CONCEPTIONS OF MASCULINITY

AMONG ARAB AMERICANS

By

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Abstract

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In this thesis I explore how Arab-American males conceive masculinity. This thesis builds off of the previous research conducted on Arab-Americans, Arab gender, and the conceptions of honor and shame. It also builds off the essential theories that underlay transnationalism and gender and men's studies, particularly hegemonic masculinity. One of the essential points is that Arab-American masculinity is transnational and thus a mixture of both Arab and American qualities exists and that important Arab elements such as public and private spheres and shame and honor continue to be present. However, my essential argument is that the way Arab-American masculinity is conceived and practiced is a result of the changing dynamics among women. One of the results of this is that honor and shame as well as the public private is reconstituted in the transnational setting. In essence, Arab-American men are responding to the changing dynamic of women by reasserting traditional boundaries and expectations, but modified to fit within their transnational setting.

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1. Introduction

This thesis aims to create an understanding of how Arab-American conceive of their masculinity. In this thesis I examine the ideals and practices that have risen as a result of the transnational setting of Arab-American masculinity. My interest in shifting ideas of manhood was born out of a previous interest in gender and gender theory, and from my time as a student at the University of Jordan (UJ). While studying at UJ, I noticed that all around the campus men and women were sitting together. My host family said that they were "seeing each other" and that this was something that would not have taken place in the prior generations. This simple observation led to conversations about dating, men, men's behaviors, and honor and shame, and ultimately ideals of masculinity.

This interest was carried back to the United States and furthered by my time working at a middle school for the Tacoma Park District. Many of my students were first or second generation immigrants of a variety of backgrounds, and they often argued about whether a man was actually a man, how that changed in a new environment, and how they differed from their parents. In essence I saw that within the interactions and behaviors of the students gender and masculinity were writ large. Around these issues revolved the differences between young men and their fathers, and differences between theirs and their parents' generation. These discussions led me to think more about transnational or immigrant masculinities. However, one of the most interesting discussions came from an Arab-American I worked with at the time. While working he often discussed how different he felt from his dad, and his relatives back in Lebanon, especially regarding dating, honor, navigating the high school, and negotiating masculinity. Not only did he largely introduce the idea of looking into Arab-American masculinity, but he also introduced me to the Arab community in Tacoma, the region where my project is focused.

The Arab-American community of Tacoma is not very large, perhaps two to three hundred people. The religious center of this community is the Tacoma Islamic Center. It has a strong outreach program, with numerous community speakers presenting about Islam around the region. It also hosts numerous talks and open forums throughout the year to better relations with Islam and the other faiths. The TIC also hosts numerous students and researchers from all settings. In addition, various community members host events throughout the year, from roller skating, to potlucks, *'eid* dinners, and barbecue parties. These events were not formally connected with the Islamic Center and they did not serve as outreach events even though outsiders were welcome. The events were largely intended for the community proper.

Argument

From my time at these events and from my interviews, I suggest that Arab-American masculinity is conceived as being centered around self-sufficiency, decision-making and family. The Arab-American man is imagined as a person that makes decisions, takes care of himself, is married and has children he supports and provides for. Interestingly, this is not that different from many conceptions of Euro-American masculinity (Cooper 2000). However, while it corresponds to some ideals of Euro-American masculinity, it does not necessarily map onto all of it and there are some very significant differences. Part of the reason it does not conform exactly is that Arab-American masculinity is transnational. Just as transnational communities continue linkages to their countries of origin and make new connections with their new homelands, so too does transnational masculinity as it transcends the boundaries of nations or ethnicity. For example, Arab-American men envision a man as a leader, a provider, and a family man. This echoes many of the same ideas of Arab manhood; however, they lead not through force but through an appeal to reason and they provide more than just money and food but also ideas, activities, and ways to

live, echoing parts of Euro-American masculinity. However, the largest way in which Arab-American masculinity diverges from Arab masculinity is in the numerous differences and discrepancies in how they conceive and approach women. Women generally have more say in the home, in the public domain, and have a broader range of opportunities in the US compared to the Middle East of their origins. In essence, Arab-Americans men possess conceptions and ideas of both Arab and American masculinity. In other words Arab-American masculinity is hybridized. This hybridization is important because Arab-American masculinity is not always either Arab or American, often times it is both. For example, while Arab-American masculinity is concerned with the shame and honor dichotomy that has dominated discussions of gender within the Arab world, it mediates this shame and honor through the "lens of choices" rather than simply through authority. The "lens of choices" is present in how men teach their children to be active and to make the choice to not do shameful acts. It is also present in how men are encouraged to choose a wife from their homeland that will respect tradition. In essence, honor and shame in the Arab-American experience is about avoiding shame through choices rather than mere authority and preserving honor through the use of reasoning and logic. However, although Arab-American men have a hybridized masculinity and are more open to Euro-American perspectives, at the core of are the traditional patriarchal views of the Middle East that are reconstituted by men to maintain traditional aspects of masculinity.

That Arab-American men exist in a transnational setting and thus interaction with different masculinities in the school and work settings might suggest that Euro-American prejudices and attitudes of Arab hyper-sexuality play a large role in developing and encouraging Arab-American masculinity towards assimilation. Edward Said (1978), in his work on Orientalism, was one of the first researchers to outline the power and influence of European

prejudices and assumptions regarding the Arab world. He emphasized that European ideas about the Middle East relied on false and romanticized views of the Middle East that reproduced prejudiced, narrow, and limited views of the Arab world. His ideas opened up a string of studies that attempted to overturn western ideas of the Middle East, South Asia, and colonial situations in general. Other researchers (Ahmed 1982; Jamal 2005; Isom-Verhaaren 2006; Eltanawy 2008; Helms 2008) have examined the way in which orientalist ideas of hyper-sexuality have played out both in the Euro-American traditions and in the Arab and Muslim worlds. The orientalist view of the hyper-sexual Arab, the importance of the harem, and the backwardness of women continue to dominate the larger view of the Arab world, especially since the 9/11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. As a result, I was interested in how this played out within the Arab-American community in the United States. However, I was surprised by the findings. The way Arab-Americans described, practiced, and conceived their masculinity had little to do with Euro-Americans views of Arab hyper-sexuality, or with Euro-American prejudices. Naturally, this does not mean that they were not present, but rather that their conceptions of masculinity were largely internal and centered upon the behaviors and practices within the community.

To conclude, previous studies hide and misplace the importance of women to masculinity. This concern for women is one of the overriding influences of Arab-American masculinity and outweighs other factors such as the interactions with the state, or the influence of external Euro-American prejudice. My argument, using the lens of feminist theory, is that Arab-American masculinity is concerned, both patriarchally and intellectually with women, and thus responds to the changes in women's roles, behaviors, and practices of women to a greater extent than external pressures and conceptions about male behavior specifically. Much of their ideas and practices of masculinity center on controlling, directing, and organizing women, but at the same time

masculinity is reacting against the changing ideas of femininity and of women's roles by reconstituting and reestablishing ideas of honor and shame to fit within this new transnational setting. The reason for this is that women's roles changes more radically than masculinity within the transnational arena, and in the case of Arab-Americans it means that honor and shame are being reconstituted in response. In essence, my main argument is that the changing roles of women and women's attitudes mean that Arab-American masculinity responds by appealing and returning to tradition in order to sustain patriarchy and men's status and leadership. This argument builds off some of the findings of research on transnational masculinity (Gerholm 2003; Ghoussoub 2000; Mardsen 2004; Maciel 2009) which suggests the importance of changing roles of women to immigrant men. This argument also diverges from previous masculinity theories such as hegemonic masculinity which suggests that men and women are defined largely in terms of a single dominant masculinity, by emphasizing that subcultural gender systems can act hegemonically in ways quite counter to the dominant hegemonic ideals of masculinity. Further, it also moves away from previous works on Arab-American gender, which largely looked exclusively at women, femininity, and women's issues.

<div align="center">Theoretical Influences</div>

This project rests upon two theoretical themes – gender and transnationalism. The first, theme is gender theory, particularly recent scholarship on masculinity. One of the main theories of masculine studies is that of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity, as developed initially by Connell (1986), is the theory that a normative model of masculinity is sanctioned by society and men and encourages the judging and domination of both men and women based upon the accepted ideals of manhood. Hegemonic masculinity has dominated research into masculinity by providing a central theory to understand how masculinity is conceived, as well as male-male

and male-female interactions.

The second theme uses theories arising from transnationalism. One of the main transnational theories utilized by this project is that groups hybridize their identities by creating new connections and becoming a part of a new country, while also maintaining connections, and linkages with their country of origin (Appadurai 1990; Schiller 1995; Skrbi 1999; Rumbaut 2002; Portes 2003; Basch 1994; Vertovec 1999). Use of transnational theory entails a focus on identity formation, particularly gender identity, as a result of the transnational experience. Immigrants maintain connections with their homeland, by communicating with relatives, traveling back for holidays, festivities, or to visit family, while also making a life in their new homes. Second generation children seek a balance between conforming to their parent's way of life and broader values of their new homes. At the same time, these second generation children are also interacting with ideas of gender both in their homeland and their new home countries. These connections influence their identities as their relationships are with more than one state, identity, or set of cultural values. As a result, the theory underscores that Arab-American masculinity is transnational in that it is hybridized, shifting, and that it exists within multiple settings.

Arab American men resolve their transnational experience by hybridizing masculinity. In essence, they are adapting traditional ideals to their new setting. However, hybridized aspects of masculinity are fraught with complications. First generation males faced fewer difficulties with negotiating between family and social settings as they were attending school away from their families and thus faced fewer familial pressures. Second generation males faced more problems with how to present themselves within the school and home settings. Second generation males struggled with reconciling differences between parental and social expectations and often had to

work to gain access to activities and behaviors seen as common by Euro-American men. This is most common in negotiating with their parents for access to for activities that were at first deemed unsuitable for Arab-Americans. Prominent examples include going on "social dates" such as dances or proms, and hanging out late with friends. Ultimately these negotiations echo those of Euro-American community; however the transnational experience means that the conflict within the Arab-American community has numerous different flavors, hues, and results particularly in the continuation of honor and shame, and the maintenance and reconstitution of appropriate gender space. The most important element of this transnational experience was how men reacted to changing expectations and practices of women by reproducing honor and shame and appropriate male and female spheres.

Outline

In the first section of this thesis I explore my methodological approach before providing an overview of the main literature that supports this project. The first part of the literature review discusses recent literature behind Arab-American research. I then discuss the main theories involving recent gender studies, and transnationalism. In the second section I present the majority of my data. Starting off with one of my early experiences I discuss some of my interactions with the community and highlight the dynamic of the community while also discussing the transnational elements of dress and identity present in these events. I then discuss the essential qualities of manhood as described by my informants. The second section delves into the ideas of what men say about men. I discuss father-son, brother-brother, and the interactions of masculinities at school. The key element to this section is to highlight transnational elements of manhood especially honor and shame. After detailing and analyzing some of my encounters with women, I move onto my final section that discusses male-female interactions. In this section

I discuss mother-son interactions, friendships, dating and marriage. In these accounts I focus on the reactive quality of masculinity to the changing roles of women that results in a turn towards tradition and the reconstitution of honor and shame within the American setting.

Methods

Arabs first arrived in the United States in large numbers throughout the late 19th and early 20th century. This first wave of Arab immigrants were largely Christian Arabs who arrived from areas that later became Lebanon and Syria. While most of the Arab immigrants made their way to the Detroit region, smaller groups of immigrants found their way across the United States to cities such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles (Orfalea 2006). The first waves of immigrants were largely Christians and more easily integrated and assimilated into American ways of life (Suleiman 1999). The second wave of immigrants arrived after World War II and came from a much wider variety of Arab states. The majority of these immigrants were Muslim and many were fleeing various forms of political instability or were coming to the United States for educational reasons. The Arab community in Tacoma follows a similar trajectory to the larger second wave of immigrants in the United States. Like the second wave, most of the members of the community came to the United States for educational and economic reasons. Their path to Washington often was in the interest of working for Boeing, Microsoft, or other high-tech industries within Washington. As a community they are active in communicating with mosques around the state and many of them participate in the Arab Festival held in Seattle. The community also hosts gatherings, parties, and other events both at the mosque and elsewhere. It also has a large outreach program with the surrounding religious community including the Catholic and Protestant Churches, Synagogues, and participates in other ecumenical activities within the region.

Data for this project were gathered over a period of eight months and consisted of a mixture of participant observation and formal interviews. However, one of the main difficulties with researching transnational communities within the United States is that these transnational communities adopt the hectic lifestyle of the United States as they are constantly working, or taking their kids to extracurricular activities. This lifestyle means that quality ethnographic time is often less than the anthropologist who works in a village or a small community would experience. Secondly, working in an urban area means that there are large gaps of time between when the community gets together, or even whether they are together at the same time. As a result it can be hard to find times or events where the community gathers in mass. I also experienced a situation where I was largely constrained and limited to conversations with men. This is largely because a man interviewing women about men would not be considered polite or appropriate.

Much like Ong (2003), who studied identity among Cambodian immigrants in the Bay area, I found myself initially relying more on interviews than I would have liked. However, over time I was able to spend more time at community functions and with families where I gathered more rich ethnographic participatory experiences that allowed me to see masculinity and gender identity in a public and practiced format rather than as mere ideals as presented in the interviews.

My target center of interaction was originally the Islamic Center of Tacoma; however as chance had it, I found myself spending more time with a group associated with the mosque, but one more open to interacting with other faiths, having their spouses at events, and open to more interactions between the genders in public settings. This divide was largely based upon regional origins as the group I interacted with came mainly from the Levant region, while the other group was from the more conservative Gulf States. I still attended several events at the mosque, but it

was a secondary rather than a primary setting. Many community events took place in areas outside of the mosque such as roller skating parties, *'eid* (holiday) dinners, and beach side BBQs. Fortunately, the community was very accepting of me. They would introduce themselves and would seek me out to talk about my time in Jordan, world events, community events, and more often than not their own children. I was also greeted warmly by males my own age and often they had a series of question about my own time in Jordan, thoughts on Israel, and upon learning of my marriage and what married life was like.

During these events I often found myself darting to the side to try to write down names and record observations. Initially at these events I was often a center of attention, especially for the younger children, so that finding private moments to record notes could be quite difficult. At the end of events I would record everything I could remember, by taking notes on conversations, comments, and possible interview informants. These notes and comments were coded, important comments typed up and connected with larger findings.

The formal interviews took place in a wide variety of places – from informants' homes, to coffee shops, to their businesses. The interviews took between thirty minutes to an hour and a half (depending on the depth of their answers and the time available). I conducted interviews in two waves. The first wave was informal question and answer sessions without a set list of questions and often in a conversational manner at community events or as side conversations in the home. The second wave was made up of more formal, structured, interviews with preset questions. Informants were found based upon their sex, age, and generational breakdown. I targeted first or second generation males between 16-35 years of age. I conducted ten structured interviews with six first generation and four second generation informants. These interviews were transcribed, coded, and broken down by important comments, suggestions, and usefulness

for different sections of the larger project.

