4. She benefits personally when she works.

The categories were created according to who benefits or does not benefit from a woman's employment. Forty-one percent of the women said that it was good for a women to work. Fifty-three percent of those thought that she could help her husband. Some, twenty-nine percent, said it would be good if she can cope with her house and her outside job and others, twelve percent, said it is good if there is someone else to raise the children. One woman said that it is good only if a woman is respectable.

Forty-four percent said that it is acceptable for a woman to work but only if certain conditions existed such as having no children (24 percent), having economic need (24 percent), not being married (6 percent), and being able to cope with the demands of the housework and an outside job (24 percent).

Thirty-seven percent of the women feel it is not good for a woman to be employed. The major reasons here are family related. A woman should not leave her children and her house (73 percent), it is hard to work and have a family (13 percent) and she should be respected (13 percent). Respect used in this context means to be hidden in her home and not exposed. This is an issue related to the modesty code in that culture and is discussed more fully later.

Only nine of the respondents looked at outside employment as benefiting the woman herself. Three of them, thirty-three percent, said that a woman who works helps herself. Four (44 percent) said that she can increase her education and widen her horizon by working. Eleven percent said a woman who works has an excellent future and another (11 percent) said she becomes more sociable as a result of contact with others.

A few of the respondents, seventeen percent, felt strongly against outside employment. Five of these (71 percent) said that they did not like to work outside their homes, and three (29 percent) said that their husbands do not like them to work. In general forty-four percent of these women's responses indicated that it was good for a woman to work and twenty-two percent of their responses indicated a woman can benefit from working. This means that a large percentage, sixty-six percent of the responses were favorable towards outside employment. This is very

interesting since none of these women were employed, even though fifty percent of them had unemployed or laid-off husbands. Despite that, I see their responses as indicating a big shift from traditional female roles to what they perceive the role of women should be.

This shift in attitude towards women is also evident in the mothers' expectations for their children's future. Two questions were posed to the mothers regarding that: "How much education should a girl or boy get?" and "What do you hope for your child's future?". Seventy-one percent of the women said that a girl should get as much education as a boy. These responses were contrary to expectations. Since their roles revolved around home-related activities the assumption was that the women would desire the same for their girls and thus anticipated little education for them. This was a great departure from tradition. Only one woman expressed traditional thinking in this matter. She said, "I don't like girls to get a lot of education; it is enough if they learn to read and write only; I want my girl to be a house-wife like me". This woman thought a boy should get the "highest education possible". In their expectations for the future of their children, eighty-seven percent of mothers of females said they wanted their girls to be educated and only thirteen percent wanted their girls to be married. In general, the Arab women were traditional in what they saw their role as women to be but a transition to non-traditional attitudes could be detected. This outlook

was more apparent when they talked about other women and more so when their daughters were concerned. They seemed content with what they were doing but wanted something different for the next generation: their daughters.

B. Child-Rearing Practices

Any study on the rearing of children should include information on feeding, weaning and toilet-training. Psychologists are interested in those aspects mainly because of their influence on later behaviour. In this study, the purpose of describing these aspects is comparative. What the mothers do here is compared to what takes place in the culture of origin for the purpose of detecting change.

1. Infant Care

a. Feeding

Breast feeding is a normal practice of feeding in Arab countries, and infants are usually fed on demand (Prothro, 1961:71; Miner and DeVos, 1960:43; and Ammar, 1954:99). Williams, in 1968, found that the use of the bottle as a supplement to the breast was becoming more common, and women were experiencing uncertainty about the practice of breast feeding (1968:28-29). The Arab women who live here also tended towards using the bottle for feeding. Prothro found that ninety-two percent of the Lebanese mothers in his study breast-fed their children (1961:71) while here over half of the mothers, fifty-nine percent, used the bottle exclusively and only a minority,

twelve percent, breast-fed their children. Quite a few, twenty-nine percent, used both the bottle and the breast. The present data show no meaningful differences between males and females.

Even though the Arab mothers here have resorted to the use of a "modern" way of bottle feeding, they have persisted in the traditional way of feeding on demand rather than on a schedule. Some sex differences were apparent here. More boys than girls were fed on demand and more girls than boys were fed on schedule but the differences were small. See Table 4-3.

Table 4-3

Percent of Mothers Feeding Infants on
Demand or by Schedule by Sex of Infant

Type of Feeding	Sex of Infant					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
On Demand	12	67	14	61	26	63
By Schedule	6	33	9	39	15	37
Totals	18	100	23	100	41	100

b. Weaning

Most of the respondents, 74 percent, weaned their infants when they were between one and two and one-half years of age. Two of these children (males), now either five or six years old, were still taking the bottle. Weaning included both the bottle and the breast. Sex

differences are apparent in weaning. By age two and a half almost all the girls were weaned but for the boys it was by age three and a half that most of them were weaned. This is in line with traditional weaning practices. See Table 4-4 below.

Table 4-4

Percent of Time Male and Female Infants Were Weaned

Time Weaned	Sex of Child					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than 1 year	1	6	2	9	3	7
1 year to 1 yr 5 mos	4	22	9	39	13	32
1 yr 6 mos to 2 yr 5 mos	6	33	11	48	17	41
2 yr 6 mos to 3 yr 5 mos	6	33	0	0	6	15
More than 3 yrs 6 mos	1	6	1	4	2	5
Totals	18	100	23	100	41	100

Weaning techniques were investigated. A large number of mothers reported that their infants left the bottle by themselves. Five mothers reported using a bitter substance on the breast or salt in the bottle. In one case the child was taken away from the mother. In twenty-five percent of the cases, either food was given or a cup introduced. The use of a bitter substance or the separation of mother and child are both extreme measures of weaning traditionally resorted to by Arab mothers. Many mothers in Lebanon

mentioned those techniques (Prothro, 1961:78) while here only a few, fifteen percent, did.

c. Warmth

A related aspect of child-rearing to weaning is the mothers' warmth towards her infant. This was measured by the mother's response to the infant's cry. The question posed to the mothers was as follows: "Some mothers carry their infants when they cry, others let them cry so they would not get used to being held. What did you do with X ?". Traditionally, mothers indulged their children and picked them up when they cried, but here the majority of mothers, fifty-six percent, would let their children cry and only thirty-nine percent would hold them. There were sex differences in this aspect of child-rearing but contrary to expectations Arab mothers here exhibited more warmth to their daughters than they did to their sons. See Table 4-5 below.

Table 4-5

Percent of Mothers Expressing Warmth to Their Infants
by Sex of Infant

Expressing Warmth	Sex of Infant					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hold infant	6	33	10	44	16	39
Let infant cry	11	61	12	52	23	56
Good infant	1	6	1	4	2	5
Totals	18	100	23	100	41	100

d. Toilet Training

Toilet training is another important aspect of early socialization. A series of questions in the interview schedule dealt with that area. The first question dealt with how the child was trained. Most of the mothers here, forty-five percent, used a "potty" chair. The next most used method was to set the child on the toilet. Twenty-three percent of the mothers reported using that method. A few of them, eighteen percent, let the child imitate them or an older sibling.

Then the mothers were asked when they started to toilet-train their children, how long it took them and whether or not the children were easy to train.

Most Arab mothers here, sixty-one percent, started toilet training when their children were between one and one and one-half years old and quite a few, twenty-seven percent, started between one and one-half years and two years. Only seven percent of the mothers started before their children were a year old and five percent waited until after the children were two years old. Anthropologists that have studied this aspect of child-rearing in the Middle East reported that Arab mothers started toilet-training early and took that rather casually (Williams, 1968:31; Ammar, 1954:104; and Fuller, 1961:36). Miner and DeVos refer in general to the casual attitude toward elimination (Miner and DeVos, 1960:51). In contrast, the more urbanized mothers in Prothro's Lebanese

study took toilet-training seriously and resorted to physical punishment in cases of relapse but were unable to achieve early results (Prothro, 1961:87). Here mothers were successful in achieving results probably because they did not start toilet-training very early. Moreover, eighty-three percent of them reported that their children were easy to toilet train and did not take very long to achieve complete training. Most of them took four months and a few took between nine months and one year for successful completion. Sex differences showed here but were very small. More mothers of boys than girls started toilet-training earlier but took longer. In general though, most mothers started later than traditionally common and took less time to train their children in this area of behaviour.

Arab mothers here take toilet-training seriously and about fifty percent of them resorted to corporal punishment when a child forgot and had an accident in his/her clothing. Scolding was a next most used method. A few mothers, ten percent, took time to explain to the child what had happened and to tell him/her not to repeat that.

From the above, certain changes in aspects of child-rearing can be detected. Bottle feeding has become more popular but infants were still fed on demand. Weaning was accomplished by most mothers when the children were 2 years old. Only a few mothers resorted to extreme traditional measures to wean their infants. When it came

to holding the infants when they cried, mothers were not traditional. A majority of them let the infants cry. Toilet training was accomplished easily. Most mothers started when their infants were between a year and one and one-half years which is not traditional and accomplished the training in a relatively short period of time varying from a week to four months. A few mothers took a little longer but the majority took up to four months. Mothers here took toilet training seriously and resorted to discipline when their infants had relapses.

2. Mother-Child Interactions

The socialization of a child goes beyond the fulfillment of his/her physical needs in matters of feeding, weaning and toilet-training. It is a process that extends beyond that early stage and continues for many years. Certain aspects of socialization that are being concentrated on have to do with how Arab mothers train children in dependence/independence, how they handle expressed aggression, how they reward or punish children, and sex differentiation. Sex differences in the variables are also discussed.

a. Independence/Dependence Training

Training in independence/dependence is an important aspect of mother-child interaction. "The infant is usually rewarded for depending on his mother, but the older child must learn to balance emotional dependency with some degree of independent action" (Prothro, 1961:132). In the Middle

East, mothers are usually delighted to have children and generally indulge those children to a great extent. For this reason the assumption was made that the Middle Eastern children would be dependent on their mothers and that training in independent behaviour would be delayed. Estimates of the dependency of children were based on the mothers' responses to several questions. The physical and the emotional aspects of dependency were investigated.

Physical dependency was estimated by asking the following question: "At what age did your child start to perform the following activities?". Then a list of activities were presented to the mothers. The list consisted of the following: feeding self, dressing self, tying own shoes, bathing self, venturing away from home, crossing the street and using the bathroom without assistance. The data gathered from responses to the above questions are presented in Table 4-6. The data show that Arab children here are socialized to be independent at an early age in certain areas of behaviour namely personal matters. Forty-nine percent of these Arab children learn to feed themselves by age two and one-half years; forty-three percent learn to dress themselves by age three and one-half years; thirty-seven percent learn to tie their shoes by age four and one-half years; and about all of those children can use the bathroom without help by age three and one-half years. The only personal matter in which children are not trained to be independent is taking

Table 4-6

Percent of Mothers Training Their Children to be
Physically Independent in Given Activities
at Given Ages of Children

Age of Child in Years	Activities						
	Feed Self N=41	Dress Self N=40*	Tie own shoes N=41	Bathe Self N=41	Venture From Home N=41	Cross Street N=40*	Use Bath Room N=40*
1 to 1-1/2	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
1-1/2 to 2-1/2	49	8	2	0	0	5	48
2-1/2 to 3-1/2	22	43	5	7	2	5	40
3-1/2 to 4-1/2	5	23	37	7	10	25	8
4-1/2 to 5-1/2	0	20	29	10	27	20	3
5-1/2 to 6 years	2	5	12	17	20	25	3
Not Yet	7	3	15	59	42	20	0
Totals	100	102	100	100	101	100	102

* One woman did not have any responses to those activities

a bath. A majority of mothers, fifty-nine percent, did not trust their children to clean themselves. These children seem restricted when it comes to venturing away from home and to a lesser extent in crossing the street by themselves.

The data was also analyzed to create a score of physical independence training for each mother. Responses were divided into high and low dependency. For example, if a mother said that her child started feeding himself/herself by age two and one-half, she was given a score of low dependency training. This was done for each activity. Then each mother was given a total score of high or low independence training. The result was a scale for physical independence ranging from low, one, to high, five. See Table 4-7.

Table 4-7

Physical Independence Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
N =	9	6	9	10	7	0	0	41
% =	22	15	22	24	17	0	0	100

The scale was then collapsed into three categories of "low", "medium", and "high" independence as shown in Table 4-8. The scales also showed that most Arab mothers train their children to be physically independent. Forty-two

Table 4-8

Collapsed Physical Independence Scale

	Low	Medium	High	Totals
N =	15	9	17	41
% =	37	22	42	101

percent of them scored "high" on the scale, twenty-two percent scored "medium", and thirty-seven percent scored "low".

Emotional dependency training was also explored. Estimates of the emotional dependency of children were based on responses to the following questions:

1. At what age did X start to make own decisions?
2. How does X behave when you leave him/her with someone else?
3. Does X require a lot of your attention?
4. Does X follow you around?
5. Does X ask you to help him/her with something he/she can do by himself/herself?
6. Does X ask you to help him/her with something when you are busy?
7. Some mothers like to know where their children are all the time and others let their children fare for themselves. What do you do with X ?

As far as making their own decisions is concerned Arab children tended to be independent; about half of them started to make decisions between the ages of three and a half and four and a half years. Arab children did not misbehave when they were left at home because they usually

stayed with either their fathers, twenty-seven percent; older siblings, thirty-four percent, or other relatives, twenty-seven percent. One woman said she left her child with a neighbor and one said that she had never left her child. The mothers who said their children did not misbehave were seventy-eight percent of the sample. Eight percent said their children cried and another eight percent said their children tried to follow them. This question was considered a bad measure of emotional independence, though, and was dropped from further analysis. The next question dealt with the amount of attention a child requires of the mother. Forty-nine percent of mothers said that their children require a lot of attention while fifty-one percent said their children require little or no attention. This question indicates that a little over half the Arab children are not dependent on their mothers emotionally while the rest are. Again thirty-five percent of the mothers indicated that their children follow them around and hang onto them while sixty-five percent of them said their children did not do that or did that a little. This again indicates that a majority of the Arab children are not dependent in this area. Another indicator dealt with whether or not children would ask for help with something they could do by themselves. Only twenty-two percent of the mothers said their children would do that which indicates little dependency. What do the mothers do when they are asked for something and they are busy? The

answers fell in the following categories:

1. I tell him/her to wait
2. I leave my work and help him/her with what is needed.
3. I tell him/her to do it alone
4. I scold him/her for asking me.

When it came to allowing their children to fare for themselves an overwhelming majority, ninety-eight percent, insisted that their children tell them where they are all the time. A number of mothers check frequently to see where the child is or allow him/her to play close to the house. I assume that the responses of some mothers were not accurate because they did not want to give me an impression of being bad mothers. In a few cases the mother would say she knew where her child was and then I would find out later during the interview that she really did not know. But I heard a couple of mothers scold their children and threaten to punish them because they did not tell them where they had gone. But in general, and as far as this particular aspect of dependency is concerned, the data show that mothers were over-protective of their children. In many of their responses here and to other questions, mothers expressed fear of the outside society.

An emotional independence scale was constructed following the same procedure for constructing the physical independence scale. In this scale, six questions were used but only five ranks resulted. The reason was that none of the mothers got a high score for all of the questions.

This scale also ranged from low independence, one, to high independence, five. The scale was as follows:

Table 4-9

Emotional Independence Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Totals
N =	7	10	9	10	5	0	41
% =	17	24	22	24	12	0	100

The above categories were then collapsed into "low", "medium" and "high" as shown in Table 4-10.

Table 4-10

Collapsed Emotional Independence Scale

	Low	Medium	High	Totals
N =	17	9	15	41
% =	41	22	36	99

In general, most Arab mothers ranged from medium to high in their independence training but a large minority, forty-one percent, scored low on the scale.

Sex differences were studied with regard to emotional independence training. The data presented in Table 4-11 indicate that female children are more emotionally dependent on their mother than male children. They require more attention; they follow the mother around; and more of

Table 4-11

Percent of Mothers Training Children in Emotional
Independence for Given Situations by Sex of Child

Type of Situations	Sex of Child				Total	
	Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	N	%

Requires Attention						
Yes	8	44	12	52	20	49
No	8	44	6	26	14	34
Little	2	11	5	22	7	17
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	18	99	23	100	41	100
Follows Mother						
Yes	4	24	10	44	14	35
No	12	71	10	44	22	55
Little	1	6	3	13	4	10
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	17*	101	23	101	40	100
Requires Help						
Yes	2	11	7	30	9	22
No	13	72	14	61	27	66
Little	3	17	2	9	5	12
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	18	100	23	100	41	100

* One of the women gave no answer.

them require help with things they could do by themselves. When it comes to behaviour when the mother leaves and knowing where the child is, there are no sex differences.

