

T
372
01

A COMPARISON OF NATIONAL STEREOTYPES AMONG
LEBANESE STUDENTS OF THREE AGE GROUPS

A Thesis

By

Amal Tuaima

Submitted in partial fulfillment for the
requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in the
Education Department of the American Univer-
sity of Beirut

Beirut, Lebanon

1961

NATIONAL STEREOTYPES AMONG
LEBANESE STUDENTS

Tuaima

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted to the members of my thesis Committee for their valuable help which made this thesis possible. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Pergrouhi Najarian, for her encouragement and sympathy which made me continue this work. I also thank Dr. Terry E. Prothro for his valuable assistance in clarifying and improving numerous points in this research and for his generous provision of the data. I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Louis P. Cajoleas who accepted to replace Dr. Naim Attiyah after his unfortunate illness. I also thank Dr. Lutfi Diab for his kind help in reading the thesis. I am grateful to Dr. Habib Kurani for his kind interest in this thesis.

Thanks are expressed to Miss Mona Abdul-Wahab and Mr. Farhan Abu Sahyoun for their valuable assistance and encouragement.

ABSTRACT

The studies on stereotypes have occupied a significant position in the fields of Social Psychology and Education. The effect of stereotypic thinking upon human behavior has been recognized by the numerous investigators whose attempts were to study the origin, the nature and the factors that perpetuate the development of such attitudes. The advancement in age may be one of the factors in changing stereotypes and this is the main objective of this thesis.

The data of this study were provided by Dr. Prothro, Chairman of the Psychology Department. They consist of responses given by three hundred Arab Lebanese students to questions concerning their perception of themselves and of others. Perception of others was categorized into two parts: similarity to the self and difference from the self.

The social and psychological background of the subjects was discussed briefly as background for the interpretation of the findings.

The technique of analysis followed that of W. E. Lambert and O. Klineberg in the "Pilot Study of the Origin and Development of National Stereotypes". Modifications of this technique were necessary for the purpose of this research.

The major findings in this thesis were the following:

1. The subjects of 10 and 14 years of age showed greater similarities in categorizing others than 6 year olds compared with the two

older groups. There is greater change during the four years between 6 - 10 than 10 - 14. This brings out the important role played by elementary education.

2. In identifying themselves with religious groups, student status and personality qualifications, the subjects reflected some of the recognized Middle Eastern ways of life and values. The tendency to emphasize religion, to appreciate education and to idealize the self are reflected in the subjects' responses.

3. There is a linear relationship between age and accuracy of perception of similarities and differences, social maturity and self control.

4. The role of school proved to be important with increasing age. The older subjects of the sample referred to school and text books as sources of information more often than the youngest group.

5. In summary, the findings in general showed an increased amount of responses and indicated changes toward maturity with age, in the nature of perceiving others such as tolerance and flexibility.

In the absence of samples outside the school it is not possible to state how much of these changes are due to maturation with age and how much to development through education, or both.

These findings suggest the following tasks for education:

1. Directing the child's awareness of the close groups to a broader awareness of the larger out-groups.

2. Examining the role of religion as used now because of its tendency to create disharmony and intolerance.

3. Provision of objective and factual material especially in geography and history lessons because a considerable proportion of the older subjects' information was based upon these studies.

4. Directing the students' interest from the outside appearance of others to that of deeper human elements.

Both the high value placed on education and the heterogeneous cultural background of society in Lebanon are strong assets in accomplishing these tasks.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgement	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Tables	xi
Chapter I - Introduction	1
A. The purpose of the study	1
B. The scope of the study	4
C. The limitations of the study	5
D. Methods of the study	6
Chapter II - Background Information - Review of the Literature on Stereotypes	7
A. Definitions	7
B. The nature of stereotypes	8
C. Studies on stereotypes:	9
1. In Western countries	9
2. In the Middle East	11
Chapter III - Background Information - Some Aspects of Socio-emotional Development in Childhood, Preadolescence and Adolescence	14
A. The impact of society upon the individual	14
B. Self-concept in childhood and early adolescence	15
1. Nature of the self-concept	16
2. Society and the development of self-concept	16

	<u>Page</u>
C. Identification in childhood and early adolescence	18
1. The development of the process of identification	18
2. Identification with the ethnic group	20
D. Prejudice and the development of prejudiced attitudes	20
1. The nature of attitudes	21
2. The development of prejudiced attitudes:	21
a. In childhood	21
b. In adolescence	24
3. Personality factors in the development of prejudice	25
4. Social factors in the development of prejudice	26
5. Emotional expressions of prejudice	28
a. In childhood	28
b. In adolescence	29
Chapter IV - Background Information - Cultural Setting and Personality Characteristics of the Middle East Culture	31
A. A general view of the Middle East	31
B. The hierarchy of affiliations in the Arab Middle East	33
C. The interrelationships within the family:	36
1. Authority	36
2. Discipline	37
3. The influence of the authoritarian family upon personality	38
D. Authoritarianism outside the family	39
E. The personality of the Middle Eastern Individual in general	41

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter V - Findings and Comparisons	45
A. Procedure	45
B. Findings	49
C. Conclusions	69
Chapter VI - Educational Implications	72
A. Introductory Statement	72
B. Findings of particular relevance to education	73
1. Findings suggesting educational tasks	73
2. Other findings of relevance to education	77
Appendix	81
Bibliography	83

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table	
1. Self Concept of Lebanese Children	50
2. Sources of Information Upon Which Impressions of Others Are Built	53
3. a. Number of Children Regarding Each Nationality As Different Or Similar	55
b. The Spontaneous Choices of National Groups By the Three Age Groups	56
4. Affective Evaluation of National Groups Seen As Similar and Different	58
5. Number of Responses Concerning the Evaluative Analysis of the National Groups	60

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. The Purpose of the Study:

The studies on stereotypes present a new area of research in the fields of education and psychology. The importance of stereotypes is derived out of their effective influence upon the behavior of individuals as well as nations because most of the tensions and aggressive attitudes can be traced back to wrong impressions and misunderstandings. Kuhlen in his book, The Psychology of Adolescent Development, underscores the above statement: "The understanding and tolerance among various nations, races, and minority groups are among the great social needs of today. Indeed, the very future of civilization may be said to hinge on the rapid elimination of bias, prejudice, intolerance."¹

Bearing this in mind we can conclude that the role of the school is of paramount importance. The school's responsibility is as great as the responsibility of the family when such attitudes are concerned. It is the task of the teacher to try to eliminate stereotyped attitudes or at least lessen them, for the simple reason that once a stereotype begins, it is likely to find plenty of nourishment through dispassionate teaching and indifference. "Of particular importance educationally are the concepts and attitudes the school children are developing. What

1 Raymond G. Kuhlen, The Psychology of Adolescent Development, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), 412.

children think about nations and races is important, first because it is indicative of adult beliefs which influence their thinking. Of even greater social significance is the fact that the notions and attitudes children obtain in their early years they all too often hang on to as adults."¹

As a first step in the process of changing these stereotypes, a teacher's job is to know what these attitudes are. It is erroneous to assume that very young children do not hold stereotypic attitudes. Kuhlen points out that even first graders have stereotypes. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the teacher to eliminate them before they become established in adolescence.²

The development of stereotypes with age is the primary concern of this thesis. No previous attempts were made in the Middle East to investigate this question. In order to arrive at sound conclusions about the relationship of stereotypy with age we have to study the subjects' concepts of themselves. Judging the self and being able to differentiate it from what is not "self" is basic to perception of similarities and differences with others. This thesis begins therefore with an investigation of the concepts of the self and then goes into the following:

1. What are the significant agents of information ^{at} ~~in~~ each age level?

1 H. Meltzer, "Children's thinking about nations and races", Journal of Genetic Psychology, V: 1941, 181.

2 Raymond G. Kuhlen, op.cit., 416.

A stereotype cannot exist without being learned by the child. The adults, the culture and the community are the media that operate in bringing about these attitudes. Knowing the sources of information of the subjects at their different age levels, may help in illuminating the origin of the stereotypes. Furthermore, it helps in the process of comparison among the age levels being investigated. This provides further data in understanding the quality of the stereotyped attitudes of children and the role of each medium at each age level.

2. What is the impact of age upon the perception of people as similar or different?

Perceiving the foreigners as different or as similar to the self is an important aspect of stereotypic thinking. Therefore, part of this research is directed to search the young children's perception of others in respect to similarities and differences from self.

3. Does age affect the emotional values of the subjects toward the national groups?

Stereotypes do not usually appear without being attached to an emotional value. This emotional value is either positive, negative or indifferent (neutral). It is important to know whether the young subjects at their different age levels show changing tendencies in accepting the unfamiliar and whether they don't because it has an impact upon their interpersonal relations in the future. The question of age and the change in the affective evaluation of others is investigated through the process of comparing the three age groups concerned.

4. How do the adjectives attributed to the national groups change with age?

The quality and the quantity of the descriptions which the young students give to the others are studied. This may provide further evidence to the way these attitudes develop and change with advancement in age.

Therefore, the focus of this study is to trace the developments and the changes that follow in the attitudes of a group of school children toward certain nationalities.

B. The Scope of the Study:

This research is directed to study the change of attitudes in a group of young students in the city of Beirut. The subjects consist of six year old, ten year old, and fourteen year old Arab Lebanese boys and girls in public and private schools in Beirut. They come mainly from Moslem and Christian families and some Druze families. They represent varied socio-economic backgrounds, the majority coming from middle and lower income families.

The data were provided by Dr. Terry E. Prothro with the assistance of graduate students in the Psychology Department.

One part of the thesis deals primarily with the subject of stereotypes and what their nature is. Another part of the thesis is concerned with the dynamics of personality that may lead the individual child to develop or adopt such attitudes as he emerges from one age level to another.

There are basic similarities in personality among different people but the fact remains that the culture in which the individual develops has a definite impact in socializing that individual. Hence, people from different cultural backgrounds may be at variance in relation to their interpersonal behavior. Relationships with the family, relations with authority and their ethnic awareness are some of the factors that mark the people of different nations in their attitudes toward "others". The area of the Middle East, and Lebanon in particular, has characteristics that are somewhat different from other cultures. A chapter dealing with the cultural background of the subject will be of help in analysing the attitudes of the young Lebanese subjects.

C. The Limitations of the Study:

The present research will not deal with the relationships of variables other than age with the development of stereotypes. Whether there is any relationship between ethnocentrism and stereotypes is not investigated in this study. The choice is limited to three age levels only and these represent childhood, preadolescence, and adolescence. The conclusions of this thesis will be based upon the responses of the subjects to definite questions on the interview sheet.

It has been mentioned that the controlled variables are limited to nationality and age only.

This area of research needs further investigations concerning the role of other variables in determining the development or the quality of stereotypic attitudes. For example, the factors of intelligence, socio-economic status, school, sex, ethnocentrism and others require further study.

D. The Method of the Study:

The data of this investigation are obtained from questionnaires given to the subjects and the responses are either written by the interviewee or by the subjects themselves. The questions are translated into Arabic and are based on W.E. Lamberts' and O. Klineberg's "Pilot Study of the Origin and Development of National Stereotypes".

The comparison between the three age levels is partly designed after the technique of analysis used by W.E. Lambert and O. Klineberg as reported in the International Social Science Journal, 1959, IX. This technique of analysis is based on percentages of total responses of each question.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON STEREOTYPES

A. Definitions:

A stereotype is an impression which correlates very little with the actual situation that it pretends to represent. It is characterized by the fact that it is the outcome of the process of defining and labeling first and then observing.¹

In his book, *Public Opinion*, Walter Lippmann concludes that our culture presents to us what has already been defined for us. We tend to select that which agrees with what we have in our minds in the form of stereotypes.² Lippmann also mentions that people tend to generalize because it takes effort to distinguish the truth about things. Therefore, categorizing is easier and demands less effort.³

The reason why we adhere to stereotypes may be because they protect our status in society and our personal values.⁴

Gordon Allport states that the function of stereotyping is that of rationalizing and justifying our conduct toward the categorized group. In other words, it is not limited to the process of reflecting group attitudes toward others.⁵ He defines the stereotype as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category."⁶

1 Newcomb and Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), 205.

2 Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922), 81.

3 Ibid., 88.

4 Ibid., 95.

5 Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge: Addison, 1954), 191.