2. Literature Review

The first research conducted on Arab-American communities focused on topics of work, employment, and health in large Arab-American populations in major cities (Aswad 1974; Abraham 1983). These works largely brought together studies concerning the lives, occupations, and experiences of different Arab and Muslim groups within the United States. They point out that Arab-American groups have all made a home in the America by establishing new institutions such as mosques and school while maintaining their previous ideals and cultural values. They were not simply assimilating into the dominant cultural values of the United States. More recent works have turned away from the community studies model by examining specific themes, like Suleiman's (1999) volume that includes articles on youth and family, health, activism, and generational identity negotiations. The key point of this more recent work is that Arab communities in America continue to face obstacles in acceptance, but they have successfully made a new life in America while retaining many of their values.

Cainkar (2006) examined the role social construction plays in the different experience that Arab-Americans have had as compared to other ethnic groups and argues that previous theories of immigrant integration and assimilation do not account for their experience, because Arab-Americans, even as an ethnicity, have a unique experiences of "race" and "racism." While I did not discuss racism in this study, her findings point to the unique experience of the Arab-American community. McCloud (2006) discusses different aspects of Muslim, Arab, and Islamic identities and different communities. She argues that in order to understand the Arab-American experience, researchers must examine and take into account Islamic ideas of gender, class, and beliefs. However, they must also recognize the colonial experience that has resulted in both a

turn away from the west and the acceptance of western values. Abdo (2006) delved into Muslim and Arab identities post 9/11, especially in the negotiation of modernity, and found that the Muslim and Arabs are creating a new forms of Islam in the United States and that these form bridges to the customs of their different homelands. This element of bridging customs is quite present within the Tacoma community for even though they have a wide variety of customs from their various nations they largely celebrate together for events and holidays. Witteborn (2007) examined Arab-American identity labels (such as Arab, Muslim, Palestinian etc.) and suggests that these labels are constantly shifting and context dependent and reflect identity expressions of Arab-Americans as making new ties within the US. At the same time, even though these labels are shifting Arab Americans are continuing to maintain previous connections to their homelands. Recently, Ghazal-Read (2009) found that Arab-Americans are negotiating and disassociating their identity, playing up particular aspects of identity while neglecting others in order to fit into the fabric of American society. Several of my informants commented on this interplay of negotiating and disassociating within the school setting and the first generation men's use of anglicized names in the workplace also echo her findings. The literature paints a similar picture to other immigrant groups by noting that other immigrant groups are negotiating modernity, immigration, and assimilation within the United States. However, one of the key points made by several of these researchers is that Arab-American Muslim communities are more connected with their homelands than previous immigrant groups and thus are more strongly maintaining aspects and traditions from those locations.

The first key theory utilized by this project comes from the analysis of what is termed "transnationalism." Transnationalism as a broad theory describes the way that immigrant groups hybridize their identities by creating new connections and becoming a part of a new country,

while also maintaining connections and linkages with their country of origin (Schiller 1995; Skrbi 1999; Rumbaut 2002; Portes 2003; Vertovec 1999;2009). Transnationalist literature is concentrated into two main areas. First are works that are concerned with public culture and practices, which includes works by Appadurai (1996), Hannerz (1996), Amin (2002), and Faist (2000). This side emphasizes understanding the interactions of transnational groups. The second group is concerned with migrant practices (Basch 1999; Rouse 1994,2004; Torres 2005). This group tends to examine immigration and transnationalism from the point of view of economic and political concerns. My focus tends towards the public and cultural practices side of Arab-Americans rather than the economic aspects of immigration, migration, and transnational movements.

Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of imagined communities provides a useful way to think about the transnational experience. His main argument is that nations are imagined communities because they are built from people who cannot have actual relationships "yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (7). Just as these nations are built from an imagined connection, so is transnationalism. Transnational communities reside between two imagined communities, draw inspiration from both, and create a new imagined community. The Arab American diaspora remains a transnational community by watching Arab TV and films, listening to Arab music, and reading Arab newspapers. They travel across oceans and political boundaries in order to visit their homelands. They also join Arab-American political groups, hold Arab-American festivals, and participate in outreach programs. For Arab-Americans, particularly the second generation, are pulling elements from both Arab ideals and American ideals and are creating an imagined connection between a large disparate group of "Arabs" that exists throughout the United States. All of these people come from a variety of backgrounds, classes

and are creating a new imagined classification of "Muslim" and "Arab-American."

Appadurai also examines and builds the idea of imagination. For him the imagination has become real a social practice. He discusses five dimensions of cultural flow,[1] within which he builds on Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" to propose "imagined worlds," or "historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread across the globe" (Appadurai 1990:4). For example, the Arab man who leaves Jordan for school in the United States does not travel with a blank slate of ideas or knowledge. He is also not simply crossing political boundaries. Instead, he is navigating numerous landscapes of ideologies of their homeland and their new land, jobs and work, and the forms and lessons of media that are available to him both from his homeland and from his new land. As the immigrant navigates these landscapes changes occur to him and new imaginary communities are formed within transnational processes and transnational landscapes.

Together, Appadurai and Anderson's theories emphasize the transitive and imaginary nature of community, connection, and nationality. Inside this imagined community and imagined worlds are important ideas and important representations. Taken together, they emphasize the importance of examining transnationalism as a product of modernity – for transnationalism could only occur after the birth of mass media, global travel, and technologies created transnational landscapes that allowed communities to share their imagined ideas across different places in a shared time.

As a result, it should not be too surprising that thinking about transnationalism has shifted from an original focus on ideas of citizenship to more broadly encompass the cultural ideals and actual practices that underlie diasporic connections, behaviors, and other life ways. The idea of

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1   These five culture flows are ethnoscapes, or the movement of people, technoscapes, which is technology changes and connections, financescapes, or systems of global capital and currency, mediascapes, in which media moves along new and electronic forms of communication and ideoscapes, or the movement ideologies and counter-ideologies.

citizenship is useful in that it provides a legal framework to talk about inclusion and exclusion within the larger body of inhabitants of a nation state (Young 1990; Lister 1997). This initial interest in citizenship developed from the understanding that in the modern world people belong to a geographically bounded nation-state based upon historical processes and communities. However, as migrant groups started to exist across multiple boundaries a question of what constituted "citizenship." As a result, in searching for an understanding of this new idea of citizenship, transnationalist theory delved into models of dual-citizenship and flexible citizenship wherein transmigrant groups maintained multiple connections and multiple citizenships (Castle 2000; Piper 2002; Joppke 1999; Itzigsohn 1999). However, interest in transnationalism as a concept took a new turn when scholars pointed out that the rise in fast communication and transportation has shifted immigrants' desire for a single place to call home toward a desire for a home that resides between locations, politics and identity (Cohen 1999; Vandenberg 2000; Mandaville 1999; Itzigsohn 2000; Smith 2001). As a result, an important development in transnational theory occurred, especially for anthropologists interested in identity and gender. This new approach expanded the idea of citizenship from a purely legalistic sense of belonging to a nation state and toward a nuanced understanding of citizenship as an idea of belonging more generally. This allowed researchers to focus on ideas such as identity, assimilation/resistance, and cultural change (Ong 1999, 2003; Guarnizo 1998, Pessar 2003). In the end, this tack reduced the political or legal aspects of citizenship and focused more directly upon the changing dynamic of identity and conceptions within transnationalism.

Transnationalist theory has been applied to many different topical and regional areas. While the melting pot and assimilation models dominated the discourse around US migration, transnationalism and transnational communities within the United States have drawn more

academic interest in recent years (Guarnizo 1999; Landolt 1999, 2001; Menjivar 2000). The key elements of all of these works is that rather than examining communities as belonging to a nation in citizenship terms or boundaries, they are examining changes in living conditions, work patterns, and social status. These changes connect up with larger changes in how transnational subjects regard themselves, imagine their community, and interact with each other in the larger society. Also key within all of these works is that these immigrants incorporate the new ideas of the United States, but also maintain connections with their homelands and will retreat to the traditions of their homeland. One of the ways Arab-Americans do so is to emphasize traditional masculinity, such as honor and shame, and the separation of space, in the face of more active and open women's roles.

Attention has been given to transnational masculinity and the formation of masculinity as a result of modernity. Leonard (2008) notes that in transnational communities, gender roles, conception, and identities shift and change due to new environments and due to the interaction of the ideals of their "home" communities with their "new" communities. Although she focused primarily on women, this pattern is also common among men as discussed by Maciel et al (2009) Maciel and her research team interviewed Latin American immigrant couples to examine the familial conflicts and change in family power, as well as the resulting adaptation, conformity, and negotiation of gender roles. They found that many of the couples' gender roles and expectations appeared unchanged, but that in practice women were engaging in more opportunities and the husbands' central power was diminished and that men emphasized the continuation of tradition. This echoes some of the experience of Arab-American men as well. In Arab-American communities both the men and women of the first generation continue to emphasize the continuation of the husband's roles and their importance even as the realities of

the situation change. Researchers in other parts of the world have observed similar trends in the negotiation of gender power and masculine identity (Peletz 1996; Ghoussoub 2000; Mardsen; 2004; 2007; Lipset 2004). The pressure to modernize has resulted in a reaction against western ideals and a reinforcement of traditional values. Australian research on the Australian-Lebanese transnational community, especially on topics of ethnicity, respect, and respectability (Poynting 1998; Noble 2007) found that Arab-Australians sought respect and respectability first by appealing to violence in order to create a separatist form of masculinity, a trend that is quite distinct from the experience of Arab-American men. Later Arab-Australian men solicited respect by returning to traditional ideals and paternalistic practices notably by emphasizing family, marriage and economic success. In a similar vein, Gerholm (2003) in her examination of sexuality, and internal conflict, and desire amongst Arabs living in Stockholm, describes the importance of controlling sexuality and desire is a central facet of their new transnational Arab masculinity. Interestingly, they are maintaining many of their ideas of Arab masculinity particularly in regard to chaste Arab women and self control with sex, but at the same time they are also participating in a more open expression of Swedish masculinity and sexuality. Taken together, this literature shows that most changes in masculinity occur as a result of changing expectations and roles of women in the transnational setting. Arab-American men reacted similarly, but with a slight difference in that while these immigrant men also had diminished power, changing roles, and emphasized a continuation of masculinity, Arab-American men are more openly discussing changing aspects of masculinity at the same time that they are reconstituting the core elements of Arab masculinity and tradition.

The study of gender among Arab-Americans is situated within the larger framework of feminist theory. Feminist theory has a broad range of focuses and interests; however in terms of

Arab and Muslim groups it focuses primarily on revealing the roles and actions of women, on treating gender as an embodiment of power, and on the role women take in patriarchal structures. Although my work does not directly focus on women, by studying men as gendered persons it reveals gender as a form within power and patriarchal structure. It also fits within and builds upon the feminist tradition within men's studies, an approach emphasized by Brod and Kaufman (1994). They emphasized that it is necessary to study men in order to understand women and the power men hold over women.

Early works on gender among Arab-Americans drew clear lines between the American and the Arab ideal. Eisenlohr (1996) examined the lives of Arab women in high school, particularly social and life expectations and found that the different generations were engaged in a negotiation of expectations and actions about proper and improper behaviors. Shakir (1997) interviewed Arab-American women and discussed their stories, and found that while women were finding new avenues for self expression and agency they either appealed to tradition or rebelled outright in order to negotiate seeming incompatible differences. Others (Baligh 2003; Marshal and Read 2003) have examined the context of Arab-American women and found that Arab-American women are resisting assimilation and engaging tradition even while they are becoming more similar to their American counterparts. Read (2004) and Ajrouch (2004) took a similar tack in the examination of family and class issues among Arab-American women. They challenged the notion that Arab American women are traditionalist or bound solely within Middle Eastern values. At the same time they are not solely American and do not fully embrace American values. This trend of examining and revealing women's roles has continued, most recently by Read (2008) who studied employment outcomes of Arab-American women and found that women's education among Arab-American populations is still in a process of

negotiation having a family and having an education. This literature points to the transformations that women are having in their educational and career aspirations and opportunities. The negotiating of identities among immigrant Arab-Americans is also clearly present within the experience of Arab-American men and their masculinities as they negotiate between school and home and the customs of their homeland and the US.

<div align="center">Honor and Shame</div>

One of the key elements of this thesis is the proposition that honor and shame are the foundation of relationships between Arab-American men and women and that much Arab-American masculinity is founded upon a reconstituted form of honor and shame. Honor and shame largely center on the controlling of (female) sexuality and the separation and regulation of male and female interactions. Shame is tied up with a cost to social capital (Bourdieu 1972). Excessive shame can reduce familial power and honor and thus reduce their available social capital. Honor is largely a male role while shame is typically seen as exclusively female. Ideologies of honor and shame "serve to rationalize social inequality and the control some have over the lives of others..." (Abu-Lughod 1986:33).

Honor and shame are present in the relationships between men and women throughout much of the circum-Mediterranean, South Asia, and Middle East. Honor and shame have classically been defined as "a scale of social worth along which individual's behavior is circumscribed" (Jowkar 1986:45). Brandes (1980), Tillion (1983), and Gilmore (1987) examined shame and honor across the Mediterranean and found that honor is closely connected with male patriarchy and is largely a way in which men maintain power. Wikan (1984) questions elements of the honor/shame binary and suggests that in practice honor is largely ascribed only to men while shame is more present, cited, and used in reference to women. My time in the Tacoma

community echoes this point as the importance of shame was much more present and talked about by my informants. Kressel (1992) used the ideas of honor and shame to examine gender segregation and sex roles within Bedouin tribes of Israel and how they perpetuate gender power and women's inferior roles. This is a point that echoes my findings, particularly regarding the continued use of ideas of shame and honor to perpetuate status even in regions undergoing social change.

Abu-Lughod (1986) examined veiling within the Bedouin and from her research connects shame with social hierarchy and sexuality, but points out that it is not necessarily within a binary framework. For example, she describes veiling as a way to distance oneself from sexuality and thus away from shame and towards honor. As a result she suggests that honor can arise from autonomy for men and from modesty for women. Thus, women are able to find ways to claim access to honor from the margins. Lindisfarne (1994), following a theme established by Abu-Lughod, breaks apart shame and honor and moves them to a contested ground of gender formation. She emphasizes the political nature of such language and suggests a much more active version of honor and shame that includes women's roles and women's input in the system and hierarchy. Hos (1997), while studying education among the Bedouin, found that many parents did not send girls to school in fear of them interacting with boys and tarnishing their parent's honor. Fenster (1999) in studying modernization of the Bedouin found that spaces of shame and honor continued to exist even as the use of space was changed and groups are exposed to modernization. In essence, women remain under surveillance and often face more control in an effort to preserve familial honor. Fenster's findings are clear evidence that traditional gender relations are being enacted in the face of change. Akpinar (2003) use the honor and shame idea to understand abuse and domestic violence among immigrant Muslim groups.