The sex differences shown in Table 4-11 may be due to the fact that boys are given more freedom to be outside the home than girls, are and thus the mothers have the girls with them for longer periods of time. During many of the interviews young girls were either inside the house or playing on the porch. Even though 42 percent of all mothers did not let their children venture away from home (Table 4-6), a large percentage of them were mothers of females. When the data for that particular variable were analyzed for sex differences, 48 percent of mothers of females did not allow venturing away as opposed to 33 percent of mothers of boys. Moreover differences may also be due to wanting the girls to be more emotionally dependent on their families than boys. In fact I related to one of the mothers that my own little girl was very independent and I encouraged that. She was suprised and said in a scolding manner, "you must not do that because she won't be compassionate towards you when she grows up." In general, Arab mothers trained their children to be independent with regard to physical tasks such as tying shoes and feeding self. For some aspects of emotional independence, mothers tended to encourage independence, but they were over-protective when children interacted with the outside. A large number of them did not let their children

venture away from home and to a lesser extent cross the street. The mothers also kept close watch over them when they were outside the home.

b. Handling Aggression

The mothers in this study were asked what course of action they would follow when aggression was expressed by their children toward them personally, toward siblings and toward other children in the neighborhood.

As for aggression against the mother, the question posed was "what would you do if X got angry and hit you or insulted you?". Twenty-one of these mothers, a little over fifty percent, said that type of behaviour had never happened in their homes. In ten of these homes, twenty-four percent, the mother would use "beating" (any form of physical punishment such as slapping/spanking) as a response to such behaviour. This was the most common method of punishment. Other responses included scolding, seven percent, and sending the child to his/her own room, ten percent. None of the mothers ignored that type of behaviour on the part of their children. I also asked "what would you do if X was rude to you?". Here fifty-nine percent of the mothers would resort to physical punishment, hitting or beating, at times harshly. More mothers, fifteen percent, would scold their children than they would in the above situation. Only one mother would ignore such behaviour.

Another question posed to the mothers dealt with

aggression expressed toward siblings. The question was "what would you do if X quarreled with his/her siblings?". Here again the most common reaction was hitting or beating, thirty-two percent, followed by scolding, twenty-four percent. A couple of the mothers used both methods. Seventeen percent of the respondents would send the children to their rooms or separate them.

Dealing with aggression towards other children in the neighborhood with whom the child played was also explored. The question was similar to the above one: "what do you do if X quarreled with the neighbor's children?". The responses of the mothers were different. Thirteen percent said their children did not fight with other children. In cases of aggression, hitting was still a frequent response but only eighteen percent of the mothers resorted to it as opposed to thirty-two percent who used hitting to correct aggression toward siblings. More mothers, thirty-three percent, used separation as a means to correct aggression in this situation. They would either send the neighbor children home or send their own children to their own rooms. Another frequent response was scolding. A few mothers tried to find the reason behind the fight and who was at fault and to punish the offender.

Then the mothers were asked how they felt about fighting in general. The majority of them, fifty-four percent, did not like their children to fight at all. The rest, forty-six percent, said that they want their children

to fight only in self defense, but they did not want them to initiate the fighting. Some differences occurred in the feelings between mothers of males and those of females.

See Table 4-12 below.

Table 4-12

Percent of Mothers' Opinions on Expressed
Aggression By Sex of Child

Mothers' Opinion	Sex of Child					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Dislike Fighting	9	50	13	57	22	54
Approve in Self Defense	9	50	10	43	19	46
Totals	18	100	23	100	41	100

More mothers of females than males disliked fighting, fifty-seven percent as opposed to fifty percent, but mothers of both girls and boys wanted their children to fight if it was a case of self defense. This was interesting because in an Arab cultural milieu, girls are socialized to be very timid and lady-like while boys are encouraged and socialized to be rough.

Mothers were also asked what their husbands' opinions were on that matter. Their responses are presented in Table 4-13. A smaller percentage of fathers than mothers disliked fighting and more of them wanted their children to defend themselves.

Table 4-13

Percent of Fathers' Opinions on Expressed
Aggression by Sex of Child

Fathers' Opinion	Sex of Child					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Dislike Fighting	8	44	13	57	21	51
Approve in Self Defense	10	56	10	44	20	49
Totals	18	100	23	101	41	100

However, more fathers of females than males disliked fighting.

In general, Arab mothers who live here did not tolerate expressions of aggression especially against themselves, and they punished that severely. Mothers also opposed aggression against other children but seemed more permissive in cases of self-defense. Mothers and fathers of female children were a little more opposed to aggression expressed by their girls than parents of boys were.

A Handling Aggression Scale was constructed based on the responses to the above questions. In this scale, the responses were also placed in "high", "medium" and "low" categories as was done in the previous scales. But the basis for categorizing here was whether a response was judged to be "non-traditional" or "traditional". An

example of how this was done follows. One of the questions asked regarding aggression was "what do you do if X got angry and hit and insulted you?". The answers were classified as follows:

1. deprive him/her of something he/she likes
2. send to room (away from me)
3. hit/spank/hit harshly
4. threaten to punish/to hit
5. ignore him/her
6. scold him/her
7. won't talk to him/her and be upset with him/her
8. that never happens.

Based on the literatrure review (Prothro, 1961; Najarian, 1959; and Sharabi, 1977), answers to (1), (2), (5), and (6), were considered "non-traditional" and given a score of two and answers (3), (4), and (7) were considered "traditional". Answer (8) was considered as missing data. The answers to all the questions regarding aggression fell in the following scale ranging from traditional, low, to non-traditional, high. See Table 4-14.

Table 4-14

Handling Aggression Scale

	Traditional	Non-traditional		Totals
	Low	Medium	High	
N=	18	17	6	41
%=	44	42	15	101

The scale shows that mothers were either "traditional" or "medium" in the way they handled aggression. Only fifteen percent tended to fall in the "non-traditional" category. This means that they resorted mostly to traditional means of discipline such as hitting.

c. Rewards and Punishments

All mothers resort to the use of rewards and/or punishments to achieve their expectations of their children. Arab mothers do that here too. A major question posed to the mothers regarding rewards was as follows: "some parents reward their children when they behave well, others expect children to behave well without reward. What is your opinion of this matter?" The majority of the mothers, seventy-six percent, said that they rewarded good behaviour. A number of them thought rewards should be used because they encouraged children to behave well. Twenty-four percent expected good behaviour of their children without reward. One mother told me "I don't like to use rewards", another, "it is better not to reward them (children)", and yet another, "we really don't like to do that (rewarding) too much".

Then the mothers were asked what type of rewards they would use. There were two types, physical rewards and emotional/verbal rewards. Fifty-two percent of the mothers said they would hug and kiss their children, thank them and say "good boy" or "good girl". A large percentage, forty-two percent, used rewards that involved buying the

child something such as clothing, ice cream and candy, toys or by giving the child money to buy things from the store. Seven percent said they took their children out to a place they liked such as McDonald's restaurants. A scale for rewards was created based on the mothers' responses to a number of questions dealing with rewards. An emotional/verbal reward was placed in the non-traditional, "high", category. A strictly tangible reward or no reward at all was placed in the "low" category. Responses including both types were placed in the "medium" category. The responses fell in the scale as shown in Table 4-15.

Table 4-15

Types of Rewards Scale

	Low	Medium	High	Totals
N =	20	19	2	41
% =	49	46	5	100

The scale indicated that even though mothers said they rewarded behaviour, they ranged from "low" to "medium" on the types of rewards they resorted to.

Punishing undesired behaviour is another aspect of discipline which was explored in this study. But unlike the question about rewards, I offered the mothers certain specific situations and asked them how they would respond if these situations occurred.

The results to these questions are shown in Table 4-16.

The results indicate the following:

1. Mothers resorted to hitting often but not exclusively. The offenses most often corrected by hitting were lying to the mother and being noncompliant. Thus mothers use hitting in personal relationships with them.

2. Scolding, i.e., verbal interaction, is an important means of punishment. It is the most important in cases where a child breaks something in the house, misbehaves in front of guests or is dirty. It is second in importance in cases where a child lies to the mother or is not compliant.

3. Some offenses are ignored, but not by many mothers. This is true in cases where a child breaks something (15 percent), jumps on furniture (5 percent), is not compliant (5 percent), is dirty (3 percent) and runs in the house without clothing (2 percent). There is one exception. Ignoring the child or doing nothing is the most common response in cases where a child is not respectful of property belonging to others in the family.

4. A majority of mothers (56 percent) said that their children do not run in the house without clothes. This is due to the great value of modesty in the Arab culture and to the fact that mothers make sure their children do not do that.

5. Threatening to punish, depriving the child of something she/he likes, and sending the child to his/her

TABLE 4-16

[illegible]

own room as ways of dicipline were not frequently used by the mothers. Extreme measures, such as forcing the child to kneel in a corner, were very infrequently used and then only when a child was not compliant.

Other questions related to discipline in general were also presented to the mothers. These had to do with who disciplines the child, the amount of hitting inflicted on a child and what type of deprivations were used. These questions and their responses are discussed in the section on sex roles.

A scale of types of punishment was created using a number of questions. These questions were the following:

1. do you hit your child?
2. how much do you hit your child?
3. how do you deprive your child?
4. what do you do if your child breaks something in the house?
5. what do you do if your child misbehaves infront of guests?
6. what do you do if your child lies to you?
7. what do you do if your child jumps on the furniture?
8. what do you do if your child is not compliant?
9. what do you do if your child is not tidy and clean?
10. what do you do if your child runs in the house without clothes?
11. what do you do if your child does not respect the property of other members of the family?

The responses of the mothers were put in a scale as shown in Figure 4-17. Then the categories were collapsed into "low" (traditional), "medium" and "high" (non-traditional) as shown in Table 4-18.

Table 4-17

Types of Punishment Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Totals
N =	2	4	3	8	6	5	7	1	3	2	41
% =	5	10	7	20	15	12	17	2	7	5	100

Table 4-18

Collapsed Types of Punishment Scale

	Low	Medium	High	Totals
N =	23	5	13	41
% =	56	12	32	100

Most of the mothers, 56 percent, fell on the traditional end of the scale. About a third of them scored high on the scale which is significant. I see this as an indication of change from a more traditional to a less traditional way of discipline.

d. Expectations of Children's Behaviour

What do mothers expect the behaviour of a kindergarten child to be? The question posed to the mothers in that regard was the following: "What, in your opinion, are the characteristics of a 'good' boy or a 'good' girl who is five or six years of age?" An overwhelming majority, seventy-six percent, said that a

good child is an obedient one, well-mannered and respectful of adults. The next most common response was that a good child is a responsible one. This last characteristic was mentioned by about ten percent of the mothers. The rest of the mothers mentioned 'honest' (2 percent), helps with the house and siblings (2 percent), not destructive (2 percent), quiet (2 percent) and intelligent (5 percent). In Prothro's study, Lebanese mothers also thought of the ideal child as one who is obedient, polite, neat and not aggressive (Prothro, 1961:99). Even though this data was similar to Prothro's there were important differences. In both studies the emphasis was on characteristics that have to do with relationships with other people. This is a value in the Arab culture; children are taught from a young age that they are to obey adults and be polite to others. They are socialized to function in a society which is basically other-oriented. In the Lebanese study more than half the mothers also mentioned 'tidy' and 'neat', characteristics that will improve relationships with others because they make one look good. In this study neatness and tidiness were not so crucial. The mothers here, even though there were only a few of them, expect a child to be responsible. This finding was unexpected since responsibility is a value in Arab culture especially in the socialization of females. Males, on the other hand, develop less responsibility based on the over-protectiveness of the mothers. Sharabi says in this regard

that an Arab mother is over-protective of her child and does not train him to take blame for his actions, thus an Arab child develops a sense of lack of responsibility (1977:248-249).

Mothers were also asked what they liked most about their own children. The most frequently mentioned good characteristics here were the following in order of frequency: 43 percent mentioned obedient, 38 percent quiet, 35 percent intelligent, 25 percent helps with the house and siblings, 20 percent honest and 10 percent clean. None of them mentioned "responsible". The findings here are in the most part consistent with Arab cultural values. I also asked them what they disliked most about their children. It is important to mention here again that Arab culture is very other-oriented and the mothers did not want a visitor, such as myself, to think that their children were bad. As a result, they hesitated before answering this question. In fact, a few mothers said that their children had no bad characteristics. In any event, the bad characteristics mentioned were the following: "obstinate, argumentative" (20 percent), "disobedient and rude" (18 percent), "destructive and reckless" (18 percent), "quarrels with siblings" (18 percent) and "interferes, asks too many questions" (13 percent). Here again being irresponsible was not mentioned as an undesirable characteristic. Some of the other bad characteristics mothers did not like about their children were: bad eating

habits, lying, screaming and crying, being silly and being dirty. But these were not mentioned too frequently.

e. Sex-Role Differentiation

In the literature review, it was discussed that Arab boys were given a more favorable treatment than Arab girls. For example, they were breast fed longer and pampered longer than girls. Moreover, from an early age, girls are socialized to assume roles that limit them to the house and to the rearing and bearing of children. Boys, on the other hand, are socialized to assume roles that deal with being bread winners of their families. Boys are trained to be aggressive and independent while girls are trained to be dependent, submissive and passive. This is reflected in the type of games that children play. "Games of physical endurance and those that allow the expression of aggression are typically male games while girls participate in rhythmic...games which reflect obedience training and conformity to the collectivity...their role-playing (reflects) not only nurturant behaviour but also responsibility training" (Al-Hamdani and Abu-Laban, 1971:190).

Sex-role differentiation is of crucial importance in the Arab socialization process and thus an assumption is made that this would be an area where the immigrants would persist in their patterns of child-rearing. Many mothers expressed their shock at how American girls are allowed to behave. One mother said based on her observation of

frequent interaction between American boys and girls, "they (American girls) are different than our girls; they have no honour". Another mother expressed her concern for her daughter by saying, "I fear for my girl if she has American friends". The value of the differential treatment of boys and girls and comments such as the above prompted an investigation of certain factors related to sex-roles. These were: how mothers of girls and of boys differed in their expectations of their children's future, differences among mothers of girls and of boys regarding their children's behaviour in general, differences in expectations of household chores, differences in the treatment of boys and girls with regards to punishments and rewards, differences in their independence training and how mothers differed in handling aggression expressed by girls and by boys.

(1) Mothers' Expectation for Children's Future.

All mothers have certain expectations and hopes for their children, and Arab mothers are not different. Arab mothers who reside here want all their children to get an education. Seventy-one percent of all mothers expected a girl to get as much education as a boy. My expectations were that a large number of answers would indicate traditional roles for the female children since over half of the women interviewed for the pilot study said that girls should get some education and then get married and only 40 percent of them said girls and boys should get

equal education. In this study only a few mothers are traditional in this respect. One of them wants her own girl to learn only how to read and write and then to become a housewife like herself. Another woman wants her girl to get only some secondary education.

As for the boys, 75 percent of the women in the present study thought boys should go to college and get a specialization in one of the professions. Five percent thought boys should only get a high school education while the rest, 20 percent, had no specific expectations. In general, the mothers were more specific about what they thought about a girl's education than they were about that of a boy.

The importance of education for these mothers came up again when they were asked what general expectations they had for their children's future. The initial responses I got during the interview were mostly "a good future", "a successful life" and similar comments. A few probes were used and the mothers responded more specifically. The data gathered from this question were coded according to the most frequently mentioned expectations. This resulted in four categories: get educated/specialized, get a job, get a spouse and have good morals/keep own honor. Responses that did not fit or were vague were dropped, and those that fit more than one category were counted more than once. For example, the mother who said, "I hope that my daughter can get an education, find a job and keep her honour" was

placed in three categories. See Table 4-19 for the responses of the mothers.

Table 4-19

Percent of Mothers' Responses Regarding Expectations
of Their Children's Future by Sex of Child

Mothers' Expecta- tions	Male		Sex of Child Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Education	18	75	20	61	38	67
Job	2	8	2	6	4	7
Spouse	-	-	3	9	3	5
Keep Honor/ Good Morals	4	17	8	24	12	21
Total	24*	100	33*	100	57*	100

* The totals are the number of responses and not the number of mothers

The data in the table indicate that 61 percent of the responses include education for their girls and only 9 percent include marriage. None of the mothers of boys were concerned about them getting married. More mothers of girls were concerned with good morals. For the males, mothers told me that they wanted their boys to be good people with high moral standards. Mothers of girls wanted their girls to keep their chastity and honour as females.

(2) Behaviour of Boys and Girls

The question posed to the mothers regarding the behaviour of children was, "do you feel that the way girls behave should be different than the way boys behave at this age (5-6 years)? How?" It was in the responses to this

question that traditional differential treatment of boys and girls surfaced. The answers were varied and overlapped at times but basically the majority of the mothers believed that there should be differences in behaviour among the sexes even at this age, while 27 percent of them believed that boys and girls should behave in a similar manner when they are this young. Of those who believed in differences, 30 percent said that the games girls participate in should be different than boys' games; girls should not ride bikes or climb trees like boys do. Girls should be quiet and feminine. Twenty-two percent mentioned family-related differences. They said that a girl should help her mother with household chores and with taking care of younger children. Moreover, a girl should "feel more with her family". What they mean here is that a girl should be more sensitive to her family's needs. Fifteen percent of the mothers said that boys should have more freedom than girls; they should be able to go with their friends while the girls should stay at home. About five percent gave vague answers.