6 Ibid., 196.

Klineberg points out that stereotypes may either be favourable or unfavourable, but in both cases they are dangerous. Their danger lies in the fact that they are the products of generalizations based on little or no objective reality. The presence of stereotypes is inevitable and it may be hard to stop its process but this trend in human social behavior can be reduced by revealing to the people the mistakes and misconceptions they hold of others.¹

B. The Nature of Stereotypes:

Social scientists and psychologists made numerous attempts to study the nature and origins of these attitudes. Many studies were directed to see to what extent stereotypes reflect real characteristics of the stereotyped group and how long they persist. Studies in the U.S.A. to detect attitudes toward Negroes, Japanese and Germans were conducted. In Europe a research was done about the attitudes toward Hungarians. The results of both studies showed that stereotyped attitudes tend to change but the changes are not due to real changes in the character of the group stereotyped.²

Buchanan concludes from a Unesco survey of stereotypes in nine nations, that these attitudes follow the kinds of relations existing between nations.³

Stereotypes are also influenced by the amount of contact with

1 Otto Klineberg, Tensions Affecting International Understanding (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950), 123, 124.

2 Otto Klineberg, op.cit., 114.

3 William Buchanan and Cantril Hadley, How Nations See Each Other (Urbana: University Press, 1953), 45-49.

a national group. A study by Prothro and Melikian revealed the importance of the variable of direct contact with the stereotyped group in changing the prejudices held by the subjects.¹

Stuart Rice's experiment in studying the element of truth in stereotypes concluded that there might be such an element but this conclusion must not be generalized.² Richard La Pierre's study of stereotypes toward Americans and Mexicans found no correspondence between the stereotypes held toward these two groups and the real traits of their personality.³

C. Studies on Stereotypes:

Most of the previously mentioned investigations on stereotypes were carried in the West, i.e., in Europe and the U.S.A. Other aspects of the subject were also investigated in the West but very little has been done in the Middle East.

1. Studies in Western Countries:

Changing the stereotyped attitudes is difficult because they are deeply influenced by the attitudes of those around us and by our own generalizations. Bearing this point in mind, we must study attitudes in their social frame of reference. Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb concluded that prestige of the persons around the learner plays an important role in the process of changing these attitudes.⁴ The studies of Allport-Kramer, Frenkle Brunswik and Sanford and Hartly reported similar results.

1 Terry E. Prothro and Levon H. Melikian, "Studies in Stereotypes: Familiarity and the Kernel of Truth Hypothesis", Journal of Social Psychology, XLI (1955), 4-10.

2 Otto Klineberg, op.cit., 118.

3 Ibid., 119.

4 Richard Dewey and W.J. Humber, The Development of Human Behavior (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1951), 161.

They found that some traits in personality may lead to prejudiced thinking. This conclusion needs further research.¹

Studies in Western Europe and America about stereotypes toward Jews and Negroes found that the choice of stereotypes might be determined by the needs of the person applying them.²

Stereotypes of minorities toward majorities were full of contradictions. This aspect of stereotypes is still not widely discussed.³

Social mobility proved to influence the extent and intensity of stereotypes. A study of veterans' stereotypes against Negroes revealed this factor. Their attitudes toward the Negroes followed a continuum which started with intense attitudes held by the downward mobile group to tolerant attitudes held by upward mobile group.⁴

The question of stereotypes with age was answered by several researchers. Radke found out that stereotypes existed in children in a midwestern town in U.S.A. although there were no Jews in that community. In explaining this the psychological studies proved that children tend to adopt adult attitudes and stereotypes because this process provides them with security and acceptance. Children show no prejudices usually under five years of age but they soon develop them before they are fifteen years old.⁵

This conclusion was disproved in a study directed by several institutions in which the Social Episodes Test was employed. The children who came from kindergartens, 1st and 2nd grades projected

1 Ibid., 375.

2 Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Sanowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 13.

3 Dewey and Humber, op.cit., 426.

4 Bettelheim and Janowitz, op.cit., 150.

5 Alfred J. Marrow, Living Without Hate (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), 22, 23.

stereotypic attitudes.¹

The development of stereotype with age was investigated by Robert Blake and Wayne Dennis. Their conclusions were that there was a definite increase in the development of the stereotypes with age.²

2. Studies of Stereotypes in the Middle East:

Several studies were conducted in this area concerning prejudices and stereotypes.

A study by Prothro and Melikian examined the stereotypes of Arab students at A.U.B. and compared them with American students at Princeton. The Katz and Braly technique was used. The comparison showed considerable similarity in the content and definiteness of stereotypes.³

Another research by Terry Prothro was directed to see the effect of direct contact with foreigners in determining the similarity of stereotypes held by literate people. The American subjects in this study showed similar stereotypes toward known groups as those held by others in similar studies.⁴

Prothro and Melikian showed that direct contact with the Americans changed the images which Arab students in A.U.B. held of them. The two authors concluded that since the Arabs changed their stereotypes after observing the Americans closely, it can be deduced that the Americans have a characteristic stimulus value.⁵

1 Ibid., 68-69.

2 Otto Klineberg, op.cit., 112-113.

3 Terry Prothro, "Cross-Cultural Patterns of National Stereotypes", Journal of Social Psychology, XL (1954), 54-58.

4 Prothro and Melikian, op.cit., Vol. XLII (1955), 4-10.

5 Terry Prothro, "Lebanese Business Men", Journal of Social Psychology, XL (1954), 275, 280.

Detecting the stereotypes in groups other than students was attempted by Dr. Prothro. The reason behind this study was due to criticism made by Eysench and Crown. They pointed out that students may give generalized adjectives when asked to by their professors, not because they reflect their attitudes, but because they would not dare turn their professor's request down.¹ Dr. Prothro chose a number of Lebanese business men. Ninety of them responded. The findings of this study report that the group of business men manifested similarity in attributing characteristic traits to different groups. The stereotypes held by the Lebanese business men were found to resemble those held by the university students in Beirut.²

In order to examine the advantage of the Sentence Completion Technique over the Katz and Braly Technique in detecting stereotypes, Dr. Prothro made the following study. One hundred and four Lebanese girls studying at a British supported missionary school were asked to complete in five different ways the statement: "America is a country where.....". The results of this research led the author to conclude that this instrument can serve in researches^s concerning international tensions.³

Iatfy N. Diab conducted a study on Arab students attending American universities. He found a significant correlation between the

1 Ibid., 275.

2 Terry Prothro, "Lebanese Business Men", Journal of Social Psychology, XL, (1954), 275, 280.

3 Terry Prothro, "Lebanese Stereotypes as Revealed by the Sentence Completion Technique", Journal of Social Psychology, XL (1954), 39-42.

type of family and authoritarianism but he found no relationship between the Arab's authoritarian characteristics and prejudice. This conclusion was found to be true in another study by Prothro and Melikian.¹

Having looked through some studies on stereotypes in general and in the Middle East in particular, one comes to the conclusion that the question of stereotypy with age is not thoroughly discussed. No study was attempted in the Near East concerning this aspect, as far as the knowledge of the writer is concerned.

1 Iutfy N. Diab, "Authoritarianism and Prejudice in Near-Eastern Students Attending American Universities", Journal of Social Psychology, L, (1959), 175-187.

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SOCIO-EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CHILDHOOD, PRE- ADOLESCENCE AND EARLY ADOLESCENCE

A. The Impact of Society upon the Individual:

The effective process of socialization takes place after the first year of the child's life. It is an established fact that the most crucial developments between the first and sixth are those of socializing the individual. The six year old child is molded according to the social aspects of his culture through these five years in which rapid changes occur. The process of socialization is achieved either by way of pressure that leads the child toward maturity, or by way of the child's own needs. The child may act alone and put effort to absorb the cultural values and adopt them.¹

Social learning plays a very important role in the modification of personality characteristics and social conduct during the period between five or six to twelve. The child conforms to the pressures of his society by learning the suitable behavioral patterns for his social class and sex. At the same time he adopts the cultural values and convictions for which he has to be responsible. Furthermore, his interests become more mature.

1 William E. Martin and Celia Burns Stendler, Child Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. Inc., 1953), 214-218.

The socializing agents are primarily the family, the school, the peer group and the community respectively. These may direct the child either by operating cooperatively or by opposing each other.¹

B. Self Concept in Childhood and Early Adolescence:

The concept of self has two sides. First it starts with the awareness of the "I". In this we mean the person's attitudes and feelings toward himself. Then there is the social awareness of the self, that is, the development of attitudes toward the "not I" or the awareness of others. We can, by no means, separate these two sides of the self due to their unitary nature.² "The self" is meant to be a composite of ideas, attitudes, evaluations and values which the individual holds as his own. The possession of these aspects of personality provides him with his individual existence and thus awareness of his "self". The attitudes are definitely the outcomes of learning experiences.³

Ruth Strang defined the self as the way an individual perceives his limitations, abilities, position and roles in society. The self perception which the individual holds at any one time is of a temporary or transitory nature.

As the child grows in society, the concept of self usually changes according to the demands of society and maturity.⁴

1 Paul Henry Mussen and John Janeway Conger, Child Development and Personality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), 351, 316.

2 Robert I. Watson, Psychology of the Child (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1959), 117.

3 William E. Martin and Celia Burns Stendler, Readings in Child Development (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1957), 474.

4 Ruth Strang, The Adolescent Views Himself (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), 68-70.

The social self is the way the individual thinks others see him. Although the people's views of the person may not agree with what he thinks, yet it is still of a considerable importance to his behavior.

The ideal self also has an impact upon the person's behavior and his perception of his "self". It is the kind of person that he endeavors to be.¹

1. Nature of self-concept:

The most important element in the self-concept is its dynamic quality. It originates out of the flux of the interactions of the individual with others. The dynamic nature of the self-concept is displayed in the achievement of individuality through persistence. The existence of the self-concept determines to a large degree the way the individual perceives the people surrounding him, his future and the other parts of his personality.² Sullivan considers the self or the self dynamism as an interacting entity with society. It never exists without the presence of interpersonal relations.³

2. Society and the development of self-concept:

The growth of the self-concept is a continuous process during the life of the individual. In spite of its continuity, the self-concept undergoes important changes at the beginning of each developmental period. The first phase of the formation of self-concept takes place when the young child tries to be independent. He achieves his first

1 Ruth Strang, op.cit., 71, 72.

2 Ibid., 75-78.

3 Harry Stack Sullivan, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1953), 256.

independent role as he begins to identify with others. Identification with the parents provides the child with security and self-concept as a first step toward independence.

With the beginning of school, the child's world expands and his identification changes. He, now, identifies with the teacher and later with his peer group. He tries to conform to the values of his peers because the peer group can satisfy his needs more than the parents. The preadolescent now receives pressure from his group. His concept of his "self" is determined to a large extent by the way his peers perceive him. But, in spite of the dominance of the peer group, the preadolescent and adolescent try to maintain their individual characteristics.¹

The child starts to formulate his own goals and values as he undergoes the process of maturity. He also sets ideas about himself, and thus the beginnings of a self-concept take place. The perception of the self depends upon the child's own experiences plus what others say about him and whether he accepts their opinions or refuses them.² In a study made on children from the fourth grade through high school, a very large proportion of children from different ages evaluated themselves in accordance to social measures, whether favorably or unfavorably. Another number of children appraised themselves in terms of their "worth or worthlessness" in relation to their parents. Attitudes toward the child's limitations, potentialities, past and present experiences, his duty in life and future expectations (appears mainly

1 Ruth Strang, *op.cit.*, 78-80.

2 Arthur Jersild, Child Psychology (New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1947), 228.

at older levels), were shown in a considerable number of responses.¹

C. Identification in Childhood and Early Adolescence:

A research was directed to detect the process of awareness of others and the formation of self-concept with White and Negro children starting from the nursery school age. The findings of this study showed that most of the children made choices with respect to group identification. Children were aware of their skin color and their choices were somewhat determined by the similarity and the difference of the color. This ability to observe the differences and similarities may be, later on, the basis for group identification.²

1. The development of the process of identification:

In the first stage of self awareness, the child identifies with his own body and not outside of his body. Some children may identify themselves beyond their own bodies, although they are from the same chronological age. This was reported by Horowitz as a conclusion from a study of the formation of self-concept among white and Negro children from the nursery school age. This conclusion may imply that the chronological age does not necessarily determine this aspect of growth.