She argues that the maintenance and development of honor is caused by men protecting women and controlling their sexualities. However, this maintenance of women's sexuality is often done through abuse, violence, and other controlling behavior. Abu-Rabi-Queder (2006) in examining female dropouts shows the changing ideas of honor and shame and how the environment of education, the possibilities of schooling, and male-female interactions continue to be embedded within honor and shame even in the face of a shifting social landscape. Casimir and Jung (2009) use the concept of honor-shame to discuss male and female roles in the context of norms and consequences. They argue that although there are primary ways in which honor and shame occur, they can be affected by a wide range of decisions, such as who individuals choose for friends, the jobs they can hold, and that the wrong decisions can result in the loss of honor. Honor and shame are central elements in understanding Arab-American masculinity, for honor and shame are central to the way in which men are utilizing and reforming tradition in order to maintain power.

The study of masculinity is another important element of this thesis. The contemporary academic study of masculinity dates from the early nineteen-eighties when academicians began writing about men's experience from a "gendered" perspective. These early works focused on the experiences of men as fathers and family members, as emotional beings, and discussed stereotypes, and justifications for men's behavior (Russel 1983, Elshtain 1981, Goode 1982, Clary 1982, Osherson 1986, Farrell 1986). More work arrived at the end of the 1980s when discussions of masculinity as hegemonic and power-based emerged (Brod 1987; Kaufman 1987). Post-structuralist theorists also analyzed masculinity during this period (Jackson 1990; Messner 1990; Seidler 1989). Large (1997) has suggested examining policy and conflict at a national level with a larger understanding of the role and issues of male gender identity.

A separate development within masculinity has been to look at specific issues under the

heading of masculinity. Some have delved into questions of the importance of fatherhood (Eggenbeen 2001; Gutmann 1996; Collinson 1992, 2000; May 1992). While emphasizing that fatherhood is important to masculinity, they find that acts of fatherhood and families such as feeding, nurturing, and participating in direct childcare often take a back-seat to work. This parallels much of the findings of hegemonic masculinity as well as the experiences of Arab-Americans as fathers and as children. Cooper (2000) examined different roles and conceptions of fatherhood and marriage in Silicon Valley. He notes that while all of the men paid some lip service to newer ideas of manhood and home involvement, only some of these men are truly more active in household chores, errands, and the raising of children. Many more are maintaining a hands-off and low involvement in the child rearing even while their wife is working. Essentially, these men are reproducing both traditional and patriarchal roles even in the face of the changes in women's roles. This literature emphasizes several key elements. First, that men are restricting and redefining masculinity in the face of changes to their lives and women's roles. Second, that men will appeal to traditional forms of masculinity even in the face of changes. This echoes some of the findings in the community I studied for while the Arab-American men embraced new ideas and practices of gender, the core of masculinity is a more "traditional" conception of Arab masculinity.

Another important theory that examines gender and masculinity is that of hegemonic masculinity. It appeared at the start of the men's studies movement (Kessler 1982; Connell 1982, 1983). However, it builds on developments in feminist theory, as well as Gramscian theories of hegemony (Gramsci 1971). Hegemonic masculinity is the idea that a culturally normative ideal of manhood exists and that these ideals are sought by men and sanctioned by larger society. The ideals are then enforced with respect to other men. Recently, it has been applied to understanding

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phenomena as diverse as male peer networks and old boy's clubs (Bird 1996), and men's crime and anger (Bufkin 1999; Messerchmidt 1997). The role of hegemonic masculinity has been examined in forming and modifying different forms of homosexual masculinity. As much as hegemonic masculinity is ever present and dominates relationships between men it also dominates relationships and conceptions of other masculinities. Theorists of hegemonic masculinity also argue that women are judged according to masculine standards and thus are encouraged towards taking on masculine traits (Almeida 1996; Henderson 2001; Hennan 2005).

Recently, hegemonic masculinity has faced some larger critiques. Whitehead (1999;2002) critiqued hegemonic masculinity for oversimplifying masculinity by taking a structural deterministic stance that misses agency and context. It has also been critiqued for missing the "historicity of gender," (Demetrious 2001) which is that different gender systems arise due to their unique historical settings and historical contexts. By ignoring or downplaying the historical elements hegemonic masculinity inappropriately combines differing masculinities that have emerged from distinct experiences. Hegemonic masculinity has also been critiqued for its emphasis on a singular nature of masculinity (Jefferson 2002; Howson 2006). Other works have critiqued hegemonic masculinity by pointing out the variety of masculinities in the world and their continuance and resistance to traditional masculine ideals. This includes work on the renegotiation of Japanese masculinity as a result of social change (Taga 2001), as well as gay masculinities that are resisting hegemonic masculinity (Hennan 2005; Kiseling 2005; Pascoe 2007). Religious masculinities have also been studied, notably Gallagher (2005) who saw that conservative Protestant masculinities reacted against "feminized" versions of masculinity and emphasized the need for a more natural man to provide and lead his family. Elements of these concerns echo the Arab-American experience particularly the reactionary side of Arab-American

masculinity. Further, these works all critique an idea of a singular nature of masculinity by showing the range of masculinities and their unique settings.

In response to these critiques, Connell and Messerchmidt (2005), longstanding researchers into hegemonic masculinity, outlined a theory of hegemonic masculinity that emphasizes hierarchy, agency, geography and the interplay of different concepts of masculinity. One of their ideas is that hegemonic masculinity can also take the role of being a hyper-idealized form of masculinity that does not "correspond closely to the lives of any actual men" (838). In this sense, they are arguing that:

> [hegemonic masculinity] need not to be the [thought of as] commonest pattern in the everyday lives of boys and men. Rather, hegemony works in part through the production of exemplars of masculinity... symbols that have authority despite the fact that most men and boys do not fully live up to them (846).

What this suggests is that hegemonic masculinity is an archetype of masculinity to which men compare both other men and themselves. In this sense, hegemonic masculinity truly is hegemonic – it works by dominating not through force but through maintaining ideological centrality, getting widespread acceptance, and marginalizing the competition. Such an approach is certainly useful in understanding Arab-American masculinity as Arab-Americans exist between two different dominating forms of masculinity as a result of their transnational experience. Thus, this modified view of hegemonic masculinity helps to illuminate the interactions of Arab-American men in America. These approaches and ideas inform Arab-American masculinity by making an underlying assumption that masculinity is a process of negotiation between Arab-American masculinity and the broader "correct" Euro-American masculinity. However, while hegemonic masculinity has long dominated research into masculinities this thesis also provides another way to evaluate the theory and usefulness of hegemonic masculinity by examining the possibility of multiple hegemonic masculinities. As

there are multiple masculinities operating within the transnational contexts perhaps this suggests that rather than a single archetypical and hegemonic masculinity subordinate masculinites draw their ideas from differing hegemonic masculinites. As a result, one of the aims of this project will be to evaluate the idea of hegemonic masculinity from the vantage point of a transnational group.

To sum up, the theories outlined here also form the basis for understanding how Arab-American masculinity is formed and conceptualized. The broad spectrum of transnational theory emphasizes that Arab-Americans are neither completely American nor completely Arab. Rather, they are a combination of Arab and American thoughts and ideas that result from the interaction of assimilation and resistance, generational changes, and a sense of belonging that exists above physical boundaries. As a result of this transnational experience they are responding to the new social environment and interactions of differing ideas of hegemonic masculinities and changes in women's roles by reconstituting previous ideals of masculinity by appealing to tradition. The dominant element of masculinity and gender that still remains present is that of honor and shame which is reworked in this new social setting to both create a new form of honor and shame while still preserving its hierarchical form.

3. Data

Masculinity is a socially and culturally constituted idea of self. Being a man means different things at different times. Arab-Americans have changed as a result of their experience as transnational subjects, changing women's roles, and external pressure. An example of this changing experience is that honor and shame, important conceptions in the Middle East, continue to have a dominant role in the way Arab-American masculinity is conceived, albeit within a new transnational context. Interestingly, while I originally expected to find more evidence of western, Euro-American, and external influences on how Arab-Americans conceived masculinity I instead

found that Arab-American masculinity is largely a result of the internal dynamics of their community. Although masculinity is changed due to contact with outside men and men's expectations, Arab-American masculinity is centered on women and was largely reactive to the changes in women's roles, and in women's behavior. This reactive quality also causes honor and shame to be reconstituted in a new transnational form and men to appeal to tradition in order to maintain status and previous gender roles.

My first interaction with the community came with an invitation to their 4th of July BBQ held annually at the waterfront. My fiancée and I eventually found the group sandwiched in between a Hispanic group having their BBQ and an African-American group celebrating a birthday and 4th of July. I introduced my fiancée to Yezen, or Jason as he went at work and in public, his wife 'Aisha, and waved at his three girls. They bashfully waved back before darting off down to the beach. Yezen introduced me to his friends, their wives, as well as his sister, his wife's brother and his wife. After the flurry of names I was introduced to several of the elders of the community – Yezen's parents, and several other parents of his friends. These greetings often took several moments – as we traded both English and Arabic greetings and they invariably checked the range of my Arabic skills. When I said "*darastu fee aljameat alurduniyya*" (I studied at the University of Jordan) several of the younger men, who had previously seemed uninterested, surrounded me.

At this point in the gathering I met many of the close friends of my main contact. I also became acquainted with a large section of the more politically and socially moderate Arab community in Tacoma. Yezen, in a later interview, described the attendance at these "less formal events" (non-religious), as predominately people from Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Jordan.[2] According to him, the gulf Arab gatherings are sex-segregated and the more "moderate" Arab

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2   Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Jordan, are collectively referred to as the Levant.

group likes to have their wives, sisters, and daughters at the gathering. The order of my introductions, though at the time seemingly inconsequential, was important for through Yezen I met the pillars of the Arab community. I later learned that these gatherings were not the work of an individual, bur rather their collective family. All of the other events I attended were organized by the men, women, and families I met in the first few minutes at the beach. Besides being leaders of the community, these families were well off both educationally and in terms of careers. All of them had some form of higher education and most came to the United States for university. Their positions ranged from several workers in IT, to restaurant owners, store owners, medical workers, engineers, and as a legal counsel for the city and county law offices.

While all the married men shook my hand and my fiancée's hands, several of the women stayed in the back. When I was surrounded by the younger men my fiance introduced herself to these women. There were women both younger than she, around fourteen to sixteen, and several older women who were there without their husbands. Many of these women were stay-at-home mothers, but several were professional women with well developed careers including education, secretarial work, and a co-owner/operator of a family business.

One of the more interesting situations that arose out of this was that my fiancée came in a strapless dress that was not commented on, or looked down upon by the group as a whole. However, while I later learned that such a dress was not "*haraam*" (forbidden), it was none-the-less not encouraged for Arab-American daughters. Yet, several of the girls came up to her and made a point of saying "I really like your dress." I was nonplussed, but my fiancée made the comment that these girls would be troublesome in the future. Indeed, I soon learned through the interviews that Arab-American were indeed pushing such clothing boundaries in school and even around the house as they adopted makeup, glitter, and other choices that were more common

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amongst the wider society.

This interaction between my fiancée and the younger Arab-American girls hints at the much larger importance of dress choices to both the Arab-American community and identity at large. While not necessarily widely acknowledged, dress choices have become a central part of the American perspective on the Middle East. The veil and the head covering have become dominant images within the media, and the public imagination of the Middle East. Abu-Lughod (2002) notes that the veil, head coverings, and clothing choices in part led the US to justify wars and conflicts as the liberation of women. As a result, clothing and dress is a central aspect of identity (Roach-Higgins 1992; Kuchler 2005; Tranberg-Hansen 2000, 2004). Dress choices are also a way in which transnational identities are reflected and as such, examining the dress choices can provide a glimpse into the larger interactions of the community and masculinity.

Among Arab-Americans clothing choice is very diverse, but like all things, it does not reside in a vacuum, but instead within a nexus of family, school, and media, especially amongst my younger informants. At first, men's dress might seem mundane; however, important ideas such as modesty, respect, and cultural identity are present in the dress choices they make. However, unlike women whose choices of veiling or head covering are noticed and commented on by the larger world, there are few dress choices that are really noticed as the traditional garb such as the *thawb/dishdash* is not widely worn.

A key element to men's dress was the emphasis on respectability, or the word more often used "classiness." Arab-Americans used the terms classiness and respect throughout my fieldwork. Generally they use them to describe things such appropriate clothing, actions, or behaviors that will not attract shame or embarrassment. However, a large part of respectability and classiness is found in modesty. Both Islam (Qur'an 24:30-31) and the community place an

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emphasis on modesty for men and women. One informant stated:

> If you want to express yourself, express yourself in something that is not going to embarrass your family [do not wear clothing to express yourself that would cause embarrassment]. You know you could do anything that is just, not necessarily behind closed doors, but in singing, in writing, anything that is not an embarrassment [in the public forum]. We have a big cultural [ideal], [that] being embarrassed as a family is a big no-no. We take it [avoiding embarrassment] very seriously we maintain a form of respect.

In essence, clothing could reflect the individual, but not in a way that would cause embarrassment. In reality what they mean when they say embarrassment is familial shame. Improper clothing could dishonor the family. As a result, although women's modesty is more often discussed and referenced in the wider social spectrum, there was also a clear emphasis on appropriate dress and modesty for men as well.

At this gathering all of the eldest generation men were wearing the most formal of clothing choices you would expect for a summer BBQ at the beach. This is not too unexpected, as these men were born in the Middle East and had a much higher level of decorum. The standard dress for the first generation men was a buttoned dress shirt, or in some situations a very nice polo-shirt, and either khaki or black slacks. Due to the warmth of the day, the top button was undone, and no one wore a tie. The colors were muted, tame, and largely different colors of blues, blacks, and dark greens. None of them were wearing tennis shoes or sneakers, but instead dress shoes.

The women at the function wore a surprisingly large variety of clothing. The eldest generation, who came from the Middle East, were the most conservative, and largely the only ones with head coverings. The first generation women's dress ranged from formal dresses to summer dresses. Suits and jackets were also quite visible within the first generation of women. The second generation wore a variety of dresses and pants. Underneath the dresses they wore

sleeves and leggings, most likely to cover their skin, but a fashion choice that was quite common throughout the last year. Women's dress at the *'eid*[3] events followed a similar trajectory of respectability and classiness. Married women wore a variety of head coverings, and many had uncovered heads and showed their hair. Their dress ranged from formal dresses to dresses, to suits and jackets, often without regard to age. The younger generation wore a variety of dresses and pants with jeans quite common and they too ranged from uncovered to covered heads. The youngest children wore a smattering of various Sesame Street, Disney, and Dora the Explorer style outfits. There was no single unifying fashion item, or choice, among the women other than an emphasis on skin being covered. Clearly clothing carried aspects of honor and shame as well, although what constituted appropriate outfits were clearly much more widespread than that depicted by the media or conservative Islam. That is understandable as one of the elements of this community is that they were not representatives of conservative Islam and thus might account for the greater variability within the dress choices made by women and men.