Thus the responses to the above question show more traditionalism than answers to other questions. Perhaps this is due to the fact that this question referred more directly to actual behaviour on the part of the children rather than to the mothers' expectation of that behaviour. It should be emphasized, though, that over a quarter of the mothers indicated equality of behaviour among boys and

girls. This is a significant shift from traditional Arab culture where boys and girls are trained from a very young age to assume different roles and are thus expected to behave differently.

(3) Household Chores

Mothers were asked whether or not they expected their children to perform household chores. This question focused on the specific kindergarten child under study. Even though the questions referred to expectations the mothers responded in a manner indicating actual behaviour. The data show a shift from traditional Arab culture as far as male socialization is concerned. Boys are traditionally socialized to assume roles dealing with public life and girls are socialized to assume home-related roles. The present data support the latter but not the former. Eighty-seven percent of mothers of females expected their girls to do housework and 61 percent of mothers of boys did also. They gave examples of how the boys help by dusting, setting the table and even helping with the dishes.

(4) Independence Training

Arab mothers trained their male and female children differently in the area of physical independence but the differences among the sexes were small. See Table 4-20. More boys than girls are trained to be physically independent, 44 percent as opposed to 39 percent, but the differences are small. The differences also showed in the first columns where more girls than boys are trained to be

Table 4-20

Percent of Mothers Training Their Children in
Physical Independence by Sex of Child

Physical Indepen- dence	Male		Sex of Child Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	6	33	9	39	15	37
Medium	4	22	5	22	9	22
high	8	44	9	39	17	42
Totals	18	100	23	100	41	101

less independent, 39 percent as opposed to 33 percent, but again the differences are not large.

Emotional independence training, on the other hand, shows great differences among the sexes. See Table 4-21. The data show that fifty-six percent of the male children and twenty-two percent of the female children are trained to be emotionally independent. The reverse is also true. Fifty-two percent of the female children and twenty-eight percent of the male children are trained to be less independent in this area.

(5) Handling Aggression

Handling aggression was another area analyzed for sex differences. Large differences were not expected since the variables included in this concept were aggression against mother, against siblings and against other children in the neighbourhood. See Table 4-22.

Table 4-21

Percent of Mothers Training Their Children in
Emotional Independence By Sex of Child

Emotional Independence	Male		Sex of Child Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	5	28	12	52	17	41
Medium	3	17	6	26	9	22
High	10	56	5	22	15	37
Totals	18	101	23	100	41	100

TABLE 4-22

Percent of Mothers Handling of Aggression
by Sex of Child

Handling Aggression	Male		Sex of Child Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	7	39	11	48	18	44
Medium	7	39	10	43	17	42
High	4	22	2	9	6	15
Totals	18	100	23	100	41	101

In general mothers tend to use more physical punishment in this area. They are harder on their girls than they are on their boys. Twenty-two percent of them are less traditional in handling aggression expressed by their male children than that expressed by their female children. Moreover, forty-eight percent of them are more traditional in handling aggression expressed by their female children. Quite a few of the mothers scored "medium" on the "handling aggression" scale which indicates a movement away from traditionalism.

Sex differences did not hold when the mothers were asked about aggression in general. Mothers of both boys and girls disliked fighting and allowed it only in cases of self-defense. So they teach their girls and boys how to handle fighting equally, but they themselves are harder on their girls in handling their aggression. See Table 4-22.

(6) Types of Rewards

Arab mothers tended to reward their girls differently than they rewarded their boys. It was discussed earlier that "high" types of rewards include verbal-emotional rewards and "low" types include physical, tangible rewards such as giving money and candy. The "medium" types include a mixture of both. See Table 4-23. Very few mothers, two of them, resort to non-traditional types of rewards which are of the emotional type. Both of these mothers are mothers of boys. To analyze sex differences then, I concentrated on the medium category.

Table 4-23

Percent of Mothers Using Certain Types of Rewards
by Sex of Child

Types of Rewards	Sex of Child				Total	
	Male		Female		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
Low	11	61	9	39	20	49
Medium	5	28	14	61	19	46
High	2	11	-	-	2	5
Totals	18	100	23	100	41	100

The data in the table show big differences in how mothers treat their boys and girls. Sixty-one percent of mothers of girls use emotional rewards as opposed to twenty-eight percent of mothers of boys. This is also true for the "low" category. Boys get more tangible rewards than do girls. The reason behind these differences could stem from the fact that mothers give boys physical rewards such as money and they go out of the home and buy their reward while girls are given more emotional rewards because it is more traditional for girls to stay at home.

(7) Types of Punishments

It was discussed earlier that mothers were harder on their girls in handling aggression than they were on their boys. Is this true in handling other offenses as well? See Table 4-24. Differences among the sexes exist. More mothers of boys resort to less traditional punishments than mothers of girls, 39 and 26 percent respectively.

Table 4-24

Percent of Mothers Using Certain Types of Punishments
by Sex of Child

Types of Punishments	Sex of Child					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	10	56	13	57	23	56
Medium	1	6	4	18	5	12
High	7	39	6	26	13	32
Totals	18	101	23	101	41	100

There are no differences in the percentage of mothers resorting to more traditional-type punishments for both girls and boys. Mothers of females are experiencing some transition because 18 percent of them are using a mixture of traditional and non-traditional means of punishing offenses.

There were sex differences also in the amount of corporal punishment used with children. See Table 4-25. It was mentioned earlier that mothers said "sometimes" to avoid seeming harsh to me. But I feel that "sometimes" could very well be considered as "a lot". Therefore, rows one and two were considered together. Here again girls receive more physical punishment than boys do, sixty-one percent and thirty-three percent respectively. This was consistent with previous findings of this study.

Table 4-25

Percent of Mothers Resorting to Physical
Punishment for Correcting Misbehaviour
by Sex of Child

Amount of Physical Punishment	Male		Sex of Child Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
A Lot	1	6	1	4	2	5
Sometimes	5	28	13	57	18	44
Little	12	67	9	39	21	51
Totals	18	101	23	100	41	100

In conclusion, Arab mothers trained their boys and girls differently in the areas of physical and emotional independence. The males were trained to be more independent in both areas than were girls. The mothers showed non-traditional tendencies in the areas of educational expectations for girls, expecting housework of boys, and in the use of emotional rewards with girls. They persisted in traditional behaviour in the areas of expecting household chores of girls, certain female-type behaviour of girls and in the area of harsher punishment of the girls.

A Female-Roles Scale and a Male-Roles Scale were created to measure the degree of gender differentiation based on the responses to the following questions:

1. what, in your opinion, is the amount of education a girl should get?
2. what, in your opinion, is the amount of education a boy should get?

3. do you feel that the way girls behave should be different than the way boys behave at this age? (5-6 years)
4. do you expect your child to do housework?
5. what do you hope for your child's future?

The responses were divided among the sexes and then categorized. The same procedure was used here as was used for creating the other scales. The total number of variables for each scale was seven since the answers for question 5 fell in four categories and question 1 was used for the female-roles only and question 2 was used for the male-roles scale only. The scales were created on the basis of traditionalism so that the responses on the lower end of the scale reflect more traditional Arab practices and those in the higher end reflect practices compatible with the American culture. The former were termed "traditional" and the latter "non- traditional". See Table 4-26 for the female-roles scale and Table 4-27 for the male-roles scale. These scales were collapsed into "low", "medium", and "high" categories as shown in Tables 4-28 and 4-29 respectively. Most Arab mothers tend to be traditional in the way they socialize their children to assume differential sex roles. They basically believe in essential differences of behaviour among the sexes despite their expressed expectation of education for girls. There is a small percentage of mothers though who perceive a certain equality among the sexes. The medium category indicated that some women are in a process of change from a

Table 4-26

Female-Roles Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
N =	14	8	4	12	2	1	0	41
% =	34	20	10	29	5	2	0	100

Table 4-27

Male-Roles Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
N =	23	0	1	12	4	1	0	41
% =	56	0	2	29	10	2	0	99

Table 4-28

Collapsed Female-Roles Scale

	Low	Medium	High	Totals
N =	22	16	3	41
% =	54	39	7	100

Table 4-29

Collapsed Male-Roles Scale

	Low	Medium	High	Totals
N =	24	12	5	41
% =	59	29	12	100

traditional Arab culture to the United States mainstream culture or a mixture of both. Thirty-nine percent and twenty-nine percent of the responses in each scale respectively fell in that category. This is a significant finding in light of the fears mothers have expressed regarding the behaviour of their girls in this society.

This section of the chapter presented a detailed description of the organization of Arab families who have settled in Dearborn and their child-rearing practices. The description indicates that some changes are occurring in both areas. First, there is a change in the traditional authoritarian structure of these families in that the women assume more responsibilities in their homes here such as, house expenses, the discipline of children and their own clothing than they did before migration. Men still hold the power of decision in the area of the women's activities outside the home. Second, change is evident in the perception of women of their roles as women. They still believe that their primary role is home-related but they want their daughters to get an education and get trained in the professions. Third, mothers showed changes in the areas of infant care such as resorting to bottle feeding and starting toilet-training later than was traditionally common. Mothers also showed non-traditional tendencies in physical independence training and to a lesser extent in emotional independence training. Mothers still exhibit more traditional child-rearing in the areas of handling

aggression, types of punishments and types of rewards. Fourth, there are differences in the way mothers raise their girls and their boys. They are harder on the girls and resort to more traditional practices than they do with the boys except in the area of types of rewards used.

II. Testing of Hypotheses

Another major focus of this present study is to test hypotheses of relationships between child-rearing variables and societal variables designated for this research. This testing would show whether or not relationships exist which will then lead to some determination of which variables may or may not be contributing to changes in the area of child-rearing. The societal variables at issue are: exposure to the host society through mass media, attachment to homeland, participation in the ethnic community, and interaction with the host society. Each one of these independent variables will be tested with each of the child-rearing variables namely physical and emotional independence training, handling aggression, punishments and rewards and sex-role differentiation.

A. Homeland Attachment and Child-Rearing Practices

Attachment to the homeland was a variable created in this dissertation from a number of questions posed to the mothers. Homeland attachment was assumed to make a difference in whether or not these families were experiencing any changes in their child-rearing: the

higher the homeland attachment the more persistence in traditional child-rearing.

The indicators of homeland attachment were the following:

1. do you have American citizenship?
2. does your husband have American citizenship?
3. do you have contacts with your homeland?
4. do you receive letters from your relatives?
5. do you receive calls or call your relatives?
6. do your relatives from the homeland visit you?
7. do you hope to return to your homeland to live?
8. does your husband hope to return to your homeland to live?
9. do you own your own home?
10. what language do you speak at home with your husband and children?

Each response was coded as indicating "high" or "low" attachment to the homeland. The scale moves from a low orientation to mainstream American culture, referred to here as traditionalism, to a high orientation to the American culture, referred to as non-traditionalism. The responses to the above-mentioned indicators were scaled as shown in Table 4-30. The scale was then collapsed into three categories as shown in Table 4-31. The scale shows that most women, 54 percent, show high homeland attachment and 22 percent show medium homeland attachment while 24 percent experience low homeland attachment. This scale was used in testing the hypothesis that homeland attachment and child-rearing are related so that the more homeland attachment, the more traditional the child-rearing practices will be.

Table 4-30

Homeland Attachment Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
N =	4	7	11	9	7	2	1	41
% =	10	17	27	22	17	5	2	100

Table 4-31

Collapsed Homeland Attachment Scale

	Traditional High	Medium	Non-traditional Low	Totals
N =	22	9	10	41
% =	54	22	24	101

1. Homeland Attachment and Physical Independence

The data resulting from testing the physical independence training scale and the homeland attachment scale are presented in Table 4-32.

Table 4-32

Percent of Mothers' Experience of Homeland Attachment and Their Training of Children in Physical Independence

Homeland Attachment	Physical Independence Training						Total	
	Low		Medium		High		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
High	9	41	6	27	7	32	22	100
Medium	3	33	2	22	4	44	9	100
Low	3	30	1	10	6	60	10	100
Totals	15	37	9	22	17	41	41	100

$\chi^2=2.5332$	P=.63		DF=4		N=41			

The data showed a relationship between the two variables. High homeland attachment (traditionalism) is associated with low physical independence, since 41 percent of the mothers who scored low in the independence scale also scored "high" on the Homeland Attachment Scale. Moreover, 60 percent of those who scored high on the independence scale, also scored "low" (non-traditional) on the Homeland Attachment Scale. Because the cases are few, I further collapsed the two original scales. The direction of the relationship held and the significance level improved. See Table 4-33.

Table 4-33

Percent of Mothers' Experience of High and Low Homeland Attachment and Their Training of Children in High and Low Physical Independence

Homeland Attachment	Physical Independence				Total	
	Low		High		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
High	20	65	11	36	31	101
Low	4	40	6	60	10	100
Totals	24	59	17	41	41	100

X ² =1.8724 P=.17 DF=1 N=41						

2. Homeland Attachment and Emotional Independence

The Emotional Independence Scale was tested with homeland attachment. It was found that there is a relationship between the two variables; it was clearer for those who experienced high homeland attachment than for those who experienced low homeland attachment. Of those who are highly attached to their homeland, more tended to train their children to be emotionally dependent than independent, but the differences are small, 46 percent as opposed to 41 percent. Of those who are not highly attached to their homeland, 40 percent train their children to be independent and 40 percent train them to be dependent. In general, I can say that only high homeland attachment makes a difference in how mothers train their children in the area of emotional independence. See Table 4-34.

Table 4-34

Percent of Mothers' Experience of Homeland Attachment and
Their Training of Children in Emotional Independence

Homeland Attachment	Emotional Independence							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	10	46	3	14	9	41	22	101
Medium	3	33	4	44	2	22	9	99
Low	4	40	2	20	4	40	10	100
Totals	17	42	9	22	15	37	41	100
$\chi^2=3.6696$ $P=.45$ $DF=4$ $N=41$								

Here again, I went back to the original scales and further collapsed the categories. The χ^2 square significance improved to $P=.07$.

3. Homeland Attachment and Handling Aggression

The Handling Aggression Scale was tested with the Homeland Attachment Scale. The results are presented in Table 4-35. Thirty-two percent of the women who experience high attachment to homeland, handle aggression in a more traditional way, while 60 percent of those who experience low homeland attachment resort to traditional means of handling aggression. This is opposite to what was expected, which means that most women, 44 percent of them, resort to traditional means of handling aggression regardless of how attached they are to their homeland.

Table 4-35

Percent of Mothers' Experience of Homeland Attachment
and Their Handling of Aggression

Homeland Attachment	Handling of Agression							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	7	32	11	50	4	18	22	100
Medium	5	56	4	44	0	0	9	100
Low	6	60	2	20	2	20	10	100
Totals	18	44	17	42	6	15	41	100
X ² =4.8204 P=.30 DF=4 N=41								

4. Homeland Attachment and Punishments and Rewards

The Types of Punishments Scale was tested with the Homeland Attachment Scale and the results are presented in Table 4-36. There is no significant relationship between the two variables. Those who experience high homeland attachment are divided equally among the low and high ends of the punishment scale and fifty percent of those who experience low homeland attachment scored low in the punishment scale and thirty percent scored high.

Rewards like punishments are an important aspect of child-rearing, but from the literature there was a strong indication that they were not frequently used in Middle Eastern culture. Thus an assumption was made that women who are highly attached to their homeland would not use a reward system especially not a non-traditional one. Non-traditional rewards are emotional/verbal and the

Table 4-36

Percent of Mothers' Experience of Homeland Attachment
and the Types of Punishments They Use

Types of Punishments								
Homeland Attachment	Traditional		Non-traditional				Totals	
	Low		Medium		High			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	7	32	8	36	7	32	22	100
Medium	5	56	1	11	3	33	9	100
Low	5	50	2	20	2	30	10	100
Totals	17	42	11	27	13	32	41	100
$\chi^2=2.8652$ $P=.58$ $DF=4$ $N=41$								

traditional-type rewards are tangible ones. The data resulting from testing the Types of Rewards Scale and the Homeland Attachment Scale are presented in Table 4-37. The data show that of the women who experience high homeland attachment, fifty percent resorted to traditional rewards and 41 percent to medium rewards. The relationship between the two variables is strong for these women. Of the women who experience low homeland attachment, fifty percent scored low on the Types of Rewards Scale and fifty percent scored medium. Here the relationship between the two was weaker than it was for the women who are highly attached to their homeland.

5. Homeland Attachment and Sex-Role Differentiation

Sex-role differentiation in an Arab cultural milieu was discussed in some detail in the review of the literature because of its importance in that culture.

Table 4-37

Percent of Mothers' Experience of Homeland Attachment
and the Type of Rewards They Use

Types of Rewards								
Homeland Attachment	Traditional		Non-traditional				Totals	
	Low		Medium		High			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	11	50	9	41	2	9	22	100
Medium	4	44	5	56	0	0	9	100
Low	5	50	5	50	0	0	10	100
Totals	20	49	19	46	2	5	41	100
X ² =2.1056 P=.71 DF=4 N=41								

Females and males are socialized from an early age to assume polarized roles; those of the females centering around their homes and those of the males centering on life outside the home. As a result of this polarization, males and females are treated differently. From the discussion of the male-role and female-role scales, a majority of Arab mothers are persisting in their traditional child-rearing in this area. A few of them, though, are experiencing a transition from traditional to non-traditional child-rearing practices or a mixture of both in this area of behaviour.