The second stage of identification is that in which awareness of similarities and differences appear. This awareness is more apparent among members of the minority groups in a society. However, identification

1 Martin and Stendler, Readings in Child Development, 475.

2 Ruth E. Horowitz, "Racial aspects of self-identification in nursery school children", Journal of Psychology, iV (1939), 91-96.

with criteria other than skin color is expressed by a number of children.¹

Group consciousness and group identification is considered as an essential part to the development of the ego, and consequently to a clearer understanding of adult behavior. The ego or self takes its unique form after it has been socialized and thus is differentiated from all that is not-self. This underlies the process of identification and the awareness of similarities and differences. The group to which the individual affiliates also serves as part of that individual in some stages of development.² In one of the studies in this field, some of the children manifested attitudes of affiliation to religion, moral values, objectives and aims in life that lead the child to a characteristic way in his social interaction.³

Strang mentions that very young children use their first name for identification. She also concludes that as the child grows older, he begins to identify himself with sports and other activities. The young adolescent associates himself with social relations and the older adolescent identifies, usually with his individual values and ideas.⁴

When studying the personalities of children through their choice of identification, Mussen and Conger found that the maladjusted children differ from the adjusted ones. The delinquent and neurotic child describes himself as naughty and bad while the normally adjusted child views others and himself as friendly and good. The abnormally adjusted child perceives unfamiliar people with distrust and suspicion.⁵

1 Ruth E. Horowitz, op.cit., 97.

2 Ibid., 99.

3 Martin and Stendler, Readings in Child Development, 475.

4 Ruth Strang, op.cit., 86.

5 Mussen and Conger, op.cit., 339, 340.

2. Identification with Ethnic Groups:

The process of identification changes during the development of the child. The child, after identifying with his parents and peers, begins to identify with a larger group, namely, his own social class. This is followed by the child identifying with the ethnic, religious and racial groups to which he belongs. According to the researches done in this field, it has been proved that processes of identification are gradual and they become well founded during the school years. The three or four year old child identifies himself by mentioning his name only but after that, five year olds and older children tend to identify with the ethnic group increasingly while name mentioning decreases. The child at this age may also refer to his personal qualifications but not as frequently as identifying with the ethnic group. Children from six and a half to ten and a half show a tendency to categorize themselves and the people around as 'American', 'Jewish', 'colored' and several other categories.

From what has already been mentioned, one can deduce the fact that identification with the ethnic group occurs early in middle childhood. Advancement in age brings with it changes in the way the group is viewed and the growing child readily takes his role as a member in a big group.¹

D. Prejudice and the Development of Prejudiced Attitudes:

Prejudice can be defined as an unfavorable view toward an outside

1 Missen and Conger, op.cit., 352-354.

group or some of the members of that group. Attitudes of this kind consist of convictions, perceptions, feelings and expectations that the individual owns in relation to the ethnic group members.¹

1. The nature of attitudes:

Attitudes are tendencies in the individual to react in a habitual manner toward a specific situation. These reactions may be fixed but they tend to change or modify. They direct the behavior of the individual either to accepted or unaccepted behavior. The individual's perception, learning and memory are all influenced by the attitudes he has. These attitudes are the causes of biases, preferences and the trend of thinking which the individual manifests in his behavior.² In one of the studies directed to examine the influence of attitudes on behavior, it was found that in spite of the individual's knowledge of the objective fact, he gives biased judgment due to the presence of the attitude. Furthermore, attitudes play a significant role in the process of problem solving.

In adolescence, an attitude is considered as a very personal aspect of adolescent's character. Being insecure, the adolescent becomes emotionally involved whenever his attitudes are questioned. This is why an adolescent usually becomes extremist in his beliefs.³

2. The development of prejudiced attitudes:

a. In childhood:

Awareness of race differences appears early in childhood.

1 Robert I. Watson, op.cit., 556.

2 Raymond G. Kuhlen, The Psychology of Adolescent Development (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), 400-405.

3 Ibid., 406, 407.

In a study directed by Goodman, she concluded that these racial attitudes are shown even among four year old children, but they tend to increase with advancement in age. High awareness appeared after the age of four years-three months, and low awareness was not found among children above five years of age.¹

According to the study of Horowitz about preferences of white children toward ethnic groups, he found out that the number of children who showed ethnic awareness grew larger between the ages of five to twelve. In another test, Horowitz noticed that at the age of five, the preferences of the subjects were well-established but there was no significant increase with age. In a research by Radke and her associates, it was concluded that children from ages five to eight (from kindergarten to 1st and 2nd grades) showed racial preferences and these increased with age. Not only was the increase obvious, but the nature of the attitudes was different, i.e., they became more definite and more inclusive.

It can be deduced now that the child of four might associate a social and ethnic value with the color of the skin. In Criswell's study, it was apparent that children tend to interact with children of the same color, especially when they reach the fifth and sixth grades. Children of younger ages show no awareness of this sort.² Children exhibited no prejudiced attitudes before three years of age, says Horowitz. But the same study indicates that there was a noticeable

1 Robert I. Watson, op.cit., 556, 557.

2 Ibid., 558, 559.

rise in prejudices among the children of four to six years of age.¹

Recent investigations affirm the fact that the five year old child holds prejudiced attitudes, and he is aware of the racial, religious and nationality differences as a result of the learning experience at home and in the community in general.² Children at the age of six up to ten tend to group themselves each in relation to his or her nationality.³

In studying white children's attitudes toward Negroes, the investigation reported that the young child's general view of the Negro is unfavorable and he attributes the undesirable traits only to the Negro. As the child grows, his attitudes also develop and begin to alter according to the stereotypes of the adults around him. His stereotype of the Negro becomes clearer and he might attribute desirable traits to them.⁴

The children's national preferences were studied in an investigation which dealt with 1000 St. Louis school children. The findings were that such attitudes toward other nations are present before adolescence. It was reported that the preferences of children in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grades were essentially similar but after that, in adolescence, the preferences became distinct and consistent.⁵

-
- 1 Leonard Carmicheal, Manual of Child Psychology (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1946), 837.
 - 2 Martin and Stendler, Child Development, 223.
 3. Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), 37.
 - 4 Raymond G. Kuhlen, op.cit., 418.
 - 5 Ibid., 418.

The reason behind the child's limited choice of affiliation lies in the fact that the child is not able to attach himself strongly to more than one group which is primarily his own group. Consequently, the child develops feelings of animosity, either sharp or mild, toward the outside group.¹

b. In adolescence:-

Prejudice in adolescence was investigated by Meltzer. The subjects were chosen from the fifth grade through the eighth grade whose ages range between nine and sixteen. Meltzer reported that the subjects revealed a considerable amount of stereotypy toward different nations and races.² The American adolescents' attitudes toward others alter from undifferentiated to differentiated awareness and from indulgent attitudes to hostile ones. The change in the area of attitudes brings out distinctly the trend in the adolescents to cluster into separate groups.

Diverse opinions about the awareness of the racial and national differences are reported. One observes that the age at which such an awareness of the racial and national differences occurs is approximately between nine and twelve years. A woman in the west of U.S.A. concludes that these attitudes appear between the age of nine to fourteen. While a teacher in the Middle West of U.S.A. reports that racial and national awareness is shown at puberty if no previous experiences were encountered.

1 Arthur Jersild, op.cit., 467.

2 H. Metzger, Children's thinking about nations and races." Journal of Genetic Psychology, LVIII (1941), 183-191.

Another teacher arrived at the conclusion that group differences and similarities appear when the child begins taking geography lessons about other countries, that is at the age of ten. She also says that members of a minority group may feel these differences sometime before the children of the majority group.¹

3. Personality factors in the development of prejudice:-

Psychologists have established the fact that prejudice is determined to an extent by certain factors in the personality structure of the individual. These factors are primarily the emotional aspects of the personality. Prejudiced children as well as adults were known to have different backgrounds and personality structures when compared with unprejudiced subjects. In analyzing the personalities of the prejudiced individuals, frustration was a rather prevailing element in those subjects. This frustration which might lead to aggression was traced back to the unsatisfying relationships between the prejudiced subjects and their parents, authority and society.²

Frenkel-Brunswik's study with children from the ages of eleven to sixteen revealed that prejudiced subjects manifested selfish awareness in relation to their country, while they were indifferent when foreign countries were in question. Furthermore, they were more intolerant than the unprejudiced subjects.

1 Bruno Lasker, op.cit., 24-27.

2 Paul H. Mussen, "Some Personality and Social Factors Related to Changes in Children's Attitudes toward Negroes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLV (1950), 423.

The prejudiced child tends to generalize his attitudes toward others, he does not accept the unfamiliar and the weak. Prejudiced children view the world around them with insecurity and fear. They also conform strictly to the accepted values of society and refuse deviant conducts. In brief, prejudiced subjects were characteristically rigid in their personalities.¹

A study by Gough Harris, Martin and Edwards confirmed these findings and added that the ethnocentric child is distrustful, repressive and tends to categorize into powerful and weak.²

4. Social factors in the development of prejudice:-

Aside from the personality factor, investigators in this field came to the conclusion that these attitudes are also acquired and internalized by the child in the process of socialization. The child's elders pass these attitudes directly or indirectly to him and he absorbs them by virtue of identification and conformity.³

One of the basic elements that contributes to the development of prejudice in the child is the kind of parental relationships that prevail in the family. The authoritarian parents are usually intolerant and this creates the presence of a certain personality structure that nourishes the development of prejudice in the young child. Studies have supported the assumption that children of democratic parents are generally free from ethnocentric trends because they learn these attitudes

1 Paul H. Mussen, op.cit., 442-443.

2 Martin and Stendler, Child Development, 388.

3 Mussen and Conger, op.cit., 442.

which consequently become part of their personality structures that direct their interactions with others.¹

The affectional interactions between parents and children can also be associated with the child's perceptions of others. The mothers of prejudiced children were characterized by their love for discipline, demanded unquestioned obedience and tended to punish their children by spanking them as a disciplinary action.²

The child's social relationships outside his family play another role in the establishment of his attitudes toward others. The most influential of these relationships is the child and authority. When he yields to the pressure of authority, this submission may produce aggression covered by superficial conformity to the values of society. The child then categorizes into rigid parts the groups around him in order to maintain security and acceptance. A democratic society gives the child the opportunity to absorb its values without the need for force and consequently may develop more tolerant attitudes toward others, attitudes that make international understanding easier.³

Factors other than parental relations and societal influences may be awareness of incidents, observation of others, individual experiences and long association with members of the other groups.⁴ Psychologists agree that where there is an emphasis upon race differences in a society, there is also a tendency in the child to develop racial

1 Mussen and Conger, op.cit., 445.

2 Martin and Stendler, Readings in Child Development, 359, 360.

3 Mussen and Conger, op.cit., 443.

4 Bruno Lasker, op.cit., 76.

consciousness earlier than children growing in an integrated community.¹ The white subjects in Horowitz's study showed an increase in their prejudices against Negroes between the ages of four to six years, but this increase was not affected by the factor of contact with the Negroes in class. Horowitz attributes this phenomenon to the influence of the parent's attitudes toward the Negroes.²

In another research done by Hartly, it was indicated that the child possesses prejudiced attitudes even toward non-existing groups of people. Therefore, it is concluded that contact or lack of contact does not necessarily increase or modify these attitudes.³

The influence of motion pictures upon the child's attitudes was examined in an investigation by Peterson and Thurstone. They found out that the white subjects' tolerance and friendliness toward the Negroes were lessened after showing them an unfavorable film about the Negroes.⁴

5. Emotional expressions of prejudice:-

a. In childhood:-

Children's prejudices are very much attached to feelings of varying intensities. The child of five years of age has biases that cannot be separated from their emotional tone. The feelings of the child change from one stage of development to another.

Fear is a common and dominant feeling among young children when racial awareness starts. The five year old child does not generally

1 Bruno Lasker, op.cit., 25-26.

2 Leonard Carmicheal, op.cit., 838.

3 Robert I. Watson, op.cit., 560.

4 Arthur Jersild, op.cit., 469.

observe the inferior elements in others and this is why no contempt is expressed when others are concerned. He might be aware of the physical and mental handicaps of others around him.¹ The age of seven is generally the time when ridicule is manifested by the child. At that time, the seven year old's awareness is not of race but more of outside appearance.² In a report of a school principal in the West of U.S.A., it was indicated that children in the ages between eight and twelve manifest hostile behavior. Another school teacher in the south of U.S.A. observed that racial attitudes with their emotional expression are shown not before school age, in other words, when the child absorbs his elders' attitudes. Other emotional reactions begin to appear with age five. Young children observe little racial differences if not affected by the adults.³

b. In adolescence:-

In adolescence, the emotional expressions change to more accentuated ones. The on-set of puberty brings out with it feelings of which the child was unaware. A typical reaction of adolescence is the adolescent's interest in his academic achievements. Psychologists report that such an awareness does not appear before the eighth grade unless brought about intentionally by adults.⁴ The adolescents manifest more favorable or flexible attitudes toward other groups than before, records one of the specialists in this field. Another investigation hypothesised

1 Bruno Lasker, op.cit., 5-11.

2 Ibid., 12-16.

3 Ibid., 34-35.

4 Ibid., 19-22.

that the development of the adolescents' attitudes follow the social phases of his life. This means that the child begins his social life by being individualistic, after that he interacts with his peer group, and later, in adolescence, he once again returns to his individualistic phase.

