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Changing Patterns of Courtship
in Selected Communities
of the Near East

A Thesis
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by

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

The writer was born in Baalbeck, but her family came originally from Damascus. She is the eldest among seven sisters. She began her education at the British Syrian School in Baalbeck, but after three years she was moved to Saint Joseph's School where she received her Lebanese Certificate. In 1942 she continued her studies at the American School for Girls in Beirut. She received the degree, Associate of Arts, in 1950 at the Beirut College for Women. She taught at the secondary level for three years: one year at an experimental school in Baalbeck, one year of English in Damascus and one year of science at the Model Government School in Beirut. During the last year she resumed her studies at the Beirut College for Women and hopes this year to receive the degree, Bachelor of Arts, with major in child development, and she hopes to go into further studies in the future.

ABSTRACT

Courtship in the West has been a step in the preparation of marriage, but traditionally it did not seem to exist in the Near East.

One of the difficulties the younger generation in the Near East is facing now is the relationship between the sexes especially before marriage. This survey was carried out to show the importance of courtship to marriage and to compare the new and old patterns of courtship in certain selected communities and localities in the Near East. Information was obtained by use of a questionnaire and interviews. The subjects were about 300 Moslem and Christian men and women, of older, intermediate and younger generations living in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

Results of this survey suggest that men as well as women now are having higher education and are being married at a later age than their parents. Child marriage for women have disappeared. Most of the older generation had parental choice in marriage and their most popular reason for marriage was to fulfill parents' wishes, while now these patterns are replaced by marriage of personal choice, and common interests, companionship, and love. However almost all marriages are approved by parents of both members of the couple. This shows that parental influence is still pertaining. Most older generation Moslems had no opportunities

to see or to become acquainted with their future mates before marriage, but all young people have now opportunities to see their future mates at least during the engagement period, and many, especially among Christians, have acquaintances with the opposite sex before engagement. The most common places for mixing and knowing each other, are school and work.

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Appendix

Introduction.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF COURTSHIP IN SELECTED COMMUNITIES OF THE NEAR EAST

Cultural patterns in the Near East have been changing rapidly since the Second World War. One of the strong forces effecting change has been an increasing contact between the East and the West through such means of communication as transportation, trade, education, movies, radio and magazines. Differences in customs and outlook between the East and the West have led inevitably to the production of a young marginal generation which has been trying to adopt anything new and throw away anything old.

The younger generation has suffered because it has often been held back to the older and prevented from satisfactory adjustment. Life therefore for the new generation has been made difficult because the older generation has continued to believe that only one standard can be the right one; it has been attached to its own culture, habits and customs and has found it difficult to see advantages in what is called new, but has considered it as a sign that "life is coming to an end". A distance between the two generations has been created and this has made it difficult for the older to guide the younger, and for the younger generation to go to the older generation, their parents and grand parents, for guidance.

Family relationships have been particularly affected in this conflict between the old and the new, and children have fought against parents' influences and grandparents' restrictions. This has created both personal and social problems. They are personal because they create personality problems for individuals growing in families, and they are social because the family is the nucleus of society and anything that affects its natural functions and prevents it from carrying out its purpose, affects at the same time the whole society. One of the main problems the younger generation meets is the new social relationship between the sexes, especially in preparation for marriage. This period is called courtship.

Courtship does not mean the same thing in all cultures. It "may be defined to include all forms of behaviour by which a man seeks to win the consent of a woman for marriage".¹ Ideally, the first part of the courtship period is a time in which young persons become acquainted with many members of the opposite sex and find those with whom they get along and enjoy their company. During courtship a young person shifts his center of affection and interest from his family to a member of the opposite sex in another family. In the strict sense of the term, courtship is relatively modern. Decline of parental control over marriage made it an approved

¹ W. Earnest Burgess and T. Harvey Locke, The Family, p. 361.

step to engagement and marriage.

still in some cultures courtship means engagement itself, that is, a couple come to know each other and adjust themselves to each other only after they have agreed already that they will marry each other. In others, it is the first period of marriage itself, and this applies to the Moslem communities in particular, because the engaged couple often do not have the opportunity to see each other unless they have formed the marriage contract, " Al Ketab ". But in all cultures courtship has one purpose, and that is to facilitate marriage for a couple and allow them to start a family.

Marriage therefore is a social institution in which individuals who participate reorient their lives with each other. One of its focal points is the emotional satisfaction. So the strict isolation of the sexes before marriage produces an important problem.

The present writer believes that the relationship between the sexes in the Near East is unsatisfactory to the younger generation and this dissatisfaction sometimes leads to the rejection of marriage, and sometimes to unhappiness after marriage. The problem is based apparently on the lack of courtship in its broad sense, and on the great parental influences on marriage. Marriage is governed by the will and planning of parents, not infrequently to the exclusion

of the young persons' desires.

The purpose of this thesis was to study courtship patterns in the older generation, that is grandparents and parents who have marriageable children, and the younger generation married within four years, in different localities in the Arab countries, and in different communities, mainly Moslems and Christians, then to compare them with each other to see if there are any changes, and whether these changes move toward the direction of meeting the changing needs of the new generation. The writer carried a survey of courtship patterns by means of a questionnaire circulated among the people.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MARRIAGE

When human beings first emerged as a biological species they knew nothing of marriage, but as they banded together for greater security, family units were increasingly held by ties relating mostly to safety and convenience. Margaret Mead said that at the dawn of human history a social invention was started in which males nurtured females and their young. In this beginning a strong male dominated a band of several females and many children. He might have been succeeded at any time by a stronger male, even by one of his sons. As young males reached maturity they usually left the family units for wives of their own. Females at that time were scarcely more than slaves, and the life of children was hard and insecure. Yet this crude beginning was shaping ideals of love and marriage that are the most valued achievement of civilization.²

The human family differs from the animal family, which is largely biological in nature, in being shaped by culture in its structure and function. There have been and are many cultures in the world and therefore we find many forms of the family.

The human family is mostly a social institution. Four

² Margaret Mead, Male and Female, pp. 183 - 200

forms of family structure have been recognized:

1. One husband and one wife or monogamy
2. One husband and two or more wives, or polygamy.
3. Two or more husbands and one wife or polyandry.
4. Two or more husbands united to two or more wives or group marriage.³

According to Burgess and Locke monogamy has been the prevailing form of marriage in practically all societies whether primitive, ancient, medieval or modern. Two different factors appear in determining the pattern, or organization of the primitive family:

1. The way in which descent is recognized; that is on the male or female side, giving the classification of families as patrilineal or matrilineal.
2. The place of residence of a couple after marriage, that is with or near the husband's or wife's parents, giving the classification of families as patrilocal or matrilocal.⁴

When members of the large families live together according to the matrilineal descent, the family is called the maternal, and by patrilineal descent, the paternal. Anthropologists tried to find out whether the maternal or the paternal pattern of family structure came first and they found that the predomination of the maternal was among the hunting peoples, the paternal in the pastoral stage, and the two were nearly balanced among agricultural peoples.

³ Burgess and Locke, op. cit. p. 12.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 13 - 18.

Within the historical period it has been possible to trace stages in the family organization corresponding to stages in social organization. Three historical stages in the evolution of the family include the large patriarchal, the small patriarchal, and the modern democratic family.⁵

The large patriarchal family was a characteristic of ancient society, this form of a family arose with the transition to the agricultural and pastoral mode of life. The father exercised more or less absolute control over his wife, and his unmarried daughters and his sons, and their wives and children. Children could not marry without their father's consent.

The small patriarchal family was characteristic of Medieval society, and especially in towns where the development of skills made the large patriarchal family an insufficient industrial instrument. The dominance of the male head of the family whether father or grandfather was unquestioned. The family was reduced to husband, wife and children with generally the presence of one or two grandparents, and one or more unmarried brothers or sisters of the parents.

The modern democratic family developed with the Industrial Revolution, the growth of cities, the increase

⁵ Ibid. pp. 13 - 18.

in leisure time and the forward strides in education led to the breakdown of the small patriarchal family. This modern type of family had the following characteristics:

1. Freedom of choice of mate on the basis of romance, companionship, compatibility, and common interests.
2. Independence of young people after marriage from their parents.
3. Equality between the husband and wife.
4. Participation by children in decisions with their parents according to their age.⁶

The history of civilisation has been mainly a record of the gradual decay of paternal power because since patriarchal times women have in general been forced to occupy a secondary place in the world in relation to men. Women were submerged, especially in cultures where religion proclaimed the superiority of men.

In general, this is still the present situation of women in the Near East. They are handicapped very heavily by being subject first to the father and then to the husband. Yet newer forces, such as education, contacts with the West and an awakening consciousness within women bring dissatisfaction with the status quo and lead them to seek democratic patterns of courtship, marriage and life in general.

⁶ Ibid. p. 21.

CHAPTER III
FUNCTIONS OF COURTSHIP.

Willard Waller in his book The Family defined courtship as a bridge between the life of the child in the parental family and the life of the adult in his own family.⁷ This means that courtship is the way that leads to marital life. The important factors in this period are how the young persons cross this bridge, how much they are prepared for it, the physical and psychological conditions with which they arrive at the end.

In the past a successful marriage was a matter of chance and luck, and very few efforts were made to find out the cause of failure or success. Now there is a beginning recognition that a good marriage is made neither in heaven nor by a wishful thinking, but is put together by efforts of a man and a woman who are emotionally mature.

Researches cited by Fromme, Landis and Stokes show that many people in the United States marry from motives that give no sound foundation for happiness. Some marry to escape unhappy relationships with their parents or to fulfill their parents' desire. A great many marry because they can not bear the idea of being unmarried, and others seek social position or financial security. Still others marry for the joy of having children and many have complete-

⁷ Willard Waller, The Family, p. 216.

ly unrealistic romantic illusions,⁸ All these motives are not primary motives for marriage. According to Walter Stokes the only sound motive for happy marriage is being in love on a frankly sexual basis, centering about physical desire. This should be the solid foundation because sexual adjustment in marriage facilitates the agreement about everything else and makes the best parents: those who are emotionally balanced and kind and who allow their children to grow up. Therefore the main qualifications of a person entering marriage should be:

1. Character in the best social sense of the word.
2. Awareness of peoples' emotional needs.
3. willingness to accept the disciplines that aid in making others happy.
4. similar background of education and culture that insure more common interests and satisfying companionship.⁹

Difference in ages is also an important factor in marriage. According to Simon De Beauvoir age difference is not important as long as it is within a considerable range. In general the husband should not be more than ten years older than his wife, and the wife should not be more than five years older than her husband. When the age difference is extreme, it reduces the amount of companionship,

⁸ Judson T. Landis & Mary G. Landis, The Marriage Handbook, pp. 40-8

⁹ Walter R. Stokes, Modern Pattern for Marriage, pp. 9 - 12.

leads to the disappointment of both and may lead the person to seek satisfaction from outside.¹⁰

Certainly the economic factor contributes to the happiness of the family in the long run although it might not appear so at the beginning of marriage when the couples are overwhelmingly in love.

Paul Popenoe emphasized the emotional development in one of his articles and added that physical qualifications for marriage are of little importance compared to individual personality structure.¹¹

All human beings are born with the instinctual and intellectual capacity for successful marriage, but the way they are guided leads sometimes to disabilities for marriage. Ideal training for marriage begins at birth. Harsh and Shrickel, in their book Personality Development and Assessment, say that the child should feel loved and secure. Then he is encouraged to give up dependence and allowed to find pleasure through testing his instinctual needs in the world.¹² Then English and Pearson, in their book Emotional Problems of Living, add that a child must learn to express his aggressive hostile emotions with social skill and feel proud of his or her sexual endowment. Personality development is of great importance and must be recognized and evaluated before.

¹⁰ Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, pp. 460 - 462.

¹¹ Paul Popenoe, "Should College Students Marry?", Parents Magazine, (July, 1939), Vol. XIII, pp. 18 - 19.

¹² Charles M. Harsh, and H.G. Shrickel, Personality Development and Assessment, Passim.

marriage.¹³ Walter Stokes thinks that the worst defects arise from parental overprotection and result in :

1. Infantile attitudes of dependency.
2. Inability to cope successfully with aggressiveness and hostility.
3. Fearful, inadequate attitude toward sex if parents are too moral.
4. Fear of the world of reality.
5. Tendency to seek illusion of comfort in useless fantasy.¹⁴

Almost all marriages last if comradeship, cooperation, emotional security, and affectional satisfaction are present.

Terman found that husbands were happiest who had been acquainted with their wives for three years or more before marriage, and wives were happiest when they had been acquainted with their husbands for at least a year before marriage.¹⁵

This shows the importance of courtship in marriage; and within certain limits, the longer this period the better, because the couple will have a wider association together in the various activities before becoming emotionally involved. Even the female animals practice courtship before each act of intercourse and will not yield until they feel that the males' passions are stimulated enough. This shows that courtship is a purely instinctive feeling, but economic factors may be the cause of its elimination in certain

¹³ O. Spurgeon English and Gerald H. J. Pearson, Emotional Problems of Living, Passim.

¹⁴ Walter Stokes, op. cit. pp. 124 - 131.