To study whether or not attachment to the home of origin had an impact on sex-role differentiation the relevant scales were tested together. The results are presented in Table 4-38.

Table 4-38

Percent of Mothers' Experience of Homeland Attachment
and Female-Sex Roles

Female Roles								
Homeland Attachment	Low		Medium		High		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	15	68	7	32	0	0	22	100
Medium	7	78	1	11	1	11	9	100
Low	4	40	4	40	2	20	10	100
Totals	26	63	12	29	3	7	41	100
X ² =6.6775 P=.15 DF=4 N=41								

The table indicated a strong relationship, especially for women who experience high attachment, 68 percent. For those who experience low homeland attachment, the relationship was weaker. Forty percent of them were traditional, forty percent of them scored "medium" traditional, and twenty percent were "non-traditional". When the medium and high categories are considered together, the relationship between the two variables improves. Even when the categories are considered separately, the forty percent of the women who show medium traditional practices are a good indicator of change.

The same is true for the way the males are treated. Table 4-39 shows that 55 percent of mothers, who are highly attached to their homeland, are more traditional regarding male roles. This was the same percentage for the female-role scale. Sixty percent of those who experience

low homeland attachment were also traditional. Homeland attachment does not have a strong influence on this scale. In fact, the mothers here are more traditional in most of the cells. Some transition exists for those who experience low homeland attachment, because 40 percent of them scored medium on the Male-Roles Scale.

Table 4-39

Percent of Mothers' Experience of Homeland Attachment
and Male-Sex Roles

Homeland Attachment	Low		Male Roles Medium		High		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	12	55	5	23	5	23	22	101
Medium	6	67	3	33	0	0	9	100
Low	6	60	4	40	0	9	10	100
Totals	24	59	12	29	5	12	41	100

$X^2=5.2492$ $P=.26$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

In summary, I can conclude from the Homeland Attachment Scale, that most of the women interviewed experienced high attachment. The hypothesis that homeland attachment is related to child-rearing practices was proven for a few of the practices and not for the rest. Physical independence training is significantly related to homeland attachment. The relationship is weaker for the emotional independence training, for handling aggression, for types of rewards and punishments, and for the sex roles. The relationship seemed to hold more for mothers who experience

high homeland attachment and not for those who experience low attachment. In all the above tested scales, quite a few of the mothers are experiencing some transition from more traditional to less traditional means of treating their children. This is consistent with the data description.

B. Mass Media Exposure and Child-Rearing Practices

It was assumed that the Arab mothers would experience exposure to the values of the American society through the mass media and that exposure would be associated with an increased orientation towards values prevalent in America. Mass media exposure is a variable that is considered important in the process of assimilation (Gordon, 1964; Greeley, 1974).

A few questions were posed to the mothers regarding their use of the mass media. The questions were the following:

1. do you watch television? what are your favorite programs?
2. do you listen to the radio? what programs do you listen to?
3. do you read magazines? what kind?

A scale of mass media exposure was created based on the responses to the above questions. The resultant scale has only "high" and "low" categories. The "low" category signifies little exposure to the American culture through the mass media and the "high" category signifies high exposure. Those women who experienced low exposure to the

host culture were assumed to cling to Arab cultural values in raising children. Those who experienced high exposure were assumed to adopt values predominant in the American culture. The scale is shown in Table 4-40.

Table 4-40

Mass Media Exposure Scale

	Low	High	Totals
N =	29	12	41
% =	71	29	101

The scale shows that 71 percent of the women fell on the lower end of the scale. This means that they are more traditional in their use of the mass media. For example, even though 60 percent of the mothers said they listened to the radio, an overwhelming majority of them, 80 percent, listened to the Arabic programme. These types of responses were coded as "traditional". The same thing occurred with the reading of magazines. Sixty percent of those who read magazines said they read Arabic ones. The television was the major means of exposure to the American culture. The women watched soap operas, Dallas, Dynasty, and talk shows. Only a few, twelve percent, watched the Arabic programme. The women seemed to watch television a lot. During all my interviews, the television would be on no matter what time

of day it was. The children watched also and told the mothers what was going on.

The Mass Media Exposure Scale was tested with child-rearing practices for the purpose of proving or disproving the hypothesis that the higher the exposure to the host society through the mass media, the less traditional the child-rearing practices would be.

1. Mass Media Exposure and Physical Independence

The data show that 45 percent of the mothers who experienced low mass media exposure, also scored low on the Physical Independence Scale. Of those who experienced high mass media exposure, forty-two percent resorted to non-traditional training in this area. The statistical significance improved considerably when I used the original scale which ranged from one to five. See Tables 4-41 and 4-42.

Table 4-42 shows that the relationship between the two variables is statistically significant at the .02 level. The general direction of the relationship was positive so that the lower the exposure, the lower the physical independence training, and the higher the exposure, the higher the physical independence training. Moreover, the rank-order correlation between the two variables was also positive, .27, and to be significant at the .05 level, it should have been 0.30.

Table 4-41

Percent of Mothers' Mass Media Exposure
and Their Training of Children in Physical Independence
as Measured on the Collapsed Scale

Mass Media Exposure	Physical Independence Training						Total	
	Low		Medium		High			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	13	45	4	14	12	41	29	100
High	2	17	5	42	5	42	12	100
High	15	37	9	22	17	42	41	100

$X^2=4.84$ $P=.08$ $DF=2$ $N=41$

Table 4-42

Percent of Mothers' Mass Media Exposure
and Their Training of Children in Physical Independence
as Measured on the Full Scale

Mass Media Exposure	Physical Independence Training										Total	
	1		2		3		4		5			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	9	31	4	14	4	14	9	31	3	10	29	100
High	0	0	2	17	4	42	1	8	4	33	12	100
Totals	9	22	6	15	9	22	10	24	7	17	41	100

$X^2=11.197$ $P=.02$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

2. Mass Media Exposure and Emotional Independence

The data in Table 4-43 shows some relationship between mass media exposure and how mothers train their children in the area of emotional independence. The relationship is not very strong.

Table 4-43

Percent of Mothers' Mass Media Exposure and Their Training of Children in Emotional Independence

Mass Media Exposure	Emotional Independence Training							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	10	35	9	31	10	35	29	100
High	7	58	0	0	5	42	12	100
Totals	17	42	9	22	15	37	41	100

X ² =5.008 P=.08 DF=2 N=41								

For those who had low mass media exposure, 35 percent of them train their children to be emotionally dependent and 35 percent of them train them to be independent also. For those who had high mass media exposure, forty-two percent, scored high on emotional independence. This shows that mass media exposure is having an influence in at least 42 percent of the cases.

3. Mass Media Exposure and Handling Aggression

The handling aggression scale was tested with mass media exposure. The results are presented in Table 4-44.

Table 4-44

Percent of Mothers' Mass Media Exposure and the Handling
of Aggression Expressed by Their Children

Mass Media Exposure	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	14	48	11	38	4	14	29	100
High	4	33	6	50	2	17	12	100
Totals	18	44	17	41	6	15	41	100

$X^2=0.7777$ $P=.67$ $DF=2$ $N=41$

The table shows a relationship between the two variables. Forty-eight percent of those who have low exposure through the mass media are more traditional in handling aggression, and those who have high mass media exposure use medium traditional means of handling aggression. Those fifty percent certainly indicate a transition as a result of high exposure to the society through mass media.

4. Mass Media Exposure and Rewards and Punishments

The Mass Media Exposure Scale and the Types of Rewards Scale were tested together. See Table 4-45 for the results. The data in the table show that the relationship between the two variables is close to being statistically significant, but the direction is opposite to what was expected. Low exposure to the mass media was associated with non-traditional types of rewards, and high exposure to the mass media was associated with more traditional

rewards. The reason that contributes to such findings is the classification of the rewards.

Table 4-45

Percent of Mothers' Mass Media Exposure and Types of Rewards They Use

Mass Media Exposure	Types of Rewards							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	14	48	15	52	0	0	19	100
High	6	50	4	33	2	17	12	100
Totals	20	49	19	46	2	5	41	100
X ² =5.4580 P=.06 DF=2 N=41								

Traditional rewards included tangible ones and non-traditional rewards included emotional ones. By watching television and being exposed to the American value of consumerism, the mothers, who would traditionally use tangible rewards such as food, are being reinforced in their behaviour and, as a result, are widening their rewards to include other tangible ones such as toys. So the "low" category is one where Arab mothers are experiencing an overlap between their reward system and that of the American culture.

No relationship between types of punishments and mass media exposure exists. Exposure through the mass media does not have an influence on how mothers punish their children. See Table 4-46.

Table 4-46

Percent of Mothers' Mass Media Exposure and the
Types of Punishments They Use

Mass Media Exposure	Types of Punishments							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	10	35	9	31	10	35	29	100
High	7	58	2	17	3	25	12	100
Totals	17	42	11	27	13	32	41	100

X ² =2.058 P=.35 DF=2 N=41								

5. Mass Media Exposure and Sex-Role Differentiation

Being exposed to American values through the use of the mass media was assumed to influence the way Arab mothers raise their male and female children. The assumption is that the higher the exposure the more the orientation to American values.

The Mass Media Exposure Scale was tested with the Female-Roles and Male-Roles Scales. See Tables 4-47 and 4-48 respectively. The relationships between the variables are not statistically significant, indicating that exposure to the host society through the mass media does not influence how mothers raise their boys and girls. The majority resort to values predominant in the Arab culture.

In summary, the Arab mothers are generally persisting in their traditional child-rearing practices. Their use of the mass media is producing some changes in the training of

Table 4-47

Percent of Mothers' Mass Media Exposure and Female Roles

Mass Media Exposure	Low		Female Roles				Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	15	52	12	41	2	7	29	100
High	7	58	4	33	1	8	12	99
Totals	22	54	16	39	3	7	41	100

 $\chi^2=0.2338$ $P=.88$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

Table 4-48

Percent of Mothers' Mass Media Exposure and Male Roles

Mass Media Exposure	Low		Male Roles				Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	17	59	9	31	3	10	29	100
High	7	58	3	25	2	17	12	100
Totals	24	59	12	29	5	12	41	100

 $\chi^2=0.3838$ $P=.82$ $DF=2$ $N=41$

their children to be physically independent and to a lesser degree in how they handle aggression expressed by their children. This could also be said about types of rewards because there was some overlap between Arab and American values in that respect. But the use of the mass media does not correlate with the way Arab mothers raise their children as far as types of punishment, emotional independence training and sex-role differentiation.

C. Ethnic Participation and Child-Rearing Practices

A variable that was hypothesized to influence child-rearing practices was participation in the ethnic community. The hypothesis was that the higher the rate of participation in the ethnic community, the more traditional the child practices. Since membership in ethnic organizations, such as social clubs, is not acceptable for females in that culture, the question I asked regarding that is not a good indicator. In fact, only one woman belonged to a mothers' club. The social clubs that exist in the Southend have only male membership. From my interviews, I concluded there were no social clubs in the Northeast community.

For the above reason, other indicators were used to measure the variable of participation in the ethnic community. These indicators were the following:

1. would you like to move to a different neighborhood? Why? Why not?
2. do you speak English?
3. do you read and write English?

4. what language do you speak at home?
5. what are your sources of information?
(This question refers to sources of information regarding the ways American mothers raise their children.)
6. what American ways would you like your children to adopt?
7. whom do you spend time with as a family?

A scale was created from the responses to these questions, following the same procedure used for the other scales. The "high" end of the scale includes responses indicating a persistence in traditional Arab culture and high ethnic participation. The category was termed "traditional". The "low" end of the scale included responses indicating low ethnic participation, an orientation towards the American culture and a move away from traditionalism.

The scale that was created is presented in Table 4-49. Then the scale was collapsed into "low", "medium", and "high" categories. The collapsed scale is shown in Table 4-50. The scale was then tested with each of the designated child-rearing practices.

Table 4-49

Ethnic Participation Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	Totals
N =	10	10	8	9	4	41
% =	24	24	20	22	10	100

Table 4-50

Collapsed Ethnic Participation Scale

	High	Medium	Low	Totals
N =	20	8	13	41
% =	49	19	32	100

1. Ethnic Participation and Physical Independence

There is a definite relationship between the two variables so that high ethnic participation and low physical independence are related, and low ethnic participation is related to high physical independence. In Table 4-51, the X^2 is not statistically significant. When the categories on the physical scale were further collapsed the X^2 became significant at the .02 level. See Table 4-52.

2. Ethnic Participation and Emotional Independence

This testing shows that participation in the ethnic community and emotional independence are negatively related. See Table 4-53. High ethnic participation is related to high emotional independence training and low ethnic participation is related to low emotional independence. The results are the opposite of what the relationship was assumed to be. Moreover, the rank-order correlation was also negative.

Table 4-51

Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation and Their
Training of Children in Physical Independence

Ethnic Participa- tion	Physical Independence Training Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	9	45	4	20	7	35	20	100
Medium	4	50	3	38	1	13	8	101
Low	2	15	2	15	9	69	13	99
Totals	15	37	9	22	17	42	41	100

$X^2=7.7863$ P=.09 DF=4 N=41

Table 4-52

Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation and Their Training
of Children in High and Low Physical Independence

Ethnic Participation	Physical Independence Training Low		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	13	65	7	35	20	100
Medium	7	88	1	13	8	101
Low	4	31	9	69	13	100
Totals	24	59	17	42	41	101

$X^2=7.2390$ P=.02 DF=2 N=41

Table 4-53

Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation and Their Training of Children in Emotional Independence

Ethnic Participa- tion	Emotional Independence Training						Total	
	Low		Medium		High		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	7	35	5	25	8	40	20	100
Medium	3	38	2	25	3	38	8	101
Low	7	54	2	15	4	31	13	100
Totals	17	42	9	22	15	37	41	100

$X^2=1.2723$ P=.86 DF=4 N=41

The significance of this finding may be that ethnic participation is not relevant to emotional independence training. Other factors may be contributing to the negative relationship. Moreover, it could be that these mothers feel secure in living in the ethnic community and thus do not train their children to be emotionally dependent.

3. Ethnic Participation and Handling Aggression

There is some relationship between ethnic participation and the way mothers handle aggression. See Table 4-54. Sixty percent of the women who experience high ethnic participation handled aggression in a more traditional manner. For those who experience low ethnic participation, 46 percent scored medium on the handling aggression scale and 23 percent scored high. The relationship between the two variables varies in the

Table 4-54

Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation and Handling of Aggression Expressed by Their Children

Ethnic Participa- tion	Handling of Agression							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	12	60	5	25	3	15	20	100
Medium	2	25	6	75	0	0	8	100
Low	4	31	6	46	3	23	13	100
Totals	18	44	17	42	6	15	41	101
X ² =7.6945 P=.10 DF=4 N=41								

expected direction, but is not as strong since a large percentage of the women resort to "medium" rather than to non-traditional ways of handling aggression. It is interesting to note that seventy-five percent of the women who experience "medium" ethnic participation, also practiced "medium" modern ways of handling aggression.

4. Ethnic Participation and Types of Rewards and Punishments

Testing types of rewards and ethnic participation showed that a relationship exists between the two variables. See Table 4-55. Fifty-five percent of those who experienced high ethnic participation resort to traditional means of rewarding behaviour. For those that have low ethnic participation 46 percent reward it in a "medium" way; adding the high category to the medium, one strengthens the relationship. In this way, 54 percent of the women who experience low ethnic participation also score high on the rewards scale.

Table 4-55

Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation and the Types of Rewards They Use

Ethnic Participa- tion	Types of Rewards							
	Traditional				Non-Traditional			
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	11	55	9	45	0	00	20	100
Medium	3	38	4	50	1	13	8	100
Low	6	46	6	46	1	8	13	100
Totals	20	49	19	46	2	5	41	100

$X^2=2.5561$ $P=.63$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

Participating in the ethnic community also has an influence on what types of punishments mothers resort to. See Table 4-56. Forty percent of those who experience high ethnic participation resort to traditional means of punishment, while 39 percent of those who experience low ethnic participation resort to non-traditional means of punishment. The influence though is not very strong, since 35 percent of the mothers of high ethnic participation resort to non-traditional punishments and 39 percent of them who have low ethnic participation resort to traditional types also. Despite that, a trend of change from more traditional types of punishments to non-traditional ones is evident depending on lower ethnic participation.

Table 4-56

Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation and the Types
of Punishments They Use

Ethnic Participa- tion	Types of Punishments							
	Traditional				Non-Traditional			
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	8	40	5	25	7	35	20	100
Medium	5	63	2	25	1	13	8	101
Low	4	31	4	31	5	39	13	101
Totals	17	42	11	27	13	32	41	101
X ² =2.5191 P=.64 DF=4 N=41								

5. Ethnic Participation and Sex-Role Differentials

Participation in the ethnic community does not seem to have an influence on sex-role differentiation. For male roles, see Table 4-57. Most of the mothers are traditional whether or not they have high or low ethnic participation.