Late adolescence is marked by an increase in tolerance and a widened scope of thinking. This, concludes a high school teacher in New York, is due to the factors of idealistic values that characterize the adolescents' wider rational thinking and the adolescents' ability to control himself.¹ He no longer thinks of his individualistic ideas because he becomes aware of his social responsibilities.²

The important element in the development of prejudice with age is that whenever it starts, it is liable to be increased with time, if the experiences are such that they do not lead to education. In order to avoid this from happening or at least to minimize its effect, teachers and parents must make efforts to implant tolerant attitudes and understanding in the growing child.³

1 Bruno Lasker, op.cit., 37-40.

2 Ibid., 34.

3 Arthur Jersild, op.cit., 470.

CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

CULTURAL SETTING AND PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST SOCIETY

A. A General View of the Middle East:-

In order to maintain an objective picture of the Middle Eastern area, one must consider the rapid changes which are taking place. The changes include social, political and economic aspects of life in this area. Here, the concern is basically the social part of the culture although separation of these aspects is not easy. The interaction of religion, education, economy and political events has left a marked influence on the personality of the individual in the M.E.

The variety found in this area is mostly present in the composite of population, W.B. Fisher says that it is very rare to find such a complexity of the population as that found in the M.E. The word "mosaic" culture may best describe the kind of society in this area. The factors behind this heterogeneity are ethnic integration, political intervention and religious separation. However, Gardner mentions that with all this variety and contrast in the population, the people of the M.E. are generally categorized into one racial group and they are unified by one language which is the Arabic language. More than that, the people of this part are being slowly assimilated through nationalism

and identification with one culture.¹

The main ethnic group is the Arab group but the minorities play an influential role in the life of the M.E. The political events after World War II introduced new separate countries in the area and these new countries presented the new identification to citizenship.²

The concept of citizenship is considered a new innovation in the M.E. because this area is essentially an area where the family was and still is the primary institution to which the members affiliate. The Arab M.E. is characteristically authoritarian and this is partly caused by the type of patriarchal, patrilineal and traditional family that directs the society. The M. Eastern family demands loyalty from its members in return for providing security and prestige. The role of the family extends to the political life in the M.E. and this is shown in the struggle between the royal families: The Hashimites vs Saudis.³ The historical roots of the Arab family may be traced to the tribal organization which prevailed for a long period of time. The authoritative family which might have caused the authoritarian culture, descended from the authority of the tribe in organizing the bonds of society. The tribe implants strong attachments among the members of the tribe and between the member and authority as well. This explains the narrowness of the scope of loyalties in the M.E. Loyalty is mostly restricted to the family unit and not to the wider community.⁴

-
- 1 George H. Gardner, "Some Background Interpretations," The Journal of Social Issues, XV (1959), 21-23.
 - 2 Terry Prothro, "Arab Students' Choices of Ways to Live," The Journal of Social Psychology, XLVI (1958), 148.
 - 3 Levon H. Melikian and Lutfy N. Diab, "Group Affiliations of University Students in the Arab M.E.," The Journal of Social Psychology, XLIX (1959), 146.
 - 4 Gardner, op.cit., 24, 25.

Dr. Najarian concludes that there are two distinguishable features in the M. Eastern society and these are the high importance of the family plus a deep concern for education.¹

The authoritarian nature of the Arab culture is reflected in the amount of freedom it offers to its members. Dr. Melikian claims that members of this culture have little freedom to express and behave. Suppression of the needs brings forth conformity as well as acceptability. This is more true of women in this area because men are usually less restricted in their conduct. These restrictions are applied even to the choice of friends. The patriarchal family limits the choice of friends within the circle of the large family unit.² This characteristic is still present in some places although radical changes are occurring because of education and mixture of other cultures.

B. The Hierarchy of Affiliations in the Arab M.E.:-

Members of the Arab M.E. society have more than one group to associate or affiliate with. These groups were found to be of varying importance to the individual. In a study directed by Diab and Melikian to investigate the affiliations of university students, it was reported that the family ranks highest in the list. Both Moslems and Christians gave priority to the family but they differed when other affiliations were mentioned.³

1 Perguhi Najarian, "Adjustment in the Family Patterns of Family Living," Journal of Social Issues, XV, (1959), 43.

2 Levon H. Melikian, "Authoritarianism and Its Correlates in the Egyptian Culture and in the U.S.A." The Journal of Social Issues, XV, (1959), 61, 62.

3 Melikian and Diab, op.cit., 148.

The Moslem subjects ranked religion as second in the list of affiliations while the Christian subjects placed ethnic loyalty after the family. Religion still plays an influential role in the lives of the people in the Middle East. The strong ties between the Arab individual and his religion are still existing but these bonds are weakening. The importance of religious affiliation is caused by its impact upon the position of the person in society. "Belonging to a religious group limited in a sense not only one's contact with others but also until recently, the kind of occupation that was open to the individual."¹

The effect of religion upon the tolerance of others was studied by Levon Melikian. A comparison was made between Egyptian families and American families. The results of the study indicate that the religiously oriented subjects showed more prejudice toward other religious groups and were more authoritarian. This was the case in both cultures, but more pronounced among Al-Azhar subjects from Egypt.²

As to the third item in the list of affiliations, the study shows that to the Moslems it is the nation while the Christians consider religious identification as third.³

National identification was ranked second in the list for the politically minded subjects. They placed religion in the third category after national identification. The national awareness of the Middle Eastern subjects may be behind the decline of religious affiliation which is slowly taking place.

1 Ibid., 146-147.

2 Levon Melikian, op.cit., 64.

3 Melikian and Diab, op.cit., 156.

Arab nationalism is also a factor behind the decrease in the identification with separate regions in the Middle East. Citizenship was found to be at the bottom of the hierarchy of affiliations except for the female subjects who placed it third. Another exception concerns the Lebanese subjects who did not affiliate with the ethnic group (Arabs). This is because the majority of Christians in Lebanon associate nationalism with Islam ~~only~~.¹

The political party is recently a new institution to which the youth in particular affiliate in this area. This new identification differs from the others in that the individual is free to choose his ideology and values.²

Lerner emphasized the role of religion in Lebanon by mentioning that affiliation to religious groups is not only felt by the people, but is enforced in the governmental offices and by set laws. This, he concludes, is the reason why the Lebanese are lagging behind in developing a larger national identification. Sectarianism in the Lebanese society is carried further through the parents who insist on educating their children in schools of certain sects. The tendency of the parents to perpetuate sectarianism in the society is thus transmitted to the younger generation.³

The pattern of identification in the Middle East affects the ideas and beliefs of the individual. Khatchadourian claims that "the truth or falsity, rationality or irrationality of a belief, is tacitly

1 Ibid., 157.

2 Ibid., 148.

3 Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Illinois: Glencoe, The Free Press, 1958), 206, 207.

ignored or minimized; these things are judged in the light of the identity of the particular individual or group that at a given moment happens to hold it." This characteristic is typical of the Middle Eastern way of life in general.¹

C. The Interrelationships within the Family:

1. Authority:

It has been mentioned before that the family unit is the focus of Middle Eastern society. The authoritarian trends in the family are found in the position of the father and in discipline. The father is usually the authority to whose wishes all the other members must yield.² The dominant father is not only the head of the family, he is also feared and respected by all the other members of the unit. The role of the mother is different in that she is closer to her children than the father. This kind of relationship starts in childhood and persists through the whole life of the offspring, generally speaking.³

Dr. Najarian's study concerning attitudes of Arabs toward their parents revealed a general agreement among the subjects as to their perception of their parents. Both sexes perceive the mother as loving, sincere and undemanding. On the other hand the picture of the father is that of a powerful person who expects submission from the others in

-
- 1 Haig Khatchadourian, "The Mask and the Face", Middle East Forum (Feb. 1961), 16.
 - 2 Prothro and Melikian, "The California Public Opinion Scale in an Authoritarian Culture", Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII, (1953-54), 355.
 - 3 Raphael Patai, "Relationship of Patterns Among the Arabs", Middle Eastern Affairs, II (1951), 183.

the family. He is the provider and the director of all the affairs in the family. Both parents agree on the values with which children should be oriented in their socialization but they differ in the manner of discipline.¹

2. Discipline:

This aspect of bringing up children in the Middle East is undergoing change. In Dr. Najarian's study with subjects in the Middle East it was reported that the physical punishment is used by the parents of the subjects as a disciplinary technique. More common in discipline is shouting and scolding by the parents. The change in discipline prevails among the parents of the present generation. This is due to more education and harmony between the father and the mother.

When the young subjects were asked about their methods of discipline, there was a general agreement among the subjects. They mentioned understanding, discussion of the problems and satisfaction of the psychological needs. The Lebanese group mentioned provision of freedom for their offsprings, they also emphasized the point of directing their children toward maturity by training them to be independent and recognize their responsibilities.

The most striking development in the way of bringing up children in the Middle East is the new tendency of the young parents to give the psychological needs their suitable place. They are more interested in the child's own personality, his capacities and interests.²

1 Pergrou Najarian, op.cit., 37-39.

2 Pergrouhi Najarian, op.cit., 40-43.

3. The influence of the authoritarian family upon personality:

The effect of the authoritarian family upon its members was said to produce indifference and lack of interest in the personalities of the individuals living under the strains of the traditional family. Mr. Khalaf argues against this point by mentioning that it is not only the nature of the family which causes this, the whole culture of the Middle East is responsible for that. He disagrees with the opinion that condemns the family of causing anxiety and frustration which prevails among the members of the traditional strict families in Lebanon. The nature of the authoritarian Lebanese family may be rigid and conservative but that provides security and emotional comfort, not anxiety and frustration. Mr. Khalaf continues to say that the traditional family of Lebanon is rapidly changing by absorbing the new democratic tendencies of modern societies.¹

However, manifestations of anxious behavior among the young Lebanese generation cannot be ignored. A major reason behind this social phenomenon is, more or less, the new trend in the growing generation to be detached from the bonds of family, and to dethrone its authority. The psychological explanation is that social control is the outcome of restraints upon the behavior of the dependent individual. Lack of attachment and involvement with other members of the family develops attitudes of indifference in the isolated individual and this perpetuates anxious conduct.²

1 Samir Khalaf, "Family Loyalty: Curse or Blessing", Al-Rabita Newsletter, 1:3, (Jan. - Feb. 1961), 11.

2 Ibid., 11.

The absence of a group with which to affiliate deprives the individual of a fundamental social and psychological need, because the feeling of belonging provides security. Lack of security causes anxiety that must be decreased by the individual. In this case, the anxious individual lets out his anxiety by either becoming aggressive or by accepting authoritarian leaderships like those of Western Europe. In Lebanon dictatorships never found a fertile ground because there was no psychological need for it. The family unit serves as a social group to which individuals have strong feelings of belonging. Consequently, anxiety is reduced.¹ Levon Melikian's study reports that the more conforming the individual is in an authoritarian society, the healthier he is psychologically speaking.²

B. Authoritarianism outside the Family:

The authoritarian attitudes in Middle Eastern society is not only limited to the family. It extends to other institutions such as government and the entire social order.³ In a study about international attitudes, the subjects expressed favorable opinions about Hitler and Nazism. The same study revealed negative correlations between authoritarianism and politico economic conservatism. The outcomes of the investigation did not show a significant positive relationship between authoritarianism and conservatism as measured by the PEC* scale. It

1 Samir Khalaf, op.cit., 11.

2 Levon H. Melikian, op.cit., 68.

3 Levon H. Melikian, "Some Correlates of Authoritarianism in two Cultural Groups", Journal of Psychology, XLIII, (1956), 239.