The younger generation of men's dress also varied. The youngest, who were in high school, were wearing jeans and t-shirts. Several were wearing baggier jeans and long shirts that dangled below the waist. The t-shirts bore various brands and decorations, but aside from the logo none of them expressed an English idea or expression. The older youths wore a variety of t-shirts or shirts with collars though none would be considered "dress shirts." Their shoes were a variety of athletic shoes never intended for athletics, bright, and without any markings or disfigurements – they clearly had been well taken care of. The younger generation shoes were much more present and visible both in their references and topics of conversation. Shoes were often discussed, and many different styles were present. A large contingent wore shiny basketball

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3 '*Eid* is the Arabic word for holiday. The events I attended were the holiday at the end of Ramadan and the holiday to commemorate Abraham sacrificing a ram in place of his son Ishmael.

shoes, including a number of Air-Jordan's. However, I believe I saw some "lower-end" basketball shoes as well as lower end sneakers and tennis shoes. Also, unlike Euro-American masculinity, which is often depicted in commercials as a young cowboyish man who is hairless and shirtless, there were no circumstances in which Arab-American men were seen wandering around shirtless at these gatherings, and their clothing while playing basketball had no cuts in the sleeves, and regardless of the bagginess of the shorts there was no underwear showing. The reasoning for this is that is essential to be modest and appropriate. Inappropriate clothing could bring shame to your parents and to yourself. Interestingly, this suggests that men can bring about shame, a topic that will be discussed more in depth later.

Although none of the males wore "traditional" dress to any of the events there were some smaller symbolic ties to their homelands though largely in the younger second generation. Although the older generation, who actually grew up in the Middle East, would often reference their homeland their dress choices had nothing distinctly Arab about them. However around the necks of many of the Palestinian youths were chains with a silver emblem of a map of Palestine before the creation of the state of Israel[4]. Each one dangled, clearly in view, over their shirts. When referring to Palestine they would grasp the chain and shift their pronouns so that the US became "you" and Palestine became "we." This map of Palestine is just one example of the transnational and hybrid themes apparent in my research. Clearly this map is a symbol of the way they maintain connections to their homeland. It was also a way for them to actively show their connection. It is also an example of how different hybrid identities manifest themselves differently between the generations. For while the youth manifested both shifting pronouns and the combination of Palestinian jewelry with American style clothing the older generation avoided outright identifiers.

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4   This map included all of present day Israel and the current Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza.

One of the more entertaining interactions regarding dress choices came when I met a late comer to the party. He introduced himself and said that to remember his name all I had to do was to remember the brand of my shirt "Izad." His son yelled across the table "that is Izod! That isn't anything like your name!" Everyone laughed, but as I sat back down at the table they were joking about how he was going to tell jokes just as lame later in life and how little their parents knew about clothing. However, this was not an isolated incident as brands were an important element of their dress choices. Several times throughout events they commented on the brands of their shirts, shoes, pants, as well as what they liked. The importance of brand names to these younger Arab-Americans parallels the growth in the importance of brand names among Euro-American, British, Indian, and Australian men as well as the impact of popular culture to the second generation (Henderson 2001; Swain 2003; Martino 2005). In essence, these brand names were part of a larger measurement of status within peer different peer groups and a way to show wealth and "show off" while still maintaining the important of modesty. This emphasis on brands is an example of the distinction between the generations and the signs of the transnational hybridism I had discussed earlier. For while young men maintained a sense of modesty and decorum expected by their parents they were enacting wider practices through their focus on brands.

This introductory vignette provides a glimpse into the interactions of the community as well as some grounding in the transnational and hybridized nature of the Arab-American experience and Arab-American masculinity. In the next three sections I will detail and examine interview responses and my experiences from the time spent with the community. In the first section I break down interview responses in order to ground the essential qualities they see as making up the Arab-American man. In the second section I discuss what men say about men and

the interactions between men. In the third section, I explore the interactions between fathers and daughters, mothers and sons, as well as conceptions around dating, the importance of marriage to manhood, and other man-woman interactions.

What is a Man?

The overarching concern of my project was on how men conceived and practiced masculinity. At the very start of my fieldwork I was invited over to the house of what would become my main contact. He introduced himself as Jason instead of Yezen. Like many older first generation Arab-Americans he has an anglicized name that he goes by for work and in public. The younger generation did not do this and used their Arab names exclusively. We sat down outside on plastic lawn chairs and he asked me what exactly it was that I was interested in. I responded that I was interested in Arab-American conceptions of masculinity. He looked at me strangely before I rephrased my question and said that was interested in how Arab-Americans understood manhood. He responded by saying that he would say what he could, but that he was not the most manly of men. We chatted in Arabic for a little bit before his wife came home. When he told her what I was studying she also responded with a similar laugh "Yezen here is not exactly very manly." As a followup, I asked them why he was not considered manly. He paused for a short while before made references to not being very tall, strong, heroic. She stated that he was far too loveable and caring. However, both agreed that he was not manly according to the Euro-American media, which in the end is not what manhood should be based upon. However, even in my first glimpse and my first taste of the research, I could see that my consultants had an idea of what a man is in their head.

This pattern continued during the interviews when I would ask a deceptively simple question: what is a man? They would sometimes ask for clarifications, and sometimes they

would ask me what I thought a man was. In other cases they wanted to tell me what a man was in the Middle East, and sometimes what a man was in America. I emphasized that I wanted to know what a man was to them as my intent was to capture a snapshot of Arab-American values of manhood. At first they seemed prepared to talk about men in the Middle East, or men here. However, in asking them about the Arab-American man I appeared to catch them off guard and they would wait a moment before answering. At the same time, none of them had a hard time answering once they began to talk. This section provides a broad overview of their interview responses and the basis of how Arab-Americans see themselves as men.

Abu-Lughod (1984) while writing about Bedouins, notes that while men are the carriers of honor they are also the carriers of autonomy (118). She argues that autonomy is the prerogative of the rational man who is also respected for his honor (79). In this search for honor men are to be the guardians of women in order to protect their family and their family's honor. This fits into several larger questions of manhood, particularly regarding the ideals of what men are to be. In being the bearers of autonomy and honor one of the key ideals of being a man was to make decisions – not just for the family, but also for himself and his life. My informants largely saw decision-making as a way in which men reached adulthood:

> [To be a man is to] be able to carry responsibilities for accidents, specifically, if you want to be a man, you have to be able to step up to the plate and say OK, I want to be able to make a decision that's gonna benefit me in later life. So, that's when, that's the difference, like let's say like a teenager makes a decision that doesn't really, it affects him poorly in his life, he might make a stupid decision and it might lead to something else, so that's the difference between, I guess, a man and a young boy because he's already thought everything through and made a decision that's gonna affect him in a positive way in his life.

In this, being a man is about courage, and accepting responsibility for decisions that affect life and the future. The man makes decisions rationally for he thinks through possibilities and decides on a wise course of action. Being capable and responsible for decision making is a clear

break between boyhood and manhood. However, it is important to note that this decision making

is not necessarily about making all decisions, or that the man needs to constantly be a "decider."

Rather, a man is actively making the larger and important decisions that impact his future and is

rational and active in his decision making. Further, if a husband and wife are in disagreement and

cannot convince one another through argument, the husband then makes the choice and they both

will abide by it because a decision has to be made.

This decision making is connected to another important aspect of manhood which is to be

a leader. While decision making was about being rational and making positive decisions part of

making decisions as a man is that you will affect not only yourselves, but your family as well:

> It's [the family] like the structure of any successful organization, any successful
> (wife: he is the CEO) its going to come back to the order... to be a man is to be a
> captain, to make decisions... I'm steering the ship, so I have to be, to guide this
> family, so that the ship won't sink

That he and his wife, who have been married for quite some time and have children, chose to use

the terms "Captain" and "CEO" to describe their position is revealing. These are dominant

positions, but they are also roles that require calculation, rationality, and intelligence. Further,

these are positions that involve overseeing others and are filled with decision making. A captain

and CEO are also positions that are earned, not ascribed. As a result, these men do not see

themselves as the Kings of their families – in their minds they direct and lead the family because

as they are men and are husbands they direct because of their reason. This idea is affirmed by the

response made by Muhammed, a twenty-six year old single male:

> I think they [men] should be stronger not by physical power, but stronger in
> emotional power. They should lean toward logic, there should be logic. They
> should comply more with rules, and these rules, it doesn't matter what rules are
> if they are heavenly rules, religious rules, or maybe just the right thing going by
> the book, I don't care what book.

It is telling that they say that men should be stronger because of the rule of logic and of

rationality because, in essence, they subscribe to and affirm the legitimacy of rules. Taken together, in their minds being a man means to rationally direct the home, to be the final authority, and to be the figurehead of the home. This echoes the traditional role of man as a leader; however at the same it is slightly different because the men are appealing to logic and reason to lead rather than simply to force. However, the emphasis on patriarchy is still present. The theme of the captain of a ship and the need for a leader also reflects on another element of manhood – that of provisioning and providing.

Beyond their status as captain and leader men are also the providers for the family. While they make decisions and protect their family they also need to make sure that their family has food, housing, clothes, and other goods they need. However, Arab-Americans also suggest that men should be providing protection to the family. Yezen, a married, first generation Arab-American suggested:

> Men should be the hunter of the family. I always think men should be there to take care of [family] difficulties and hard situations [to be] protectors. Again, protector not necessarily of physical as they stand up for what is right and keep their word. They take care of their families, and wives

Again, the choice of metaphor is important. For while the captain has to make important decisions, so too does the hunter. He imagines that the hunter hunts in order to bring meat for the family and thus to bring food for his family. He said that although the man need not be "physical" the symbol he uses to represent the man's role is a physical one. By combining hunter with protector he is imagining the world as he and his family are in the wild and could be threatened by the attack of "beasts." During the interview his wife, standing behind him and doing the dishes, mentioned that this also means to stand up for what is right and that husbands need to keep their word. In essence, this idea of a hunter is a provider who stands up for his family, brings in goods, and is powerful, honest, and direct. The emphasis she made is that a man

should be loyal and have integrity. These qualities are also elements of honor and a key part of

the role of the man as a provider and the leader of the family. In essence the husband cannot just

do what he likes, but rather that he does it as the leader of the family and because of the qualities

he has as a man.

This provisioning appears in other ways. Adam, or *Abdullah*, a married second generation

Arab-American with two grade school aged girls stated that:

> I feel, um, like they told me I'm the king of the house, my, my three lovely ladies,
> my wife and my children, but it doesn't fell like this. It feels like I'm the slave of
> the house cause I have to provide, I have to provide. I mean, as far as when it
> comes to working, I have to, when I come home, I have to provide that quality
> time, I have to fix things around the house, I have to be the man, I have to protect
> these. So whenever we go to a trip or camping or whatever it is I feel like
> everybody will have good time because I am trying to do my best so they will have
> a good time...

Interestingly, he emphasizes that they told him that he is the "king of the house," a status he

disputes. In this case Abdullah actually saw himself bound to providing positive times,

experiences, and fun. Thus, provisioning is also more than just material benefits. Provisioning is

to take the lead on whatever his family, wife, and children, need. In his mind he is not only

providing food or money, he is providing entertainment and providing positive experiences for

the family. He sees it as his goal to make sure that his family is taken care of and provided for.

However, there is also a subtext to this, as he sees himself as needing to be above criticism. As

the Captain of the ship he must make sure that the ship is taken care of, as the leader of the

family he must provide for them. There is also a sense of pressure as he needs to fix things,

arrange things, and take care of the house as a property. If they are unhappy his credibility as

leader is damaged and thus his manhood and his honor are damaged.

Along with the provisioning aspect, a family is central to the ideal of a man. A man is to

be involved in the family and to have the family as a priority. In general, "family" means a wife

and children, though the importance of wives, marriage, and family will be discussed more in depth later. Attending extended-family events was a key priority, as was attending community events, behaving properly, and assisting his parents as they grew older. Holidays were also seen as a key family time:

> I always looked at it [holidays from] a different perspective. Most of the, my friends never understood why [I wanted to stay home]… For example, I could give you an example is that my friends wanted to go out, this is in university, they wanted to go out for a New Year's party and I told them it was family time and they kind of looked at me kind of weird because for most people they go out on New Years to party, but our situation, we, I guess we celebrate those kinds of moments with our family because, like what you said, when it's time to go for a guy like me, time to move out of the house, I won't see them too many times, so looked at it a perspective of mixed between this culture and Middle Eastern culture.

This informant emphasizes the importance of family and the importance of being with his family at important times – especially holidays. He is also setting Arab-American values against Euro-American values and in doing so is showing the importance of being with family, of sharing time with family, and that family is a central part of the Arab-American lifestyle. This is juxtaposed to what they see as the impoverished relations that Euro-Americans have as a family. This "family emphasis" also reflects the transnational experience as the family connects the individuals to their previous homelands. Many of the Arab-Americans came from close knit communities where everyone knew everyone. As a result, the family served to replace the close-knit community of their homelands. Such connections have been observed by previous theorists of transnationalism particularly Cohen (1997) who examined the historic Jewish diaspora and found that diasporic communities turned inward for strength. Al-Ali (2002), also notes that the disruptions of family and community ties in Bosnia resulted in a further emphasis on family among the refugee communities that were displaced by conflict and land claims. Pribilsky (2004) who looked into the experience of Ecuadorian fathers, mothers, and parents as immigrants to the

United States found a similar turn towards family in response to the breakdown of previous ties to a single village or community.

Underlying all of their ideas about manhood was the importance of personal and familial honor. A middle aged first generation man commented that one of his daughters, a middle school student, had recently been putting on makeup when she arrived at school. He was not pleased because such behavior is not modest, and could be seen as encouraging boys towards inappropriate acts. Thus, he and his wife both agreed that this was inappropriate and explained to her both about how it was not respecting the family, but also how the rest of the community would think of him as a father if they learned of her behavior. This example shows that underlying the family, and masculinity, is the importance of honor and shame. The autonomous decision making aspect of manhood, the leading aspect of manhood, and the provisioning aspect of manhood are all reemphasized tradition centrally focused on honor and shame. These men are reacting against changing women and thus have reorganized tradition. For although their children have more friends and their daughters are more active in events there are limits to their behavior and it remains the role of the parent to encourage the children to think and make decisions that are not shameful. At the same time, these men are not alone in enforcing the standards that ensure honor, but the man takes the public role as the leader of the family to emphasize the importance of familial honor.

To conclude this section, these interviews show that the ideals of Arab-American masculinity are centered on family and marriage, provisioning, and decision making. Within these examples are also hints of the importance of honor and shame and the way they have been dealt with in the new setting. Naturally, masculinity is negotiated between individuals and between generations. Ideals are finicky concepts and as a result are rarely practiced in a perfect,

or even remotely perfect form. However, these ideals are important in that they inform how Arab American men approach relationships with their children, friends, family, and importantly, the women in their lives. In the next two sections I first explore the interactions between men and their families, their schools, and other men. In the second section I explore the interactions between men and women by looking into the relationships between mothers and sons, sisters and brothers, and the larger discourse around dating, marriage, and responsibility.

Man to Man Interactions

My informants consisted of two different generations. The first generation informants were a group of middle-aged men who were in their late thirties and early forties and a younger group who were in their late 20s. While the majority of their schooling took place in the Middle East, they all attended the university outside of their homeland. The second generation consisted of men around the late teens to mid twenties. They all attended the majority of their schooling in the United States and many had already completed university as well.