¹⁵ Judson T. Landis & Landis Mary G., op. cit. Handbook, p. 1

cases as, for instance, when women make their living by means of their sexual endowment. This diminishes the part played by courtship, which is nature's safeguard against sexual fatigue; absence of courtship, therefore, is a phenomenon introduced by civilization and does not exist among animals and uncivilized men.¹⁶

Nature provides the courtship period for human beings as a foundation for marriage and it is the couple's task to put together the building stones.

¹⁶ Bertrand Russell, Marriage and Morals, pp. 31 - 39.

CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON COURTSHIP

Marriage customs and modes of association before marriage for the two sexes have been always a blend of many cultural factors: residential, economic, educational and religious.

An individual makes his choice in marriage as a result of the environmental forces that act upon him, and the instinctual ones within him. Only when certain social customs facilitate the process of falling in love does marriage become largely a question of love.

Bertrand Russell wrote that it was with the introduction of the patriarchal system that men came to desire virginity in their brides. But love before marriage has been tabooed by nearly all peoples in the past and looked upon by the majority as shameless and even indecent.¹⁷

Henry T. Finch said that romantic love is a modern sentiment, less than a thousand years old and not found among savages and barbarians.¹⁸ The twelfth century troubadours precipitated a sentimental revolution, and romantic love became a recognized/^{form} of passion in the Middle Ages, and inspired a man to die for the image of the beloved whom he was not even certain he would love if he had to share

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 27.

¹⁸ Burgess and Locke, op. cit. p. 336.

her actual life. Romance came from the French word "roman" which meant a novel or a story in the Provencal style of the south of France.¹⁹ Those who indulged in romantic love thought little of this terrestrial life.²⁰ They considered human instincts to be the product of corruption and original sin, and hated the body and its lusts. A man who was deeply in love with a woman used to find it difficult to associate with her the idea of sexual intercourse. His love took poetic and imaginative forms. Geoffrey Rudel, Prince of Blaye illustrated this love in his poems addressed to the countess of Tripoli.²¹ The Renaissance learned from this platonic love to employ poetry as a means to courtship. Bertrand Russell said again that if the barriers were not rigid between the lovers, romantic love could not flourish. Lack of serious obstacles made the couples arrive too quickly at reality and romance disintegrated. So as a social system allowed the contact of the two sexes more freely romantic love declined.²²

Residences

According to Burgess and Locke, the evolution of courtship behavior in the United States developed through four historical periods determined by the places of residence: the

¹⁹ Ruth Nanda Anshen, The Family: Its Functions and Destiny, p322-

²⁰ Russell, op. cit. pp. 54 - 64.

²¹ Anshen, op. cit. pp. 322 - 323.

²² Russell, loc. cit.

colonial, the rural period, the town and the city.²³ This could also be true of certain other countries, but to make it more universal the tribal society should be added. At the same time all these societies differ from one country to another. For example, those factors that apply to New York, Paris, London, do not apply to Beirut, Damascus and Cairo. The same thing applies to villages. Variations in customs occur because all these localities differ in their economic and educational standards, their climates, their religions and political systems which affect the status of women.

The Tribal Society. According to Mlle. De Beauvoir, woman worked hard, carried burdens and therefore set up with her spouse a bond of reciprocal dependence. She walked freely, her face was uncovered.²⁴ At the same time, in the early history of certain Arabian tribes, when a girl was born, she was killed immediately as she was considered to be a disgrace to the whole tribe. Men possessed women who were offered as gifts too, which is still practiced in certain cultures.

Margaret Mead, in her study of the Samoan people, wrote that courtship was allowed. It was a form in which the girl was called on by the boy after the approval of

²³ Burgess and Locke, op. cit. pp. 362 - 365.

²⁴ De Beauvoir, op. cit. pp. 82 - 96.

the girl's family. The suitor did not approach his beloved but watched her from afar through occasional or daily calls while the girl avoided him as much as she could. When such courtship ripened into an accepted proposal of marriage the boy often went to sleep in the house of his intended bride until his people had enough food and the bride's family had prepared for her a suitable dowry. Virginity was a legal requirement for her although the girl had complete social freedom with different boys.²⁵

The Colonial Period. Some such societies had no courtship, but the parents' choice was concentrated upon the match and upon the financial arrangements. Love was expected to come after marriage rather than before, as it was imposed by God on all married peoples.²⁶

The Rural Period. According to Burgess mutual selections existed in rural societies. But the group code covering courtship was as rigid as parental pressure. Keeping company resulted from slight indications of preference and led almost inevitably to marriage. Physical aspects of sex were minimized before marriage due to the long hours of rural labor that left little time for courtship.²⁷

Marriage in general in all rural societies is an economic necessity and a partnership. The woman works hand in hand with her man. In the Near East there were

²⁵ Margaret Mead, From the South Seas, pp. 86 - 109.

²⁶ Burgess and Locke, op. cit. p. 262.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 363.

and still are rural areas where the father sees that his children are married. If he dies before that the mother does it with or without the help of their nearest relatives. According to Hilma Granquist children in the Orient can count upon the love of parents for them. In her study "Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village", she found that the fathers' authority was so important that he had the right of determination in general over his own children.²⁸ There was no use in asking a bride her opinion about the marriage for her answer would be, "I stand behind that which my father thinks right"; or "as my brother wishes".²⁹ Lack of freedom applied to young men too some-times, as the individual had to give way to his or her family's interests. The girl was betrothed on the day of her birth. This was called "antiyet in surra"³⁰, literally the gift of the naval cord, and it appeared to be absolutely binding.

The bride groom afterwards, regularly waited upon his bride with gifts at the great feast. ~~She~~ The Sheikh refused to marry such a bride to another man because it would have brought him difficulties and discomfort. Even before the child came into the world possible marriage combinations were sometimes discussed. The girl knew as soon as she could understand who would be her husband. They boy spoke too

²⁸ Hilma Granquist, Marriage Conditions in A Palestinean Village, pp. 46 - 62.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 57

³⁰ Ibid. p. 32.

of the girl who had been chosen by his parents. However, the betrothed couple might not see each other or speak to one another, even if they were cousins or neighbours. So courtship patterns are lacking in such societies. ³¹

Burgess also mentioned that in the Chinese family courtship was also lacking. The parents or the match makers made all arrangements for marriage. The young man did not undergo the experiences of courtship in order not to be humiliated by a refusal. Young people before marriage saw each other once or twice on formal occasions and always in the presence of their elders, except in a case of child betrothal. In this case the girl was brought into the boy's home at a very early age and the children grew up together, where the couples were relatives. ³²

The Town. With the growing economic independence of youth, marriages tended to be delayed and the period of courtship and engagement extended. Sex became a somewhat self-conscious interest, with some freedom allowed to engaged couples. Novels and movies influenced the attitudes of youth. ³³

In towns in the Near East there are many factors affecting courtship behavior. Some of these are: religion, family traditions and economic and social standards. In

³¹ Ibid. pp. 23 - 45.

³² Burgess and Locke, op. cit. pp. 34 - 59.

³³ Ibid. pp. 363 - 364.

the case of religions, there are communities where absolute separation between the sexes exists, sometimes even during engagement.³⁴ There were and are families, that do not allow marriages outside the family. From personal observations the writer knew certain families in Hijaz, for instance, who insisted that the son marry his first cousin whether he wished that or not. Then he could have his own choice in the other marriages. A young man could see his cousin before marriage, but could not accompany her outside the house. However there was always a veil on her head, even though her face was uncovered.

The City. Urbanization, new modes of transportation and communication have revolutionized social life, especially for youth. The automobile has broken down rigid control of personal gossip. It has widened the area of social contacts and encouraged the romance of courtship.³⁵ Differences that apply to towns, apply to cities too. Within the same city itself wide varieties of habits, customs, and traditions are found.

Economics.

Economics plays a big role in shaping marriage patterns. First of all it determines the kind of society and patterns the social classes which usually include aristocratic,

³⁴ Ruth Frances Woodsmall, Moslem Women Enter A New World, pp. 80-81

³⁵ Burgess and Locke, op. cit. p. 364.

professional, merchant, agricultural and industrial laborers, each of which has its own customs of marriage and sex relations. Second, it affects the degree of independence of youth from their parents and determines the type of marriage the person is likely to have, that is personal choice or parental control. A young man who does not have a minimum income and depends on his parents for economic security, if he wishes to choose his own wife against his parents' desire, may face the danger of being cut off from the general funds of his parents or family.

Education.

Bertrand Russell said that the increasing role of education is gradually rendering the father less important than he has been throughout historic times.³⁶

A young educated person is much more respected by his parents than the uneducated one. Before education spread so widely the person, no matter how old he became, if he had a father and a mother, was considered their child. Maturity was determined by experiences. But now once a person graduates, he can be sure of economic security and seeks free expression of personal desires and ideas. Especially if the parents are not so highly educated as he or she is, they might even feel inferior to their

³⁶ Russell, op. cit. pp. 63 - 76.

son or daughter, and ask his or her advice for their own problems.

So education to a great extent determines the freedom of a person and his economic independence, which again determines the type of marriage.

Religion

According to Bertrand Russell the primary motive of sexual ethics as they have existed in western civilization since pre-Christian times has been to secure that degree of female virtue without which the patriarchal family becomes impossible since paternity is uncertain. Bertrand Russell also stated that sexual ethics differ from one climate to another, and differ again with one kind of diet from what it would be with another.³⁷

Religious prostitution was a feature of many ancient civilizations including those of India, Persia, Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt and Phoenicia. The priests and priestesses were a special class of prostitutes.³⁸ In India parents dedicated their daughters to the service of God as temple prostitutes. In Babylonia a compulsory single act of prostitution was required of every woman as part of the worship of the goddess Mylitta. The belief was that the be-

³⁷ Ibid. pp. 31 - 39.

³⁸ Ibid. loc. cit.

nefits would be conferred upon one who had intercourse with one of the god's servitors. Later such religions as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam emphasized morality and did not give sexual freedom outside marriage to both sexes.³⁹ But the system was imposed on women alone.

In early days the virtue of women was secured by segregating them. No attempt was made to give them self control but every thing was done to take away all opportunity for sin. Islam for example separated the two sexes strictly and even Christianity in certain cultures practiced this system of separation. Motives of female virtue, in the past, said Bertrand Russell, were chiefly the fear of hell-fire and fear of pregnancy. The first was removed by the decay of theological orthodoxy and the second by contraceptives to a certain extent.⁴⁰ A great change has taken place since World War I. In America, England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries many girls of respectable families have ceased to think it worthwhile to preserve their virtue. Young men instead of finding outlets with prostitutes, have their affairs with girls of the kind they would wish to marry. In the States premarital sexual relations are more widely practiced than in other places due to social facilities and the existence of automobiles. According to Bertrand Russell

³⁹ "Prostitution", Chambers's Encyclopaedia, Vol. XI, p. 227, 116-24.

⁴⁰ Russell, op. cit. p. 34, 116 - 124.

a very large percentage of girls married to highly respectable men have had sex experiences often with several lovers. Even where complete relations do not occur, there is so much petting and necking that absence of intercourse in such a case can only be viewed as a perversion.⁴¹

On the other hand, Landis stated that the majority of American families are still brought up to believe that sexual intercourse is to be reserved for marriage.⁴² Therefore this is a conflict situation where the social pressure forces the youth to act contrary to family teachings.

Religious differences today seem not to be between different sects, but between belief and disbelief in God and morality, and between devotion and neglect of religious duty.⁴³

The code of premarital chastity affects the courtship behavior a great deal. This effect is shown very clearly in the differences between the West and the Near East, where even in liberal circles only kissing is permitted to engaged couples and other familiarities are reserved for after marriage.

According to Ruth Woodsmall, the time is not fully ripe for mixed social relations in the Near East. Such

⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 125 - 133.

⁴² Landis and Landis, op. cit. pp. 118 - 120.

⁴³ Locke, Harvey J., Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage. pp. 87 - 90.

relations will be unwise if they are allowed under the present moral and social conditions, because whatever change there may be toward the lifting of the veil or toward greater freedom of life, that separation of men and women socially still tends to persist.⁴⁴

This lack of normal social relationship constitutes a serious problem in the Near East, and what makes it still more serious is the separation between sexes during adolescence is very strict, after which certain societies allow the sexes to come together with no psychic separation.

Often through the kindness of some friends, opportunities for a meeting may be arranged for a couple. There is also little mixed social life between families. However some mixed social life does exist within intimate groups of the upper class of Moslems, and among some university students and graduates.

On the other hand in the Syrian University there are girls who still veil in spite of their being in a coeducational institution. So in such societies no courtship is expected before engagement unless it is 'behind the screen'. A person can imagine the emotional state of a couple who are always afraid of being seen and subjected to gossip. Courtship under such conditions cannot

⁴⁴ Woodsmall, op. cit. pp. 80 - 90.

be a happy moral experience, but a bad start for marriage.

For Christians there is not the absolute bar of veil to overcome and therefore opportunities for meeting are possible. Yet casual social contacts and normal friendship of young people are almost unknown. Ruth Woodsmall said that no girl of a good family could be seen alone in the streets at night with a man, even if their families were on intimate terms.⁴⁵ Such a thing probably damaged her chances for marriage as most Syrian men did not want to marry a girl who had received the attention of anyone else.