* Politico-Economic Conservatism.

was recorded that the majority of the highly authoritarian subjects agreed with the items that imply liberalism more than the subjects low in authoritarianism. These findings refute the belief that the less authoritarian subjects, i.e., the Christians in the sample, are more liberal in relation to the politico-economic affairs.¹

The restrictions of the authoritarian society upon freedom leads the members of that society to behave in accordance to its enforced values. Khatchadourian concludes that the expression of ideas and interpersonal relations are governed by artificial attitudes. The absence of sincerity is mostly prevalent in the interaction of groups living in the Middle Eastern society and consequently is a characteristic feature of this society.²

The hierarchy of authority in the Middle Eastern society is a strong factor restricting the individual's freedom. The totalitarian society depends upon few individuals who direct the majority of followers. The minority of leaders provide the followers with ideals and desired goals to which the majority conforms without having the chance of expressing their own frank views. Submission to authority and power covers up feelings of suppressed animosity and resentment toward authority in the society as a whole and in the family in particular.³

1 Prothro and Melikian, op.cit., 356-361.

2 Khatchadourian, op.cit., 18.

3 Ibid., 18.

E. The Personality of the Middle Eastern Individual in General:

The impact of the authoritarian culture of the Middle East upon the personality of its member is manifested in several aspects of his character.

The way the individual perceives himself in this culture differs from others in other cultures. The Middle Eastern person perceives himself as more similar to the ideal than to the typical. This can be assumed to be due to the influence of religious thinking which still exerts its power in the community.¹ Achievement of the ideal with the presence of the typical may cause conflicts in the personality of the individual in this area.²

The authoritarian characteristics in the culture are reflected in the ways of living preferred by the Arabs in general. Dr. Prothro studied Arab students' preferences of ways to live and found that these preferences correlate clearly with those of the "authoritarian syndrome" mentioned by Adorno. The choices of ways to live by the Arab students sample "involve activity, group participation and self-control. They reject ways which center on receptivity, contemplation, carefree enjoyment and solitary living. They also accept the ideal of permitting themselves to be used by cosmic forces."³

The characteristics of the authoritarian person were investigated by Wells, Weinert and Rubel. The investigators found that there

1 Levon Melikian, op.cit., 65.

2 Levon Melikian, "Some Correlates of Authoritarianism...", op.cit., 246.

3 E. Terry Prothro, op.cit., 6.

is a close relationship between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism and the tendency to conform to the pressures of society without resisting them.¹

The ethnocentric authoritarian character of the individual in the Middle East does not necessarily lead to undemocratic or prejudiced feelings toward other groups within the culture. This conclusion was arrived at by Iutfi Diab's study on Arab students studying in the U.S.A. and was confirmed by another study directed by Prothro and Melikian. The subjects in Diab's investigation, both Moslems and Christians, did not reveal prejudices toward minor ethnic groups in the culture. The investigator explains this by the recent trend toward a feeling of nationalism among the Arabs of the Middle East.² However, this tendency to affiliate with the nation is usually stronger among Moslems than among Christians. This was also investigated by Melikian and Prothro with 130 Arab students in the Middle East. The same study reported that Moslems and Christians are coming closer socially. The decrease in the social distance between these two religious groups is found clearly among university students.

Social distance of national groups is different. The subjects preferred to stay at a distance from other national groups. It should be mentioned here that no hostile attitudes were expressed in general

1 Wells, Weinert and Rubel, "Conformity Pressure and Authoritarian Personality", Journal of Psychology, XLIII, (1956), 135.

2 Iutfy Diab, "Authoritarianism and Prejudice in Near Eastern Students Attending American Universities", The Journal of Social Psychology, L, (1959), 180-183.

toward the other national groups. The reserved judgements on the out-groups is explained by the fact that the subjects have strong attachments to their own national and religious groups.¹

The effect of authoritarianism upon the personality attitudes was further studied by Levon H. Melikian. This study was done with Moslem subjects as compared with American Protestants. The results of the study reported that the authoritarian Moslem subjects showed hostile tendencies while the American Protestants in the sample were found to be high in anxiety. Authoritarians in both groups perceived their parents as less accepting. The feelings of hostility and the acceptance of the parents are not clearly related with each other in the Middle East because of the highly authoritarian pressure.²

A general description of the authoritarian personality can be briefly mentioned here. The authoritarian individual usually puts people into two rigid categories on each end of a continuum. He perceives people and values as distinctly black or white, good or bad.³ Authoritarian individuals were found to be less permissive and tolerant of the weak, hostile toward parental authority as children, and to develop anxiety tendencies more than the non-authoritarian persons. The development of anxious behavior may not be present among Middle Easterners because of the strong dependency upon the family unit which provides security.

-
- 1 Terry Prothro and Levon Melikian, "Social Distance and Social Change in the M.E.", Sociology and Social Research, XXXVII, (1952), 8-11.
 - 2 Levon H. Melikian, "Some Correlates of Authoritarianism...", op.cit., 246, 247.
 - 3 Lutfy Diab, op.cit., 184.

The Lebanese society is changing rapidly to a more modern one due to numerous factors. Transfusion of ideas through cultural infusion, mass communications by magazines, movies and other media, technology and education are some of the important factors that are inducing this change.

CHAPTER V
FINDINGS AND COMPARISONS

A. Procedure:

The collection of the data of this study was carried in 1958. It was directed by Dr. Terry E. Prothro, Chairman of the Psychology Department of the American University of Beirut, with the assistance of two graduate students in the Department of Psychology.

The three hundred subjects with whom the study deals are Arab Lebanese boys and girls from different private and public schools in the city of Beirut. The subjects are divided into three age groups:

1. One hundred subjects at the age of six representing childhood.
2. One hundred subjects at the age of ten representing pre-adolescence.
3. One hundred subjects at the age of fourteen representing early adolescence.

These three stages of growth mark the ends and the beginnings of significant developments in the individual of which attitudes are one aspect.

The uncontrolled variables in the samples are the following:

- A. Sex.
- B. Religion.
- C. Socio-economic stratum

D. Intelligence.

E. Academic classes.

F. Schools.

The distribution of the subjects according to these factors is as follows:

<u>A. Sex</u>	6	10	14
Boys	48	58	61
Girls	52	42	39
 <u>B. Religion and Religious Sects:</u>			
1. Moslems	54	45	57
A. Sunni	44	34	46
B. Shia	10	11	11
2. Christians	35	45	40
A. Greek Orth.	16	17	12
B. Maronite	10	19	16
C. Protestant	7	5	6
D. Roman Catholic	1	0	2
E. Greek Catholic	1	4	4
3. Druzes	7	10	3

C. Socio-Economic Stratum:

The estimate of the socio-economic status of the subjects is given by their teachers and based on impressions and fathers' occupations.

	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>
1. Low	49	46	49
2. Middle	46	53	48
3. Upper	1	0	2

D. Intelligence:

The intelligence of the subjects is estimated by the teachers of the subjects. Here again, these estimates are only impressions of the teachers partly determined by the academic standing of the subjects and their performance in class:

	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>
1. Low	11	5	8
2. Average	60	69	67
3. High	21	20	21

E. Academic classes:

The academic classes of the subjects are varied. The distribution of the students in each class is as follows:

1. Six year olds:
 - a. Kindergarten - 36
 - b. 1st elementary - 27
 - c. 2nd elementary - 23
 - d. 3rd elementary - 2
2. Ten year olds:
 - a. 1st elementary - 4
 - b. 2nd elementary - 15
 - c. 3rd elementary - 15

- d. 4th elementary - 27
 - e. 5th elementary - 30
 - f. 6th elementary - 5
3. Fourteen year olds:
- a. 3rd elementary - 1
 - b. 4th elementary - 15
 - c. 5th elementary - 8
 - d. 6th elementary - 5
 - e. 1st secondary - 34
 - f. 2nd secondary - 19
 - g. 3rd secondary - 12
 - h. 4th secondary - 2
 - i. 5th secondary 3

F. The subjects are chosen from both public and private schools in the city of Beirut.

The subjects were presented with mimeographed questionnaires of the translated Pilot study of W.E. Lambert and O. Klineberg.¹

The questionnaire consists of several questions beginning with the subjects' conception of himself in this statement: "What are you" asked three times repeatedly. The second and third questions are: "Are there people in the world like you?" And "Are there people in the world not like you?" To these questions, the subjects were asked to name national groups spontaneously. The same questions were asked about eight

1 See Appendix

national groups mentioned on the questionnaire sheet. The eight national groups were: Americans, Chinese, Germans, Indians, Russians, Africans, Brazilians and Lebanese. To all these groups, the subjects were asked to explain their sources of information about them. The subjects were also asked to express their feelings toward the national groups by answering the question: "Do you like these peoples?" The evaluations of these national groups were given as responses to the questions, "What do you know about those peoples? The reasons behind the subjects' positive or negative feelings toward the national groups were also included in the evaluative adjectives.

The administration of the procedure was through interviewing the subjects. The technique of analysis is determined by calculating the frequency of responses for each item in percentages except for the last table of the evaluative analysis which is given in total number of responses. The percentages are reported according to the nearest integer.

B. Findings:

Self-concept of Lebanese Children:

The first question on the interview sheet deals with the subjects' conception of himself. The subject was asked three times to identify himself in response to the repeated question "What are you?" The responses of the three age groups are given below in Table 1.

Table 1
Self Concept of Lebanese Children*

	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>
Sex	17	15	14
Arab	0	0	6
Lebanese	6	9	10
Human Being	5	8	6
Student	5	17	17
Religion	14	12	6
Personality qualities	10	19	26
Age-child	4	0	0
Name	12	0	0
Residence	5	0	0
Others**	22	20	15
Total Responses	202	316	340
Number of Respondents	90	100	100

*Figures in the table are percentages of totals of responses, the totals represent number of responses of the 100 children of each age level.

**The "others" category includes responses given by less than 4% of any age group. The repeated references to sex, name, religion and schooling are included too after the first responses were considered in the various other categories. The six year olds' responses in the "others" category include: color, membership in the family, future plans, activities and play, "I am nothing," "God's creature," "animal," travels, mother's qualities and Arab.

The "others" category of the 10 year olds consists of responses: Membership in the family, "not like animals," name, "son of God," "Wrestler," "scout," "I like Americans," residence, likes and dislikes, Arab and age.

The "others" category of the 14 year olds consists of responses: future plans, "society depends upon me", goals, "ready to serve," "not like animals," "servant to humanity," spirit membership in the family, name and age.

The table reveals differences in the self-concept of the different age groups. The responses of 6 year olds to personality qualifications like being studious, polite, helpful, obedient, nice, etc. are limited compared to those of the 10 and 14 year olds. This may be due to the fact that these qualities are mostly cultural expectations with which the older children have learned while the 6 year olds are less aware of them.

Most of these qualifications mentioned by all three groups are favorable attributes. The ideal self, in other words, is what is reflected in the responses. This may be due both to the authoritarian nature of the culture and the societal stress upon religion.

Identification with the name and residence appears only among the 6 year olds. This shows that at this age identification outside the child's self, with others, has not taken place. As other identifications emerge, the importance of name disappears.

The relatively equal frequency of identification with sex can be explained by the kind of culture in which the subjects are living. This culture emphasizes the different roles of individuals in the community according to their sexes right from early childhood.

Ethnic identification is relatively low but it appears among the 14 year olds more than the 10 year olds. It indicates that the awareness of the larger ethnic group increases with age. In identifying themselves as being Lebanese more than Arabs, the subjects reflect the trend in the Lebanese society which does not stress ethnic affiliation due to the Christian population which associates Arabism with Islam.

The high number of religious identification shows the important role played by religion in society. However, the decrease in this identity is obvious among the oldest group. This decrease might explain the increase in the ethnic and citizenship affiliation which points to the ability of the growing child to associate with larger groups.

The child's perception of his role as a student is clear among the 10 and 14 year olds. The high frequency of responses as "student" might be attributed to the value of education in the Lebanese society and the older children's interest in their academic position acquired through greater identification with their values.

A few in the oldest group mentioned their goals. The frequency is less than 4% and that is why it was included with the "others" category. In spite of this low amount of identification, it may still indicate that the oldest group marks the beginning of setting values for the future. This characterizes the growing child's awareness of his adult role.

Sources of Information Mentioned About Other National Groups:-

The child learns, from adults around and from his own experiences about others. The second question on the interview deals with the sources of information upon which the subjects build their impressions of others to a large extent. Table 2 gives the frequency of responses about the agents of information.