Ideas and concepts of masculinity start with experiences as youth. While recent work has focused on the interactions of youth in creating gender, many scholars still point to the importance of parents (Coltrane 1997; Maccoby 1998; Updegraff 2001; Kane 2006). Other researchers have examined toy selection, clothing selection, decorations and emphasis on autonomy in decision making with a key element being that childhood choices, and parental influences help to cultivate gender identities (Etaugh 1992; Cahill 1989; Pomerleau 1990; Fiese 2000). In essence, the family is a primary social realm in which behaviors and ideals are learned. These norms are instilled within children during their youth and inform their understanding of both masculinity and femininity. Naturally, the socialization of gender is much more complex than individuals simply mimicking adults and their peers. However, my intent with this section is

not to discuss theories behind the socialization of gender as much as to describe and analyze

what my informants viewed as being the origins and locations of their masculinity. I also aim to

show what this in turn says about their larger conceptions of masculinity. The broader goal is to

show both the transnational element of Arab-American masculinity and the changing natures of

honor and shame.

When I queried my informants, the first generation men stated that they think that much

of their idea of masculinity comes from their fathers. In response to a question about the origin of

their masculine ideals one informant from Lebanon observed that:

> "For the longest time it was my dad, but then it got to the point where I saw his
> flaws... growing up it was my dad and he had a lot of good influences on me, he
> has his own weird thoughts, but he was a really good influence, he taught me the
> proper way to think, proper way to act, he was a very good influence. He is a
> really smart and really handy [home repairs and such] and taught me a lot of good
> things and good habits."

There are several important elements within this quote. First, the use of "proper" suggests a

sense of a correct way of thinking and behaving. When pressed further on this topic he

commented that "[behaving and thinking] proper[ly] is to behave in ways, thoughts, that reflect

the family well, [and] that avoid embarrassment for the family and yourself." In essence, what he

is suggesting is that his father taught him the path to honor. Fathers have an important role as the

protectors and leaders of the family and he learned this from his father. Another element within

this quote is his suggestion that his father had taught him his good habits, which he described as

the value of working hard, managing your time and your obligations. In general, young men did

not rebel too much and followed their father's ideas and roles. Another first generation man

echoed these statements by noting that his father actively took him to his place of work in order

to teach him about money, the value of work, and to help him connect up with important

members of his community.

However, the second generation did not see their fathers as the prime instructor of manhood. When asked about where they learned about manhood, or where they see the origins of their manhood, they responded that it was in the school setting, a topic that will be discussed more depth shortly. When queried further they mentioned that it was in university that they learned to become a man. According to them:

> I had to make decisions about what I would do, how to spend money. I spent [time] managing my money, managing to keep everything clean, cook laundry, managing bills.

Thus, for the second generation the ascension to manhood was seen as being more firmly attached to independence and autonomy. Behind this is a suggestion that becoming a man is becoming an independent person and making decisions. Joseph (1999) notes that traditionally in the Middle East children were expected to follow their fathers and be like their fathers. They were expected to follow them in mannerisms, business, and to follow their guidelines and decisions in order to seamlessly transition into adulthood. This independent aspect of the university experience is an important consideration for the second generation. In the Middle East students generally stayed at home for their entire university experience. Those that had to leave their home villages and cities and move elsewhere generally returned home often on the weekends and their parents often traveled to take care of them as well. As a result, there generally was not the same emphasis on independent development in the university for the Middle East or for the first generation. As a result, this generational break between manhood as mimicking the father and gradually assuming the rights and responsibilities of manhood versus manhood originating from full independence is a sign of the transnational quality of the Arab-American youth. However, there are also clear signs that roles of fathers have also changed as a result of the transnational experience.

The first generation commented that in the Middle East their fathers worked long hours at jobs to provide for their families. When their fathers would return home they made sure to spend time with their children; however because of their long hours it was often not very long. To compensate for his absence he would also organize activities and outings, as well as playing games during the holidays. They also would spend time with their sons by having them help with work on house repairs, maintenance and such. However, there was some distance between the children and the father as well. Mothers would often use their father as a threat by saying things such as "I am going to tell your dad when he comes home." As a result, there existed both fear and respect in regard to the father. This same fear/respect aura meant less emotional connection as the children spent more time with their mothers causing emotional connections to be more limited regarding their father.

Their description of the roles of the mother and father echoes the ideas proposed by Chodorow (1974). She notes that women, as the primary caretakers, are largely bound within an isolated arena in which they are the exclusive parent and the father is largely absent. In raising children, the female self is therefore more relational and has a fluid boundary between self and others. The male self is more centered on autonomy and has established a hierarchical sense of self based upon fixed boundaries of behaviors and relationships. As a result, she argues that children are more connected with the mother, but that male children experience a break and a more difficult transfer to adulthood. This idea has been particularly appealing in understanding family dynamics in the Middle East (Joseph 1993,1999; Charrad 2001; Doumani 2003).

However, the second generation described a different sort of relationship with their first generation father. They described their father as being much more actively involved in their life. Although they mentioned that he worked a lot and that he was still present at their athletic

events, graduations, and other important childhood events, "he always made it to our games, even when he was working more than forty hours a week." While he still remained the main "enforcer" of discipline, they did not envision such a distinct boundary between them as they would often go to talk with their fathers about their friends, concerns they had about homework, sports, or activities:

> I love my dad he would often teach me lessons about where we came from, help with my school work, and always made to our activities. I don't know how he managed to do it [with how much he was working], but he was always there for us to talk to.

When they misbehaved at home by roughhousing with their siblings, or by going over to a friend's house without telling their parents, instead of their mothers threatening them with their father's punishment they instead said "your father will be very disappointed." While it is a subtle shift, it differs in that it suggests a closer bond between the father and the son. This is also an example of the "lens of choices" I mentioned earlier because the manifestations of the father's actions have turned from an enforcing role into to a role that encourages proper decisions.

Second generation informants followed up these comments by emphasizing that their fathers accepted that their sons needed to make choices and that even though they might disagree with their decisions, it is important for their children to make decisions. Yezen, my main contact and a first generation father, also commented on this by saying that one of the big differences between his parenting style and that of his father is that he is more accepting and more tolerant as a result of his wider experiences with the world, with children, and with different nations. His points were echoed by my other informants. He understands that in the United States children are encouraged to be more open about their decisions and that being different from parents and sometimes being rebellious may happen. As a result, he says that he "tries to be more liberal and is much more understanding [than his parents] with his children when they make decisions he

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does not agree with." This is clearly a change in ideas of how to raise children as evidenced by Abudabbeh (2005) who points out that Middle Eastern parents are more likely to lecture and enforce rules rather than to start a discussion or to dialogue about appropriate choices. As a result, both the parents and the children have embraced a more transnational idea of how to raise their children and to teach lessons. This transnational idea of relationships is based on the importance of making and recognizing choices.

However, just because the first generation fathers are more accepting of choices made by their children does not mean that all ways are correct. Yezen also stated that there are times when things are allowable and not allowable. Children can disagree and argue with the parents, but they should never dishonor the parents with words or actions. This emphasis on avoiding dishonoring or bringing about shame connects strongly with the "disappointment" of the father. Indeed, the child is filled with shame about their decision and through this feeling of shame they come to accept the lessons of their fathers. This focus on avoiding shame and the use of "disappointment" to describe the father's reaction emphasize the continued importance of honor and shame. However, it is honor and shame set into an American context as the father's focus is to encourage the child to make an independent choice to follow the honorable and correct way rather than simply punishing difference.

Another arena that both generations of men mentioned as an important source of their idea of manhood was schooling. Schooling, whether primary, secondary or collegiate, is a central experience of life for youth. It is an arena in which many of our ideas of gender and masculinity are formed (Mahony 1998; Messner 2000; Ferguson 2000; Jordan 1995) and youth is when many of the ideas of what manhood and individuals develop. In school lessons and values are taught, discipline is mandated, and new ideas are shared that might be counter to those taught by the

family. My informants were also interacting with a different forms of manhood amongst the children, both in the classroom, and on the playground. However, the varieties of masculinities and individuals meant that although they were pressured Arab-Americans did not appear to face an overwhelmingly large emphasis on conformity. However, for Arab-Americans school is a place where masculinity is negotiated, formed, and shifts at the same time the family influence looms larger than that of the school

The first generation informants attended primary and secondary schools in the Middle East largely filled with the children of wealthier families. While there they put up with teasing or harassment regarding their economic background. As students they had high academic expectations as they learned English, and if they were in Lebanon, French as well. For many, schooling was an important activity that they spent a lot of time on, and it was an activity that their parents placed a lot of emphasis on. Often times they would arrive at home after school and spend most of their evening on homework and studies under the watchful eye of their mother and father. Although they spent much of their time at studies they also participated in activities such as music lessons, art classes, and sports such as soccer. However, they were also actively engaged in the rivalries of youthful friendship around their father's status, physical abilities, or personal possessions.

Schooling was also a realm wherein previous ideas of masculinity were partially rejected. All of the first generation informants finished their schooling outside of the Middle East at either English or American universities. It was in these universities that they often first ran across truly different models of masculinity. When queried on what the different elements were they responded by saying that when they arrived they were surprised to see women in their classes, female professors, and more importantly, men and women in class:

> I never attended university back in Libya and I attended a university in England, so the fact that I have the choice of being mixed between girls and boys, even back in Libya once you go to a university it's mixed, but, before a university it's not mixed. So, that was the biggest difference is I'm going to class and there is a lady next, a girl sitting next to me. That was, [pause in reflection] that was different.

His statement "that was different" hides a number of implications. For these men school had always been a male enterprise. They had attended single sex schools and largely been out of contact with women. Now they were thrown into a system that made no formal distinction between the appropriate spaces for women and men and did not set up distinct boundaries. Naturally, there is more to this interaction between men and women, but it will be discussed more in depth in a later section.

Arabs are few and far between in schools in America and as a result the second-generation were largely isolated. Teachers and staff are almost entirely non-Arabs and their assumptions of what men and women did was fundamentally different from that in the Middle East. As a result, second generation Arab-Americans usually made friends with very different groups and interacted with them in largely different ways as well. One informant said:

> At school I had a wide variety [of friends], I would say sometime I would go in the back and sit with the Pacific Islanders, Samoans, and play cards and the next day sit down with African-Americans, some of them were my team mates, some of them weren't. Day after that, white descendants, Caucasians, sometimes I hang out with Asians, it didn't matter to me, I think it was because I didn't have another person that was the same race as I was, because I noticed that most races stick together. There's some people here and there that… I guess diverse of the group, but I think it was because I did not have another person with the same race as mine that I stuck with, so I kind of befriended everybody.

For informants school was an area where one could learn about alternate ideas, express alternate ideas, and negotiate what being a man was. When interacting with their friends they adopted more mannerisms of friends for status and acceptance reasons. When my informants' friends would question why they would not participate in activities such as drinking, staying out late, or

dating they would have to defend their practices, share their faith, and ultimately reflect on the message their parents had taught. This is part of the reason why they would often adopt the forms of masculinity of those around them. Often values that the family might share would be contrary to the ideas and practices of their friends at school.

As a result, my second generation informants had a different experience with the school environment. While the family remained important for the formation of masculinity there was a much larger divide between home and school, and a larger divide between the masculinities practiced in the home and the school. They experienced a different form of negotiating transnational identities at the same time that they were negotiating masculinity between generations. Throughout grade school many of their friendships were with other children of immigrants and often they gravitated towards them for friendships. However, they also made friends with Euro-American children and participated in activities with them. The second generation also experienced the general teasing of the playground that include clothing choices, athletic ability, and personal mannerisms or appearances that could cause childhood ridicule. In addition, when at school, they participated in the "winter season" school productions, and visited other families for birthday parties, play dates, and slumber parties. In high school many participated in sports teams, clubs, and other activities. On weekends, and during breaks, many of my informant's friends would either come over to their house to hang out, or they would go over to their friends. Several were also on varsity sports team and would travel with the team, participate in assemblies and practices. In general they had what appeared to be a seemingly standard high school experience. However, behind the scenes was a more complicated picture.

Often times it took some time to convince parents of the appropriateness of certain behaviors, particularly staying out late:

> They [his parents] said young kids [15-18] like us don't go out at night. So
> that's one thing that's like everybody came back home after nine am or, I mean
> nine pm [for his parent's children]. So here [in the United States] some kids
> want to go out [on a Friday night] to the movies after nine or wanted to go to…
> the late night program at the YMCA which has basketball and stuff like that and
> they misunderstood it as that we're trying to create trouble at the beginning or
> were not listening to them.

This example shows that many of the activities taken for granted by Euro-American teenagers, such as staying out late with friends on a Friday night, required negotiation between the Arab American children and the parents as to what each saw as acceptable. The situation was complicated not only with parents, but also their peers at school. Arab-American men would attend the mosque on Friday during their lunchtime and often face confusion at their absence from school. They also had to explain their holidays, why they could not be out at a certain time, and their relationship with certain high school activities such as dating and dances.

Amidst all of the activities of the school was masculinity negotiation. One second-generation informant, who had recently finished university, stated:

> I guess I took on a mixture of society in university and growing up, other
> university students and stuff like that and I took it from the background from a
> Middle Easterner, so I mixed both and I said what is going to benefit me in this
> society and what is going to benefit me in the future. So if my Middle Eastern
> culture is going to benefit me more than American culture was then I would take
> that side. If the American culture is going to benefit me more, then I would take
> that side, that culture.

In essence, he is stating that in school he was picking and choosing cultural identifications and behaviors based upon benefit. One of the cultural qualities he was choosing between was masculinity. However, "benefit" is a tricky concept and has many nuanced points. One practical benefit of being "more American" is that it involves adopting mannerisms in order to gain acceptance to groups that might be opposed to outsiders. An example of this he mentioned was that he was completely fine with spending time with girls in and outside of class, something traditionally more frowned upon, in order to normalize relations with his Euro-American friends.

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Another benefit is that he will appeal to the dominant, alternative definitions of masculinity in order to gain material and social benefits from his family, particularly regarding dating, male-female interactions, and access to staying out late, attending parties, and the like. These were generally accepted as his parents relented when they were convinced that they were not causing problems, but instead were part of just behaving as "normal" high school men. However, aside from these more practical benefits of adopting new ideas of how a man is supposed to behave is a much larger idea of benefit. Indeed, what he is suggesting is that he is not fully tied to a particular idea of manhood and that he will pick and choose based upon what makes sense to him rationally. However, this picking and choosing depends on whom he is around. In this situation he is referring to what works best in the high school and what makes the most sense to him. Thus, these men enjoy some freedom to negotiate masculine expression, but they largely want this freedom within the school setting and not within the home. As such, it is not that they are not wanting what they do not have and that their expressions of masculinity are based on choice. At the same time the core of his masculinity is still Middle Eastern and thus is retained as the central and starting point of his masculinity. How he idealizes masculinity is largely based upon the view of masculinity practiced by his parents, even while his practices are mediated by the environmental situation.

This example also speaks to some of the concerns about the "singular nature of masculinity" that hegemonic masculinity propagates (Jefferson 2002; Howson 2006; Hennan 2005; Kiseling 2005; Pascoe 2007). My informant's response suggests that he picks and chooses between masculinities for their different benefits. One of the main ideas behind hegemonic masculinity is that men are encouraged to adapt and respond to the dominant archetypical form of masculinity. However, in this example he is instead suggesting that he is picking and choosing

between very different understandings of masculinity – some of which are not even Euro-American ideals. As such he is compartmentalizing masculinities, but retaining a core concept of masculinity that strongly diverges from the hegemonic form.