Life in the Christian community in Beirut is more liberal. Social gatherings where men and women meet are possible. Dancing parties are not unusual. The American University has exerted a certain liberalizing effect on the social life in the university environment, but according to Ruth Woodsmall again, social acquaintances for youth on the basis of normal comradeship is not usual, and this idea is foreign to the Near East.

In most places in the Near East lack of mixed social life appears to be a characteristic of Christians as well as Moslems among upper and lower social classes, in rural and urban societies.

The attention of people is always focused on the main

⁴⁵ Ibid.

idea of marriage, and courtship almost never takes place among people of the Near East unless they are engaged officially. Still a great many engaged couples are always being chaperoned. Actually courtship patterns differ so widely that it is very difficult to state definite characteristics in a certain culture, because old patterns and new patterns may be practiced at the same time even in the same culture and the same community and social class. Even two individuals from the same family, brought up in the same environment differ in their courtship patterns because of differences in the degree of courage to deviate from accepted traditional customs and indulge in emerging novel patterns.

CHAPTER V
PROBLEMS OF COURTSHIP IN MODERN SOCIETIES

Love has much to do with a person's decisions to marry. Had it not been for this reason, Allan Fromme said, the common romantic attitude would matter little.⁴⁶ But people often think that love is a set of feelings completely impulsive and spontaneous in character, and that it can not be controlled. Now more marriages begin as love than in the previous times and yet the divorce rate instead of declining continues to mount. What is meant by love here is not the general one, but a certain aspect of love in which a man and woman love an imaginary link between them and both are in love with the love they themselves feel. Movies and short stories have served as the models for the new generation.⁴⁷

This type of love on which a great majority of modern Western marriages are founded is a fever, said Anshen. In the United States, the statistical analysis in 1947, revealed two divorces out of every five marriages. Modern man especially in America does not conceive of any other reason for marriage except romance. Rational marriages are a thing of the past.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Allan Fromme, The Psychologist looks at Sex and Marriage, pp37-66.

⁴⁷ Anshen, op. cit. pp. 322 - 333.

⁴⁸ ibid.

Love and romance must play a certain role in the healthy social order, but it should play the role of a catalyst which can disappear with no damage, because romance and duration are not compatible in marriage. The point is that marriage involves living with a person as well as loving him. When people have the romantic attitude during courtship, they idealize each other according to their ego ideal. But the transition to the married life later, may often be distressing because this transition tears the couple from a world of imagination and throws them into the real world.

Another very common mistake in courtship is that people sometimes do not get acquainted with enough members of the opposite sex. Landis stated several points concerning this aspect some of which are:

1. Boys who lack self confidence and are afraid of being refused by a girl often keep to one girl.
2. Those who are steady and keep regular company under the condition of not having known other people, find it difficult to break off the relationship.
3. Those who desire to rate high with their peers among whom steady dating is looked upon highly are pushed together.
4. Unsuitable persons are often pushed together by pressure

of such circumstances as competition, social prestige, and economic reasons. 49

Cultural influences are of great importance in determining the mores of courtship. In the East, for example, as well as in many other places there are groups in which the man is forced to pay the bride or her family such high prices or to offer such valuable gifts, that he is beggared for years, and resents his wife after marriage because of this. At the same time the bride is subjected to such indignities that she resents being a woman.

The last problem but not the least, is that of physical intimacies. Landis considered "petting" a universal problem.⁵⁰ The important factor is how far to go in petting. It is a preparation for coitus, and extreme petting leads the couple to an uncontrolled state of excitement. Men usually have a stronger desire to fondle the opposite sex, and are more quickly aroused by fondling. It is then the girl's duty to check on that before it goes ^{too} far. If pregnancy results, the couples are forced into marriage that might not be suitable. Another point is that girls may be aroused by petting to an emotional response that is new to them, and may mistake this response for love. Sex interest blinds them to other interests which they ought to have in common.

⁴⁹ Landis and Landis, op. cit. pp. 67 - 81.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Stokes and Landis agreed on the objections to premari-
 tal coitus in preparation for marriage.^{51,52} First is that
 there is no possibility for a couple to achieve outside
 marriage, sexual union which is complete in all its psychic
 and emotional aspects. Intercourse would occur under condi-
 tions of haste and anxiety often in an insecure and unfa-
 vorable environment. Therefore due to deficiencies in per-
 formance and response the individuals become doubtful about
 successful achievement in sexual union and leave each other,
 although they may have been a good match.

Another objection is that there is no way before marriage
 to determine the sex drive if this was the intention. Atti-
 tudes of girls in such circumstances are likely to be as
 follows:

1. They are afraid of the disappointment of their parents
 if the parents discover what they did.
2. They will have a conflict if family training has been
 based on restricting morality.
3. They are afraid of pregnancy because contraceptives
 are not always assuring.
4. They are afraid to lose the chances for marriage after-
 wards.

All these are valid reasons for the individual and lead

⁵¹ Stokes, op. cit. pp. 10 - 20.; and

⁵² Landis and Landis, op. cit. pp. 110 - 130.

to non-conformity. They often foreshadow similar difficulties in marriage.⁵³

According to Landis, "the best marriages are made by those couples who avoid becoming involved in premarital sexual intercourse while they look for personality traits and common interests which are important to a good marriage."⁵¹ Normal, adjusted young people will not find it difficult to avoid excessive sex interest until they can marry.

⁵³ Ibid. pp. 120 - 130.

CHAPTER VI

SURVEY OF COURTSHIP PATTERNS

This survey was carried out in different localities in the Near East, first to find out what kind of courtship patterns existed among the older generation and what patterns now exist among the younger generation, and second to compare the patterns of the two generations by pointing out the similarities and dissimilarities.

Four hundred sets of questionnaires were prepared for the survey, with the aim of having 300 returned, 100 from each locality. But this idea of distribution was prevented by unexpected happenings which will be discussed later. Of the 315 questionnaires returned, 133 were from Lebanon, 95 from Syria and 87 from Jordan. However in Beirut nine cases belonged to the Drouze community and one case to the Jewish community. These cases were discarded as there were not enough of them to represent the culture of each community. Thus only 305 questionnaires were tabulated.

It was planned also to have equal numbers of men and women, of Christians and Moslems, and representatives of the older and younger generations. But this was impossible too because of the unavailability of cooperative persons. The sample included 191 women, and 114 men; 127 Christians

and 178 Moslems; 80 of the older generation, 123 of the intermediate and 102 of the younger generation. (Table 1).

Study of courtship is a difficult task due to its being considered as a very personal thing. Some of the difficulties arose out of the fact that not all people who were approached accepted to answer the questionnaire. So the survey had to be carried out among relatives, acquaintances and friends. The questionnaires were given to any Arab person who was ready to answer, regardless of other factors concerning age of marriage, sex, nationality, profession or religion. For instance the sample in Damascus was mainly Moslem, while that of Bethlehem and Ramalla was mainly Christian. Therefore the result did not give a definite view of any specific culture.

There was a wide variety of time of marriage. So it became necessary to divide the sample into three groups instead of two, because change in culture does not happen suddenly as a storm or lightning, but it is rather a slow process, especially when change meets strong opposition. So people married in or prior to 1934 were considered as the older generation, because they had been married for twenty or more years and this means they could have children of marriageable age. Only people married during the last four years, mainly 1950 -1954, were considered to belong

Table 1. Number of cases in survey of courtship patterns.

Groups	Beirut (Leb.)	Baalbeck (Leb.)	Damascus (Syria)	Jordan	Totals
<u>Women</u>					
<u>Moslems</u>					
Older	13	6	24	1	48
Inter- mediate	10	10	22	6	48
Younger	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>26</u>
Totals	28	20	59	10	117
<u>Christians</u>					
Older	10	-	2	3	15
Inter- mediate	9	1	3	13	26
Younger	<u>15</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>33</u>
Totals	34	2	8	30	74
Total women	62	22	67	40	191
<u>Men</u>					
<u>Moslems</u>					
Older	4	4	5	1	14
Intermediate	2	2	14	7	25
Younger	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>22</u>
Totals	14	7	28	12	61
<u>Christian</u>					
Older	4	2	-	2	8
Intermediate	5	1	-	18	24
Younger	<u>6</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	15	3	-	35	53
Total Men	29	10	28	47	114
Grand Total:	91	32	95	87	305

to the new generation, because rate of change in culture has been increasing very rapidly during the last few years. Then any one who fell in between these two periods, mainly 1935 - 1949, was considered to belong to the intermediate generation.

Localities were chosen for the main reason of their accessibility. Beirut is the capital of Lebanon and the place of residence of the writer, Baalbeck is the home town of the writer too, many acquaintances existed in both places. So they represented Lebanon. Damascus was chosen to represent Syria because it is the capital of Syria and the residence of many relatives who helped in answering and in distributing papers. Bethlehem, Amman, Ramallah, and Beit-Jalla, represented Jordan, because a friend who lived in Bethlehem was willing to take the responsibility of distributing the questionnaires in that district. Therefore the main reason for choosing a locality was the availability of the subjects in each.

The place of residence was considered only in the distribution of the sample. Many Palestinians were included in Beirut as well as in Damascus. Therefore no pure courtship patterns of one culture could be detected, but all were added together and grouped into different communities, mainly Moslem and Christian, then into the two sexes.

The questionnaires were made in English and in Arabic. The latter were used chiefly with subjects from the older

generation who could not read English. Questionnaires were distributed among the people through personal and indirect contacts. Personal contact was necessary with older people who could not read and write, but needed a sort of an interview. Indirect contact was through the mails.

The main objectives of the questionnaires were:

1. To determine the place of residence, the date of marriage, the religion and sex, for grouping the sample.
2. To determine the intellectual standard and difference in level of education of every person in relation to society and to his or her own spouse.
3. To find out the basis of marriage in the Near East.
4. To find out the amount of parental influence on marriage.
5. To determine the extent to which Western patterns of courtship were practiced.
6. To find out what activities couples enjoyed and practiced together/^{and} whether they had common interests.
7. To find out the attitude the couples had toward each other during courtship.
8. To find the differences in age between the couples, and the age of marriage.
9. To find whether people had any previous exper-

iences concerning courtship, before they made up their mind about marriage.

10. To determine the economic influence on marriage and courtship.

There was no need to find out whether the couples were of the same religion or not as marriage of persons of different religions is very rare in the Near East. It happens usually in cases when the man travels to the West. There he might marry a foreigner, but only Arabs who were married to Arabs were approached in this study. So all the couples in the survey were of the same religion.

Reaction of the sample toward participation in the survey varied a great deal among different societies. To many older people it was a big shame for a girl who was not married to know so much about marriage and interfere in such a study. A few refused to answer at all because they were afraid of being ridiculed by the interviewer. They thought she knew what should be the best answers for the questions and they felt they might be wrong in theirs. Others still, were afraid to reveal such personal matters to a stranger for they considered anything that has to do with sex relations as shameful. So they preferred to take an address to which they could mail the paper in order to be assured of not being detected. On the other hand there were some who had a very natural attitude

towards the questions and were quite pleased to be asked and recognized. This was more frequent among the less educated people. They were simple and frank. A few unhappy people found it an outlet to sit and speak to the interviewer about certain problems they had in their married life. Some of these are presented as case studies in the appendix.

Age of Marriage:

Early marriages are disappearing in the younger generation as compared to older and intermediate generations. (See table 2).

Moslems in Damascus and Baalbeck had the lowest age of marriage for women in the older generation (seven years). The average Moslem woman was married between the ages of 15 - 18 years. In Beirut Moslem women had the highest median for age of marriage (23-26). But the average age of marriage of younger women in both communities according to the data in this study is between 19-22 years. This is near to the age of marriage of Syrian girls stated by Khalid Chatila, which was 20-25 years.⁵⁴ It is also similar to the age of marriage which considered as being best in the western cultures. Stokes also said that early age of marriage, such as 17 or 18, should be with medical approval and advice in order to prevent pregnancy, to complete edu-

⁵⁴ Chatila, op. cit. pp. 40-45.

cation and to attain financial independence.⁵⁵

The average age of marriage for younger men in both communities is 23-26 years and this is also the accepted age in western culture.

There was very little difference between Moslem and Christian women in age ranges for marriage in any of the three generations and in all the localities.

Among men, both Christian and Moslems, the age of marriage is higher than women's because men usually marry younger women. This social custom seems to prevail in all localities and communities in the Near East.

There was a great majority of couples in each generation and community where the man was older than his wife by more than two years (See table 3). The reason for this probably is because the man has to insure the economic security of his family, but he needs time to establish work and so he marries later than the woman. At the same time parents always want to insure their daughter's future, so they provide for her an early marriage. Therefore the sexes do not have the same marriageable age. Another probable reason is a psychological one. The woman in the Near East is used to being dominated and therefore she feels more secure and happy in such a situation. She is

⁵⁵ Stokes, op. cit. pp. 9-12.

Table 2. Age of marriage.