Table 2

Sources of Information Upon Which Impressions of Others
Are Built

	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>
People ¹	43	28	21
School ²	7	23	24
Media ³	7	12	19
Trips	3	2	1
Books ⁴	1	12	18
Personal contact ⁵	39	23	17
Total responses	415	1772	2234
Number of respondents	83	98	100

1. The category of "people" consists of: Parents, friends, relatives and maids for the 6 year olds. The other two groups mentioned neighbors, parents, relatives and friends.

2. This category consists of: Teachers and other school activities for the 6 year olds. The other two groups added text books and speakers.

3. This category consists of: Radios, newspapers, pictures and movies. The six year olds mention movies more than radios and newspapers (14:4:5) while the other two groups mention newspapers more frequently than radios and movies: 10 year olds responses = N.P. 129: Radios 51: Movies 31. 14 year olds responses = N.P. 243: Radios 120; Movies 93.

4. The "Books" category consists of: Stories, magazines, pamphlets, books, and comics. The six year olds mentioned stories and comics primarily.

5. The "Personal contact" category consists of: "Lived with them" and "saw them" for the 6 year olds referring to the Lebanese group. The other two groups mentioned: "Lived with them," "saw them," "encountered them" and "corresponded with them."

The sources of information through which some impressions about other national groups are influenced, are varied in quantity and quality among the three age groups.

The dependency of 6 year olds upon the people around is high. This decreases with age as the child replaces it with school information plus his own readings. The role of schools and in lesser amounts, radios and newspapers, becomes more important for the 10 and 14 year olds. The 6 year olds mentioned that they "saw" some of the national groups more often than ⁿ the other two groups. This might not be accurate because of the young child's inability to differentiate ~~between~~ one national group ~~and~~ ^{from} the other. Furthermore, this age is characterized by naiveness and a tendency to use imagination. The high amount of responses in this category can also indicate the 6 year old's reference to the Lebanese people.

Perception of Similarity or Difference in Relation to National

Groups:-

The third question consists of two parts:

- a. Are those people like you?
- b. Are those people not like you?

These two questions concern the eight national groups mentioned on the questionnaire sheet. For the spontaneously mentioned national groups, the subjects were asked:

- a. Are there people in the world like you?
- b. Are there people in the world not like you?

Tables 3a and 3b show the subjects' responding to these questions in numbers.

Table 3a

Number of Children Regarding Each Nationality
as Different or Similar

	Same			Different			Don't know		
	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>
Lebanese	69	97	97	24	3	3	7	0	0
Americans	20	47	50	75	51	48	5	2	2
Russians	14	44	32	37	36	68	45	20	0
Brazilians	8	38	39	26	25	44	66	37	17
Africans	7	21	20	51	79	77	42	0	3
Chinese	6	16	18	38	68	82	56	16	0
Germans	5	42	38	37	38	53	58	20	9
Sudians	3	18	17	42	65	81	55	17	2
<hr/>									
Spontaneous choices									
Arabs	9	52	75	4	27	19			
Europeans	2	21	29	3	33	29			
Others		12	8		24	29			
<hr/>									
Number of peoples considered	10	16	16	10	20	22			
Total number of responses	147	468	421	345	457	569			
Percentages of distribution of similarity to difference		43%			102%			74%	

Table 3b

The Spontaneous Choices of National Groups by the Three
Age Groups

	<u>6</u>		<u>10</u>		<u>14</u>	
	<u>Similar</u>	<u>Different</u>	<u>Similar</u>	<u>Different</u>	<u>Similar</u>	<u>Different</u>
Arabs	Syrians	Iraqis	Syrians	Egyptians	Jordanians	Jordanians
	Egyptians	Syrians	Libyans	S. Arabians	Egyptians	Egyptians
	Palestin.	S. Arabians	Egyptians	Sudanese	Iraqis	Iraqis
	Iraqis	Egyptians	Iraqis	Kuwaities	Syrians	Syrians
	Jordanians		Jordanians	Iraqis	Algerians	Kuwaities
			S. Arabians	Jordanians	S. Arabians	Palestinians
			Palestin.	Palestin.	Kuwaities	S. Arabians
			Sudanese	Algerians	Palestin.	Bahrainies
			Kuwaities	Tunisians	Moroccans	Sudanese
			African Arabs		Bahrainians	
Europeans	French	French	English	English	French	French
	English	Italians	Czechs	Italians	English	English
			Italians	Norwegians	Swiss	Swiss
			French	French	Spanish	Spanish
			Luxemburg	Scandinav.	Italians	Italians
			Belgians	Swiss	Austrians	Hungarians
			Swiss	Spanish	Norwegians	Norwegians
			Spanish			Belge
						Swedes
Others			Canadians	Zionists	Turks	Turks
			Senegalese	Nigerians	Canadians	Japanese
			Turks	Japanese	Greeks	Greeks
			Venezuela.	Mexicans	Iranians	Iranians
			Argentin.	Red Chinese	Argentiniens	Argentiniens
			Nigerians	Australians	Australians	Liberians
				Eskimoes		North Pole
				Amer. Negroes		Cypriots
				Red Indians		Mexicans
				Turks		Eskimoes
						Red Indians

2/10/67
2/10/67

The tables reveal differences in responses concerning perception of peoples as similar or different. The American group is considered as most different by the 6 year olds while the Africans, Indians and Chinese are perceived as most different by the 10 and 14 year olds. The same groups are also perceived by the 6 year olds as different but not as sharply as the older groups. The groups mentioned as most different are those that are darker in color.

The people perceived as similar show that the Lebanese are mostly perceived as similar to the subjects of the three age groups but the 6 year olds show higher frequency. The Arab group comes next for the 10 and 14 year olds and this may explain the decrease in the perception of the Lebanese people as similar. The older groups show a tendency to perceive larger groups as similar but the amount of different peoples remains higher among the older groups. This may be explained by the impact of the authoritarian culture upon personality which perceives the familiar only as similar.

If we look at the distribution of similarity and difference, the conclusion may be that perception of similarity increases with the two older groups. This may be due to increased mental maturity which enables them to go beyond the visible and find similarities in human qualities. Their greater social maturity helps them find identification with more outside groups.

Affective Evaluation of the National Groups:-

The fourth question investigates the affective evaluation of the three age groups toward other national groups. The question was

direct, "Do you like those people?" The subjects' responses were yes, no or indifferent.

Table 4
Affective Evaluation of National Groups Seen as
Similar and Different

	6		10				14					
	<u>Similar</u>		<u>Different</u>		<u>Similar</u>		<u>Different</u>		<u>Similar</u>		<u>Different</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Positive feeling	115	77	105	32	403	88	200	43	404	81	223	40
Negative feeling	32	22	217	65	51	11	242	52	54	11	260	46
Indifferent, don't know, or don't generalize	2	1	10	3	6	1	22	5	40	8	78	14
Totals	149	100	332	100	460	100	464	100	498	100	561	100

The affective responses toward the different and similar peoples show a tendency by the subjects in general to like the similar and dislike the dissimilar. The subjects revealed some dislike for the familiar while they reflected more negative feelings toward the dissimilar. However, the differences in the positive and negative affections for the dissimilar groups are not sharp in the last two groups.

The general tendency to like the familiar and dislike the unfamiliar can be traced back to the authoritarian way of life. Conforming to the values of the elders by accepting the familiar primarily is a

reflection of the subjects' preference for their own groups and those that are perceived as similar.

Distrust and resentment of the dissimilar is one of the reflections of authoritative ethnocentric attitudes manifested toward anything not related to the self or the group of the individual.

This attitude persists among the subjects of the three age groups but it is more pronounced among the youngest group. Children at this age manifest more attitudes of fear and insecurity towards strangers because of their limited world. It can also be attributed to the 6 year olds' absorption of the elders attitudes toward outside groups without questioning the reality of these attitudes. Advancement in age brings with it more rationality and flexibility in the feelings toward others. The 10 and 14 year olds become more moderate and idealistic in their attitudes because of the development of self-control. Another factor which may lead to moderation in the perception of outside groups is the widening society of the subjects plus a growing awareness of their responsibilities toward others.

Evaluative Analysis of the National Groups:

The final question deals with the evaluative analysis of the national groups. This analysis given by the three age groups includes adjectives and information given as responses to the question: "What Do You Know About These People?" The question that follows is: "What Else Do You Know?" The subjects' responses concerning the reasons behind their liking or not liking the national groups are also considered as evaluations of these national groups. It should be mentioned here that the

repeated adjectives given by the same subject to the same national group are discarded.

Table 5 shows the numbers of responses concerning the adjectives given by the three age groups.

Table 5
Number of Responses Concerning the Evaluative Analysis of
the National Groups

	Same									Different								
	Americans			Chinese			Germans			Americans			Chinese			Germans		
	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14
1. Personality characteristics	8	33	32	1	18	17	1	31	19	10	28	32	2	20	19	2	20	39
2. Political state		4	5	1		3		1	4	2	30	55	2	23	29	2	12	12
3. Religion	2	5	5		2	1	2	3	2	6	7	8	2	7	15	3	4	6
4. Civilization		4	8		3	1		13	8	1	25	42		12	5		20	41
5. Backwardness										1	1		1	10	21		1	1
6. Education	2	11	15		3	6		7	6		4	10	1	3	3		2	5
7. Attitude toward the subject's nation																		
a. With us	15	28	27	3	8	14	5	12	5									
b. Against us	11	9	16	3	8	5	3	5	4									
c. Do nothing to us				1		6			5									
8. Social Condit.	5	19	23	3	3	4		12	10	9	28	35	10	54	56	4	16	26
9. Physical Appear.	19	27	21	6	4	4	1	26	15	42	29	24	22	66	91	19	10	21
10. Language	4	4		1	2			1		25	57	39	4	30	35	13	31	36
11. Historical fact				1							1			3			3	13
12. Geographical fact		2	2					1	1	3	13	9	1	12	32	3	7	5
13. Race	1	8	16	1	11	8	1	11	10	5	4	8		5	4	4	5	7

Table 5 (cont.)

	Same									Different								
	Indians			Russians			Africans			Indians			Russians			Africans		
	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14
1. Personality characteristics	2	26	15	2	33	16	3	23	14	3	25	18	5	22	28	9	25	14
2. Political state	1		4	3	4	12		1	23		9	13	3	47	87	1	10	13
3. Religion	1	1	6	3	2	3		2		2	8	25	3	8	16	1	5	8
4. Civilization		3	1		4	15		3	1		4	3		28	34		2	7
5. Backwardness			1			2			3	3	17	29	1	2	5	4	33	68
6. Education		4	5		7	4		7	5		2	2		2			2	3
7. Attitudes toward the subject's nation:																		
a. With us	2	9	6	4	8	7	4	6	10									
b. Against us	12	8		13	11	16	7	5	2									
c. Do nothing to us			7			1			4									
8. Social Condit.		4	3	3	18	6		8	1	21	49	67	3	13	27	13	61	66
9. Physical Appear.	2	7	1	8	27	14	3	2	2	25	54	60	12	12	17	60	99	94
10. Language		1		2	9		1	2		5	28	28	8	26	29	8	24	25
11. Historical facts			1								1	2		1	1			
12. Geographical facts		1	1		1					1	10	18	3	21	15	1	27	12
13. Race		7	11	2	5	12	2	8	7	1	4	5	2	2	4	3	8	8

Table 5 (cont.)

	Same						Different					
	Brazilians			Lebanese			Brazilians			Lebanese		
	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14
1. Personality characteristics	3	31	18	26	92	87	7	15	5	6		
2. Political state		5	6	1	13	35	1	1	14		1	3
3. Religion		6	2	6	11	9	1	3	5	1	3	1
4. Civilization		13	9	1	24	22	2	14				
5. Backwardness					1			4				2
6. Education		9	5	2	21	19	2	3				2
7. Attitude towards the subjects' nations:												
a. With us	3	10	13	18	2							
b. Against us	4		2	1								
c. Do nothing to us			4									
8. Social Conditions	2	10	14	14	50	75	2	14	21			1
9. Physical Appearance	7	21	16	50	49	26	15	8	10	12		2
10. Language	2	6		10	41	45	5	27	33			1
11. Historical facts						3						
12. Geographical facts		2	1	2	13	11		11	25			
13. Race	1	6	12	8	13	18	3	3	5			

Table 5 (cont.)