Participation in the ethnic community does not have an impact on the female roles either. See Table 4-58. Most mothers are traditional whether they have high or low ethnic participation. Seventy percent of them experience high ethnic participation and were traditional regarding female roles, and 54 percent experience low ethnic participation and are also traditional regarding female roles. The relationship holds only for those who experience high ethnic participation.

Table 4-57

Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation and Male-Roles

Ethnic Participa- tion	Male Roles							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	12	60	6	30	2	10	20	100
Medium	4	50	3	38	1	13	8	100
Low	8	62	3	23	2	15	13	100
Totals	24	56	12	29	5	12	41	100

 $X^2=0.6741$ $P=.95$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

Table 4-58

Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation and Female-Roles

Ethnic Participa- tion	Female Roles							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	14	70	5	25	1	5	20	100
Medium	5	63	2	25	1	13	8	100
Low	7	54	5	39	1	8	13	100
Totals	26	63	12	29	3	7	41	100

 $X^2=1.3181$ $P=.85$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

Table 4-59 below collapses the two original sex-role scales further and provides a comparison.

Table 4-59
Percent of Mothers' Ethnic Participation
and Female and Male Roles

Ethnic Partici- pation	Female Roles						Male Roles					
	Low		High		Total		Low		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	14	70	6	30	20	100	12	60	8	40	20	100
Medium	5	63	3	38	8	100	4	50	4	50	8	100
Low	7	54	6	46	13	100	8	62	5	39	13	100
Totals	26	63	15	37	41	100	24	59	14	42	41	100

$X^2=0.8897$ P=.64						$X^2=0.3061$ P=.85						

For those women who experience high ethnic participation, 70 percent are traditional on the female-role scale, while only 60 percent are traditional on the male-role scale. In both cases, high ethnic participation is strongly related to traditionalism. For those who experience low ethnic participation, the relationships to traditionalism or non-traditionalism on the sex-role scales exist, but it is a weak one. Forty-six percent of the women scored high on the female-role scale and 39 percent of them scored high on the male-role scale. It is interesting that low ethnic participation is having more of an influence on the mothers regarding female roles than male roles.

D. Host Interaction and Child-Rearing Practices

In the original design of this study, an independent variable that was assumed to have great influence on child-rearing was participation in the organizational and institutional structure of the host society. The stated hypothesis was that the higher the participation in the host society the less traditional the child-rearing practices would be and thus the more ethnic change. Participation was assumed to introduce the women to American values regarding areas of behaviour such as child-rearing.

To be able to measure actual participation in the host society two questions were posed to the mothers. The first one had to do with employment outside the home. None of these mothers are presently employed. Only three of them had been employed before marriage but not in this country. Therefore, this question is not a good indicator of societal participation. What the answers to the question do indicate is that these women do not participate in the host society through employment.

The second question dealt with membership in organizations or institutions. In general, the women were uneasy about answering this question. I believe the reasons may have had to do with the translation of the question and the political background of the subjects. The word for "organizational membership" in Arabic may have implied political activity and they were apprehensive about

that. A large number of families have come from areas of political upheaval. A number of the mothers were quick to answer "no" to the question before I even finished asking it. In any event only one of the mothers belonged to a "Mothers'" club. Based on my personal communications, I tend to think that this club is mostly made up of Arab mothers. Another woman said that she presently did not belong to any group which suggested to me that she might have at sometime and still another said that she had served on the school advisory board. Five of the women who said they did not belong to anything added that the reason they didn't was because they did not have time for that sort of thing; they had too much to do at home. Even though this question also did not generate much data the responses indicate a definite lack of societal participation.

Even though husbands are not included in this study as respondents it is interesting here to describe their participation as perceived by their wives. Only one woman said her husband belonged to the auto workers union even though more of them probably do since they work at the Ford Rouge Plant. One of the husbands belonged to a sports club, another belonged to the school advisory board, two belonged to a Muslim religious group, six belonged to a national social/charity clubs and one belonged to a "library" (I think that meant a book club, but I am not sure). The men are more active than the women but only a small portion of them (34 percent) belong to anything at

all. Those who are active belong mostly to ethnic organizations.

Because the above questions generated little data in societal participation, the variable could not be used for testing hypotheses. Since the women interacted with the host society directly, such as through the public schools, or indirectly, by being observants of it, I decided to use interaction as a variable instead of participation. The hypothesis then was changed to the following: the higher the interaction with the host society the less traditional the child-rearing practices would be.

Since the variable societal "interaction" was created after the data collection was completed, its indicators were not pre-planned. A decision was made on what questions would contribute to the above variable. The questions chosen were the following:

1. do you think that the American system of education has a good or bad influence on the development of a child? Please explain.*
2. do you speak English? **
3. do you read English? **
4. what are your sources of information? (This question refers to sources of information regarding the ways American mothers raise their children). **
5. what American ways would you like your children to adopt? **

* This question was divided into "good" and "bad", thus resulting in two variables.

** These questions were also used in the Ethnic Participation scale. But, as in that scale, only the responses relevant to the variable were considered.

6. what do you think of the way American mothers raise their children? (The responses here were divided into "positive" and "negative" and this this question was considered as two variables).
7. do you cook American food?
8. do you go out to eat at restaurants?

Even though the mothers did not participate in the host society actively, they interacted with it especially through the public school system. All the mothers that were interviewed had children in school. For a number of these women the schools were the only means of contact they had with the host society since they lived mostly in an ethnic community. Others interacted with the society through such activities as shopping and going to doctors' offices. The mothers mentioned the above activities on their own; they were not specifically asked about them.

The question dealing with the school was posed to the mothers in this manner: "Do you think that the American system of education has a good or bad influence on the development of the child? Please explain." During the interviews a number of probes were used in connection with this question in an effort to explain it. The women were having trouble understanding it. Despite the probes eight of the women could not answer it at all. The reasons could have been lack of understanding or lack of ease. As one woman told me, "this is their (Americans) country and their educational system; we do not have the right to criticize them". Four other women responded by saying that the

educational system was good but they could not explain why they thought so or give reasons. This means that the following analysis was based on the responses of only thirty-three women (29 of them who had specific responses and the four who had no explanations for their responses). Almost 49 percent of the women thought the educational system was good here because the level of learning, or acquiring knowledge, was high and the language development was good. Even though these responses were positive, they had little to do with how the system affects the development of the children. Five of them, 15 percent, were impressed with the way teachers here interacted with their children. They mentioned how American teachers allowed their children to express their opinions, learn at their own rate and enjoy a little freedom. As one of the mothers reported, "my son is comfortable at school here; he is not pushed". The mothers compared the teachers here to the teachers in their home countries. There, the children were passive learners; they were expected to receive information from teachers and not give opinions. Every child was also expected to work at the rate set by the teachers and the school. Moreover, children in Arab schools were not given any freedom but were taught to comply without questioning. Here the teachers give and take with the children. The mothers thought that had a good influence on the development of their children.

Of the thirty-three women who responded, almost 40

percent, 13 women, responded negatively regarding the educational system. Their concerns were that boys and girls were going to school together, that the children were given too much freedom, and that there was lack of discipline and respect for elders. Three of the mothers did not like the environment of the school because they taught children that they were the center of everything, because of widespread use of hashish and drugs and because they taught them mature things. The latter response referred to a film about menstruation that was shown at the school.

Another question that was posed to the mothers had to do with what they thought of the way American mothers raised their children. The responses to this question were assumed to be a result of observation and thus were considered as part of the "interaction" variable. Arab mothers thought that American mothers had a good relationship with their children. They observed that American mothers were patient with their children and took time to explain things to them rather than hit them and thus American children listened to their mothers. Some of the Arab mothers, though, said that was only true when the children were young.

Arab mothers also thought that there were serious problems with the way Americans raised their children. All the problems stemmed from the amount of freedom American children were given. More specifically, 75 percent of the

Arab mothers said Americans were lenient with their children, gave them too much freedom, left them on the street too long and did not check up on them. The amount of freedom was mentioned again when mothers were asked what difficulties they were facing in raising their own children here. A majority of Arab mothers expressed concern. Fifty-four percent of them said that they found raising children here to be more difficult than raising them in their home country. Of the 54 percent, 41 percent saw the environment and American friends as major difficulties.

It was clear that the Arab mothers were concerned about living here when it came to raising children. They were afraid of what went on in the school- hashish, individualism, coed, mature subjects and lack of discipline. They were concerned about the freedom American children enjoyed and how that could influence their own children. This was expressed strongly when mothers were asked if there were American ways (values) they liked their children to adopt. Forty-six percent of the mothers did not want their children to adopt anything from this society. Of those who said yes, 50 percent (that is 25 percent of the total number of women) wanted their children to learn good English, 15 percent wanted their children to be good at sports, 10 percent to be independent and 5 percent to learn to obey the law. So very few in reality wanted their children to adopt American values.

Other indicators of "interaction" were whether or not

the mothers cooked American foods, went out to eat and spoke English. Thirty-nine percent said that they cooked American food; mostly hamburgers and spaghetti. A majority of them said that they went out to eat but mostly at fast food restaurants. Some mothers said that usually the fathers took the children out while they stayed at home. Only 39 percent of the mothers spoke English which limited interaction with society. The rest either spoke no English or knew a few words to get by.

A scale of host interaction was created using the questions listed above. The scale was created following the same procedure for all the other scales. The scale is shown in Table 4-60. Then the scale was collapsed into three categories "low", "medium" and "high" interaction as shown in Table 4-61.

Table 4-60

Host Interaction Scale								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
N =	3	6	8	6	7	9	2	41
% =	7	15	20	15	17	22	5	101

Table 4-61

Collapsed Host Interaction Scale				
	Low	Medium	High	Totals
N =	17	6	18	41
% =	42	15	44	101

The "low" category referred to women who tended to maintain their culture by having little interaction with the host society. The "high" category included women, who because of high interaction with the society, were learning about the American values. These were referred to as non-traditional and the former were referred to as traditional. The above scale showed that the women were almost equally divided among the low and high categories.

The scale was tested with all aspects of child-rearing designated for this research:

1. Host Interaction and Physical Independence

Whether or not Arab women trained their children to be physically independent was related to their host interaction as shown in Table 4-62.

Table 4-62

Percent of Mothers' Host Interaction and Their Training of Children in Physical Independence

Host Interaction	Physical Independence Training							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	8	47	3	18	6	35	17	100
Medium	2	33	0	0	4	67	6	100
High	5	28	6	33	7	39	18	100
Totals	15	37	9	22	17	41	41	100

$X^2=4.5356$ P=.33 DF=4 N=41

A large percentage of mothers, 47 percent, who experienced low host interaction were also low on physical

independence training, and 39 percent of them who experienced high host interaction were also high on physical independence. The significance level improved to $P=.16$ (maximum likelihood, $P=.07$) when I tested host interaction with the original phsysical indepedence training scale.

2. Host Interaction and Emotional Independence

Interaction with the host society has no influence on emotional independence training. The mothers were divided almost equally among the high and the low categories of the independence scale and that was also true for the high and the low categories of the host interaction scale.

3. Host Interaction and Handling Aggression

Table 4-63

Percent of Mothers' Host Interaction and Handling Aggression Expressed by Their Children

Host Interaction	Handling of Agression							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	8	47	6	35	3	18	17	100
Medium	3	50	3	50	0	0	6	100
High	7	39	8	44	3	17	18	100
Totals	18	44	17	42	6	15	41	100
X ² =1.5268 P=.82 DF=4 N=41								

The relationship between interaction and handling aggression exists, as shown in Table 4-63, but it is stronger for those who have low interaction than for those

who have high interaction. Forty-seven percent of the women have low interaction and resort to traditional means of handling aggression. Looking at the totals, those who have interaction with the host society, 44 percent, were traditional in handling aggression and 42 percent used medium means. This was a good indicator of some change due to interaction with the host society.

4. Host Interaction and Types of Rewards and Punishments

Table 4-64

Percent of Mothers' Host Interaction and the Types of Rewards They Use

Host Interaction	Types of Rewards							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	6	35	11	65	0	0	17	100
Medium	3	50	3	50	0	0	6	100
High	11	61	5	28	2	11	18	100
Totals	20	49	19	46	2	5	41	100
$X^2=6.3453$ $P=.17$ $DF=4$ $N=41$								

The table above shows that a reverse relationship exists between the two variables so that high interaction with the host society is associated with the more traditional practices and low host interaction is associated with "medium" practices. Moreover, the correlation matrix and rho were both negative for these two variables. This is significant when the classification of rewards is kept in mind. The use of traditional-type

rewards, tangible ones, is reinforced with higher interaction with the society.

As for the types of punishments, interaction with the host society is not crucial. The relationship between the two variables is only strong for those who have low host interaction. See Table 4-65 below.

Table 4-65

Percent of Mothers' Host Interaction and Types of Punishments They Use

Host Interaction	Types of Punishments							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	10	59	2	12	5	29	17	100
Medium	2	33	1	17	3	50	6	100
High	11	61	2	11	5	28	18	100
Totals	23	56	5	12	13	32	41	100

$X^2=1.5249$ $P=.82$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

4. Host Interaction and Sex Roles

Interaction with the host society was also assumed to influence the way the women bring up their children as far as sex-role differentiation was concerned. The assumption was that if the women interacted with the host society, then their practices would tend to be more compatible with those of the host society. The data support the above, but only to some degree. See Tables 4-66 and 4-67.

The data show that low interaction is associated with clinging to Arab traditional sex-role differentiation. This is more so for the female roles than for the male

Table 4-66

Percent of Mothers' Host Interaction and Male Roles

Host Interaction	Low		Male Roles Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	10	59	5	29	2	12	17	100
Medium	4	67	1	17	1	17	6	100
High	10	56	6	33	2	11	18	100
Totals	24	56	12	29	5	12	41	100

$X^2=0.6409$ $P=.95$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

Table 4-67

Percent of Mothers' Host Interaction and Female Roles

Host Interaction	Low		Female Roles Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	12	71	3	18	2	12	17	100
Medium	2	33	3	50	1	17	6	100
High	12	67	6	33	0	0	18	100
Totals	24	63	12	29	3	7	41	100

$X^2=5.248$ $P=.25$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

roles, 71 percent as opposed to 59 percent. For those that have high interaction, their perception of roles is still more traditional for female roles than for male roles, 67 percent and 56 percent respectively. A little change was apparent here. Thirty-three percent of the women are experiencing "medium" (mixed) sex-role perceptions. This is true for female and male roles. The change is more for male roles because a few mothers, 12 percent, are showing "high" (non-traditional) sex-role perception for the males. Statistically, the relationship between the variables is not significant.

The relationship between host interaction and female roles is statistically significant when I controlled for the level of education of the mothers. This is true only for those who had no education or very little education. This is a significant finding in that host interaction has a significant influence only on the women who are not educated. See Table 4-68.

The educational level of the mothers did not have any influence on the significance of the relationship between host interaction and male roles.

A number of other variables were also tested with child-rearing practices. These variables were the following: level of mothers' education, length of residency here, whom the family spends time with, and sources of happiness or unhappiness. The testing will be discussed briefly in this section.

Table 4-68

Percent of Mothers' Host Interaction , Their Level of
Education and Female Roles

Education	Interaction With Host Society	Low		Medium		High		Total		X ²
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Low	Low	12	86	1	7	1	7	14	100	9.79*
	Medium	1	50	1	50	0	0	2	100	
	High	0	0	2	100	0	0	2	100	
Medium	Low	0	0	2	67	1	33	3	100	7.46
	Medium	1	25	2	50	1	25	4	100	
	High	7	78	2	22	0	0	9	100	
High	Low	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Medium	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	High	5	71	2	29	0	0	7	100	

* P<.05

E. Level of Mothers' Education and Child-Rearing Practices

In general, the mothers that were selected for this study had a low level of education. I collapsed the nine categories of education into "low", "medium", "high". The low category included those who had no education, had some elementary education, and the one woman who had some Quranic education (religious education). The medium category included women who finished their elementary education and those who had a Brevet (equivalent to ninth grade education). The high category included those who finished high school, those who had second baccalaureate (equivalent to the first year of university education) and the one woman who had some university education. The results are shown in Table 4-69.

Table 4-69

Mothers' Level of Education

	Low	Medium	High	Totals
N =	18	16	7	41
% =	44	39	17	100

This data was tested with each of the child-rearing practices designated in this study. The testing showed that level of education is significantly related to how mothers handled aggression and what types of rewards they used. See a summary in Table 4-70.

Table 4-70

Summary of Results of Testing Child-Rearing Practices and Mothers' Level of Education

Child-Rearing Practices	Level of Education	
	χ^2	P
1. Physical Independence	3.2997	.50
2. Emotional Independence	0.9128	.92
3. Handling Aggression	8.6948	.06*
4. Types of Punishments	7.5125	.11
5. Types of Rewards	10.350	.03**
6. Female Roles	2.5980	.62
7. Male Roles	0.3186	.98

* This is close to a .05 level of significance.