Groups	Beirut		Baalbeck		Damascus		Jordan	
	No.	Median/1	No.	Median	No.	Median	No.	Median
<u>Women</u>								
<u>Moslem</u>								
Older	12	15-18 (11-24)	6	15-18 (7-26)	24	15-18 (7-42)	1	19-22 -
Intermediate	10	19-22 (11-26)	10	19-22 (15-34)	22	15-18 (11-26)	6	15-18 (11-30)
Younger	6	23-26 (19-26)	4	19-22 (15-30)	13	19-22 (15-34)	3	19-22 (15-26)
<u>Christian</u>								
Older	10	19-22 (11-34)	-	-	2	11-14 -	3	15-18 (15-22)
Inter- mediate	9	15-18 (11-26)	1	19-22 (-)	3	15-18 (15-22)	15	19-22 (15-26)
Younger	15	19-22 (15-30)	1	19-22 (-)	3	15-18 (15-26)	14	19-22 (15-30)
<u>Men</u>								
<u>Moslem</u>								
Older	4	15-18 (15-22)	4	19-22 ⁺ (19-34)	4	19-22 ⁺ (15-30)	1	15-18 (-)
Inter- mediate	1	19-22 (-)	2	-- (15-46)	14	19-22 ⁺ (15-30)	7	23-26 (15-30)
Younger	8	19-22 (15-18)	1	31-34 (-)	9	23-26 (19-38)	4	23-26 (23-30)
<u>Christian</u>								
Older	4	23-26 (19-30)	2	- (23-30)	-	(-)	2	- (27-38)
Inter- mediate	4	31-34 ⁺ (31-45)	1	25-26 (-)	-	(-)	18	23-26 (15-30)
Younger	6	27-30 (27-42)	-	(-)	-	(-)	14	23-26 ⁺ (19-46)
<u>1/</u> No.-Median age - interval with total range in parenthesis.								

brought up in a home where the father who is older dominates his family, so she accepts that from childhood and finds it difficult to change. So the woman has to be younger than her husband in order to submit to his power. At the same time the man identifies himself with his father, so he wants to possess a woman whom he can dominate. Therefore he needs to be older than his wife in order to have a stronger and more developed personality than she has. There were cases in the older generation, and they still exist, where the husbands were as old as their father-in-law.

There were marriages among the older Moslem women as early as seven years of age, and among the older Christian women as early as 11 years. The mother-in-law used to find it more convenient for her to have a very young daughter-in-law in order to bring her up in the way she needed as long as they were going to live together. Also it was easier for the mother to convince or oblige her daughter when she was a child than when she became a grown-up girl. According to Hilma Granquist it was considered a disgrace in certain Palestinian villages for a girl to remain unmarried after she has reached puberty.⁵⁶

Christian men had a higher age of marriage than the Moslem men. This may have been due to one of the following reasons:

⁵⁶ Granquist, op. cit. p. 38.

Table 3. Difference in age between members of couples.

Age Difference	Older	Inter- mediate	Younger
	No.	No.	No.
		<u>Moslem</u>	
Man and woman equal	5	7	8
Man and woman almost equal	6	6	8
Woman is older	2	3	2
Man is older	42	50	30
		<u>Christian</u>	
Man and woman equal	2	7	4
Man and woman almost equal	1	4	4
Woman is older	1	1	3
Man is older	19	35	41

1. The mixed social life that exists among the Christians, so they do not feel lonely and they have a better chance for outlets.
2. Moslems can divorce easier or have more than one wife so they are not very particular about marriage, while for the Christians marriage is for life. So they wait to be more sure of themselves and of the woman they marry.

The age of marriage on the whole is becoming higher in both communities and in both sexes , which is more likely for the following reasons:

1. They are having higher education so they need more time before marriage.
2. They do not depend so much on their parents, but provide an economic independence for themselves before they marry.
3. There are more social outlets for both sexes which distract their desire for marriage for a while.
4. They might have started to recognize that very early marriages may have emotional characteristics which would increase the probability of unhappiness in marriage.

Education:

Results of the survey seem to indicate that the level

of education of women in the Moslem community is getting higher. (See table 4). Yet among women in the younger generation some were uneducated.

Christian women in the older generation had the same level of education as the Moslem women, but among Christians uneducated women disappeared in the intermediate and younger generations. In both communities however, there was no university graduate in the older generation except one case among the Moslems of Jordan, and she happened to be of Lebanese origin.

Among the younger generation Christian women in Beirut, and Moslem women in Jordan had the highest median level of education which was college level. The median of Moslem women of Beirut was only slightly lower, between high school and college level.

Men in both communities had a higher standard of education in the three generations than did women. The median of the younger generation in Beirut in the Christian community was university level and in the Moslem community was almost university level. However Beirut seemed to have the highest level in education in each generation except for the intermediate generation in the Moslem community in Damascus.

Differences in levels of education between the couples in both communities was less in the younger than in the older

Table 4. Levels of education.

	Beirut			Baalbeck			Damascus			Jordan		
	N	M	R ¹	N	M	R	N	M	R	N	M	R
<u>Women</u>												
<u>Moslem</u>												
Older	13	3	(1-5)	9	1	(1-4)	24	2	(1-4)	2	-	(2-7)
Inter- mediate	11	3	(1-7)	12	3	(2-3)	29	3	(1-7)	13	3	(2-6)
Younger	12 ⁺	4 ⁺	(1-7)	5	3	(2-3)	18	4	(1-7)	7	5	(4-7)
<u>Christian</u>												
Older	11	3	(1-4)	2	-	(3-4)	2	-	(1-3)	5	2	(1-4)
Inter- mediate	11	4	(3-5)	2	-	(2-4)	3	4	(3-4)	30	4	(1-7)
Younger	18	5	(3-7)	1	2	-	2	-	(4-7)	29	4	(2-7)
<u>Men</u>												
<u>Moslem</u>												
Older	13	5	(2-7)	9	3	(1-7)	24	4	(1-7)	2	-	(4-7)
Inter- mediate	11	4	(1-7)	12	5	(1-2)	29	5	(1-7)	13	4	(2-7)
Younger	12	6 ⁺	(2-7)	5	3	(2-7)	18	4 ⁺	(2-7)	7	6	(4-7)
<u>Christian</u>												
Older	11	6	(2-7)	2	7	-	2	-	(1-4)	5	3	(2-7)
Inter- mediate	11	7	(4-7)	2	3	(4-7)	3	7	(6-7)	30	4	(1-7)
Younger	18	7	(4-7)	1	5	-	2	-	(4-7)	29	6	(3-7)

1. N - Number of cases.
M - Median educational level: 1- No education, 2. Less than elementary, 3. elementary, 4. high school, 5. junior college 2 years, 6. college 4 years, 7. university.
R - Range of education level.

generation. (see table 5). This applied to all localities except Jordan where the married couples had almost the same levels of education in all three generations. This might be due to the fact that the sample in Jordan was limited to one social class, since the places that were chosen in that district were mostly rural areas.

Similarities in levels of education between some couples in the older generation of Moslems were mainly due to the reason that both men and women were illiterate.

Reasons for Marriage:

Each person who answered the questionnaire was asked to check the three most important reasons for his or her marriage. These responses were ranked according to their frequency, and are tabulated on table 6.

The most important reason for marriage in the older and intermediate generations of Moslem women was fulfillment of parents' wishes. But this disappeared as an important reason for the younger generation. Desire for children and economic security ranked second in the older generation and third in the intermediate generation, in which love ranked second. Women of the older generation also desired protection. From these results, it could be concluded that women in the older Moslem generation were under strict parental control and handicapped by social measures and could not ensure their economic security without marriage.

Table 5. Difference in levels of education between members of couples.

	Beirut			Bealbeck			Damascus			Jordan		
	N	M	R	N	M	R	N	M	R	N	M	R
<u>Moslem</u>												
Older	13	2	0-4	9	1	0-4	24	3	0-5	2	-	0-2
Inter- mediate	11	1	-3-4	12	2 ⁺	-3-4	29	1	-1-5	13	0	0-2
Younger	12	1	0-3	5	0	-1-4	18	1	-1-3	7	0	0-3
<u>Christian</u>												
Older	11	2	0-5	2	-	3-4	2	-	0-1	5	1	0-3
Inter- mediate	11	1	-3-4	2	-	2-3	3	3	2-4	30	0	-1-3
Younger	18	2	0-4	1	-	1	2	-	0	29	1	-1-4



1. Difference - Level of education of man minus education of woman.

This was due apparently to their educational standard and the veil which was prevailing a few years ago among all Moslem societies.

The love element appeared in the intermediate generation of Moslem women. But no conclusion could be detected out of this result as it is difficult to know whether it is the love that usually develops between couples after engagement. When a girl who had never been acquainted with a man suddenly becomes acquainted with someone who is most kind to her and most generous during engagement, she is very apt to love him. Many women sometimes are in love with love itself because they have no outlets for their emotions, so they can easily pour it on the first man they meet. This proves the old theory of love which says, "Best love always develops after marriage". The intermediate generation seemed to be developing some personal emotions which had been lacking completely in the older generation, except in a few cases where the couples happened to be cousins, and living in the same house. The majority of the older generation did not have the chance to see each other even after engagement and legal contract.

Therefore the patterns of intermediate generation were transitional toward that of the younger generation of Moslem women, where love was the most important reason for marriage. Here common interests and companionship ranked second. These are generally considered to be sound foundations

Table 6. Ranking of the three most important reasons for marriage/1

Reasons for marriage	Moslem			Christian		
	Old.	Inter.	Young.	Old.	Inter.	Young.
Love <u>Women</u>		2	1	1+	1	1
Desire for children	2+ <u>2</u>	3+		1+	2	3
Economic security	2+	3+		1+		
Fulfillment of parent's wishes	1	1				
Escape from loneliness			3			
Escape from parental restrictions						
Common interests and companionship			2		3+	2
Social position and prestige					3+	
Sexual satisfaction					3+	
Protection	3+				3+	
Others						
Love <u>Men</u>		1	1	1	1	3
Desire for children	2+	2		2	3+	2
Economic security						
Fulfillment of parents' wishes	1			3+		
Escape from loneliness		3+	3			
Escape from parental restrictions						
Common interests and companionship		3+		3+	2	1
Social position and prestige	2+		2			
Sexual satisfaction				3+	3+	
Protection & others						

1. Ranking - 1 indicates the greatest frequency.

2. (+) indicates equal rank.

for a successful marriage.⁵⁷ From this, it could be concluded that the Moslem woman is becoming able to cope with man as equal. She is no more a slave or a tool for his pleasure as she used to be in most cases. In this younger generation escape from loneliness ranked third which may be due to the increasing age of marriage. In the past a girl who was married at fifteen years or earlier, would not have been aware of this feeling, but today a girl who has been educated, who has had some freedom and who is twenty years or more of age may find it difficult to live with her parents who are quite different from her intellectually and socially.

Among Christian women in the older generation, love, desire for children and economic security were of the same importance. This shows that the Christian women had a certain freedom. This was possibly due to the lack of veil which permitted the two sexes to see each other at least. But again, the Christian woman seemed to be dependent on man for economic security and she was similar to the Moslem woman in her desire for children. This was probably due to the way girls in both communities used to be brought up. From childhood a woman knew she was going to be married to a man who would have full rights over her, and that her duty was to be obedient, to bring him children and take

⁵⁷ Stokes, op. cit. pp. 9 - 12.

care of them. If she failed in these duties, she would be considered to be a failure in society.

Love remained the first reason for marriage in the intermediate generation of Christian women, and desire for children became of less importance and ranked second, but desire for economic independence/^{or security} disappeared and was replaced by common interests and companionship, sexual satisfaction and protection. This shows that parental influence was diminishing and that the two sexes had more freedom in their social relations. They loved each other, found out their common interests and developed friendship; but the important factor was the sexual satisfaction which appeared for the first time as a reason for marriage. Increasing freedom may have given them the opportunity to practice certain sexual relations which allowed this desire to develop to the point that they became aware of it. Also need for protection might be due to the fact that parents were no more concerned about their children as they used to be in the older generation. A protected girl would not feel this need, but a girl exposed to society when she was not ready for it, might easily feel insecure and ask for protection .

In the younger generation of Christian women, love and companionship and common interests continued to be important ; desire for children also remained, but it was

of lesser importance. This reason for marriage appeared to be more important to Christian women in each generation than it was to Moslem women. The results of this survey give no evidence as to why this difference may exist. However, it may be related to the fact that for Christian women, children bring stability to marriage, but to Moslem women marriage remains insecure and divorce remains as an ever-present threat in spite of the presence of children.

The most important reason for marriage in the older generation of Moslem men was fulfillment of parents' wishes, thus men as well as women seemed to be subject to parental control. Desire for children social position and prestige ranked second. This may have been influenced by religion, because marriage is a fulfillment of religious duties. People who were married were looked upon highly. According to Hilma Granquist unmarried persons were looked upon as unnatural beings or objects of ridicule.⁵⁸ Therefore in such societies it was most necessary to marry in order to secure high position and social prestige. A Moslem man from the older generation commented on love after he checked it as one of his reasons for marriage, "yes it is for love I married my wife, but thank God, it is only the spiritual love and not the cheap kind which is common nowadays". The members of the couple were cousins; but this gave a picture of what could be meant by love in the older generation where sexes

⁵⁸ Granquist, op.cit. p. 40

were strictly separated.