The university experience of the second generation is equally different from that of the first generation for unlike their fathers who left their home country to attend school many of these youths have a hard time actually leaving their home. One informant was attending the University of Washington and took a bus to Seattle every day. Like many commuter students he found it harder to engage in the more community aspects of the university experience, yet he did find a home both in his department's club and in the Muslim Student Association. He also tries to attend basketball and football games whenever possible. He is not unusual as most of my informants lived at home for a year or two before moving out on their own to be closer to the university. While at the university many were active in intramural sports, student groups, attending sports games, and student government. Yet, a shared theme among them was that they often felt caught between different worlds. For, unlike their fathers who had more individual freedom while attending university as a result of leaving their homeland, the second generation was still initially bound at home and lived within the family networks while at the university.

One area in which they felt quite out-of-place and participated in very little was the party scene of American universities. When they did attend parties, they did not drink and thus often experienced the catcalls of their cohorts urging them to drink. When I asked them why they chose not to participate they responded:

> First there is the Muslim part. It is forbidden. It is something that we [as Arabs, Muslims, my friends] just don't do. Also, it is one of those things that you don't want your parents to find out. You don't want the rest of the people to find out either because it won't look good to your parents either... Again, you don't want to shame your family or dishonor your parents. It is for these reasons that I choose not to drink.

While Islam forbids the consumption of liquor in Jordan I met many otherwise good Muslims who did drink and who did participate in parties. One of the most humorous of these situations was around *'eid*. In Jordan liquor stores are closed down during Ramadan and open up come *'eid*. As a result, come *'eid* my friends and I were out visiting a friend when we spotted a line stretching around the block for the local liquor store. Their purchases were not discrete and they talked with one another in line. It is also highly unlikely that they were all Christians either as we were in a predominately Muslim neighborhood. Another example is that several of my Muslim friends were quite open about inviting us to bars and taverns in the city. When I asked them about their behaviors they laughed and said "I am a bad-good Muslim." In comparison, none of my second generation informants had even tried alcohol even at the behest of their close non-Arab friends. I suggest that there is also the sense that choosing to not drink is an important decision that they must make. These men are using not-drinking in order to create a boundary between themselves and the "other" men. In doing so are hinting at the ideas of Appadurai (1990) and Anderson (1983). Clearly Muslims and Arabs drink; however Arab-Americans are creating an idealized notion of a community connecting idealized, perfect, and uncompromising Muslims together. Creating a boundary between the broader society and the community has also been studied by Barazangi (1996) who suggests that Muslim youth will often resolve the ambiguities between Islamic practice and Euro-American practices by compartmentalizing the self. This also echoes other researchers who have noted the compartmentalization of masculinity (Anderson 2002, 2005, 2009; Collinson 2000; Gallagher 2005). This compartmentalization also reflects elements within literature on masculinity literature. In essence, these Arab-Americans are simultaneously creating a boundary between the broader society by appealing to traditional and imagined roles.

In addition to this boundary between the communities, the other key element of refusing to drink is that it reflects changes in honor and shame. For the emphasis on not dishonoring your parents is another instance of the continued importance of the concepts of honor and shame. The suggestion is by drinking you reflect poorly on how your parents raised you and thus bring shame on your family. This is not that unusual in the Middle East either; however, the important element is that they are connecting themselves to their parents by appealing to tradition and reemphasizing their status as Arabs and Muslims by refusing to drink.

This is also a situation in which these second generation men encounter competing forms of hegemonic masculinity regarding drinking. Hegemonic theory would suggest that these men are encouraged towards the correct and hegemonic forms of masculinity, involving in this case drinking alcohol. However, in this situation these men are choosing not to drink because of their status as Muslims. Reeser (2010) notes that masculinity is not fixed, but rather unstable and that men oscillate between forms of masculinity. Thus, although Arab-American men might be encouraged to drink they are clearly not adopting the hegemonic forms of Euro-American masculinity or drinking. As a result, it suggests that perhaps Euro-American masculinity is not as hegemonic or as dominant as it appears and that perhaps these men are drawing inspiration not from the dominant hegemonic form of Euro-American masculinity as much as they are drawing inspiration from perhaps a traditional form of Arab masculinity.

The university party scene was also an arena in which Arab-Americans would sometimes face the brunt of Euro-American prejudices. One informant recounted his experience at a party with one of his non-Arab friends. He and his friends arrived after the party was well underway and stayed to the sides talking with several of their other friends. After an hour they were getting set to leave and a group of men called out to them "going back to your harem?" Much of the

room laughed, but my informant left without responding. "I left without saying anything because I would not convince him. Man, he was drunk and stupid and it wasn't worth my time." The reference to the "harem" echoes comments made by Said (1978) about Euro-American views of Arab hyper-sexuality in his work on Orientalism. One of the reasons they did not respond is because Arab-Americans have in general become resigned to prejudice. They have witnessed Arab and Muslim women facing prejudice for their head-coverings and veils and dealt with jokes about being "terrorists" and most likely have heard jokes about the "virgins in heaven for jihadists."

I witnessed a similar situation of prejudice while I was attending the Arab festival in Seattle that was sponsored by the Arab Center of Washington. It is an event with food, games, presentations, and other events designed to show Arab history and community. I attended it with several of my informants. In the center of the festival, near the exhibition center, we passed a man holding a large sign proclaiming Jesus as the only way to Heaven. I recognized the man due to his regular semester trips to Washington State University's campus. As we walked past him he yelled out something akin to "Jesus is the only way, you nonbelievers will be going to hell!" This certainly raised my ire and I responded dismissively. However, my companions did not respond or acknowledge him. When I asked them about it later they stated that they were simply annoyed at his rudeness and lack of respect. They did not get angry or attempt to argue back to counter his points. They commented that doing so would simply be a waste of time. They felt that he did not understand Islam, nor did they feel he truly represented America or Americans. Such a response echoed a statement made during an interview when I asked one of my first generation informants about Euro-American prejudice and he stated:

I love America, it is my country, I will defend it. I will go to war to fight for it.
But, if the American on the street it doesn't look at me this way and I.... it doesn't

bother me. This is my country. I pay my tax and am better citizen than any of the people who just look on me. Maybe I am a better citizen than you are just because I am aware of just how good this is and I want it to wait, to stay this way, to stay free and open.

While both party's responses are admirable and mature responses it would seem to suggest that they are resigned to intolerance. However, the community itself is active in outreach programs, cultural exchanges, and open houses in order to attempt to counter some of the misunderstandings and prejudices. Another reason that they might have responded without great hostility is that in general my informants felt that they had not received much in the way of active discrimination in school or amongst their friends. Almost all of them had stories of when they were called out for being Arab, or where their loyalty was questioned. However, they downplayed the importance of these events by suggesting that since it usually involved strangers, as in the case of the party, or "social outsiders," such as the man at the Arab festival, they "it was not worth the effort" to respond. As a result there was also a subtle suggestion that they could handle such criticism and that this was a measured and calm response to the view of the Arab as hyper-sexual and hyper-violent. This approach to criticism reflects part of the ideals of manhood mentioned in the first section. While men are supposed to be guarding the family they do through logic and clearly these men were thinking rationally in how to approach such situations.

Another interesting element that was only lightly touched upon in the interviews, but one that does bear some discussion was the interactions of brothers. Sons historically have an important role in the family and the eldest son was most often the one actively involved in the finance and economics of the family, although younger sons took part as well. Sons were also a secondary father and watched out for and monitored younger siblings. Often times the eldest son also directed the family after his father's death (Barakat 1985; Suad 1999). Throughout the events I attended, the brothers I knew were fairly close were often eating together and hanging

around each other. After the meals they would go off together and play basketball or beach

volleyball. They would also often give each other a hard time and tease and joke with one

another. The elder brother often charted the way for their younger brother. This was observed by

Ahmed, a second generation university graduate:

> I always had a hard time convincing my parents to let me do things like be with
> friends, go out to a movie by myself, that sort of thing. I had to argue that it was
> the culture here and they're easier on my brother than they were on me because
> they have seen it more often now. They allow him to do things that I would never
> be able to get away with [because] they are more understanding of the culture
> here.

In essence, the eldest brother helps his younger brothers by arguing with his parents in order to

set the appropriate boundaries and helping his parents negotiate the unfamiliar realm of high

school and Euro-American expectations of youth for the next brother. The elder brothers looked

out for their younger brother and, much like the father, discussed and shared their understandings

and beliefs about life, decision making and other such lessons. One informant named Waleed had

recently finished up university, but was working while living at home. He stated that:

> I tell my brother [who is in high school] right now, I tell him watch, manage your money
> because I think I have learned a lot about how to manage my money. I told him no shoe's
> worth... because he like shoes... I told him that no shoe is worth over a hundred dollars
> unless it has diamond rings on it and gold. I tell him learn how to manage your money,
> spend it carefully, spend it out of joy, spend it carefully. If you want something worth
> three hundred dollars it better be worth three hundred dollars.

There are a few telling points about this lesson. Al-Nowaihi (1999) in her examination of Arab

literature argues that one of the results of modernity has been a reevaluation of prescribed gender

roles and a reexamination of choice and the self. These brothers are clearly reevaluating their

gender roles and their self for the lesson Waleed is teaching his brother is a break from previous

established ideas of decision making. While there is the emphasis on independent decision

making, it is not all about the family choices so emphasized in the introduction, but rather about

intelligent choices on money, personal items, and material decisions. In this situation what

Waleed is arguing for is a sense of personal choice based upon rationalized desires and wants.

To conclude this section, clearly youth and schooling are important stages in the production of Arab-American masculinity. Many of the themes of manhood found in the interviews are present within the interactions of the family and school particularly regarding personal choice and autonomy. However, personal choice and personal autonomy have changed between generations as the second generation has adopted more conceptions of Euro-American masculinity and ideas of self than their first generation fathers. This is particularly evident in their search for connection with the more open sense of autonomy and decision making that appears to correspond more closely the Euro-American model. However, in general even though this dynamic of honor and shame is set within decision making or within the "lens of choices." The second generation is using the idiom of personal choice and autonomy while simultaneously reproducing the values and traditions of their parents and thus is firmly rooted in what they regard as a traditional base.

Women and Men

The first section detailed interview responses about an "ideal" man while the second section delved into how men interacted and viewed each other. This section gets to the core of my thesis, namely that masculinity is centered on women. Masculinity can be seen as a reaction to the changing roles and practices of women that results in a turn to traditional ideas and boundaries of honor and shame.

The holiday season's gatherings were the largest gatherings of the year. Ramadan is a month of fasting in which no food or drink is consumed during the daylight hours. As a result when the sun is setting Muslims gather for nightly *iftar* dinners where they break the fast. The gatherings range in size from immediate families, to extended families, to several families. On

weekends more formal *iftar* dinners are planned at the mosque and at other community centers. In Jordan, and the Muslim world, these events are more often just immediate and extended families. Gathering together the family will sit around their food and will wait to hear the *mu'aaddin's* call. However, due to the scarcity of the mosques in the United States, voiced recordings, or streamed prayers are used.

The largest gatherings of the community were that of *'eid al-fitr*, which is the end of Ramadan, and *'eid al-adha* which is a holiday celebrating Abraham's sacrifice of the ram in place of Ishmael. In the Middle East, *'eid al-fitr* lasts three days, and schools and work are shut down and the streets are filled with people. For the Arab-American community in the United States the mosque hosted one '*eid* party on the first day of *'eid*, while the community I was more connected with hosted one on a Saturday a week later. The reason for this was that many of the Palestinians and Jordanians, who were a large part of this branch of the Islamic community, spent much of Ramadan in Jordan and Palestine and so an event was held afterward to allow time for them to return. *'Eid al-adha* lasts four days in the Middle East and takes place seventy days after the end of Ramadan. However, *'eid al-adha* in the United States is celebrated on the weekend and is a smaller celebration.

The *'eid* parties were hosted by different families. Yezen and 'Aisha were in charge of the 'eid al-*fitr* party, while Majid's family, whom I had met over the summer, planned the *'eid al-adha* party. The *'eid al-fitr* party took place at a skating rink. Yezen and 'Aisha and their three daughters are quite fond of skating even though Yezen admits that he is horrible at it. The *'eid al-adha* party took place at the gym of a local YMCA. One half of the gym was set up with tables, chairs, and food, while the other half was split into basketball for the adults and an assortment of games for the smaller children.

I unfortunately had to attend the roller skating party alone. However, an interesting thing happened as a result of this. Because these events are family events most of the men sit with their wives. However, even throughout these events, the younger men kept to one side again, largely in their own smaller groups, both during dinner, and during any party games. As a result, I was naturally assigned a similar position by the community, both in terms of introductions to new people, and in the party games I wound up playing. However, I attended the *'eid al-adha* party at the YMCA with my wife. As a result, we were immediately met by several of the other married couples and invited to participate in the "married" games such as a raffle and a guessing style game. Instead of sitting with the younger men I found myself sitting at a table with an older second generation couple originally from Palestine, and a fairly recently arrived Iraqi woman and her children. At the skating rink, they were not actively separating me from the married men as such, but rather that by not having a wife present I was automatically connected with the unmarried younger men. This change of status between the events is clearly an example of the importance of having a wife for Arab-American males. It is also age dependent as the older unmarried men largely stuck to themselves rather than being assigned to the younger group.

These events were religious holidays and as such, a prayer time was set aside before dinner. This prayer time consisted entirely of men. Outside, the women continued to gossip and talk while watching the children play. This is not unusual in many mosques as women are often in a separate room during prayer. Often they are taking care of the children in this space and thus not all that active in the prayer service (Nageeb 2004). At this gathering most of the younger men also remained outside of the prayer service and instead were skating and playing other games with the younger children.

At both parties the children were served pizza instead of traditional Arab dishes. This is

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not unusual as Arab-American families have a very international diet. Yezen mentioned that in one week during Ramadan they ate everything from Thai food to Chinese, pizza, salad, and various "American" dishes. Arab food and Arab dishes are still commonplace at the house, but they were just a part of a much larger set of foods. At the events the younger group of men also helped themselves to pizza and did not fully understand why I decided to have Arab food instead of pizza. Their logic was that I would want to have both. I explained that I rarely have the chance to eat Arab dishes and so partake (often to excess) when they are available. My response still confused them as they would say, "it's pizza, how can you turn that down?" Several of them did not even partake in the Arab food at all preferring to simply eat pizza. This interest in pizza on the part of the younger generation and the lack of interest by the first generation points strongly to another element of their transnationalism as the second generation men seem generally more comfortable with American food at formal events than the first generation.