** $P < .05$

Even though most of the above relationships are not statistically significant, they still exist between educational level and some of the child-rearing variables. First, level of education and physical independence training show a relationship; especially for those who have a high level of education. See Table 4-71.

Forty-three percent of the women who are highly educated also scored high on the independence scale and 43 percent of them scored medium. For those who have low education, the relationship is weaker since 39 percent of the women scored low on the independence scale and 39 percent score high. Second, level of education is related to handling aggression. See Table 4-72.

Table 4-71

Percent of Mothers' Level and Education and Their Training
of Children in Physical Independence

Levels of Education	Physical Independence Training							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	7	39	4	22	7	39	18	100
Medium	7	44	2	13	7	44	16	100
High	1	14	3	43	3	43	7	100
Totals	15	37	9	22	17	42	41	101

$X^2=3.2997$ $P=.50$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

Table 4-72

Percent of Mothers' Level of Education and Their
Handling of Aggression

Level of Education	Handling of Agression							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	12	67	3	17	3	17	18	100
Medium	4	25	10	63	2	13	16	100
High	2	29	4	57	1	14	7	100
Totals	18	44	17	42	6	15	41	100

$X^2=8.6948$ $P=.06$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

Most of the mothers, 67 percent, who have little education, also use more traditional means of handling aggression.

For those who have a high education, a large percentage of the mothers, 71 percent, resort to "medium" or non-traditional means of handling aggression.

Third, level of education is related to types of punishments. Those who have low education resort to more non-traditional means of punishments. See Table 4-73 below.

Table 4-73

Percent of Mothers' Level of Education and Types of Punishments They Use

Level of Education	Types of Punishments							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	10	56	2	11	6	33	18	100
Medium	12	75	1	6	3	19	16	100
High	1	14	2	29	4	57	7	100
Totals	23	56	5	12	13	32	41	100

$X^2=7.5125$ $P=.11$ $DF=4$ $N=41$

Fourth, even though level of education and types of rewards are related significantly, their relationship is negative. Women who have low education resort equally to traditional and non-traditional means of rewards and those who have high education also resort to traditional means of rewards. Here again, traditional rewards are tangible ones and most of the mothers used them.

F. Length of Residency and Child-Rearing Practices

As was discussed earlier, most of the mothers have not been here very long. A majority, 81 percent, have been here between five and fourteen years, 12 percent have been here for less than five years and seven percent have lived here for more than 14 years. Only one of the women who were interviewed was born here. When length of residency was tested with each of the child-rearing practices, no significant relationships were found. Moreover, most of the mothers, regardless of how long they have lived here, tended to hold on to Arab cultural values in their child-rearing. Some changes were detected, but they were not related to length of residency. One exception was in the area of physical independence training. Forty-one percent of the mothers who have been here for five to ten years, scored high on the independence scale and 50 percent of those who have been here for ten to fifteen years, scored high on that scale. There are no strong relationships for those who have been here less than five years or more than 15 years.

G. How the Family Spends Its Time and Child-Rearing Practices

The women were asked whom they spend time with as a family; especially visiting, parties, and exchanging gifts. None of the families spent time with non-Arabs. See Table 4-74.

Table 4-74

Percent of Arab Families and
Whom They Spend Time With

	Relatives	Arab Friends	Arab Friends and Relatives	Totals
N =	19	6	16	41
% =	46	15	39	100

This information was tested with child-rearing practices. Here again, there are no significant relationships except for female roles. The relationship between whom the family spends time with and how mothers perceive female roles is significant, $P < .01$ ($P = .004$); they persist in traditionalism when they spend most of their time with family but tend to experience certain changes when they spend more time with friends.

H. Sources of Happiness and Unhappiness and Child-Rearing Practices

When asked as to whether or not they were happy here, the mothers gave reasons for being happy and unhappy. This question was open-ended and generated a lot of information. I classified the sources of happiness and unhappiness as being society-related or family-related. Examples of the former would be: "I am happy here because my husband has a job"; "I am happy because life is easy and comfortable"; I

am unhappy here because our traditions are different"; "I am unhappy because I worry about the children in the school environment"; and so on. Examples of the latter are: "I am happy because my family and relatives are here; "I am unhappy because I am away from my people and my country"; "I am unhappy because we feel like strangers here"; and so on.

There were no significant relationships between sources of unhappiness and most of the child-rearing practices.

As for sources of happiness, they are significantly related to physical independence training, $P < .05$, types of rewards, $P < .05$, and female roles, $P < .05$.

In Chapter Five, the findings presented in this chapter are discussed and related to findings of other studies. They are also discussed in relation to the theoretical framework created for this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The guiding theoretical models for the present study provide important assumptions. First, Arab immigrants have become a subsection of this society through migration. The culture they have brought with them is different than the American culture in many respects such as religion, language, life styles, and family structure. These basic differences generate conflicts over values, especially those associated with the socialization of children. Second, as a result of conflict, the immigrants became involved in a persistence-change process; either they experience change in child-rearing practices as a result of interacting with the American culture or they persist in the practices they brought with them. The central focus of the present research was to assess change and persistence in ethnic patterns of child-rearing.

The data for the research were collected through a formal interview with a randomly-selected sample of mothers, personal interviews with concerned individuals in the ethnic community and some participant observations of child-mother interactions. The questions for the interview schedule were constructed from previous studies on that

topic, from the literature review and from my personal experiences in the Arab culture.

The findings from the analysis of the data form the basis for the coming sections. The findings are summarized, discussed in comparison to other studies and explained in light of the theoretical models utilized in this study.

I. Family Organization

A. Decision-Making in the Home

The present research indicates that a shift from a traditionally authoritarian family structure to a more equalitarian one is evident. The mothers here assume more responsibility in the areas of house expenses, discipline of children, children's clothing and their own. They share with their husbands decision-making in areas such as where to live, discipline of children, whom to visit and the timing of children. Husbands still retain authority in areas where a woman has to interact with others outside the home namely opening a bank account and their wives going out with other women. But even in these two areas, the percentages of women making final decisions is high but lower than the husbands'.

The above findings indicate that these families who migrated here are experiencing some changes. This is also true of families in the Arab world. Prothro and Diab found that in the cities of Amman (Jordan), Damascus (Syria),

Beirut and Tripoli (Lebanon), women reported cooperation between them and their husbands on most issues. The women from the two villages they studied, Buarij (Lebanon) and Artas (Jordan), spoke of some cooperation but most of them said their husbands made the decisions. The issues they investigated were: place of residence, name of newborn, discipline of children, marriages of children, whom to visit, the wife's dress and when to have children (Prothro and Diab, 1974:131-132). The Arab women under study here come mostly from rural areas but living here has lead them to assume more responsibilities for their families associated with urban living. As some mothers related to me, "our husbands are not always around" which is the reason behind the adjustment. The men work mostly in the auto industry and are on different shifts, and when they are laid off, they spend most of their time in the coffee houses.

The areas of decision-making where the husbands are still in control, wives visiting and opening a bank account, are quite related to the modesty code. This code is based on the segregation between the social spheres of men and women. To reinforce a strict modesty code, the activities of women, household chores, agricultural duties, visiting and child-rearing, must be subject to supervision (Dodd, 1970:9). The Arab men here who keep control in those areas where their wives will interact with outsiders are generally sticking to the modesty code. The wives,

though, are beginning to assume more responsibilities even in those areas.

This finding is different from findings of studies of some early immigrant families where the role the wife was unaltered especially in the first generation. Her domestic role confined her to the home and reinforced her dependence on her husband. This exacerbated her traditionally subordinate position (Spiro, 1955:1247-1248).

B. Role of Women

Any changes in the modesty code reflect changes in the role of Arab women. One aspect of that role is the rate of their employment outside the home.

In agricultural areas of the Middle East, women work in the fields as well as in their homes (Williams, 1968: 63). City women did not work. Around the 1930's changes in that area began to take place, and more city women began to seek employment (Prothro and Diab, 1974:125). That trend has continued, but women's involvement in non-agricultural labour is still limited mainly because of the attitude towards their employment. Prothro and Diab found that husbands were described by the women as being generally opposed to women's employment (Prothro and Diab, 1974:127). None of the women in my sample were employed. The majority were extremely traditional in their attitudes and indicated a women's role is to bear and raise children, take care of their husbands and do their housework. Only one mother said that a woman's role involves employment and

a few mentioned being involved in society as part of a woman's role. A change in attitudes occurred when the mothers expressed their hopes that their girls will be educated. Concern with their modesty was still apparent but their priority was in education. Dodd observed that education promised great changes in the modesty code, more so than urbanization (Dodd, 1970:21).

In the areas of decision-making and women's roles, the Arab mothers I studied are experiencing certain changes. The changes are to a more non-traditional family structure. According to Greeley's model, the "common features" between the host society and the immigrant group are increasing with regards to the aspects of family organization discussed above.

C. Infant Care

The same trend is also apparent in the area of infant care. Even though breast feeding is a normal practice in the Arab world, most of the mothers here used the bottle but persisted in feeding on demand which is a traditional practice. More males than females were fed on demand rather than on schedule. The pampering of males is still a value in this area. Mothers are experiencing more modernity in the feeding of females. Traditionally, Arab boys are fed longer than girls and this is true among the women of my sample also. Moreover both sexes here are left to cry when mothers feel nothing is wrong. Prothro found that more than three-fourths of his sample responded to

crying (Prothro, 1961:61) while only 40 percent of my sample responded in that way. The pampering of males was not evident in this area. More boys than girls were left to cry. These changes may be due to the fact that mothers live in a nuclear family setting here and do not have help from other relatives as they would in their own countries. The lack of relatives may also encourage the mothers to act more independently. Without help and with the increased absence of husbands, more may be required of mothers here and thus they do not have time to carry their babies whenever they cry.

When it comes to toilet-training Arab mothers have also experienced change. Traditionally mothers started to train their infants before they were a year old but here they started between one and two years, and 63 percent took up to four months to complete training. Observers of Arab families in the Arab world such as Beck (1970) commented on the permissiveness of Arab mothers in such areas as elimination. Here Arab mothers took this seriously and punished their children when they had relapses by hitting, scolding, and explaining to them that it should not be repeated. Here again the reason behind this could be the lack of help from relatives. Another reason may be the fact that the Lebanese comprise the majority of the sample and Prothro had found Lebanese mothers to be serious regarding this aspect of behaviour. In this case the change is taking place in the families of the other

nationalities.

D. Child-Rearing Practices

Child-rearing practices go beyond matters of infant care to training the child to function in the society he/she is born in. The practices focused on in this study are: dependency/independence training, handling of aggression, rewards, punishments and sex-role differentiation. Even though sex roles are discussed separately, sex differences in the other variables are also discussed.

1. Dependency

Dependency involves interaction between the mother and the child. Dependent children often follow the mother around, touch her, smile at her and talk to her. The goal of this type of behaviour is to keep contact with the mother (Sears, 1957:174). This type of children might resort to the above to reassure themselves of their mothers' love, especially when they feel that love is withdrawn as a disciplinary act (Ibid.). Mothers who express their affection openly but withhold the affection as a means of discipline would have dependent children (Sears, 1957:175). From living in the Arab culture and from reading the literature, Arab mothers can be characterized as very affectionate towards their children (Prothro, 1961; Najarian, 1959 and Sharabi, 1977). This is in sharp contrast to the often-mentioned severity of treatment on the part of the father. The difference

between the two parents "is so often referred to in Arabic literature, including proverbs, and in studies dealing with Arab communities, that one cannot doubt its widespread occurrence... In the lives of both sons and daughters the love of the mother remains important, even in marriage" (Patai, 1983:26). The extreme affection of the mother in her rearing of children "seeks without conscious intent to create ... a dependent child" (Sharabi, 1977:246). This is especially true for the male child who is usually surrounded by females who are there to serve him. The male child, thus, is "allowed to do very little for himself. If he tries to climb the stairs, or to open a door, or to push a chair, someone is there to do it for him. He soon learns to give up doing things for himself and to expect others to do them for him" (Sharabi, 1977:246).

In their extensive review of studies conducted in America, Maccoby and Jacklin reported that when considering the evidence as a whole, there was no clear demonstration of sex differences with regards to reinforcement of dependency. They added "it is well to remember that there is very little difference between the sexes in the frequency or intensity with which dependent behaviour occurs; hence it should not be surprising that patterns of differential reinforcement have not become apparent" (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974:322-323). As for independence training, even though few studies showed that girls were trained to be more independent, most studies found that

boys and girls were given equal encouragement for independent individuality (Ibid).

As a result of the above, Arab children were assumed to be dependent emotionally and physically rather than independent and that differences existed among the sexes. Mothers were also assumed not to be concerned that dependency would interfere with the child's later adjustment and thus would train their children to be dependent. In fact, Prothro found that in Lebanon, mothers were tolerant of dependency; about one-fourth of them said that such behaviour showed that children loved their home and their parents (Prothro, 1961:134). Thus any considerable change was assumed to be a result of acquiring values prevalent in the American culture.

In this study, two aspects of dependency are studied separately, the emotional and the physical. The emotional aspect is what Sears and Prothro investigated. The physical aspect involves the dependence of children on the parents to meet their physical needs such as feeding and dressing.

The present data show that in general Arab children who are raised here are socialized to be physically independent except in taking baths by themselves and, to a lesser extent, venturing away from the house. There are some sex differences but they are very small. More boys than girls are trained to be physically independent. This is in agreement with what Hatfield et.al. found regarding

what I termed physical independence. These are areas that were helpful to the mothers and thus they exerted pressure on their children, both boys and girls, to be independent and rewarded that behaviour (Hatfield et.al., 1967).

Emotional independence training presented a different picture. The assumption was made that males would be more emotionally dependent than females, who, as Sharabi put it, are rarely the center of attention in the family and thus have an opportunity to develop freely (Sharabi, 1970:246). Prothro found no sex differences in his study of Lebanese mothers (Prothro, 1961:136). In the present study the male children are trained to be more emotionally independent than are the female children. For all children, it seems half of them are trained to be independent and the other half to be dependent. The only area where children of both sexes are trained to be emotionally dependent is in being away from home. This is referred to in other studies as the restrictiveness (versus autonomy-granting) dimension (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974:316). An overwhelming majority of mothers, 98 percent, insist on knowing where their children are all the time. This is in agreement with many studies here where no sex differences were found in that dimension (Ibid). Few studies that reported sex differences found greater independence- granting for girls (Ibid). For the women in this study, their behaviour is unlikely to be a result of adopting American values but rather as a reaction to being in an alien society. Mothers

expressed fears of the "American society" and this may be one way they try to shelter their children from that society. Their reaction though was not expected since most of them live in a basically ethnic community.

2. Aggression, Rewards and Punishments

A mother's interactions with her children also include the handling of expressed aggression and the giving of rewards and punishments to achieve desirable behaviour. Aggression is an important area of child behaviour. Prothro says in this regard, "aggression is closely related to general questions of discipline, not only because punishment may be thought of as a type of parental aggression, but also because psychologists have often argued that parental discipline and child aggression are interrelated" (Prothro, 1961:93). I investigated aggression expressed against mothers, against siblings and against neighboring children. In Lebanon, Prothro reported that all the groups he investigated showed the same general pattern of disapproval of aggression toward parents (Prothro 1961:94). This is true in this study also, but a little over fifty percent of the women who live here said their children would never aggress against them. This finding is consistent with the type of family that is common in the Middle East which is authoritarian and demands respect and obedience. Mothers here also would "beat" the children who commit that offense or would scold them, and ten percent would send the children to their

rooms. None of the Lebanese mothers in Prothro's study did the latter. Mothers are also harsh with their children if they were rude to them and more of them would beat their children than they did in the above case. The use of such discipline leads me to agree with Prothro that Arab mothers resort to control rather than training in dealing with aggression (Prothro, 1961:94). In this present study, with regard to handling aggression among siblings, threatening to punish was not a common response, instead "reconciling the children" followed beating and scolding. Aggression against neighborhood children is also expected when these children interact with each other. In Lebanon, Prothro found that a majority of mothers said their children got along fairly well with other children in the neighborhood and few mothers, eighteen percent, reported quarrels taking place (Prothro, 1961:95). Here only thirteen percent of my sample said their children get along peacefully with the other children. When they do not, most mothers resort to separating the children both here and in Lebanon or they would resort to hitting and scolding. It is important to point out, though, that in the Lebanese study, children played mostly with siblings and had low contact with children outside their families. Here, a large percentage, thirty-nine percent, still played with siblings but one-half the children, fifty-one percent, played with friends, mostly Arab ones. In all cases of handling aggression, Arab mothers resort to control and not to

training. They correct the offense by discipline in order to control it but they do not take time to reason with their children. When sex differences are explored, more mothers of girls are stricter than mothers of boys. They used less traditional means of handling aggression expressed by their boys, such as scolding and sending the child to a room, while the girls are treated more traditionally, by physical punishment. Moreover, mothers and fathers of females are more opposed to aggression expressed by their girls than are parents of boys. In America, parents do not value aggression in either sex (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974:340). In general, Arab mothers here seem to persist in using more traditional means of handling aggression such as hitting and in being harder on their girls.