	Same									Different								
	Arabs			Europeans			Others			Arabs			Europeans			Others		
	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14	6	10	14
1. Personality characteristics	9	53	86	2	50	22	8	23		2	23	6	3	15	16		9	5
2. Political state		24	75		15	4		7		13	15		3	34		4	14	
3. Religion		18	22	2	8			2	4	7	4	1	4	4	1	2	6	
4. Civilization		12	11		8	5		3	6	3	1		6	8		2	7	
5. Backwardness			9							3	13			2		2	9	
6. Education		12	29		11	4		4	7	3	1		4	1		3	4	
7. Attitude towards the subject's nations:																		
a. With us	4	18	15	2	12	8		3	5									
b. Against us	3	10	2	1	5	7	1	4	8									
c. Do nothing to us		1			1	1			3									
8. Social condition	1	29	38	1	13	4		6	8	21	16		10	11		15	38	
9. Physical Appear.	1	57	27	8	19	2		9	9	3	33	3		10	2		27	10
10. Language	6	42	76		1			1		1	22	9	3	26	18	1	12	26
11. Historical facts		2	12							1				2	2		3	1
12. Geographical fact	1	8	7		4			7	8	2	10	14		6	2		5	12
13. Race	1	43	92	1	6	3		2	5	3				4	3		1	5

The evaluative adjectives of the three age groups are marked by variety in quality and quantity. No doubt, the highest number of responses is those of the 14 year olds. The clear increase in the amounts between the 6 year olds and the older groups is explained by the lack of information of the 6 year olds and their low interest in "others". However, the 6 year olds manifested stereotypic attitudes toward other nations and their stereotypes were characteristically general and rigidly categorized as "good" and "bad". This is shown in the personality characteristics category where most of the good adjectives attributed to the national groups were considered as similar to those of the subjects. This might be explained by the child's rejection of the inferior and the weak. The tendency to categorize people into rigid parts may later lead to authoritarian personalities. This distinction between the "good" and "bad" is not only a feature of chronological period, it is believed that it is also a reflection of the adults' authoritarian culture upon the child which emphasizes conformity to the values and rejection of the deviant.

Another characteristic of the 6 year old's responses is that they deal with concrete aspects of personality. The intellectual part of the groups is almost not present. This is also true of other categories such as the political state of the nations, civilization, backwardness, education and social conditions where no abstract labels were mentioned. In the physical appearance category, the trend is to describe the hair, legs, hands and the figure of the national groups. This points

to the child's ability to emphasize the physical, while the older groups show an appreciation of the less concrete aspects of others' personalities.

The geographical and historical knowledge of the 6 year olds is low due to their inability to read and absorb such information. The confusion and the illogical labeling of the national groups according to their races can be noticed throughout the responses of the 6 year olds. Race awareness is present for there are responses labeling others as "Not Arabs" or "Another Race". The confusion lies in the description of Africans as Americans or of Europeans as Lebanese.

The social and psychological influences upon the 6 year olds' attitudes toward others are reflected in these responses. The nature of these responses depends to a large extent upon the adults around them, because the children at this age cannot formulate values of his own. The high frequency of information given to the 6 year old by "people" around him explains the impact of the child's elders on his attitudes toward "others". He perceives others more as "against him" than "with him". This distrust and insecurity of the child may be a reflection of the elders' prejudiced attitudes toward others. The child at this age has not yet developed a reasoning ability of his own than can substitute the acquired attitudes.

In discussing the last two groups it must be stated here that the differences are not very sharp between them. The four years between the second and the third groups did not leave as many differences as those caused by the four years between 6 and 10. The period between 6 and 10 is more influential as far as the social roles and mental

abilities are concerned. The ability to read and write, the interest in others and first signs of adult behavior mark the 10 year olds and later the 14 year olds. The difference between 10 year olds and 14 year olds is more of quantity than of quality. Yet, there are a few similarities that are shared by the 10 year olds and the six year olds such as considering the Chinese with and against the subjects' nation in equal numbers, the absence of "Do nothing to us" responses and the confusion in attributing the Arabic language to foreign groups. The points shared by the 6 and 10 year olds are less than those shared by the 10 year olds and the 14 year olds.

The responses of the last two groups can be described as being more specific and consistent, than those of the 6 year olds in the personality characteristics category. There is a tendency to attribute favorable adjective and consider them as different by the 14 year olds more than the 10 year olds. Realistic and moderate thinking is therefore clearer among the subjects of the oldest group. The intellectual aspect appears in both groups and here again it should be pointed out that the 14 year olds attribute more favorable adjectives to "different" peoples.

In the political state category, the tendency to perceive Americans as imperialists and Russians as Communists is more frequent among the 14 year olds. The labeling of others in rigid fashion, therefore, persists. The impact of authoritarian thinking seems to play its role. The high frequency of the "powerful" and "fight for freedom" shows the Middle Eastern young adolescents' high esteem for values of strength and justice.

In the religion category, the national groups were considered as different or similar according to their religious belief. The emphasis on religion in this area is reflected in the subjects' perception of similarity and differences as determined by the religious factor.

The two groups of 10 and 14 attributed more favorable adjectives to the "different" groups with respect to civilization. This tendency is clearer in the oldest group because of the higher development of realistic thinking and increased information. This is also true of the backwardness category but in far less quantities.

The education category shows more similarities than differences in both groups. This might be due to the high value of education in the Lebanese society.

The tendency to perceive "others" as "with us" instead of "against" us increases especially for the American group. The older groups begin to perceive others with more trust and with favorable attitudes. Maturity and feelings of confidence are beginning to develop when dealing with different people is concerned. The 6 year old child's reference to other people as being with "him" or against "him" personally changes with the older groups to reference to the larger group and the 10 and 14 year olds mention "us" more often than the 6 year old. This shows that the scope of belonging to a larger group has been established among the older groups.

As for the social conditions of the national groups, the results reported more differences than similarities, especially in the ways of living in general and in dress and costumes. This is true for both

groups but is more frequent among the oldest group. The geography lessons and outside reading may explain this phenomenon. The situation is almost the same in the physical appearance category where criteria of color and physique determine the similarity and the difference. The color of the skin, the facial features and the appearance in general are mentioned by both groups more often than the other aspects of physical appearance. The high amount of responses in this category means that the child of 10 as well as the child of 14 (but in a relatively less amount) still labels people according to their colors and outside appearance.

Description of languages as a factor determining similarities and differences shows an increase in the three age groups. The importance of this aspect in bringing people together or in separating them is noticed clearly by the subjects judging from the amounts of responses. The responses of the 14 year olds are more correct and definite.

The increase in the geographical and historical facts as basis of comparison among the 10 and more among the 14 year old group may be caused by the courses taught in school and by the subjects' free readings in books and magazines.

Racial distinction is practically absent among 6 year olds, as they do not use "not Arabs" as a mark of difference, while the 10 and 14 year olds show this kind of racial consciousness by mentioning "not Arabs". At the same time they show an increased basis of identification by mentioning belonging to the human race under similarity. Only very few 6 year olds refer to this kind of similarity.

Conclusions:

A. Self-concept:

1. Early identifications, as shown by 6 years olds, are sex, name, residence and religion.

2. Of these, sex and religion persist, the latter decreases to some extent giving room to ethnic (Arab) and citizenship (Lebanese) identification.

3. Later identifications as revealed by 10 and 14 year olds are student status and personality qualifications.

4. Personality qualifications are only positive.

5. Identification with a goal shows its beginnings at age 14.

6. The differences between 6 and 10 year olds are greater than those between 10 and 14 year olds.

B. Sources of Information about National Groups:

7. With the increase in age there is also increase in the role of school, books and various media of communication, like newspapers and radios.

8. Age also increases realism and accuracy in sources mentioned (6 year olds mention more often "saw" as a source of information showing confusion between one national group and another).

9. Ten and 14 year olds stand closer together than 6 and 10 year olds also in sources of information and their lack of confusion about them.

C. Perception of Similarity and Differences in Relation to National Groups:

10. Age increases perception of similarity with reference to different national groups showing an increased mental maturity and amount of information about different nations.

11. The 14 year olds perceive similarity in a more discriminate way than the 10 year olds judging from the proportion of similarity responses to those of difference responses (74% as compared to 102%).

D. Affective Evaluations:

12. Moderation increases with age and the gap between the amounts of positive feelings and negative feelings toward the unfamiliar becomes narrower among the older subjects of 10 and 14 years of age.

13. The older subjects (10 and 14) show some reserve in revealing their feelings toward others by the use of such terms as "don't know" "can't generalize" and "indifferent" more than the youngest group. The 14 year olds rank highest in this respect.

14. There is a general tendency among all three groups to like the similar and dislike the different but it is more pronounced among the six year olds.

E. Evaluative Analysis of the National Groups:

15. The 6 year olds reveal a tendency to categorize others into rigid general parts. This tendency decreases with age and the 10 and 14 year olds show specificity and flexibility in attributing favorable adjectives to others.

16. The responses of the 6 year olds as compared to the older groups deal only with concrete aspects of personality while the older groups show abstract thinking.

17. The tendency to attribute favorable adjectives to the dissimilar people increases among the 10 year olds and more among the 14 year olds. This is generally not present among the 6 year olds. This may be due to greater sophistication of the older groups in tending to give more socially acceptable answers.

18. The three age groups show an interest in the physical appearance of the other national groups. The high frequency of mentioning this aspect is clear among the three age groups.

19. The three age groups indicate an agreement upon the importance of the religious factor in labeling people different or similar. The difference between the 6 year olds and the other two groups is of quantity mainly.

20. The two groups of 10 and 14 show more realistic thinking and increased accuracy in the information about others.

21. The amount of responses increases among the older groups and the categories become more numerous.

CHAPTER VI
EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATION

A. Introductory Statement:

The influence of stereotypes upon human behavior has been recognized by various investigators. In the Middle East, the investigators have barely begun in spite of its importance especially to the field of education. Establishing healthy interpersonal relations is one of the tasks of education and the presence of stereotypic thinking hinders such relations. The first step in dealing with this social problem is to understand exactly what it does and what factors contribute to its development.

This study is concerned mainly with age as a factor in the development and changes in stereotypes. Knowledge of the effect of age upon such attitudes helps the educators to understand the mentality that causes them and thus the educators can deal with the situation according to each age readiness.

The factors which cause differences and changes with age are several. The two outstanding features are the socio-emotional development and the role played by the society in which the individual is learning. Through understanding the psychological and social environments of the subjects, the changes that take place upon stereotypes become more meaningful and easier to explain.

This investigation, as was mentioned, was focused upon the development of stereotypes with age. The three hundred subjects at three different age levels of 6, 10 and 14 revealed differences in the process of perceiving themselves and others. The factor of age and experience proved to be a contributing element in increasing these attitudes and changing them from general, rigid and undifferentiated to specific, flexible and differentiated categories.

B. Findings of Particular Relevance to Education:

1. Findings suggesting educational tasks:

These changes can be explained by general psychological factors as well as environmental ones. The first finding in this study is that the identification process changes with age from the narrow limits of body, family and religious groups to the broader groups such as ethnic and citizenship groups. Identity with student status and personality qualifications increase among the older groups (Conclusions No. 1, 2 and 3). The 6 year olds, in this study, did not identify themselves with the ethnic group more than with personality qualifications, as the literature indicates.¹ Their ethnic identification is 0% while perception of personality qualifications is 10%. This can be explained by the nature of the Lebanese society which does not emphasize belongingness to an ethnic group but stresses the individual and qualities expected of him. The question to be posed here is, to what extent

1 Mussen and Conger, Child Development and Personality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), 353.

should the school change this ethnic unawareness to a broader identity with the ethnic group?

The task of the school should start early because the 6 year olds and even the 10 year old subjects did not show this awareness. Through encouraging identification with the broader community, the child becomes more aware of other national groups. The emphasis upon the ethnic factor in this developmental period should be achieved by presenting to the child situations where group feelings are concerned such as simple Arabic songs, general historical events and elementary geography. These learnings become more detailed and complicated as the child grows older.

The role of the school is again important in eliminating the narrow religious awareness which is strongly exhibited among the younger groups and persists among the oldest group, though to a lesser extent (Conclusions No. 2 and 19). The religious factor is obviously effective in perpetuating the development of stereotypic attitudes toward others and in causing intolerance. This poses a question for education. Should education be made entirely secular or can religious teaching be carried in such a way as to avoid stereotypes, although the present writer adheres to the first point of view.