At the dinner for the *'eid al-adha* party two lines formed, one for women and one for men, to get to the food. My wife and I shrugged our shoulders confused as we had not seen this at any other gatherings. While in the line for food, my wife asked why the food lines were split into male and female. The woman in line next to her said it was so that there would not be touching, bumping, or contact of any sort between any possible future spouses. In my line I asked one of my informants I was standing to why they were split and his response was "I don't know, I haven't seen this before." When we returned to our table we asked Sabah the woman at our table about the event. Sabah had recently arrived from Iraq and she had three daughters. She also wore a head covering and from the outside might have looked quite conservative and traditional. However, she is also a great example of a how a head covering does not necessarily mean that she is timid or forbidden from talking to men. She said that the situation was

complicated, but after a short conversation in Arabic between her and the Palestinian-Arab-American man at our table, the only response she was able to immediately return was "it is tradition." He then explained that it was based upon the teachings of the prophet. She turned sharply and started an entirely new discussion between the two and one in which I sadly was only able to catch snippets. I was able to understand that it was a religious discussion about the *suwars* (plural of "*surah"* which are chapters in the *Qur'an*) and women's roles in Islam. The man kept shaking his head at many of her points and she shook hers right back at him.

He then explained about the separation of men and women and appropriateness and how it was advocated by Muhammed. When he left I asked her about the conversation and she stated that Islam in general does not advocate the separation as much as Arab tradition had. Their responses hint at a much larger debate ongoing within Islam about women's roles, gender separation, and what Muhammed actually said about men and women. Also interesting is that their conversation agreed on the separation of the *Qur'an* and tradition, a point that is more common among academic students of the *Qur'an*, but less common amongst most Muslims in general. While I have not dealt with changing aspects of gender in the Middle East it is important not to think of the region as static or unchanging. Feminism in the Arab world has been active since the turn of the century, and more recently challenges have been made against perceived traditional aspects of both Arab society and perceived ideas of what Islam says about gender roles (Amireh 2000; Saliba 2000; Golley 2004). Indeed, Sabah represents an often unnoted side of the Middle East as she worked both in the Middle East and here, was active in her community, and was well educated. Her response also highlights the intersections of modernity and the challenges to the perceived "traditional" ideas of male/female interactions – namely that debates do occur between men and women about proper roles, proper space, and how men and women

should negotiate gender.

Assuming the reasoning behind the separation of lines is to appease tradition, as several informants have suggested, and to make sure that no inappropriate interactions occur then an honor and shame dynamic is involved. However, as this separation of lines appeared in only one of the events I attended, while other events had a greater amount of intermingling in the food lines, it is a subtle evidence that the boundaries between honor and shame are generally more fluid for Arab-Americans, but that tradition and honor and shame remain important.

As these events were family friendly they also included a wide variety of family games. At the roller skating party I asked several of the younger men whether they liked a particular game (reminiscent of musical chairs, but mixed with a scavenger hunt) and if they were going to play. One responded that "it was her ['Aisha's] party, and there is no way I am not going to play." The tone and message behind the voice was that he did not want to, but that if he didn't he would get in trouble with 'Aisha, and that he could not possibly avoid it, try as he might. This came to pass when the chairs were set out and he tried to avoid her eyes, but to no avail as he was forced to join.

This example shows that although men are the public face of the family and the decider of the family, women have a lot more control over the conduct of both public and private gatherings than is conceived as ideal. The wives of the first generation are more active in planning and implementing the parties and the men will follow them and acknowledge their leadership. Initially the game was made up entirely of younger women, yet when the men joined the game the circumstances changed and it was suddenly entirely men participating as they had forced out all of the women. Thus, several men were forced back out of the game to make room for women to play. Once that happened the men and women were quite open to shoving one

another out-of-the-way during the games.

There are two very interesting elements to this example. First, there is the dominance men showed in shoving the younger girls out, and second in the openness that both the young men and women showed in shoving each other and in touching each other. Clearly these men were more open to man-woman interactions than is traditionally imagined. In addition, when forced to be active in the game they responded by reasserting male dominance and trying to take over the playing of the game. It is interesting that they did not initially want to play along with the younger women and that they were not willing to give them a chance. I suggest what this game is representative of is a changing gender dynamic. Even in the face of a more fluid idea of public and private boundaries men and women are also reestablishing these boundaries as important elements that continue to have meaning.

The ethnographic narrative above hints at the importance of the separation of space. At the same time, there are also suggestions of some rebellions on the part of women and some doubt about previous "traditional" conceptions of gendered space and gendered roles. One caveat I must mention is that I was studying men and as a result most of my interactions were with men. Another difficulty that arose is that I was not always able to access the women's sphere during these public gatherings. Those experiences and interactions I had largely resulted from my wife's presence and much of my information about their responses at these gatherings came from her questions.

In the second section I discussed how men stress the importance of their fathers and the interaction of fathers and sons in their reflections upon masculinity. Men often cite their mothers as a source of lessons about manhood, particularly in the learning of responsibility and self-management. Many of these ideas are learned through lessons told by their mothers, and more

often by the directions their mothers provided. The household was historically the domain of the woman and mother in Arab society and that is a pattern that continues amongst Arab-American families in America. While many Arab-American women do work, most of the wives and mothers of my informants stopped working while their children were growing up. Chodorow (1974) argued that in the process of raising children, the female self is therefore based more upon relationships and has a fluid boundary between self and others. The male self is more centered on autonomy and has an established hierarchical sense of self based upon fixed boundaries of behaviors and relationships. More recently, Rugh (1984) argues that Arab mothers use sons as an extension of their ego while Barakat (1993) argues that mother-son relationships can border on morbidity due to their closeness, seemingly countering Chodorow's points. Others have found this too extreme, as Suad (1999) has argued that while mother-son relationships in the Middle East are strong (but certainly not morbid), mothers often see the son as the prime offspring and the main element of their status as a mother. She also notes that mothers, in relying on their son for status, can reproduce patriarchal relations and male dominance. In essence, more recent scholars have followed and added onto Chodorow by noting that even though there is a break between the son and mother, the son still is intimately close with the mother and that the mother reproduces ideals of masculinity and patriarchy.

The first generation usually saw their mothers as the primary caretakers and as the ones who provided love and comfort, and spent most of the time with them:

> [My] mom was the one to give care and love and take care of the inside world
> [the home and private sphere] and [to take care of] that need of the kids by
> feeding them, loving them, helping them. That is pretty much ideal.

Again the first generation observed a separation between the public and private spheres. There is also the emphasis on the love and care provided by the mother. The statement also connects to

the point made by the first generation informants that their mothers would use their fathers as a "threat." Together the distance of the father and the love of the mother point echo the conclusions of Chodorow (1974). However, my informants responded that their mothers took care of most of the discipline in the home and that they usually had to deal with the real problems of the family. In addition, 'Aisha who is a second generation Arab-American but married to a first generation man, said that while growing up in Texas her mother had always worked and she was forced to take care of her own food and homework. When she had kids she did not want them to have to experience that – she wanted them to be well taken care of and provided for. She wanted them to have someone at home to help them with their homework and to make them food. As a result, this example points towards some of the changes among women as these women are reproducing the traditional divide between the public and private spheres even in the transnational setting.

As seen in the interviews with my informants, an important element of manhood is self-responsibility, decision making, and autonomy. Interestingly, one of the important values that the second generation informants felt they learned from their mother was self- reliance. A second generation informant noted that their mother was always providing directions, responsibility, and motivation:

> I guess [we learned] from telling us to do it every day, basic responsibilities of course. [She would say] Hey guys get up and do this, hey guys get up and do this. I learn to almost synchronize my whole day together. Sometimes I'm lazy enough to not do anything, but it comes from time to time, as a guy you don't even want to do anything, we wake up and sit and watch TV. But I've learned to manage everything that I have to do in one. I guess if you say, she taught me how to manage time, even though most of the time she doesn't follow it.

In this situation he sees the mother as promoting decision making and autonomy, and encouraging him to stay away from slothfulness. This reflects the ideal that men should be leading, making decisions, and being responsible. Part of this emphasis on responsibility might

have been born from her own experiences as he notes that:

> For my situation, my mom had to work, my mom had to work and come home to take care of us because we were living at such a low poverty line [in the past], they had to do it to make ends meet.

His mother, like many other mothers of the second generation, had in the past been actively working. Others planned on returning to work after their children were out of the house. Many were also active in planning community events and parties. In other words many of these mothers often blurred the boundaries between the public and private spaces. At the same time they were still encouraging ideal forms of masculinity and largely preserving the separation of spheres.

Another area in which men learn about masculinity from their mothers is in household chores. They largely see their mothers performing tasks around the house, to such a degree that several of my informants said "women do most of the women's work." What they are suggesting is that mothers and women should be (and are) doing the majority of the cooking and cleaning, as well as a majority of the household management such as enforcing discipline, bedtimes, and getting the children off to school. Studies have confirmed the continuing role Arab-American women take in the homes and in housework (Read 2003; Read 2008). At the same time the second generation sometimes saw their dad doing "women's work," but also recognized that it is not necessarily seen as right or proper:

> Well, there's a lot of culture[s], [that] like balances [and think] that men should be doing this, and that men cannot be doing that. So, in a way, a lot of times, my Mom would still be at work and this is when we first began to live here and she didn't have time enough to come home and it was kind of looked down upon that the husband cooked the food because like he prepared the food… well let's say he took an off day or he didn't have work, it is still looked down upon that [he is doing] some of the chores in house, like laundry or cooking the food, [because] it was done by a man, even though, in a realistic world, if you live by yourself, you have to do both.

Such observations echoed some of the comments made by the first generation informants.

Several said, "I help around the house." This usually resulted in a snort of laughter from their wives who generally thought their involvement was fairly limited. There is more to discuss here about household chores, but I will include it in my later section on marriage. However, in general it points to the changing dynamic of sons and mothers and the changing transnational dynamic of appropriate gender spheres.

These interactions point to several key themes. First, mothers teach sons the importance of hard work, decision making, and autonomy. Second, these mothers are imparting "masculine" knowledge to sons by providing a counter example of appropriate female behavior. Interestingly, although these second generation men saw chores and such as women's work they also described their fathers doing such work, and doing it themselves when on their own while away at the university. This divide suggests that while the first generation and second generation categorize such work as women's work they also recognize that in reality it is important work to do and can be done by men if required. This example shows that there is a mild break between how the first and second generation see their mothers. Mothers are finding that behaviors and accepted roles are shifting, mainly in the area of accepting outside jobs for wages, and the impact this has on their ability to do housework. However, at the same time there is some essentializing of roles in reaction to these changes as women stay at home and the second generation emphasizes the work as "women's work." In the end these mothers and sons are reconstituting the "ideal" separate spheres even while both sometimes blurred the boundaries.

One of the important elements of male-female interactions within the school was the shifting ideas of dating. Familial honor and familial shame are often the result of the family's children (Abu-Lughod 1986; Lindisfarne 1994; Hos 1997). An example of honor coming from children is that the parents often go by honorific titles of "*abu Ali*," or "father of Ali." On the other hand,

parents emphasized that their children needed to behave properly and openly so as not to bring about shame. However, what constitutes shame in this setting has shifted as the family has become more open and accepting about man-woman interactions and friendships. Previously shame had been more tied with women (Fenster 1999), but in the case of Arab-Americans, the emphasis on appropriate behavior extended to both the sons and the daughters. This adjustment indicates an appeal both to Euro-American ideas of gender equality while simultaneously returning to traditional ideas of gender boundaries and honor and shame.

This section returns briefly to the school realm. The first generation largely attended single sex schools. Some of the younger population from Lebanon attended co-ed schools, but in general they were segregated. As a result, male-female contact was largely limited in the school setting. However, it did occur in other interactions such as those between friends, sisters, and at community activities. But, these were always circumscribed and went on under very specific circumstances. Dating, a common experience here in the United States, was unheard of:

> It was, not very open, no, it was not very open because in that area. [Wife: He said to you, did you go on any dates? You are under oath here.] No, no, no, it wasn't very open in the school there, because what it was [Wife: culturally it is more of a no-no].

Any rumors of dating, or such inappropriate behavior, were not considered acceptable. Further, he notes that any such women involved were branded as "slut" by the Middle Eastern school population, even though nothing was said about men who were involved any of these activities.

For younger members of the first generation (aged roughly twenty-six to thirty) dating had become more common in the Middle East, at least in the wealthy areas, but it was restricted to males who had money:

> Dating was not very common, it was there, but not very common, there were certain groups who did date, but they were the ones who were the popular athletes, the well-off children who had access to personal driver or things of that

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nature, and they were the ones who were dating.

This suggests that dating was available to men who had the resources to ensure mobility as a form of self-reliance. However, another reason might be that many of those who had money and who had private cars tended to be more westernized. Still, although dating had become somewhat more acceptable for guys, it remained a taboo for women:

> They [their families] would be comfortable with the guys [going on dates], but not the girls. The girls that were more progressive or more free in a sense and that potentially liked different guys or went out with different guys would be referred to as sluts. They would be called these insulting terms.

This echoes the comments made by the older first generation informants about the use of the term "slut." It also suggests that even though there is more freedom of interaction and expression and a changing dynamic, the ideas of honor and shame continue to be present in the Middle East.

His quote also captures the changing dynamics of man-woman interactions. For the reality of the present is that both men and women in the Middle East are starting to go on dates and are thus are interacting with one another in ways that are not seen as inherently shameful by those participating. Much like the dating and friendships of the second generation Arab-Americans, these encounters occur under very controlled settings and away from the eyes of their families. While studying at the University of Jordan I made friends with many Arab women who were also students. While we would talk openly on campus, interactions outside of campus were more often restricted to gathering amongst my male Jordanian friends, or in *Abdoun*, the very wealth and very westernized section of Amman. On campus my friends pointed out to me the numerous couples that dotted the landscape. These couples would find places among the trees near the edges of the campus and away from the main gathering spots. They would sit quietly and talk maybe half a foot from one another. They would avoid looking at each other, but clearly a deeper message was being conveyed. My Jordanian friend said that such encounters were their

form of dating.

The campus thus served as a very safe region for men and women to interact with one another – interactions that were not always open in the other parts of the city. However, another friend told me that even in the more conservative areas women are going on dates, but they are doing so in areas away from the public view. In essence, many of the conventions regarding appropriate behavior and appropriate space are changing among the younger generation, perhaps somewhat unevenly, but in much the same way as they are for Arab-Americans. Dating interactions and the importance of the appropriate separation of space, against which the Upper Class Middle Eastern youth are rebelling, is largely carried over into the United States from the ideals and conceptions of the Middle East and revisited and reformulated by Arab-Americans.

Even in light of the changing dynamics of dating in the Middle East, many of these younger members of the first generation, members who had seen some dating occur in the Middle East, still remained shocked at the gender interactions when they arrived in the United States. As one younger first generation man said:

> It was kinda shocking, because it turns out that any guy can date and plus women were not offended and it was common for girls to go out with guys and common, I found out like, the lack of emphasis on financial status or financial appeal in that. So a regular guy could go out on a date and people were valued more for their personality and looks to some extent. That was kinda a big difference and you would see girls who were comfortable with that position and parents who were comfortable with that and it was out in the open. It was normal and even encouraged by family and friends, so.

They saw that even men who did not have money were going on dates. As a result, going on dates became a standard part of being a man in their mind. At the same time, in the Middle East, they had received an idea of the western woman as openly sexual, and openly shameless:

Yes, that was definitely a big, that is a good point and even before we left, my

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friend and I, were coming here together and all our friends, all they talked about, they didn't talk about majors, but only about how easy the women are and even one of my professors said just make sure to use protection as one of our pre-departure advice.