Other areas where punishment would be used were also investigated. Here some changes are detected. Mothers still resort to hitting, but not exclusively. The areas where hitting is the most common means of punishing children are lying to the mother and not being compliant. This is in line with the Arab cultural value of obedience to elders. Extreme measures of punishment such as forcing a child to kneel in a corner or putting hot pepper in his/her mouth, were very infrequent and used only when children were disobedient. Mothers are resorting more to verbal punishments such as scolding. Shaming, which Sharabi claimed was an important means of discipline, is

rare in this study, and ridiculing is never mentioned as a way of discipline for any offense. Sharabi claimed that ridiculing was used to correct misbehaviour in front of guests (Sharabi, 1977:248). Most of the mothers said they scold their children after the guests leave. It is also interesting to note that mothers ignore only a few offenses but this is the most common response in cases where a child is not respectful of property belonging to other members in the family. This is reflective of the family being group-oriented and not individualistic. The idea behind this is that everything belongs to the whole family and not to individuals so a breach of personal property is not seen as an offense worthy of control. Ignoring an offense is mentioned by young people in the Arab world as a way that was not used by their own parents but that they would use with their children; they considered that to be a modern way of child-rearing (Najarian, 1959:15). When all types of punishments are grouped in a scale, a third of the mothers are resorting to modern-type punishments while the majority are still more traditional.

Rewarding children is a topic that is generally de-emphasized in the literature about the Arab family and very little studied. Sharabi says that Arab culture generally de-emphasizes rewards (Sharabi, 1977:250) and Prothro reports in his study that, in general, positive reinforcement, through the use of praise and other rewards, is used less by Lebanese than by Americans but, when

questioned about specific tasks, he found mothers would praise or reward their children (Prothro, 1961:104-105). Najarian, in her study of young men and women from Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, reported that for these young people material and non-material rewards were common (Najarian, 1959:15). Despite that, Prothro indicated that a "sizeable minority" never rewarded their children for good behaviour (1961:105). In this study also, mothers were asked to react to rewarding behaviour in general and to rewarding specific tasks. I found that the majority, seventy-six percent, reward behaviour and twenty-four percent expect good behaviour of their children without rewards. In specific tasks, the overwhelming majority of mothers said they always rewarded their children. The types of rewards that Arab mothers here use are different than the ones Lebanese mothers used. Prothro reported that food was the most frequently mentioned tangible reward and two-thirds praised the child (Prothro, 1961:104). In my study, I found that fifty-two percent of rewarding mothers use emotional/verbal rewards such as hugging and saying "a good boy" or "a good girl". The rest use more tangible rewards like buying their children things, such as clothing or toys, and food such as ice cream and candy. Very few of the mothers, seven percent, take their children out to eat as a reward. When the responses of all the mothers to all the questions having to do with rewards are scaled, only a few are resorting strictly to emotional rewards, but more

are using a mixture of both emotional and tangible rewards and almost one half of the mothers use tangible rewards only. Even though the latter were considered traditional, it is in reality an area where Arab mothers are experiencing an overlap with American culture. Through television, Arab mothers may be influenced by the value of consumerism and thus, instead of using food as a reward, they go out and buy things.

3. Sex Roles

In discussing child-rearing practices in Arab homes, one cannot ignore the distinction between the rearing of boys and girls. Actually, the separation between the roles of men and women is one of the characteristic features of the traditional Arab family and the society in general (Berger, M., 1962:115-117). The separation of the male/female role begins early. Moreover, the Arabic language does not have a word for "child" or "infant". Every noun is either feminine or masculine. This means as Patai says, that the concept of "children" does not exist in the Arab consciousness and accordingly, "there are no 'child'-rearing practices in the Arab world, but only 'boy'-rearing practices on the one hand, and 'girl'-rearing practices on the other." (Patai, 1983:28). Even though some differences in the socialization of boys and girls exist in the American culture, they are not as distinct as they are in the Arab culture. Barry, Bacon and Child report that there is a pattern of socializing girls towards

nurturance, obedience and responsibility and socializing boys towards self-reliance and achievement but the differences are relatively small (1972:47). If any changes are or are not occurring because of migration I expected to find them in this crucial area of behaviour.

Mothers here believe in education and they expect that all their children, both male and female, will be educated. Small differences among the sexes surfaced when the amount of education was specified. A large majority, seventy-one percent, think that girls should get as much education as boys. Even though the girls may not actually get a lot of education, their mothers' attitude toward that is a good indicator of change. The implications of that attitude are that girls are not going to be closely supervised because they will be at school and they will be mixing with boys during the school day and interacting with male teachers. Despite that most mothers want their girls to be as educated as their boys. I expected more traditional type responses indicating a traditional role for females. A few mothers still feel a girl should get some education and then be a housewife. In a separate question, only thirteen percent of the mothers hoped their daughters would get married but eighty-seven percent hoped that they would get an education.

The issue of a girl's modesty came up but it was not a priority, contrary to what I had expected. A major concern of parents in the Middle East is that their girls, when

they go to school, where they are not closely supervised by their mothers, will be more likely to lose their honor. This honor reflects on the family and prescribes the roles of men and women and their behaviour in the company of each other (Antoun, 1968). Moreover, if women are expected to behave in a modest way then the behaviour of men towards women must be according to that modesty (Ibid.). When I questioned the women about their future expectations for their girls, thirteen percent of the mothers hoped their girls would get married and thirty-five percent hoped their girls would keep their honor. Marriage is one way of insuring that a girl stays honorable. Adding the two responses together resulted in forty-eight percent of traditional responses. Even though that was high, it still indicates quite a change in the treatment of girls by their mothers. Perhaps interviewing fathers would have yielded more traditional responses. After all, they are the ones who would be dishonored if a girl's behaviour were to deviate from the traditional value of chastity. I am not saying that mothers here are not concerned with this issue, because they are, but it seemed from the data that education for girls is more of a priority to them as they live in this culture.

Even though the responses regarding education indicate a shift to more non-traditional behaviour, they are only expectations and not actual behaviour. Used with other questions to create scales for male roles and female roles,

the majority of the mothers tended to be traditional. Regarding female roles 39 percent of the mothers were in the medium category of the scales and 29 percent of them scored medium on the male-role scales. These categories are indicative of a transition in the extremely rigid traditional male and female roles. There were also a few mothers who were classified as non-traditional in this area but they were very few. This is an indication of the great difficulty of change in this area.

II. Societal Variables and Child-Rearing Practices

For the Arab immigrants who are interacting with the host society, certain societal variables were assumed to influence their behaviour. In this study the variables, exposure through mass media, participation in ethnic community activities, interaction with the host society and attachment to the homeland, were hypothesized to have an influence on child-rearing practices. The hypotheses were that if mothers were highly attached to their homeland, had low exposure to the host society and experienced low interaction with it, and had high participation in their ethnic community then they would tend to raise their children according to Arab cultural ways. These mothers can be referred to as traditional. If they experienced low homeland attachment, high exposure to the host society, high interaction with it, and low ethnic participation then they would tend to raise their children in a

non-traditional way compatible with mainstream United States culture. These mothers can be referred to as non-traditional. Each child-rearing practice was tested with each of the above societal variables.

Physical dependency is an area where Arab mothers are experiencing change as a result of being in this society. Exposure to the host society through the use of the mass media is significantly related to physical independence at the .02 level. The more Arab mothers use mass media the more they train their children to be physically independent. Physical independence is also related to low home attachment and low ethnic participation in a positive direction. The more mothers interact with the host society the higher their physical independence training.

Emotional independence was an area that was weakly related to home attachment and to mass media exposure. It is not related to interaction with the host society but related negatively to participation in the ethnic community. High ethnic participation is related to high emotional independence.

Handling aggression, like physical independence, is an area where mothers are experiencing change or transition as a result of living here. Even though it is weakly related to home attachment it is related to low ethnic participation. Those mothers who are experiencing low ethnic participation are using "medium" means of handling aggression. The medium category includes a mixture of

traditional and non- traditional ways of handling aggression. This is an indication of a transition from traditionalism to non-traditionalism in this area. The transition is also apparent in the relation of handling aggression to mass media exposure. High exposure to the host society through the use of mass media is related to a mixture of traditional and non-traditional means of handling aggression. The relationship between these two variables becomes statistically significant when the use of television only is tested with handling aggression.

Types of punishment is weakly related to home attachment and to participation in the ethnic community. Only low interaction with the host society is related to more traditional punishments but high interaction is not making a difference. Types of punishments are not related to mass media exposure.

The types of rewards present interesting relationships with the societal variables. Rewards are weakly related to home attachment. Emotional-type rewards are related to low ethnic participation. Rewards are related negatively to host interaction and mass media exposure, so that high host interaction and high media exposure are related to tangible-type rewards which are considered traditional. Keeping in mind the original classification of rewards explains this. Mothers who are experiencing high exposure to and interaction with the American environment are adopting a consumer behaviour which is prevalent in the

society and thus buy their children rewards. So for them this is an area of overlap with the American society.

I had expected that certain changes in sex-role differentiation would take place, but I anticipated that the changes would be slow in this crucial area. As for high home attachment, the relation to traditional female roles is clear, but for those who are experiencing low home attachment, forty percent scored "medium" and twenty percent scored "high" on the female role scale. They are mostly traditional regardless of their ethnic participation and their mass media exposure. Interaction with the host society is contributing to some changes. Even though the majority of the women are traditional regardless of the rate (amount) of interaction, a third of them who have high interaction with the society scored "medium" on the female-roles scale and fifty percent of those who had medium interaction also scored medium on the female-roles scale. Medium is an area where a mixture of traditional and non-traditional practices exist. The relationship between interaction and female roles is statistically significant ($P < .05$) for those women who have little or no education. Thus, mothers who have very low education and low interaction also show very traditional female roles. Another significant relationship ($P < .01$) is found between the mothers' female-roles perception and whom their families spend time with. Relatives reinforce traditional values while friends seem to reinforce change.

Certain indicators of change are also apparent for male roles. In general mothers are traditional regarding male roles whether or not they reported high or low home attachment. But for those who reported low home attachment, forty percent scored "medium" on the male-roles scales. Mass media is not related. Mass media exposure is mostly through watching television and listening to Arabic programs on the radio. This may be clouding the effect of mass media. Ethnic participation is also not related. Mothers are also generally traditional in relation to host interaction. But as with the female roles thirty-three percent of the mothers who have high host interaction scored medium on the male-roles scale. This means that a significant minority of Arab mothers are experiencing change.

The mothers' level of education is significant in other areas of child-rearing such as handling aggression and types of rewards. The relationship between education and rewards is negative though significant at P less than .05. Here again, it is due to the classification of rewards. It seems that highly educated mothers resort to more tangible rewards. Highly educated mothers resort to less traditional ways of handling aggression and punishments. Yarrow, Scott, DeLeeuw and Heinig also found that the education status of mothers was a variable in child-rearing practices but only when their work status was considered also (1972:324).

Length of residency is not a significant variable in the study. It has no influence on any of the child-rearing practices designated for this research.

III. Theoretical Implications of the Study.

The Arab immigrant families who are the focus of this study are basically traditional in maintaining the values that pertain to child-rearing. They reside in ethnic communities which tend to reinforce these values. These ethnic communities are not separate from the outside environment, as the Amish communities are, but interact with it basically through the public schools and the mass media. This has given these families a chance to learn something of the values of the host society. Areas of conflict over values arise. These families are experiencing some adaptation and change in certain areas but resisting the outside influence in others.

When these families first arrived here, they shared very little if anything, with the host society. See Figure 5-1. As they interact with the host environment, the common features "bank" starts to grow. These are what Schermerhorn calls centripetal tendencies. In this study, the common features include the attitude of Arab women to the role of women, assuming more decision-making in the home, expecting equal educational opportunities for girls and boys, experiencing changes such as in physical independence training and rewards and some transition in

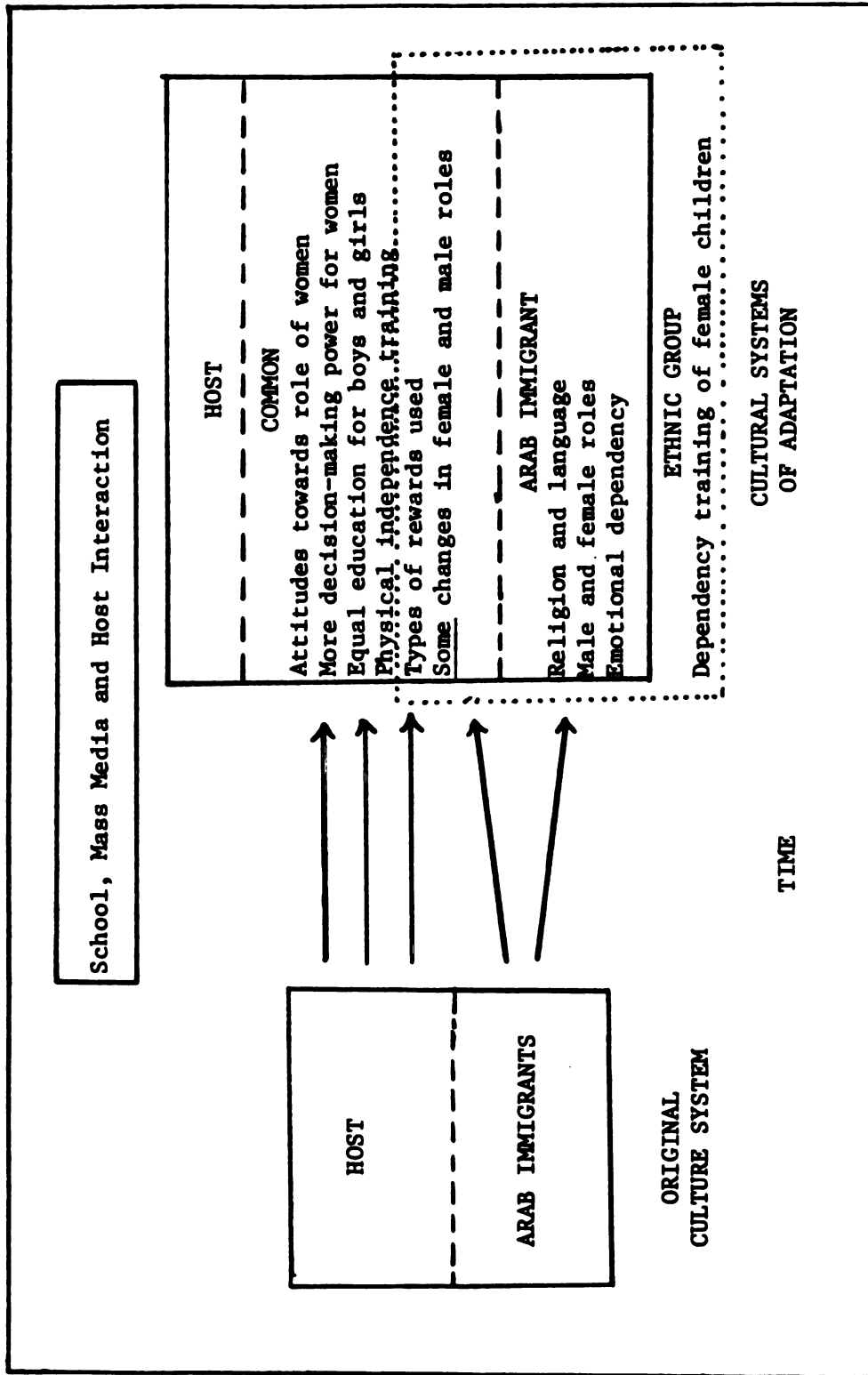


Figure 5-1

Arab Ethnicity's Relationship to the Ethnogenesis Model

male and female roles. These changes are small but they are there. These changes will probably be clearer for the second generation. See Figure 5-1.

In this study, I found one small area where these immigrant families have maintained a basically traditional value and adapted it in a way to make it uniquely ethnic. This area is that of the dependency of females. From the literature review it was learned that female socialization encouraged emotional independence. In America, there were no patterns of differential training among the sexes in the area of dependency. The Arab mothers here are changing their training of females in a way that is producing more emotionally dependent daughters. This pattern is different from the original Arab pattern and from the prevalent American pattern. It is an adaptive pattern that these mothers are following as a reaction to being in this society. This area of socialization fits in Greeley's "ethnic group" category. See Figure 5-1.

Areas of resistance to change also exist. The Arab families are retaining and preserving their distinct tradition through the maintenance of their religion. They have centers of worship where they can practice their religion. They also have meat markets where they can eat "Halal" meat (Arab Muslims eat only meat that has been slaughtered after invoking the name of God.) and they all speak only Arabic at home. In Katarsky's study, all of his respondents, with the exception of one, stated that every

member of their family spoke Arabic (Katarsky, 1980: 22). Arabic is used almost exclusively in the homes of the mothers that are the focus of this study. The women speak Arabic exclusively to their children and husbands but they reported that their children speak both English and Arabic with each other. Many mothers expressed to me their joy over the after-school Arabic instruction classes¹ because that helped the children keep their language and their culture. Thus, both language and religion are being used by the Arab immigrants to foster separation (i.e., centrifugal tendencies).