Among Moslem men as among Moslem women love appeared first as an important reason for marriage in the intermediate generation. Among men it ranked first. Desire for children remained in the second rank; escape from loneliness, and common interests and companionship were ranked third. These latter two reasons were important for men but not for women.

In the younger generation, love was first. Social position and prestige, and escape from loneliness ranked second and third, respectively.

Among Christian men of the older generation love ranked first as it did among Christian women. Desire for children ranked second, and fulfillment of parents' wishes, common interests and companionship, social position and prestige and sexual satisfaction ranked third. All could be explained in the same way as for Christian women. But from these results it could be concluded that Christian men were influenced by their parents to a certain extent, yet they had some freedom. Love remained continuously an important reason for marriage among Christians from the older generation to the younger generation.

In the intermediate generation of Christian men, love remained of first rank as a reason for marriage. Common interests and companionship ranked second, therefore it became of more importance. Desire for children and sexual

satisfaction ranked third. In the younger generation the soundest reasons for marriage - common interests and companionship - ranked first; and desire for children was emphasized again, it had risen to second rank, while love became third and of lesser importance.

One conclusion that could be stated about the change in the patterns is that there was a constant increase in the freedom of the sexes and that allowed couples to improve in understanding each other.

The same reasons that appeared among the younger Christian women appeared among the younger Christian men, but of different ranking. For example, love to women was first, while it was third to men. This is naturally expected, as women are usually more emotional and sentimental than men.

Younger Moslem men and women had also the same patterns except that social position and prestige among men were replaced by common interests and companionship among women.

Sexual satisfaction and desire for children were more important among Christians than Moslems. In fact the first did not appear at all as being of importance among Moslems. Christians may have participated more freely in social groups where sexual stimulation led them to desire satisfaction through marriage. According to Walter Stokes, as it was mentioned Chapter III, the sex element is the only sound

motive for happy marriage.⁵⁹ Again escape from loneliness did not appear among Christians as among Moslems. This may have been due to their mixed social life.

General conclusions which may be drawn from the results include:

1. Parental control of marriage was the accepted pattern in the older Moslem generation, but decreased a great deal in the younger generation.
2. Parental influence was apparent only in the older generation of Christian men who undoubtedly were economically dependent upon their parents.
3. The importance of love, and common interests and companionship as reasons for marriage in the Christian community in all generations reflects a considerable degree of freedom in social relationships between the sexes before marriage. Among Moslems these reasons were absent in the old generation and were of increasing importance in the intermediate and younger generations.

Opportunities for Acquaintance between Sexes:

In asking the question, "was your fiancée your first boy or girl friend?", the aim was to find out how far people had the chance in getting acquainted with various numbers of people of the opposite sex before they made up their minds about marriage.

⁵⁹ Stokes, op. cit. pp. 9 - 10.

As was mentioned in the introduction the first part of an ideal courtship should be a time for getting acquainted with as many members of the opposite sex as possible.

People were asked whether their marriage was arranged by parents or was a personal choice. If the latter was the case, then they were asked to check whether the spouse was the first boy or girl friend. But as it seems from the data some of those who had parental choice in marriage had also checked the question. Results are shown on tables 7a, 7b.

Of the older Moslem women in the sample 20 answered out of 43. Of these, 15, said that it was their first boy or girl friend, and five said they had previous experiences; which means one fourth of those who answered the question had been acquainted with other men. These women might have been engaged then had broken the engagement for one reason or another. So this was considered as an experience. Other women might have had male cousins or close relatives whom they had the chance to know. Other opportunities to know men were extremely unlikely, because it was almost impossible for a respectable girl in the older Moslem generation to meet various men outside the family.

In the intermediate generation of Moslem women 27 out of 48 answered the question. Of these 19 cases answered that they had not had previous experience. Thus more than two thirds of the total had no chance to know men other than their husbands. Yet this shows increase of

Table 7a. Nature of mixed social relations before marriage.

Generational		Women					
		Moslem			Christian		
		O	I	Y	O	I	Y
Number of those who answered the questionnaire		45	48	26	15	26	33
Was your marriage an arrangement by your family or relatives?		-----					
	YES	34	28	10	8	8	8
	NO	6	14	15	7	18	22
Was your fiancée your first boy or girl friend?		-----					
	Yes	15	19	11	9	10	7
	No	5	8	15	3	11	18
Did you have confidence in your fiancée with regards to his/her feelings toward you?		-----					
	YES	25	29	14	13	15	16
	No	2	4	1	-	4	1
Did you feel at ease with your fiancée when you were alone?		-----					
	YES	16	24	24	11	19	28
	No	8	8	3	3	4	3
Did you feel at ease with your fiancée in society?		-----					
	YES	19	21	15	11	14	16
	NO	6	12	-	3	10	1
→ → - - - - -		-----					

1 Generation: O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

Table 7b. Nature of mixed social relations before marriage.

Generation ¹	Men					
	Moslems			Christians		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
Number of those who answered the questionnaire	14	25	22	8	24	21
Was your marriage an arrangement by your family or relatives?						
YES	9	15	6	5	5	6
NO	5	12	15	4	18	15
Was your fiancée your first boy or girl friend?						
YES	5	10	5	-	5	3
NO	5	15	17	5	19	11
Did you have confidence in your fiancée with regards to his/her feelings toward you?						
YES	10	22	9	5	22	13
NO	2	2	4	1	2	-
Did you feel at ease with your fiancée when you were alone?						
YES	7	22	21	4	21	10
NO	3	2	1	0	3	2
Did you feel at ease with your fiancée in society						
YES	6	9	13	4	9	13
NO	2	11	-	-	1	1

¹ Generation: O=Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

freedom in social relations.

In the younger generation of Moslem women 24 answered the question out of 26 cases. Of these 11 cases which is a little more than half, had the chance to know other men before marriage. This shows the decrease of parental control on marriage which had previously been the accepted pattern in Eastern cultures and strict societies.

The Christian women had a similar rate of change, but as was expected Christians had more freedom. Therefore the ratio of those who had previous experiences before marriage was higher than that of Moslem women.

In the older generation of Christian women 13 answered the question out of 15 cases; nine of these said they did not have previous experiences with men before marriage and three said they had. So the ratio of experienced women to those who were unexperienced was one to four, the same as the older generation of Moslem women.

In the intermediate generation of Christian women 21 answered the question out of 26 cases. Approximately half of this number had had previous experiences, that is 11 cases said it was their first boy friend and 10 said it was not.

In the younger generation of Christian women 25 answered the question out of 33 cases, out of which 18 had known other members of the opposite sex before marriage

and seven had not.

According to these results, women of both communities in the Near East are having more freedom in adopting Western patterns.

Among Moslem men of the older generation six answered the question out of 14 cases, which meant six only had personal choice out of which three did not know other girls before marriage and three did know them. The ratio is half, but those who had free choice in marriage were less than half.

Among the Moslem men of the intermediate generation 23 answered the question out of 25 cases. Out of this number 13 had known other girls while 10 had not. Therefore men were having more freedom in choosing their mates.

Among Moslem men of the younger generation 21 answered the question out of 23 cases. Of these, three had not known previous experiences while 17 had had them. Therefore the rate of changing patterns among men is higher and this is expected as men have wider freedom in social relation due to society.

Among the Christian men of the older generation five answered the question out of eight cases which is a little more than half. But the five had previous experiences.

Among Christian men of the intermediate generation the 24 cases that were available answered the question. Out of these, five cases did not have previous experiences and

19 had known other girls, which is more than three quarters of the number.

Among the Christian men of the younger generation 14 answered the question out of 21 cases. Of these three did not know other girls, but eleven had previous experiences. The change seemed to occur between the older and intermediate generations, but there is no further advance among the younger generation.

Activities couples enjoyed together and their common interests:

There were several activities listed in the questionnaire and the person was asked to check any of those that he or she enjoyed with the mate. But because it was not emphasized that it meant before marriage many had checked for all the activities they enjoyed during their married life. This was obvious in the older generation when radio ranked third and it was not known yet. Therefore the results of this question were not valid. However a few points could be concluded. Table 8 shows the ranking of the three most important activities.

Many women of the older generation considered talking as an activity that they enjoyed together. In fact it ranked first in both communities.

Group activities such as sports and dancing were more common among the Christians than they were among Mos-

lems did us to the extent of mixed social life. There was a man who remarked about activities he enjoyed with his wife mostly and he said, "I enjoyed the hours I was all by myself". This man was frank enough to say this because he had divorced, but presumably this would be the case of all married people who have no common interests.

Sexual activities were quite similar in both communities. (See table 9). They increased among the younger generation where almost all couples had physical intimacies. Kissing and petting were the common patterns, but the difference between the two communities, men and women in all generations, was that Moslems had complete sexual relations more often than the Christians did. This could be due to the difference in engagement in the two communities. Moslems often have the legal contract as a binding for engagement. Then the bride has the full right to go and live with her fiancé any time she wants. Therefore engagement to Moslems is usually marriage, and so the couples have more freedom in their relations than the Christians.

Freedom in sexual relations depends on the moral ethic of the culture. In most cultures men have much more freedom than women. Therefore the results showed that the feeling of guilt that arose after the physical contact between the people was more frequent among women. (See table 10). On the whole, feeling of guilt was highest among women in the intermediate generation in both communities. This was

Table 8. Ranking of the three most popular activities.

Activities	<u>Moslem</u>			<u>Christian</u>		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
Radio	3+	1	3	3+		
Music	3+	2	1	3+	1	1+
Sports				1+		
Reading	2		2	3+	2+	3
Dancing		3			2+	1+
Other	1			1+		

						<u>Men</u>
Radio	2+	1	1	3+	2+	3
Music		3	2	3+	1	1
Sports				1+		
Reading	1		3+	1+	2+	
Dancing		3			2+	2
Other	2+		3+			

O = Older, I = Intermediate, and Y = Younger generations.

Table 9. Sexual activities.

Generation ¹	Moslems			Christians		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
<u>Women</u>						
Number of cases	43	48	26	15	26	33
Kissing	10	21	18	9	11	28
Petting	7	21	15	5	17	21
Others	2	5	4	-	5	1

<u>Men</u>						
Number of cases	14	25	22	8	24	21
Kissing	4	11	22	4	20	19
Petting	4	7	20	-	14	13
Others	1	3	3	-	1	1

Table 10. Feelings of guilt

<u>Women</u>						
Number of cases	43	48	26	15	26	33
Did you have feelings of guilt for physical contact with your fiancé(e). YES	4	8	4	2	7	4
NO	11	18	14	8	15	21

<u>Men</u>						
Number of cases	14	25	22	8	24	21
(same question above). YES	2	2	5	-	4	-
NO	3	14	12	-	15	18

¹Generation : O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

due maybe to the nature of that generation which was mainly a period of transition. Usually people in such a state are mixed up; they get confused between old and new patterns and the result would be guilt feeling and dissatisfaction. In the older generation, the couple had been protected enough from isolation so there was no way for them to attain privacy and physical intimacies, unless they were engaged and so there was no need for a feeling of guilt. In the new generation, the people were better equipped by self-control and discipline which were due to the opportunities individuals have nowadays to develop their personalities and independence through education. Therefore feelings of guilt have little room to exist among such people.

Attitudes couples had toward each other during courtship.

There were many women in the older and intermediate Moslem generations who did not answer the questions that determined the attitude of couples towards each other during courtship, because these people did not have any courtship period in its broad sense. But among Christian women very few did not answer the questions.

Among those who had a courtship period the majority had confidence in their fiancé(e)'s feelings toward them. (See tables 7a, 7b)

Many of the younger generation in both communities had a period of courtship and engagement. Yet almost one-

half of those in each sex and religious group did not answer the question on confidence. The mere fact that they omitted answering this question indicates that they did not have complete confidence in their mates' feeling toward them.

Also from the results it seems that the social freedom of the younger generation led these people to conflicts that did not exist before. Older men when they were married were almost sure that their wives had no previous experiences with other men. Therefore there was no need for lack of confidence. At the same time older women had accepted the idea that men had the right to behave as they wished in sex relations, especially before marriage. So with this feeling of inferiority there was no reason for them to judge their husbands. But women of the younger generation have recognized their right to equality with men and expect men to behave in accordance with a single rather than a double standard.

Among Moslem women in all three generations almost one third of the sample did not answer whether they felt at ease with their fiancés in society. (See table 7a, 7b). Those who were interviewed said that they had not had opportunities to be in society with their husbands before marriage. The majority of those who answered this question felt at ease. In fact among the new generation 15

answered out of 26 cases, and all felt at ease.

Among Christian women in the older and intermediate generations, only three did not answer the question on social feelings. In the older generation 11 felt at ease and three did not. In the intermediate generation 14 felt at ease and 10 did not. This shows that the older people were more adjusted, but this may be due to the fact that only engaged couples in the older generation were able to meet in social groups and gatherings, while in the intermediate, people were not yet ready to accept mixed social life and certain people started taking the risk and went against the social customs. Therefore, such people certainly felt the conflict between the old and the new. This appeared also among Moslem women in the intermediate generation.