The religious factor and the authoritarian culture exert their influences once again upon the personality qualifications mentioned by the subjects at their different age levels.¹ This study showed that

1 Levon H. Melikian, "Authoritarianism and Its Correlates in the Egyptian Culture and in the United States," Journal of Social Issues, XV (1959) No. 3, 65.

the subjects mentioned only favorable or neutral attitudes in identifying themselves (Conclusion No. 4). The part played by education then must be that of implanting in the young child a tendency to view himself more critically and to be aware of his limitations. Perceiving the self as close to the ideal does not encourage progress and furthermore, it might lead to the development of resentment, lack of frankness, impatience and lack of realism of everything that is not perfect as measured by the values of the subjects. The teacher may be able to act as a model in manifesting democratic attitudes and acceptance of criticism in front of her students so that they learn this attitude and become more realistic in accepting others.

The age of 10, as was pointed out in Chapter 2, is usually the time when the child begins to perceive similarities and differences in others.¹ The subjects of this study showed this tendency too which increased its accuracy with the older children (Conclusions No. 10 and 11). The geography and history lessons given at this period might have a significant influence upon this process, that is why the school's job is to provide factual materials that help in explaining that differences in others are caused by natural forces. This point is essential because perception of differences in others determines favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward those others. The subjects of this study revealed a tendency to favor the familiar and dislike the unfamiliar.

1 Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), 24-27.

Although this tendency decreases with age, it is still present among the 14 year olds (Conclusion No. 14). The task of education in relation to this is not only to make the unfamiliar seem familiar, but also to develop more positive feelings toward the different. Elimination of hatred and distrust can be achieved through showing to the students that people all around the world are basically the same and differences in habits and ways of life are natural and important for the advancement of civilization. The young subjects may be given pictures of others or shown films of how others live. For older subjects, books and lectures can assist the geography and history lessons.

The perception of differences in all the three age groups was shown to be determined greatly by the physical appearance of the national groups (Conclusion No. 18). This might be accepted when young children mention this aspect of personality, but when it persists in the older groups, education must feel concerned about it. The color of skin, and the facial features of others is noticeable but the school and the teacher in particular should direct the attention of the students to the deeper homogeneous human elements in others. The student must be taught to perceive others with criteria other than skin color and general physique. This can be done by pointing out the artistic and scientific contributions, the goals, the achievements and the other human aspects of the national group.

An important finding in this investigation, which is also expected, is that advancement in age brings with it greater reliance upon the school and books as sources of information about the national groups

(Conclusion No. 7). The role of radios and newspapers increases in importance too but the fact that the school becomes a primary source of information gives the school an opportunity to exert its influence in directing these attitudes. The school can provide the appropriate materials and methods of teaching about others. The responsibility of the school grows bigger as the growing child begins to formulate attitudes through reading and understanding independently of adults. Establishing a library and encouraging outside readings about others may be one way of achieving the goal of redirecting attitudes. The objective lectures, studies in literature, exhibits and discussions about others can be very influential in weakening the role played by propaganda through radios and newspapers.

The findings of this study revealed the fact that the four years between 6 and 10 caused more changes in the subjects' responses than the four years between 10 and 14. It can be concluded then that the role of elementary education is of paramount importance and any educational attempts toward the establishment of healthy attitudes toward others should start early. The elementary years have a special impact upon the behavior of adults because anything learned early is liable to be internalized and developed later on. Stereotypes are usually learned after the age of 5 and become established before the age of 15.¹

2. Other Findings Relevant to Education:

After having mentioned the educational tasks suggested by the

1 Alfred J. Marrow, Living Without Hate, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), 22, 23.

findings of this study, it is good to bring out findings which show the disposition and psychological readiness of the child with respect to educational endeavors to reduce, eliminate or avoid stereotypic thinking and attitudes.

The part played by education in the Lebanese community can be very influential in changing or developing attitudes, because education is highly valued in the Middle East and in Lebanon in particular. Parents and other adults in this society consider education as one of the most important values. That is why much can be achieved through schools, teachers and learning material.

Another point that should be remembered is that the kind of culture in Lebanon encourages the development of tolerance and acceptance of the different. This is due to the variety of religious, ethnic and national groups that live in Lebanon. The cosmopolitan population provides first hand experiences with the national groups and this increases the amount of contact which might consequently alter attitudes provided that the nature of contact is appropriate. The school or the teacher should arrange for the occurrence of such contacts by visits, matches and meetings. The teacher need not remain helpless in the face of present attitudes because the nature of stereotypic attitudes is that they are changeable and not fixed, as was seen in Chapter I. They cannot be easily changed but they can be greatly influenced by significant adults around the child as was pointed out in Chapter II. The teacher is considered as one of the most significant adults around the child. Therefore his position helps in exerting his influence upon the child's attitudes through making the child gradually absorb and acquire his attitudes and values.

Another point which was revealed in this study that can help the educators when dealing with the problem of stereotypes is that age increases moderation and reasoning in the attitudes toward others. The 10 year olds and the 14 year olds indicated an increased tendency to be flexible, accurate and realistic (Conclusions No. 12 and 17). They revealed favourable attitudes toward the different national groups and they attributed favorable adjectives to them too. While it is highly probable that this is at least partly due to increased information through school and contacts, emotional and mental maturation as contributing factors cannot be ruled out. This shows that there is greater readiness in the older groups for the teacher's efforts to explain and point out the facts and misconceptions about the other groups. The teacher can be objective and scientific when dealing with the older groups. The older groups usually become interested in others and have more information.

The teacher should also take note of the new changes that occur in the self perception and the perception of others. The 14 year olds in this study showed an increased tendency to label others as belonging to the human race. The teacher must be alert in observing new developments of this kind in order to encourage and nourish them.

The role of education is to be aware of the importance of stereotypic attitudes in determining the kinds of interpersonal relations and their impact upon international affairs. The teacher should feel this too and attempt to free himself of his own prejudices first and then those of his students. He should also be well informed about the nature

and the development of attitudes. By knowing this, the teacher can be able to direct and change the attitudes into more desirable ones by considering this process as an important educational goal. The teacher can appeal to the ideals and exhibit the desirable attitudes in his own personal behavior.

The new methods of teaching may be of help in the development of desirable attitudes. The teacher can provide situations where group feeling is needed. This is achieved through making the group work together for one desired goal by all the members of the group. Discussions and free expression of opinions in class may develop democratic attitudes among the participants in the discussions. The teacher must not ignore the controversial issues that are taking place. It is her or his job to present the case objectively to discuss it. This is important because crises and events are usually inducive to the development and change in the attitudes.

Audio-visual materials and extracurricular activities can assist in perpetuating the development of desirable attitudes when other national groups are concerned.

APPENDIX

The questionnaire consists of the following questions:

1. What are you? What else are you? (To be asked three times).
2. Where do you come from? (Leave a blank if this question was answered in the first question).
3. Are there people in the world like you? (To be asked three times).
4. Are there people in the world not like you? (To be asked three times).

How are those people like?

What else do you know about them?

Do you like those people? Why?

How do you know about those people?

Did anybody tell you? Who?

Did you meet anyone of them? Where?

Did you read about them? Where

What else?

How are those people not like you?

What else do you know about them?

Do you like them? Why?

How do you know about them?

Did anybody tell you? Who?

Did you meet anyone of them? Where?

Did you read about them? Where?

What else?

Let us now talk about other nations. Are those mentioned like you or not like you?

Americans Chinese Germans Indians

Like your or not like you?

How are they like your or not like you?

What else do you know about them?

Do you like them? Why?

How do you know about them?

Did anybody tell you? Who?

Did you meet anyone of them? Where?

Did you read about them? Where?

What else?

Russians Africans Brazilians Lebanese

Like your or not like you?

How are they like you or not like you?

What else do you know about them?

Do you like them? Why?

How do you know about them?

Did anybody tell you? Who?

Did you meet anyone of them? Where?

Did you read about them? Where?

What else?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

1. Allport, Gordon, The Nature of Prejudice, Addison, Cambridge, 1954.
2. Bettelheim, Bruno and Janowitz, Morris, Dynamics of Prejudice, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950.
3. Buchanan, William and Hadley, Cantril, How Nations See Each Other, University Press, Urbana, 1953.
4. Carmicheal, Leonard, Manual of Child Psychology, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1946.
5. Dewey, Richard and Humber, W.J., The Development of Human Behavior, the Macmillan Company, New York, 1951.
6. Jersild, Arthur, Child Psychology, Prentice-Hall Inc., New York, 1947.
7. Klineberg, Otto, Tensions Affecting International Understanding, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1950.
8. Kuhlen, Raymond G., The Psychology of Adolescent Development, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1952.
9. Lasker, Bruno, Race Attitudes in Children, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929.
10. Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society, The Free Press, Illinois, Glencoe, 1958.
11. Lippman, Walter, Public Opinion, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, New York, 1922.
12. Marrow, Alfred J., Living Without Hate, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951.
13. Martin, William E. and Stendler, Celia Burns, Readings in Child Development, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1957.
14. Martin, William E. and Stendler, Celia Burns, Child Development; The Process of growing up in society, Harcourt, Brace and Co., Inc., New York, 1953.
15. Mussen, Paul Henry, and Conger, John Janeway, Child Development and Personality, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1956.

16. Newcomb and Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1947.
17. Strang, Ruth, The Adolescent Views Himself, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1957.
18. Sullivan, Harry Stack, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry, W.W. Norton and Company Inc., New York, 1953.
19. Watson, Robert I., Psychology of the Child, John Wiley and Sons Inc. New York, 1959.

Journals

1. Diab, Lutfy N., "Authoritarianism and Prejudice in Near Eastern Students Attending American Universities," Journal of Social Psychology, L: 175-187, 1959.
2. Gardner, George H., "Some Background Interpretations", The Journal of Social Issues, XV: 21-24, 1959, No. 3.
3. Horowitz, Ruth E., "Racial Aspects of Self-Identification in Nursery School Children", Journal of Psychology, VII: 91-99, 1939.
4. Khalaf, Samir, "Family Loyalty: Curse or Blessing?", Al-Rabitta Newsletter, I: 11, Jan. - Feb. 1961.
5. Khatchadourian, Haig, "The Mask and the Face", Middle East Forum, Feb. 1961, 15-18.
6. Melikian, Levon H., "Authoritarianism and Its Correlates in the Egyptian Culture and in the United States", The Journal of Social Issues, XV: 61-68, 1959.
7. Melikian, Levon H., "Some Correlates of Authoritarianism in Two Cultural Groups", Journal of Psychology, XLII: 237-247, 1956.
8. Melikian, Levon H., and Diab, Lutfy N., "Group Affiliation of University Students in the Arab Middle East", The Journal of Social Psychology, XLIX: 145-159, 1959.
9. Meltzer, H., "Children's Thinking About Nations and Races", Journal of Genetic Psychology, LVIII: 181-199, 1941.
10. Mussen, Paul H., "Some Personality and Social Factors Related to Changes in Children's Attitudes Toward Negroes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLV: 423-441, 1950.

11. Najarian, Pergrouhi, "Adjustment in the Family and Patterns of Family Living," The Journal of Social Issues, XV: 37-43, 1959, No.3.
12. Patai, Raphael, Relationship Patterns Among the Arabs", Middle East Affairs, II: 180-185, 1951.
13. Prothro, Terry E., Arab students' Choices of Ways to Live", The Journal of Social Psychology, XLVII: 3-7, 1958.
14. Prothro, Terry E., "Cross Cultural Patterns of National Stereotypes", Journal of Social Psychology, XL: 53-59, 1954.
15. Prothro, Terry E., and Melikian, Levon H., "Arab Students in the Near East", Journal of Social Psychology, XL: 237-243, 1954.
16. Prothro, Terry E. and Melikian, Levon H., "Familiarity and the Kernel of Truth Hypothesis", Journal of Social Psychology, XLI: 3-10, 1955.
17. Prothro, Terry E. and Melikian, Levon H., "Social Distance and Social Change in the Near East", Sociology and Social Research, XXXVII: 3-11, 1952.
18. Prothro, Terry E. and Melikian, Levon H., "The California Public Opinion Scale in an Authoritarian Culture", Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII: 353-362, 1953-1954.
19. Prothro, Terry E., Lebanese Business Men", Journal of Social Psychology, XL: 275-280, 1954.
20. Prothro, Terry E., "Lebanese Stereotypes of America as Revealed by the Sentence Completion Technique", Journal of Social Psychology, XL: 39-42, 1954.
21. Wells, William D., Weinert, Guy and Rubel, Marilyn, "Conformity Pressure and Authoritarian Personality", Journal of Psychology, XLII: 133-136, 1956.