In the child-rearing area, many of the practices designated in this study indicate more ethnic persistence than change even though some change is apparent. The areas of male and female roles is experiencing a little change, but it is still basically ethnic and traditional. The same applies to the areas of emotional dependency and types of punishments. They are areas that are resisting change. Basically these areas are related to very important values in the Arab culture. Emotional dependency is related to dependency in general which is a value that Arab children are socialized into. Unlike what I assumed, high ethnic

¹I attended one of these classes and observed that the teaching method was traditional (ie. rote learning). The children were expected to sit quietly and obey what the teacher said. The children were obviously frustrated and a few of them expressed that to me. One child was given a few lines to write one hundred times in Arabic.

participation was found related to emotional independence rather than dependence. The women may feel comfortable in the ethnic community and let their children fare for themselves. I can say though that this area is resisting change. During the interviews many mothers expressed their fear of the outside society. To counteract that, they train their children to be emotionally dependent. The items used to create the Emotional Independence Scale did not get at these fears. Types of punishments are related to the authoritarian character of the Arab family which demands respect and obedience, and the tendency to resort to control rather than to training. Some changes have occurred here though the majority of the mothers maintain traditionalism. Female and male roles are related to the Arab cultural value of "honor" and the separation of the sexes. The changes that are occurring in this area are in educational equality, but basically the mothers are persistent in their traditional ways. This surfaced when mothers were asked specifically if girls should behave differently than boys. The mothers agree that differences should occur for the girls especially in the areas of games, helping mothers with siblings and being more family oriented. All these are very traditional values and mothers are clinging to them. See Figure 5-1.

Any ethnic group whose goal is to protect its values needs to meet certain structural requirements such as demands for endogamy and separate associations

(Schermerhorn, 1970:81-12). The centrifugal tendencies among the Arabs to foster ethnic distinctiveness are apparent in their emphasis on endogamy. Katarsky found that only six percent of his sample had non-Arab spouses (Katarsky, 1980:23). None of the mothers in my sample were married to non-Arabs.

Associational life was non-existent among the Arab mothers. Associations do exist in the ethnic communities where they reside but membership in these are limited to males only, a traditional practice. Most of these associations are regional such as Beit Hanina Charity Club (Beit Hanina is a village in the West Bank) or the Yemeni Benevolent Association. This reflects a very traditional behaviour because even in their countries these women would not join any associations. Their lives there and here revolve around their homes and their families. Arab women elsewhere in the U.S.A. have created their own associations and achieved certain goals. An example was cited of the Arab Muslim women in Toledo who were very active in the building of the Toledo mosque and still are involved in its maintenance (Elkholy, 1966).

Even though the women are not members of formal associations, or do not seem to be, they become very active in an informal-type association when there is a great need in the community. Wigle and Abraham report that when a crisis arises in any of the home countries of these immigrants the women become involved in relief

organizations, clothing drives and fund-raising activities. They have even defied tradition and joined demonstrations. When the crisis is over, this type of organizational activity also ends (Wigle and Abraham, 1974: 290). In this way, women will venture out of their homes to assume non-traditional roles but basically their lives rotate around home-related activities.

In conclusion, the Arab Ethnic families studied in this research are undergoing certain changes and going through a process of adaptation without losing social meanings that are culturally important. This is true in the area of child-rearing. But as Mindel and Habenstein put it,

"there is little chance that this process will give way overnight to a new family form expressing the rational-purposeful, means-ends-dominated, instrumentally oriented features of a family that serves only the functional requisites of a corporate-business-dominated society. Neither will the modern ethnic family singly reflect the overarching and homogenizing forces of a mass, consumption-orientated society. Somewhere between these great grindstones that would pulverize traditional family organization a type of family... persists: proleant, adaptive, conservatizing, generating meanings, and forming a sense of identity partly from the realities of an earlier time, partly from the exigencies of the present" (1976:428).

IV. Recommendations for Further Research

The above discussion indicates that there is a great need for further research on the families of Arab ethnics, specifically in the areas of child-rearing and roles of

women. These areas of behaviour are of a primary nature and would be resistant to cultural assimilation so more studies such as this present one need to be conducted on a continuous basis in order to be able to detect changes. The time element is not crucial for the immigrants I studied but could be for the coming generation.

One of the difficulties that a researcher encounters in this type of study is deciding what are the specific cultural values of these immigrants regarding child-rearing. My cultural background was a great help to me personally. But for non-Arab researchers, it would be extremely helpful if studies are conducted on the immigrants on arrival to specify aspects of their home culture. Moreover, a study of second generation mothers (that is the kindergarten children in this study) who still live in the ethnic community would provide a basis for comparison. Such comparative studies would provide a good basis for assessing ethnic change and persistence. These studies will also better document the conflicts the group might be facing since second generation mothers would have lived through them. An offshoot could also be study of the participation of second generation women in the labour force.

A study of religion as a variable in the assimilative process of these families is also needed. Spiro reports that religion can accelerate or retard the process and points out that the church acts as an antiacculturative

force by maintaining the value of the traditional family structure. This is also relevant to the study of the position of women in the family (1955:1246).

The present research, nevertheless, provides a good start. To my knowledge, no studies have been specifically conducted on child-rearing practices of Arab immigrants. More studies on the different Arab subgroupings are also needed. Since ethnic boundaries for each group may be different considering the historical experiences of each group, it would be useful to find out whether those ethnic boundaries influence child-rearing in any way. For example, the situation of the Yemeni immigrants is different than that of other Arab immigrants. The majority of them come here to make money and go back to their homeland. As a consequence, they do not make efforts to assimilate. How is that reflected in their child-rearing practices? This question could not be addressed in this research because only six Yemeni mothers were interviewed. This number did not provide a good basis for making generalizations about the Yeminiis.

Varieties among the different Arab groupings exist because of social class, so studies including the concept of "ethclass" (Gordon, 1978) would be needed.

More studies are also needed to investigate issues that the children of these immigrants are facing because of conflicting values in their homes and in their schools. This type of study will depend on participant observation

of interactions between Arab students and non-Arab teachers. Such studies will be of great help to teachers since cultural factors are determinants of learning. For example, Arab children who are socialized to be very obedient and dependent may seem non-curious to their teachers and may require more attention because they will wait to be told what to do. Thus the implications of such studies for bilingual programs are important.

Since ethnicity and ethnic groups continue to be topics of importance to social scientists, studies such as this present one will always be needed. Such studies are beneficial to assess the type and direction of change that families experience as separate units and as part of an interacting whole: the society.

APPENDIX

Appendix A

English Version of the Interview Schedule

To begin with, I would like to ask you a few questions about you and your family.

1. When were you born? _____
(If respondent cannot answer this question ask her to estimate her age, or you can estimate that.)
2. Where were you born? _____ (Country)
____ City
____ Town
____ Village _____

Probe: Was the place a city, a town or a village?

3. When did you come to the U.S.A.? _____
4. What were the reasons that prompted you to migrate?

5. Did you live anywhere else in the U.S.A. before you moved to this neighbourhood? _____ Yes, _____ No.
If yes, where did you live? _____
6. How did you meet your husband? _____

- 6a. Was your husband one of your relatives?
____ Yes, ____ No
7. Where were you married? _____

8. Where was your husband born? _____

Instructions : Ask each part of Question 9 separately.

9. How many children do you have? How old are they?
Do they go to school? What grade?

	Girls	Age	Grade		Boys	Age	Grade
a.	_____	_____	_____	a.	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____	b.	_____	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____	_____	c.	_____	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____	_____	d.	_____	_____	_____
e.	_____	_____	_____	e.	_____	_____	_____
f.	_____	_____	_____	f.	_____	_____	_____
g.	_____	_____	_____	g.	_____	_____	_____
h.	_____	_____	_____	h.	_____	_____	_____

10. Does any relative live with you here? ____Yes, ____No
If yes, who? _____
11. Do you have relatives in this neighbourhood or
close by? ____Yes, ____No.
If yes, how many? _____ , _____
(families) (persons)
12. What, in your opinion, is the ideal family size?
No. of boys____, No. of girls____, Don't know____.
13. What in you husband's opinion is an ideal family size?
No. of boys____, No. of girls____, Don't know____.

Probe: Try to find out why there are discrepancies
between the husband and the wife.

14. Are you employed outside the home? ____Yes, ____No.
If yes, what type of work do you do? _____
15. Did you ever work outside the home? ____Yes, ____No.
If yes, what type of work did you do? _____
16. What does your husband do for a living? _____

17. What type of work did he do before you immigrated?

18. What is your opinion of women who are employed outside
the home? _____

19. Do you own your home? _____ Yes, _____ No.
20. What is your religion? _____
21. What is your husband's religion? _____
22. Who in your family makes the last decision as far as the following? You? Your husband? or Both?

	You	Your husband	Both
a. Where to live?	_____	_____	_____
b. Buying a car?	_____	_____	_____
c. Opening a bank account?	_____	_____	_____
d. House expenses?	_____	_____	_____
e. Discipline of children?	_____	_____	_____
f. Clothing for children?	_____	_____	_____
g. Timing of children?	_____	_____	_____
h. Whom to visit?	_____	_____	_____
i. How wife dresses?	_____	_____	_____
j. Wife going out with other women?	_____	_____	_____

23. Do you have American citizenship? _____ Yes, _____ No.
24. Does your husband have American citizenship?
_____ Yes, _____ No.
25. Do you hear from your relatives in the your home country? _____ Yes, _____ No.
- 25a. Do you receive letters? _____ Yes, _____ No.
- 25b. Do you call on the phone? _____ Yes, _____ No.
- 25c. Do you get visitors from your home country?
_____ Yes, _____ No.
26. Do you hope to go back to your home country to live?

27. How does your husband feel about that? _____

28. Would you like to move to a different community?
_____ Yes, _____ No. Why? _____

or Why not? _____

Now I would like to ask you a few questions regarding education.

29. Did your circumstances allow you to go to school?
 Yes, _____ No. If no, go to next question.
 If yes, how many years did you study? _____

30. Did your husband go to school? _____ Yes, _____ No.
 If no, go to next question.
 If yes, how many years did he study? _____

31. Do you speak English? _____ Yes, _____ No, _____ a little.
 31a. Does your husband speak English?
 Yes, _____ No, _____ a little.
 31b. What language do you speak at home with your
 husband and children? _____
 31c. What do the children speak at home? _____
32. Do you read and write English?
 Yes, _____ No, _____ a little.
33. What, in your opinion, is the amount of education that
 a boy should get? _____

34. What, in your opinion, is the amount of education that
 a girl should get? _____

35. Do you think that the American system of education
 has a good or bad influence on the development of the
 child? Please explain. _____

Probe: If respondent answers Question 35 in a
 general way ask her to explain her response.
 e.g. Can you explain some more? How is that
 related to the development of the child?

Now I would like to ask you a few questions regarding the way you raise your children. In these questions, the focus will be mainly on your kindergarten child.

Name of child ? X _____

Instruction: Write the name of the kindergarten child in the above blank. Refer to the name in the following questions.

36. How did you feed? X _____ when he/she was an infant?
breast _____?, bottle _____?, or both _____?
37. When did you wean X _____?
37a. How did you wean X _____?
38. Some mothers feed a baby on demand, while others follow a schedule. What did you do with X _____?

39. Some mothers pick up a child when he/she cries, others let him/her cry so he/she won't get used to being picked up. What did you do with X _____?

40. Tell me about the method you used to toilet-train X _____?

- 41a. When did you start? _____
- 41b. Was X _____ easy to train? _____
- 41c. How long did it take to train X _____ completely? _____
- 40d. What did you do when X _____ sometimes forgot after having been trained? _____

Now let us focus on the present. X _____ is 5 or 6 years old and he/she goes to kindergarten.

41. What school does X _____ attend? _____
42. Whom does your child play with most of the time?

Probe : siblings, relatives, neighbors (Arab or non-Arab)? _____

43. Some mothers like to know where their children are all the time and others let their children take care of themselves. What do you do with X_____?
- _____
- _____

44. Some parents reward their children when they behave well. Others expect the children to behave well without reward. What is your opinion on this point?
- _____

Probe : If mother rewards good behavior, ask her what type of rewards she uses.

45. At what age did X_____ start to do the following by himself/herself:

- a. Eat by himself/herself _____
- b. Dress by himself/herself? _____
- c. Tie his/her shoes? _____
- d. Bathe himself/herself? _____
- e. Choose his/her friends? _____
- f. Venture away from home? _____
- g. Cross street by himself/herself? _____
- h. Use toilet by himself/herself? _____
- i. Make own decisions? _____

46. When X_____ misbehaves and has to be disciplined, who usually does it? _____
- _____
- _____

47. Do you beat X_____ as a way disciplining him/her?
- a. A lot? _____
 - b. Sometimes? _____
 - c. A little? _____

48. Do you deprive X_____ of something he/she really likes as a way of disciplining him/her? _____
- Give me an example.
- _____
- _____

Instructions : In the question on the following page, it is possible that a mother resorts to more than one way of dicipline for a given situation. Do not suggest any answers only put a check mark where appropriate.

50. Some people feel it is very important for a child to learn not to fight with other children; others feel there are times when a child has to learn how to fight. How do you feel about this?

50a. How does your husband feel about this? _____

51. After X _____ is disciplined what do you do? _____

51a. Do you send X _____ to own room? _____

51b. Do you explain why he/she was diciplined? _____

51c. Do you hug and kiss him/her? _____

51d. Do you leave him/her alone? _____

52. Do you usually have time so that X _____ can talk to you to you about things that interest him/her or upset him/her? _____

53. Suppose you were absent and X _____ intentionally did something naughty but you did not see him/her do it. Does he/she come and tell you about it without your having to ask him/her? _____

a. All the time? _____

b. Most of the time? _____

c. Some of the time? _____

d. Almost never? _____

e. Never? _____

54. What do you do when X _____ says he/she is afraid? _____

55. What qualities of X _____ do you like best? _____

56. What qualities of X _____ upset you most? _____

57. Does X _____ require much attention from you?

- 57a. How about following you around and sticking close to you? _____
- 57b. Does X _____ ask you for help with something he/she can do by himself/herself? _____
- 57c. What do you do when X _____ requires attention and you are busy? _____

58. Whom do you leave X _____ with when you go out of the house? _____

59. What does he/she usually do when you go out of the house and leave him/her with another person?

61. Do you expect X _____ to do some chores at home?

- 61a. What are they? _____

- 61b. Do you reward him/her for that? _____
- 61c. How? _____

62. Do you feel that behaviour of girls should be different from the behaviour of boys at this age (5-6 yrs of age)? _____
 How? _____

63. In general, do you and your husband agree on how to raise your children? _____
- 63a. Do you think that he is very strict, strict, not strict with the children? _____
- 63b. Does he think you are very strict, strict, or not strict with the children? _____
- 63c. Can you tell me about an incident in which you did not agree? _____

64. Do you raise your children the way you were raised? _____
- 64a. How is that different? _____

65. What do you think of how American mothers raise their children? _____

Instructions : If the answer to Question 65 is very general, ask the respondent to explain more: What do you mean by that?
 Can you explain more?

66. Where do you get that information? _____

67. Does X _____ face any problems or difficulties at school? _____
- 67a. What are they? _____

- 67b. How do you handle that? _____

68. Do you feel that it is more difficult to raise children here than in your country? _____

68a. What are some of the problems that you face? _____

69. If you have any problems or difficulties raising children, who would you discuss those problems with? _____

70. What in your opinion are the characteristics of a "good" boy or a "good" girl who is 5 or 6 years of age? _____

71. Are there American things you would like your children to adopt? _____ Yes, _____ No. If Yes, what are they? _____

72. Does your husband spend time with the children? _____ Yes, _____ No. If yes, how? _____

We are coming to the end of our discussion. I would like to ask you a few more general questions.

73. Whom do you and your family spend most of your time with as far as visiting, attending parties, exchanging gifts, ...etc.?

a. Relatives? _____

b. Arab friends? _____

c. Non-Arab neighbors and friends? _____

74. Do you watch TV? _____ Yes, _____ No.

74a. What are your favorite programs? _____

74b. Do you listen to the radio? _____ Yes. _____ No.

74c. What are your favorite programs? _____

Instructions : Do not ask the following question if the respondent cannot read.

75. Do you read magazines? ____Yes, ____No.
 a. Which ones? _____

76. Do you belong to any organizations, such as Parent Advisory Committee, labor unions, mothers groups, ethnic groups, community groups, etc.?
 ____Yes, ____No. Which ones? _____

77. Does your husband belong to any organizations?
 ____Yes, ____No. Which ones? _____

78. Do you cook American food for your family? _____

79. Do you and your family go out to a restaurant to eat?

80. Are you happy here? ____Yes, ____No.
 80a. Why? _____

- 80b. Why not? _____

81. What, in your opinion, is the role of a woman in life?

82. Do you have anything to add? _____

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