Among 33 younger Christian women, 17 answered the question on social feeling. Of these, 16 felt at ease and one did not. This was also the case with the younger Moslem women. No special conclusion could be drawn out of these results except that these younger people might not have had any opportunities to have social activities. Therefore they do not know their feelings, or that they were not aware of their feelings in such circumstances. There is also the possibility of not being willing to answer such a question.

The same results were observed among the Moslem men in all the three generations. But among the Christian men only one case each in the intermediate and younger generations said they did not feel at ease; four and seven from the respective generations did not answer. From the older generation four did not answer and four felt at ease. Therefore these results show that Christian men feel more at ease in society with their fiancées or girl friends. This may be due to the fact that society provides for them opportunities to mix with women. Therefore adjustment to women for them is easier.

According to the results shown on table 11, feelings of social superiority toward the fiancé(e) existed among men more than among women. Feelings of inferiority existed among the women more than the men. This was probably due to the social status of women. But both feelings are decreasing respectively according to the three generations and both communities.

Feeling of social equality between the couples are increasing. In the younger generation of Moslem women more than four-fifths had this feeling, and among that of Christians three-quarters of the cases had it.

The type of social feeling is a very important factor in marriage, because lack of feeling of equality will

Table 11. Social feelings the married couples had toward each other. - Superior, inferior, equal.

Generation	<u>Moslems</u>			<u>Christians</u>		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
<u>Women</u>						
Number of cases	43	48	26	15	26	33
superior	1	6	1	1	1	3
inferior	12	2	3	10	4	5
Equal	17	40	22	2	16	24

<u>Men</u>						
Number of cases	14	25	22	8	24	21
superior	4	3	2	1	6	2
inferior	1	1	2	-	1	+
Equal	8	19	18	2	16	19

Generation: O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

create many conflicts in later life which may not appear during engagement, or courtship. Some of these conflicts result when one member of the couple feels inferior then that member becomes frustrated and unhappy, and may not be able to mix with the environment of the spouse freely. So he or she would try to hide this inferiority, and this leads to unhappy, unfriendly relations with the environment. Again when there is feeling of inferiority some conflicts with the in-laws may arise. Also ^{the} one who feels inferior may try to humiliate the spouse in order to satisfy his emotional needs. Therefore a feeling of social equality between the married couples is very important. Similar backgrounds and social standards are among the important factors that help in the success of marriage.

One of the questions was to find out whether the people had opportunities approved by parents to be alone with the fiancé(e). Then the second was to find out whether they felt at ease in being alone, in order to determine the attitude of the people toward the opposite sex. (See tables 7a, 7b).

Again only a few in the older and intermediate generations of the Christians did not answer the questions, but many in the Moslem community especially among women failed to answer.

The results show that the two sexes were feeling more

at ease with each other in the younger generation than they used to in the older and intermediate. Among younger Moslem women 21 felt at ease with their fiancés, three did not and two did not answer. The change was gradual through the three generations.

Among younger Christian women 26 felt at ease, three did not and two did not answer. Therefore the younger generation of both communities showed very similar results. But differences appeared more in the older and intermediate generations, as Christians had a feeling of ease more often. This may have been due to the habits they had been brought up in concerning the opposite sex. Christians have more chances to know men.

Men showed almost the same results concerning this feeling, in relation to the two communities and in relation to the three generations.

Economic influence on courtship and marriage.

In the Near East not more than one out of five women in any group worked before marriage. The ratio of women working before marriage to those who were not working is increasing in both communities. Those who were working continued to work after marriage except in one or two cases in each generation. This might give the conclusion that these were married because of their economic contributions. (See table 13).

Generally the woman in the Near East used to depend economically on her husband. It was agreed in all societies except rural ones that a woman's job was her home. Here she was able to help her husband by such limited jobs as sewing, embroidery and similar occupations from which the products could be sold. In only rare cases when the financial conditions were not satisfactory and the family was large, or when the husband was handicapped physically did the wife work with the husband or help support the family by doing work outside the house. Sometimes such things were done secretly so that the man would not feel offended, for it was a big insult for a man to be helped or supported by his wife.

Now some women are working outside the house because living expenses have risen a great deal; but the job of the woman inside the house is being reduced by the new equipment and inventions. Marriage has become nowadays a cooperative job between husband and wife. Burgess calls it the "democratic family".⁶⁰ A man is more interested in a woman who can share with him in getting the income of the family, than a woman who cannot work. This is the opposite of the condition of the past.

Another reason is that married people are no longer dependant on their parents as they used to be. So the husband needs help from his wife in order to meet the wide

⁶⁰ Burgess and Locke, op. cit. p. 21.

Table 13. Economic aspects of courtship and marriage.

Generation ¹	Moslems			Christians		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
Number of who answered the questionnaire.						
Women :	43	48	26	15	26	33
Men :	14	25	22	8	24	21

Were you working during courtship?						
Women, YES	8	5	5	1	8	7
NO	29	34	16	3	8	10

Did you continue to work after marriage.						
Women YES:	9	4	14	2	4	14
NO:	29	35	16	3	12	13

Did your fiancé have a business or expected to have one:						
Women YES:	35	33	20	4	13	14
NO :	2	8	5	1	8	3

Did the parents of your fiancé(s) make any economic contribution?						
Women YES	15	24	16	4	16	14
NO	27	20	9	9	10	15
Men YES	4	7	3	1	6	6
NO	10	18	18	6	17	15

Did your parents make any economic contribution?						
Women YES	13	25	10	6	11	10
NO	24	19	15	11	14	15
Men YES	7	11	10	3	4	9
NO	7	13	11	4	8	11

¹ Generation: O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

expenses of establishing a new home. This is very true during the first few years when they need to buy everything for the house and to face the marriage expenses. The Western woman is going through such experiences, but from the results of the questionnaire such patterns are not very popular in the Near East.

In the Near East parents expect their daughters to be married to men who have an established business that insures a certain income. (See table 15). In both communities and in all generations a great majority of women expected their fiancés to have an established business. A few said that their fiancés did not have business and were not expected to have. This may be due to their economical conditions, that is their families were well off financially and the fiancé did not need to work. Also the man may have not been able to work for one reason or another and the woman was going to support the family. Another reason may have been that the couple put a great emphasis on love, which kept them from considering their qualifications. So they went into marriage with no planning. Therefore the prevailing pattern in the Near East was and still is that a man should establish a business before marriage.

The courtship period in the Near East could be also a very difficult experience to a man if he were not financially well off. According to the results of this questionnaire, men have to spend on their women a great deal

during that period in order to win her consent and that of her people. In certain societies there are certain duties for the man concerning this matter whether he wants to do so or not, and whether he can afford it or not. Sometimes he has to borrow money. This may lead later to a resentment between the husband and wife.

Among the older generation of Moslem women, the fiancé's money was spent mostly on ornaments (mainly jewelry), secondly on clothes and thirdly on entertainment. (See table 14a). Among the intermediate generation entertainment increased; then in the younger generation it had an equal rating with ornaments and both ranked first. This shows the increase in social activities among the younger people.

Among Christians results were similar but on a lower rate. This may be due to the fact that Moslem women demand too much of their men due to the instability of their marriage. Therefore they put heavy financial burdens on the man in order to prevent him from other marriages.

Nowadays, women in both communities are contributing more than they used to do to courtship expenses, but Moslem women contributed more frequently than Christian women. This is may be due to the fact that the Moslem sample was larger, or to the custom of Christian women to contribute an amount of money to marriage while the Moslem women do not have a special opportunity to contribute unless they

Table 14a. Purposes for which fiancé(e) spent money on respondent during engagement

Generation:	<u>Moslem</u>			<u>Christian</u>		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
<u>Women</u>						
Number of cases	43	48	26	15	26	33
Clothes	14	18	9	3	7	5
Ornaments	20	25	17	4	12	14
Entertainment	10	21	17	2	12	14
<u>Men</u>						
Number of cases	14	25	22	3	24	21
Clothes	4	4	5	1	-	2
Ornaments	3	5	9	-	1	2
Entertainment	2	3	3	-	3	5

Table 14b. Ranking of the three most popular contributions.

Generation Sex	<u>Moslem</u>						<u>Christian</u>					
	O	I		Y		O	I		Y			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
No contribution	2 ⁺		1		1 ⁺	3 ⁺	3	2 ⁺		2		2
Money contribution	2 ⁺	1		2		2			2 ⁺	3 ⁺	3	
Clothes for himself/ herself				3	1 ⁺			1	2 ⁺		3	1
Clothes for both	2 ⁺	3	2 ⁺			3 ⁺	1 ⁺			1		
Expenses for furni- ture	1	2	2 ⁺	1	3	1	1 ⁺	2 ⁺	1	3 ⁺	1	3
Other						3 ⁺						

want to do so.

Most popular economic contributions among all the three generations in both communities are shown in table 14b.

Men in both communities made the same type of contributions that ranked in the same way, except that Moslems had a wider range; also older Moslem men most often contributed an amount of money, which ranked second in the younger generation, while Christian men had as second rank no contribution which appeared among Moslem men (as third) in the younger generation.

Moslem women had no contribution which ranked second in the older and first in the next two generations. Also older women had as first contribution "provided expenses for ^{the} furniture of the house". This could be explained by the fact that the Moslem woman took money from the husband but she bought the furniture. Therefore it was the husband but indirectly. Christian women had in the three generations one contribution that ranked always first. This was, "provided expenses for the furniture of the house".

Parents of the married couples seemed to have made equal contributions to the marriage of their girls and boys. This custom seems from the results to be consistent all through the three generations and in both communities. Table 13.

Parental Influence on Marriage.

Among Moslem women of the older generation one-seventh of the cases reported had personal choice in marriage, while

two-sevenths of the cases in the intermediate had it, and three-fifths of the cases in the younger generation. This shows a gradual decrease in parental influence on marriage. However two-fifths have been controlled recently. (See tables 7a, 7b).

Among Christian women, the influence of parents was different. In the older generation almost half of the cases had personal choice, while a little more than three-quarters had it in the intermediate and more than two-thirds in the younger generation.

Among older Moslem men one-third had free choice. In the intermediate almost half the cases had it, while in the younger generation nearly two-thirds were free.

Among Christian men outstanding aspect among all three generations was that the majority of the cases had personal choice in their marriage.

Those who had personal choices were asked to check the places where they had met their mates for the first time. Meeting places, ranked in order of frequency are shown in table 15. The place which ranked first in the older generation of Moslem women was the woman's home. (See table 15). This indicates that women of the older Moslem generation had no free social activities. There is also the possibility that couples were relatives, as a woman of the older generation was not able to receive a man even at her own home be-

cause she was handicapped by the veil.

Among the intermediate generation the house of a friend ranked first. This indicates that more social freedom started being developed, or this might have been carried out secretly.

Among the younger generation, school and work ranked first. The change was gradual and now many Moslem women are having opportunities to meet with the opposite sex freely.

The older Christian women also had in first rank their own home. This remained for the intermediate generation, but changed to the house of a friend among the younger generation. This shows that the Christian woman has wider opportunities for mixed social relations. She is allowed to go to social parties or activities and to friends' houses; she can even hold such activities at her own home.

In the older generation for Moslem men the three following places ranked first: at work, at your own home and other places, which were mostly the bride's home. In the Moslem community this could be explained by having the man see the woman either under the veil or passing by chance. She appeals to him and he sends his people to ask for her hand.

Among the intermediate generation the home of the man ranked first. The girl may have been visiting with her people so the man can see her. An interesting place appeared

Table 15. Ranking of the three most popular places where married people met first.

Generation:	<u>Moslem</u>			<u>Christian</u>		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
<u>Women</u>						
In school			1 ⁺		3 ⁺	2
At work			1 ⁺	2 ⁺	2 ⁺	3
At a friend's house	2	1		2 ⁺	3 ⁺	1
At one's house	1	2	3 ⁺	1	1	
Other	3	3	3 ⁺	2 ⁺		

<u>Men</u>						
In school		3				3 ⁺
At work	1 ⁺		3	1 ⁺	2	1
At a friend's house		2	1	1 ⁺	1	2
At one's house	1 ⁺	1	2	3	3	3 ⁺
Other	1 ⁺					3 ⁺

Generation:	O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.					

in this generation and ranked third. This was school. This shows the start of coeducation.

Among the younger generation the house of a friend ranked first. This may indicate the start of mixed social activities or secret opportunities through the help of friends. Among the older generation of Christian men the house of a friend and at work ranked first. The former remained in the intermediate generation, while the latter ranked first again in the younger generation. In fact the rest of the mentioned places had equal ranks.

Opportunities for engaged couples to be alone were not as frequent in the older generation as in the younger one. However there were a few in both communities who did not have opportunities approved by their parents to be alone. (see tables 16a, 16b).

Among older generation of Moslem women 26 out of 43 cases did not have the opportunities to be alone with parental approval while 16 had such opportunities. In the intermediate results showed equal numbers of those who had and those who did not have, while in the younger generation out of 26 cases seven did not have and 19 had those opportunities.

In the Christian community the rate of change was similar, but the ratios of approved opportunities were much higher than in the Moslem community.

Table 16a. Parental influence on marriage.

Generation:	Women					
	Moslem			Christian		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
Number of cases	43	48	26	18	26	33
Did you have opportunities approved by parents to be alone?						
YES:	16	20	19	11	19	27
NO :	26	20	7	4	6	5
Did your parents approve of your fiancée?						
YES:	39	42	17	15	24	26
NO :	4	5	8	4	4	3
Did your fiancée's parents approve of you?						
YES:	40	58	12	13	22	26
NO :	3	7	4	2	5	3
Were there any conflicts between your families before marriage?						
YES:	0	3	3	3	6	3
NO :	39	59	22	13	19	33
If there were conflicts did they affect your reactions with your fiancée?						
YES:	2	2	1	0	2	5
NO :	12	19	9	5	14	18

Generation: O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

Table 16b. Parental influence on marriage.

Generation	<u>Men</u>					
	Moslem			Christian		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
Number of cases	14	25	22	8	24	21
Did you have opportunities approved by parents to be alone?						
YES:	5	20	17	2	23	18
NO :	8	4	5	5	1	3
Did your parents approve of your fiancée?						
YES:	12	21	16	7	26	17
NO :	1	3	6	0	2	3
Did your fiancée's parents approve of you?						
YES:	12	22	16	6	23	18
NO :	1	1	5	0	1	1
Were there any conflicts between your families before marriage?						
YES:	0	4	1	2	8	3
NO :	13	18	18	5	18	18
If there were conflicts did they affect your reactions with your fiancée?						
YES:	0	3	1	0	1	1
NO :	5	11	8	2	14	11

Generation: O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

However it was to be expected that the men should have felt no control at all on them concerning this pattern. But those who marked that they had no approved opportunities to be alone with their fiancée probably meant that the bride's family objected to it and not their own family. Again the approved opportunities increased in the younger generation, and among Christian such opportunities were more frequent.

It was also observed that those who did not have the approval of their parents to be alone but did meet and have sexual relations had a feeling of guilt for that.

Among the older and intermediate generation of Moslem women almost all marriages were approved by their parents and their husband's parents. (see tables 16a, 16b). But in the younger generation there seems to have been a revolt in comparison to the first two generations. Out of 26 women there were 17 whose parents approved of their husbands, and only 12 whose husband's parents approved of them. Then while four said that their husband's parents did not approve of them eight said their parents did not approve of their husbands. The rest might have difficulties in making their parents approve, so they could not say either yes or no. Or they did not give their parents the chance to approve or disapprove of their marriage.

This pattern seems to be a common one among both

communities and among men as well as women.

It seems from results that parents of both husband and wife had been on good relations with each other. In fact among the older Moslem generation of men and women both families had no conflicts at all. (see tables 16a, 16b). This is quite expected as marriages were to a great extent parental choice. So if any person would attempt to have a personal choice he or she would make it even more difficult by choosing someone whose family had conflicts with his or her family. Again since mixed social relations were so rare, there was no opportunity for people of opposite sex to meet and know each other unless they were very friendly or relatives or neighbors. However among Christians this pattern of conflict between families seems to have been more frequent among the younger Christian women and the intermediate Christian men. This may be due to the lesser parental control on marriage in Christian community.

People who had family conflict were asked to check whether the conflict affected their relations with the mate. But many people, that is more than those who had trouble, checked that it did not affect their own relations. Therefore only those who said, yes, it affected their relations had valid answers to this particular question. At any rate most of those couples who had family conflicts were affected in their relationships to each other. (see tables 16a, 16b).

This shows again the influence of parents on their children, even in such personal matters and emotional problems.

Some parents of the Near East, as it seems from these results, still exercise absolute control on children.

The extent to which Western patterns of courtship were practiced.

Courtship in its broad sense, as it has been discussed in previous chapters, is widely practiced in the West. Authors had put great emphasis on acquaintances of one year or more and engagements usually of less than a year. However the questions of this study do not give enough information to draw conclusions about courtship patterns in the sample of couples in the Near East. (see table 17). For example 22 cases out of 43 among the older Moslem women said they were acquainted with their future husbands before engagement. But what kind of acquaintance it was, is difficult to say. From previous questions it was shown that the great majority of that generation had a marriage by parental arrangement. Also prevailing customs and traditions prescribed that almost all Moslem women were strictly veiled before 1934. It was almost impossible to have acquaintances between the different people of opposite sexes. Therefore it is most likely that those people who knew each other before marriage had been relatives. There were a few remarks of this sort such as, "I knew her from childhood", "we were

Table 17. Length of acquaintances.

	<u>Moslem</u>			<u>Christian</u>		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
<u>Women</u>						
A year	2	15	2	4		5
Less than a year	9	10	7	1	7	6
More than a year	11	6	12	9	2	16
<u>Men</u>						
A year	1	6	4	2	6	2
Less than a year	3	7	9	3	9	3
More than a year	6	9	6	3	3	15

Table 18. Length of engagement.

<u>Women</u>						
A month	7	8	3	1	5	1
Few months	17	21	11	2	11	9
A year	9	9	7	1	1	6
Two years	6	5	3		2	2
<u>Men</u>						
A month	1	5		1	3	
Few months	2	13	8	2	9	1
A year	2	7	2		5	9
Two years	3	3	2		2	4

Generation: O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

were cousins".

Among the intermediate generation of Moslem women out of 48 cases 13 had been acquainted with their future husbands a year, ten cases less than a year and six more than a year. While among the younger generation out of 26 cases two had been acquainted a year, seven less than a year and 13 more than a year. From these results it appears that frequency of acquaintances for more than a year has very much increased. Opportunities for such relations are more available now because of some modifications of social and religious factors concerning women's independence and education.

Christian women in the older and younger generations had a higher rate of pre-engagement acquaintance than did the Moslem women. This might be expected as there is nothing from either the social or religious point of view that forbids women from such acquaintances. Responses of Christian women of the intermediate generation were incomplete but 13 out of 15 in the older generation and 21 out of 33 in the younger generation had had pre-engagement acquaintances of a year or more.

Similar results were observed among men, the proportions of men who were acquainted with their fiancée was much higher in the younger generation than the preceding generations. Acquaintance of more than a year was much

more common among Christian men than among Moslems. Less than half the Moslem men had been acquainted, while more than three-fourths of Christian men were acquainted.

From these results it would seem that individuals today are having more chances to know each other before marriage than did their parents. This indicates that many people are no longer following the old customs and traditions of the Near East which produced marriage, the success of which was unpredictable.

The period that follows acquaintance and friendship is engagement. This happens when the couple promise to marry each other. Therefore the engagement should be a time for preparations and thinking of the new family. Engagement is not primarily a time to enjoy oneself but to get ready for the enjoyment and happiness of marriage. Women sometimes think that engagement is the best time of life because they can get more from their fiancés than they will be able to get from their husbands. Such ideas are commercial, reveal selfishness and produce engagements which can be quite expensive. This may put the husband in a state of tension, and may affect his economic status. From personal observations the writer has known a few cases where the couples had been unhappily engaged for more than two years but the fiancés could not leave because they had spent so much on their girls that they could not afford another

engagement.

Another important factor is that engagement brings the couples closer together. This may stimulate their sexual desire, but since complete satisfaction is unapproved it may lead to emotional tension, which in turn may lead to many conflicts that will create resentment and cause a break between the couple although they were suitable for each other.

People sometimes want to shorten the engagement period but they are not free to do so. Social customs and parental control stand in their way. The husband has to secure a job, or to insure an income; at the same time the bride wants a well furnished house. All this needs time. It is wise to consider such things, but to a certain limit. For example, a well adjusted couple could enter into marriage with the aim of securing their needs and both could help each other, because an emotionally stable person would do something in less time than when he or she has emotional conflicts. It has been reported that in the United States of America college students often get married before they finish their education. Studies have shown that such people did much more efficient work than unmarried students.⁶¹ So had these people been engaged or in love only they would

⁶¹ Landis and Landis, passim.

not have been able to continue their studies as efficiently as they did. However such people have to be careful about having children. Such a thing may raise great problems and hinder their future plans.

In the Near East, it is not common to hear of such marriages, because they are being controlled to a great extent by parents who do not think of marriages from the emotional point of view, but from a rational and economic point of view.

Table 18 shows the range of engagement period. In almost all the generations of both sexes and communities engagement of a few months was highest in frequency. This is ideal and may be due to the fact that people do not get engaged unless they are almost ready to get married from all points of view.

Before people enter marriage they must come to an understanding with each other about all the things they share or they do together. Courtship is the period in which they tackle such matters.

Children are among the important aspects of married life, because they complete it. They stop the monotony of everyday routine. Therefore couples should discuss each other's point of view concerning children. Many mothers especially in the Near East are forced to bear children

against their will. This leads the mother to reject them later on and leads the children into a miserable life. Sometimes when parents do not plan for their children's future, they get too many. Then they find themselves unable to support them from the economic point of view.

People were asked to check whether they discussed the number of children before marriage. Results showed a gradual increase from the older to the younger generation of both communities, yet such discussions are not widely practiced. (see table 19). Less than half the cases in the younger generation had discussed the question of children before marriage. This might be due to the fact that such discussions are considered in certain societies shameful for a girl who is unmarried. Or it may be due to the lack of sex education in most places in the Near East.

Another important aspect in married life is the living arrangement and whether or not the young couple lives with the in-laws. The problem of living with in-laws have been and still are very important and often cause failures in marriage, especially in the Near East. Here children are very dependent and remain so even after they grow up. That is they grow physically but not as they should emotionally. It is not queer here to hear that a man divorced his wife because his mother did not want her, and of a woman asking divorce as she cannot go with her husband whose job was

shifted to another place away from her people. Even if they have children they do so, because they are still children in their emotions.

From results it was shown that more than half of the people in almost all generations and both communities agreed on whether or not they would live with the in-laws. (see table 19).

However those who lived with the in-laws were a little more than those who did not live in the older generation. Again not living with the in-laws is more frequent among the Christians than the Moslems. In the younger Moslem generation a little more than half the cases did not live with their in-laws. Therefore this pattern of living with other members of their family is decreasing. From all these results it could be concluded that the older Near Eastern patterns were different from the Western patterns while those more similar to Western ones are being practiced among younger generation to a certain extent.

However among Christians Western patterns are more frequently practiced than among the Moslems. This is due maybe to religious factors.

→ → → → → → → → → → → → → → →

Table 19. Premarital agreements concerning children and living arrangements.

	<u>Women</u>						<u>Men</u>					
	<u>Moslems</u>			<u>Christians</u>			<u>Moslems</u>			<u>Christian</u>		
	O	I	Y	O	I	Y	O	I	Y	O	I	Y
Number of cases	43	48	26	15	26	33	14	25	22	9	24	21
Did you discuss the number of children you plan- ned to have?												
YES:	8	9	10	0	7	8	1	7	5	0	8	7
NO :	27	32	12	15	17	12	13	16	8	7	15	14
Did you agree upon living with or without the in- laws before marr- iage?												
YES:	28	27	16	7	13	24	5	14	14	2	12	14
NO :	14	14	10	8	13	5	9	10	7	4	12	6
Are you living with your in- laws now?												
YES:	12	18	13	3	7	8	6	5	6	1	5	9
NO :	28	25	13	15	16	23	7	22	10	6	16	11

Generation: O = Older, I = Intermediate, Y = Younger.

CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY.

Marriage is a social institution, and its patterns differ widely in various cultures and societies. It is influenced by residence, economics, education and religion.

Success in marriage seems to be built on several primary factors, of which one is courtship. The term courtship includes all forms of behavior that will lead to the personal selection of a suitable mate. In the West decline of parental control over children made courtship a recognized and approved step to engagement and marriage, while in the Near East it is seldom practiced.

The institutions and usages of society which affect courtship include the attitude toward love, kind of marriage, the authority of parents over children and the code of premarital chastity. With this view, it is easy to explain the differences between the West and the Near East concerning preparation for marriage.

One of the difficulties the younger generation in the Near East is facing now is the relationship between the sexes, especially before marriage. This survey was carried out to show the importance of courtship to marriage and to compare the new and old patterns of courtship in certain selected communities and localities in the Near East. Information was obtained by use of a questionnaire and inter-

views. The subjects were about 300 Moslem and Christian men and women, of older, intermediate and younger generations living in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

According to the results of this survey the traditional older patterns of preparation for marriage did not include courtship. People had a very early age of marriage. Most girls were married in their early teens to men who were more than two years older than they. Most men and women married to fulfill their parents wishes, however some Christians and few Moslems married for love. The majority had no previous acquaintance with the other sex. Many among Moslems had no opportunity to see each other even during engagement. Levels of education were not very high. Similarities in the levels of the married couples were due often to the lack of education. Men made greater economic contributions to the marriage than women did, and most Moslem women made no contributions at all to marriage. Almost half the parents contributed to the marriages of their children, except the parents of Moslem women. Almost one fifth of the women were working before marriage, and most of these continued to do so after marriage.

Evidence that these traditional patterns were inadequate to meet the needs of the younger generation are seen in the changes which have been made. Fulfillment of parent's wishes is no more the first reason for marriage.

However, almost all marriages were approved by parents. Love, common interests and companionship appeared to be the most frequent reasons for marriage in both communities. Many young people are having previous experiences and personal choices in marriage. These patterns were non-existent in the older generation. Both men and women now have more education, but however men still seem to have higher levels than women. Average age of marriage in the younger generation is almost the same as the approved one in the west. Girls now are not married before the age of 15, but formerly many were married between 10 and 15 years of age.

— Christians in all three generations seemed to have advanced more toward the Western patterns due to more social freedom.

In general marriage in the Near East seems to be a function of the old culture to which the older generation belong and it is not of the couple's making as it should be.

Mores of parents and grandparents govern the behavior of those who are candidates for marriage in spite of their being out of adjustment to basic conditions of today's life. There was a considerable amount of frustration, rebellion and mental conflict that affected prejudicially the marriages which grew out of such courtships. For example, the engaged couples who did not have opportunities approved by

parents to be alone had feelings of guilt for their physical intimacies; people who did not have parent's approval for their fiancé(e) did not feel at ease with the mate before marriage, or did not have confidence in the mate's feeling towards him or her. This shows that the person was always in a state of fear.

— From the results the characteristic pattern observed in older and younger generations was the loyalty to family traditions and to the parents' wishes which dominated almost every individual situation among men and women in both Christian and Moslem communities.

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APPENDIX

Case One is an old woman who married in the year 1892. She spoke about her wedding and said, "I was married when I was twelve years old. A girl of twelve years of age at that time knew as much as a girl of five years of age at this time. We were very ignorant. I heard at home that I was engaged, but I did not dare to ask anybody what engagement meant. Mother always told me that whenever marriage and engagement were discussed, I should look down at the floor and be shy. All I remember from my engagement is that I had a new dress for that occasion. My mother-in-law gave me a nice handkerchief which I had to keep until my wedding night. This was used instead of the engagement ring. On my wedding night, I had to sit and face the wall all the night long with the handkerchief in my hand. This was the custom. I was bored and fell asleep.

Case Two is an example of early marriage. The woman was married at ten years of age. Her wedding presents were dolls and toys. When she spoke about it she said, "I hated the marriage experience so much, I was always frightened of my husband". She could not adjust herself and found it very difficult to live with her husband, so she divorced him after nine years during which she had three children.

Case Three is an example of the influence of relatives and cousins on marriage in certain cultures. The woman was married at twelve. Her mother was a Turkish woman who did not like her husband's relatives. So she arranged for her daughter to marry outside the family. The girl was engaged officially and was still in school. During one of the mother's absences, the cousins and relatives took the girl in a tricky way to one of their houses and forced her to marry her cousin. Her parents could not say anything about it as the custom was that cousins had the full right in such cases. The marriage became successful later on.

Case Four is an unusual one. The woman had two experiences of marriage, one to fulfill her parents wishes and the other her own wishes. She had elementary education. Her first husband had less than elementary education while the second was a university graduate.

She said, "I was threatened by a revolver to accept the first marriage, but I wish I had been killed and had not accepted that marriage". She was fifteen years old when she married first. They were cousins and living in the same house, so she had no change in the environment. She had a feeling of superiority and disgust toward her first husband. She never accepted any present from him, but her mother-in-law used to take them. She developed

a certain sexual deviation and according to town gossip, became homosexual. She said, "I used to vomit after every sexual relation with him".

The woman was very good looking. She was intelligent and an excellent entertainer. The husband loved her very much in spite of their conflict. He divorced her only because she forced him to do so.

She lived in a very strict society, yet she fell in love with another man who was a neighbour and a relative too. Now she is married to him. She said she is happy now but she feels inferior to him.

Case Five is a man who had no courtship and saw his wife for the first time on his wedding night. His only reason for marriage was to fulfill his parents' wishes. He said he was very disappointed to find out what kind of a woman his wife was. They have nothing in common, even after twentythree years of marriage and five children. He said his engagement was a very unhappy experience. All he used to do, was to visit his in-laws and offer presents to his fiancée, but he added, "how could I be sure that the presents were delivered to her".

He wrote about his sexual relations with her and said, "my wife lived in a society where they do not value such human instincts that mean so much to men. She never kissed

me. I never had affection from her. I am most unhappy now and I would give up anything to get rid of my conditions".

Case six is a woman who was most happy to sit and speak about her marriage. She even asked me for certain advices that might improve her condition. This shows the importance of marriage counseling which is most needed in this part of the world.

The woman is uneducated. She said, "my parents did a great mistake in allowing such an early marriage. I was married at nine years of age. I did not know what marriage was like. I was the only girl at home and very much spoiled. I was allowed to do anything I wished. I used to play in the street even..... Once when I entered my home there were men decorating the house. One of them pointed with his hand at me and said that I was the bride. I answered it was my mother's wedding, as everybody told me. At any rate I did not know what wedding meant. I was very happy to receive a big doll as a present from my husband on my wedding night. I slept with the doll for two years. I often cried because I wanted my parents to be with me. Father and mother often pretended that they were sleeping with me in the room and waited until I fell asleep, then went home. I also used to sleep sometimes in my mother-in-law's bed then my husband carried me to his room. My

happiest moments were when he sat and played with me with my dolls. I had my first child at thirteen but he died. After six years of marriage I enjoyed myself in my new life. This remained for three years. Then my husband changed. He is old now, and sleeps most of time, he is at home and I feel very lonely sometimes".

This woman was quite interesting. She was full of life and energy. She gave very witty remarks about her husband that showed she felt superior to him.

Then she added, "Because I suffered so much, I wanted my daughter to be as happy as possible. When a man came and asked her hand, I allowed him to see her. He was not from the same locality so he stayed two months at our home. I paid no attention to all the people's gossips. I allowed them to be with each other alone. She often slept with him all night long, but I was sure of both of them, that they will not attempt to have any complete sexual relations. When both of them became sure that they wanted each other, I allowed them to marry. Now they are very happy and I became a grandfather, yet I am thirty-three years old".

Case Seven is a woman who was brought up with the idea that marriage and sex is something to be ashamed of. She was married at thirteen to a man whose social standard was lower than hers, but he was rich. She did not see him until

the legal contract was made. She saw him twice during the engagement but in the presence of her family. She said, "I hated that meeting. My mother pushed me and pulled me into the room to see him. I could not bear the idea that father knew I was going to be married. I felt so much ashamed about myself".

Now they are leading a very unhappy married life. The husband travels most of the time. He does not come home early at night. She spends most of her time with her own family. She feels very superior to him. She has six children now and she is twenty-five years old.

Case Eight is an example of extreme infatuation mistaken for love which is common in societies that put strict social barriers between the sexes before marriage. The couple loved each other without seeing each other, except from a far distance. They exchanged letters. The man said that he loved her beyond expression. He thought she was the most beautiful girl, especially that many of his friends were also in love with her at the same time. He never dreamt of reaching her, and marriage to her seemed almost impossible to him. The woman was a high school graduate and the man a college graduate. The man's reasons for marriage were love and escape from loneliness. ~~Then he wrote as a remark,~~ "stupidity". He said he does not know what in her attract-

and him, of what made her so beautiful before marriage. He used to see all the beauty in the world in her eyes and now he finds nothing in them. The woman spoke in almost the same way. She said she feels very free and she does not like it, and sometimes she thinks of a divorce although she has two children. She said, "I assure you he is an ideal husband in his duties but I am not satisfied emotionally. In every argument, I always win. He has never convinced me in any thing and I do not like it". The woman wants to be dominated it seems, yet her husband is not a dominating person. He gave her freedom, may be due to his contact with western culture as they have been there, but she is not satisfied.

Case Nine was a man who wrote me a letter in which he wished me luck for my thesis and advised me not to believe all the answers I got from the sample because many people will pretend that they were ideas, like angels. Then he added that the questions he was asked to fill were not satisfactory as he felt the need to write to somebody all his past experiences which he felt might be of some help to others.

His letter goes like this:

He was brought up in a poor family, yet he had rich relatives. His parents were on bad terms.

His father was a drunkard. He lived with his father, mother and a younger brother in the same room. He always pretended that he was asleep and watched his parents at night. By the age of twelve he became a constant masturbator. He became inferior and shy and preferred isolation. He left school at ten because he could not afford expenses. He worked in different places and shops..... He was tempted by one of his friends to go to a house of prostitution. He went, but failed. The experience affected him and he avoided all women.

At eighteen, he joined the army. He came back after the war with a little more confidence in himself. He was well received by many girls in the neighbourhood. This encouraged him and he indulged in sex relations too much in order to make up for what he had lost.

He went several times to houses of prostitution. His parents wanted him to get married. He accepted the idea only because he wanted to own a woman. They chose for him a certain girl and he was engaged to her for nine months. He fell in love with her and it was his first love. Due to family conflicts, his parents wanted to stop his marriage "in a mean way", he wrote. He had a cousin who was a widow and had a child. His people wanted him to marry her. He refused at first due to his love and second because the cousin was a widow and her wanted to marry a

virgin. Finally he was convinced. He said, "may be because she had a furnished house", but then he added, "the true reason was because I used to take her home a t night, every-time she visited us, and this led to sexual relations. I felt very guilty about it, and I could not possibly leave my cousin after such low relations. So I left my fiancée with tears in my eyes".

After this unhappy marriage many conflicts arose between them. He had to afford a house of his own. Now he has four children, yet he is most unhappy inspite of her love to him.

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of a survey of changing courtship patterns in the Near East, which is to be presented in my senior thesis at the Beirut College for Women. Your cooperation will make the study possible. All information received will be strictly confidential so please answer as frankly as possible.

Please answer the following by filling in the blanks:

Place of residence
 Age
 Nationality
 Religion Sect
 Sex
 Year of marriage

EDUCATION. (Please check both columns- one for you and one for your fiancé).

LEVELS.MAN.WOMAN.

No education	.....	.....
less than elementary	.....	.....
elementary	.....	.....
high school	.....	.....
junior college (2) years	.....	.....
college (4) years	.....	.....
university	.....	.....

Please check (✓) beside the answer which best explains your experiences during courtship.

1) What were the three most important reasons for your marriage?

Love

Desire for children

Economic security.

Fullfillment of parent's wishes.

Escape from loneliness.

Escape from parental restrictions.

Common interests and companionship

Social position and prestige.

Sexual satisfaction.

Protection.

Others (Please state here)

2) What your marriage an arrangement by your family or relative

Yes NO

(If your answer to question two is yes, please commit the questions three and four).

3) Where did you meet your fiancé(e)?

In school

At work

At the house of a friend or relatives.

At your own home.

Other (please list).

4) Was your fiancé(e) your first boy or girl friend?

Yes No.....

- 5) did you have confidence in your fiancé(e) with regards to his/her feelings towards you?
Yes No.....
- 6) did you feel at ease with your fiancé(e) in society?
Yes No.....
- 7) What activities did you enjoy together?
Radio
Music
Sports.....
Reading
Dancing
Other (please list).
- 8) How long were you acquainted before you were engaged?
A year
Less than a year
More than a year
- 9) How long were you engaged?
A month
A few months
A year
Two years
- (The following three questions - 10, 11, 12 - are for women only).
- 10) were you working during your courtship?
Yes No.....
- 11) Did you continue working after marriage?
Yes..... No.....
- 12) did your fiancé have an established business or expected to have one at the time of marriage?
Yes..... No.....
- 13) did your fiancé(e) spend money on you during engagement for
clothes?
Ornament?
Entertainment?.....
- 14) what are the comparative ages of you and your fiancé(e)?
Men and woman equal
Man and woman almost equal (less than 2 years difference).....
woman is older
Men is older
- 15) How did you feel toward your fiancé(e) socially before marriage?

Superior.....
 Inferior
 Equal

- 16) Did you have opportunities approved by parents to be alone with your fiancé(e)?
 Yes No.....
- 17) Did you feel at ease with your fiancé(e) when you were alone?
 Yes.....NO.....
- 18) What sexual activities (if any) did you have with your fiancé(e) before marriage?
 Kissing.....
 Petting.....
 Other (please list).....
- 19) Did you have feelings of guilt for physical contact with your fiancé(e)?
 Yes..... No.....
- 20) Did your parents approve of your fiancé(e)?
 Yes No.....
- 21) Did your fiancé(e)'s parents approve of you?
 Yes..... No.....
- 22) Were there any conflicts between your family and your fiancé(e)'s family before marriage?
 Yes..... No.....
- 23) If there were any conflicts, did they affect your relations with your fiancé(e)?
 Yes..... No.....
- 24) What economic contribution did your fiancé(e) make to the marriage?
 No contribution.
 Brought an amount of money
 Provided clothing for himself/herself
 Provided clothing for both of you.
 Provided expenses for the furniture of the house.
 Other
- 25) Did the parents of your fiancé(e) make any economic contributions to the establishment of your new home?
 Yes..... No.....
- 26) Did your parents make any economic contributions to the establishment of your new home?
 Yes..... No.....

27) Did you discuss the number of children you plan or planned to have?

Yes..... No.....

28) Did you agree upon living with or without the in-laws before marriage?

Yes..... No.....

29) Are you living with your in-laws now?

Yes..... No.....