In this statement, the concepts of honor and shame are reproduced and established with respect to women and men. For western women are depicted as sex hungry and shameless women and thus there seems to be little shame that can be transferred to men. For these Arab men there was an inclination to take advantage of another's potential shame, because the women are strangers, westerners, and in the end have no honor, only shame. This seems to echo the points made about the differences in how women and men's dating habits are conceived. The sexual nature of western women and men was also an often asked question from my own experience as a student at the University of Jordan. Whether in the cafeteria, or on the steps of the *Markaz Al-lughat* (the language center), I would be asked by men about how many women I had slept with and how easy the women in the program with me were. Refuting their preconceived ideas was quite hard as the lessons of <u>Friends</u>, <u>Desperate House-wives</u>, and the numerous sexual encounters on American films and television were much more convincing than my words. Many of them used these programs and their ideas of the openness of American sexuality as evidence of the moral superiority of Islam and the Arab world. Interestingly, their viewpoints of Euro-American masculinity also parallel Euro-American ideas of Arab hyper-sexuality, particularly in the emphasis on active sexuality, chasing women, and numerous female partners.

However, when they arrived in the United States for university these younger first generation Arab-Americans noticed that their Arab cohorts were actively pursuing sex:

> They took advantage of it [the more open sexuality] to the fullest extent. I have lots of stories about sleazy acts and I know lots of guys, that is why I lost a lot of respect as I saw them taking advantage of it to the fullest extent even playing the emotional. Playing on certain emotions, talking to a girl and sweet talking to her, even this one guy would not hesitate to say how much he is in love with her.

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When she left he would laugh and talk about his sexual escapades. So, there was lots of people I know that took the full advantage, not to say all of them, but a lot of them did.

In essence, my informants saw the hypocrisy of honor-shame being played out. They say that in fact the actions of the men were filled with far more shame than the open sexuality of the American woman. For many, this resulted in their either actively rejecting the Arab community at their university and, in their minds, actively embracing parts of American masculinity that emphasized respectful friendships. At the same time they responded by emphasizing Islamic and Arab ideals of sexual purity and chastity. As a result, one of the largest changes for these men was the modification of their ideas of honor and shame. They extended the definition of shameful activities beyond women's behavior and judged men's behavior as well. In this setting these men, rather than retreating simply towards the conservative and traditional form of masculinity they knew from their youth in the Middle East, are instead responding to the more assertive sexual behavior of women by moving towards a more Euro-American ideal of gender that is more inclusive of male shame than the Middle Eastern models of male-female relationships permitted. At the same time, this movement is set within very Arab and Islamic terms. In essence, these men are forming a new "traditional" model that potentially stigmatizes sexuality in men, yet appeals to the same patriarchal and honor based systems of the Middle East. Thus, these men are returning to tradition in order to stabilize gender roles and relationships.

The second generation also had a very different experience with dating and female interactions. The second generation men went to public schools and interacted with women on a daily basis in classes, school projects, school functions, and extracurricular activities. When I asked a second generation university going man he responded:

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> We were taught to befriend all of them [women in classes], to be generous, but at the same time, we weren't taught to repulse them. We were taught to be generous and if they wanted to go beyond just friendship, we were told, as both me and my brother were told, to explain to them how our culture works and how the religion works. And if they can understand, that means that they are willing to be, they are willing to be a good friend with you, if they are not able to understand then that means that they don't really care and whatever you came from.

They had plenty of women for friends at school and would sometimes go "out" as part of groups. For important high social functions such as dances, the second generation men would often have to explain the situation to their parents. They would have to tell them how it was appropriate, and how it was a "cultural value" in order for them to attend. Although it sometimes took quite some time for them to convince their parents of the appropriateness of the event they did attend such "social dates" and high school functions:

> Yeah, I went [to dances] they knew who she [his date] was from before. She used to come with a bunch of friends of ours and she, they would know her name before I went with her, formal kind of dances like prom or Homecoming.

When I asked what would happen if a man wanted to go with someone their parents had not met, or who had not been around to their home they stated:

> They also wanted them [to get know her]. My parents would want to know what kind of person she is. Hopefully, [to know] she's not using drugs, she's not out creating trouble, stuff like that.

This is evidence of a reexamination of honor and shame for these parents are concerned to ensure the appropriate behavior of their sons and daughters. There is an impression that they need to vet the girls to make sure of appropriate behavior. This vetting process seems to echo some of the concerns about aggressive Euro-American women mentioned above. In the Middle East men's sexuality and men's dating has become much more acceptable even while women's dating had not. However, in this American setting, Arab-American fathers and parents are more concerned with making sure that their children (both sons and daughters) are not engaging in improper behavior even while they are going to dances. The end result is that Arab-American parents seem

more concerned about their son's behaviors than in the Middle East and are much more protective and watchful. Arab-American sons are also more direct and follow their parents directions about dating more closely than their Middle Eastern counterparts.

There was a larger question for the second generation of how men and women should approach each other, how they should behave around each other, and what the ideal form of these roles would be. When I asked a second generation informant his answer centered on decency, classiness, and appropriateness, in essence around honor and shame:

> I as well as many kids my age... we thought that the proper way to behave would be to keep it decent per se. For example holding hands wasn't very, most females would not be comfortable with that, but we would not see a problem with walking next to a girl, or being physically close to her in public. But things like kissing or public displays of affection were probably frowned upon or uncommon.

Thus, talking next to a woman, or being close to them did not break boundaries of decency or cause great concern. However, it is a balancing act and any steps over the appropriate boundaries were connected up with shame:

> Well, a lot of saying used [is said] to come from the prophet. It says if two people are together, the third one is *shaiten* (Satan), the devil, because there are urges, there's the guy and the girl together there's urges that play in your head, even though it might be silent. But there are those, I guess, whispering in your ear type of things, so they would say don't sit together by your guys' self. [So people say] if you guys want to sit in public that's fine because those urges don't usually come in public. So if you guys hang out, hang out in public. You guys can hang out together as long as there is not just you and her in a room by yourselves. That type would be OK.

As a result, although the second generation parents encouraged them to make friends and interact with women they also emphasized that these interactions still needed to be conducted properly, openly, and respectfully. The second generation generally followed these strictures well. Yet, though they were making friends with women there were greater possibilities for dating than with their Middle East counterparts, but less actual dating because that was frowned upon by

their Arab-American parents. Like the first generation, the second generation is more open to man-woman interactions but they carefully align themselves with more traditional ideas of the public and private sphere in order to maintain respect and respectability. These appropriate and acceptable forms of interactions emphasized the need for men and women to behave in proper ways to limit disrespect and honor. In this there is an emphasis that the son is also able to bring dishonor in a similar manner that the daughter could.

Dating is thus representative of the changing dynamics of masculinity. Arab-American men's reactions to dating show their transnational quality as they blur the boundaries of what is acceptable and not acceptable. In the case of dating, Arab-Americans have made male-female interactions more acceptable even while the individuals and families are turning away from formal dating. In doing so, they have adopted elements of the more inclusive Euro-American idea, but have also continued traditional aspects of male-female interactions. However, the changes to masculinity and men's understandings of dating are also a reaction to changing ideas of women and women's roles. Both generations are more open to the new forms of dating; however they respond and react to the changing roles by first realizing that dating runs the risk of bringing shame if not handled carefully.

Although I had to be the one to ask about dating, at all of the public gatherings and parties the men I had been interviewing and spending time with pestered me with questions about my fiancée/wife, my wedding, and married life. The majority of them were Palestinian and all had spent some time in Jordan (whether as a really young child, or on family trips), and as such asked me about my time there. However, the conversation quickly shifted to marriage when they learned of my upcoming wedding date. While their interest was not unusual to my mind the statement that followed was quite alien for they all said "I can't wait to be married." When I

asked them about marriage they commented that to be married was to be a man and that was their goal. Needless to say, this was quite unlike my experience with my friends, my own thoughts regarding the matter, or the approach that is most commonly depicted in the broader media. My own experience with marriage at that age, and even now, is that marriage is important, but not something to be actively striven for but rather something that comes along when the time is right. In essence, I had come across an important aspect of Arab-American masculinity for having a wife was a central aspect of being a man for my informants and it legitimized the male self.

During this conversation a man, roughly my age, asked about the courtship of my wife. I explained to him how we had met each other and how long we had been dating. However, after a few moments of confusion I realized that what he was curious about is how we had decided we wanted to be married not how we met and grew to know each other. He also peppered with me with questions about our faiths and our different ideas and seemed confused that my wife, who is a devout Catholic, could marry someone who was not Catholic. He pointed out that such marriages are unthinkable and generally inappropriate unless someone was to convert. In later conversations I asked about cross faith or cross cultural marriages and my informants mentioned that although it occasionally happened, in general American women just did not know what it took to be a proper wife. There were also concerns about the success of the marriage and the long term possibility of the wife fulfilling her duties. Families in general encouraged their children to look for Arab spouses from the homeland.

His interest was raised because he himself was looking for, what he called, "an arranged marriage." At the exact time that he and I were talking, his mother was in Jordan collecting the names of possible wives for him to meet. In a few weeks he planned to follow her to Jordan in

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order to meet some of the women and see where the relationship would take them. As my

curiosity, and my fiancee's curiosity, grew he explained that if the two of them decided they

wanted to meet they would go on a few outings, with family members of course, in order to see

if they were interested in pursuing anything more. If they remained interested after meeting they

would continue to talk and keep in touch when he returned to the US. At this point, if they

decided that they wanted to keep in touch they were considered engaged until they were married

or one of them called it off. He planned on making it back to Jordan several times over the year

in order to find a wife.

After more research I learned that many of the men, especially men in their twenties, go

back to the Middle East to find their wives. According to them, the reason is that "The women

here are just not, they just don't understand – they aren't traditional enough." Thus, they return to

their parents' homeland and find an appropriate wife that better reflects their values:

> You see a lot of Arabs, or Arab-Americans that eventually go back home and after
> doing all kinds of things [with girls here] they, [when the time for] real
> commitment comes, they will go back and find a young girl from a good family
> who dad knew.

A good family is important. Proper protocols need to be followed and tradition needs to be

upheld. As a result, marriage takes on an important dynamic of appropriateness and honor. Even

those Arab-Americans who do date in this country often find themselves returning home for a

wife:

> I actually know a guy that, he dated this girl Kaley, for quite some time, but when
> it came time [to get married], he broke up with her and married someone from
> within the family [connection] back from his home country.

This echoes some of the Arab-American literature around marriage and dating. Swanson (1996)

recounts the story of Abdallah, an Arab-American, who fell in love with an educated black

American woman. However, he was unable to marry her and due to the pressure of his family

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and their concerns about him dating a black woman. As a result, he called off the relationship and returned to his parent's home village. Thus, there is a lot of pressure on them to marry, and also to marry the right person, as non-Arab women are questioned, and the intentions for the marriage are also questioned. For they are concerned about how the children will be taken care of, who will do the raising, and what it will mean for the husband's role in the family. For while marriage is about manhood underneath marriage is question of honor. Their concern is that their sons needed to marry properly because a wrong marriage can bring about shame by propagating what they see as improper relations between the husband and wife. For example, one informant had married a Euro-American graduate student and his father severely questioned the marriage – even the day before the wedding. His father questioned the bride's commitment to him and the family, and also questioned her ability to take care of him by doing the things necessary for a woman such as taking care of the home, cooking and cleaning, and primarily tending to the families needs. In reality, his father was questioning her ability to be an Arab woman – for her status as a non-Arab, an academician, and a career woman meant that she challenged many of the assumptions of Arab-American male leadership and appropriate woman's roles in a family. At the same time, his father was really saying that because of her autonomy, his independence, masculinity and thus honor would be challenged. He would be less of a man because he was not leading her, directing her, and that by not being a proper wife she would bring shame to her husband and her family.

The way in which Arab-Americans find wives here is quite different from that of the contemporary homeland. While many of the younger generation of Jordanians are meeting up at school and going on "dates," in order to find a spouse, the first and second generation Arab-Americans are reconstituting an idea of a "traditional" way of finding a spouse by returning

home to find a proper wife. Even those second generation Arab-Americans who might even be actively dating are still encouraged and pressured to find "proper" women from home. These women from the Middle East are seen as being more "traditional" and more understanding of what are perceived to be appropriate values. In this way, even as dating and friendships with women have become more commonplace and accepted a symbolic line is drawn in the sand. In essence, these men are reacting to the changes that have occurred both in women's roles and women's behavior in this country by emphasizing the importance of tradition and "traditional" women. This reaction has resulted in an appeal to honor and shame and a turn towards a very patriarchal iteration of familial roles.

This brings up a new line of questioning in how Arab-American men see the role of the wife. As I suggested earlier, the home is seen as the woman's domain and she manages the household, taking care of cooking, cleaning, and the children's activities. However, the situation is not always as straightforward. An example of the breakdown in the clear separation of the public and private domains was in one of my encounters at a yard sale. A wide variety of American and Middle Eastern items were spread out on the tables. They ranged from sets of plates and dishes adorned with Arabic script to children's plates covered in a Hello Kitty figures. There were also Ikea lamps, blankets adorned with palm trees, and a wide assortment of women's and men's clothing, none of which would have been out-of-place in any yard sale. There were also lawn mowers, weed whackers, and assorted lawn care items as well as assorted screen parts. As we sat and talked in Arabic and his children ran around in circles about him, the usual stream of yard sale goers strode in and bid on items. However, whenever they asked for a price he would call his wife and tell the person that "these items are my wife's, I just need to get the amount." At first I thought this was because they were mostly women asking about clothing,

but he called about every item – including the gardening and lawn care items. Although he had put up the announcements and was presiding over the sale; the items of the home were the wife's and she made the final decision about them. Although women are becoming more active in the Middle East the approach is slightly different. One of my professors at University of Jordan shared with me how he and his wife get along:

> We were looking for a car and we both tried the car and I decided I wanted it. However, my wife told me we should think it over. The salesman seemed OK with us coming back the next day. After that we went home and she yelled at me until I agreed that we would not get the car. The next day I returned and told the salesman that I didn't want the car.

This is just an example, but it does show that although the Middle Eastern wife may be more active in making decisions than is traditionally conceived, she is still not taking such a large and public role as her Arab-American counterpart. Essentially, while the man and the husband might be the public face and the provider of the home, the wife remains the glue that holds it together and is the dominant force within the home. This is also in line with points I have made earlier in this thesis, as well as the larger literature around family space (Chodorow 1974; Moghadam 1993; Nageeb 2004; Predelli 2004; Read 2008).

I asked several informants about who spends the most time with the children and I received some interesting responses:

> Well, obviously because she is not working and I am working, she is spending most of the time [with the children]. As far as the quality time [goes], I would say I am more aware that time fly[s] fast, and what I am having, the moments I am having with my girls, I have two girls, are very precious moments. So, whenever I go home, I am the one who starts the games and plans the trips [for them]. So that trying to have memories that, that one day, when they grow up, they can have good memories of us.

This was an often repeated refrain, even by the women. While the wife spent more time with the children and did more of the raising both the husband and wife observed that the husband spent

more of the quality time with the children. This is also a sign of a break between the Arab parents of the first generation and the first generation themselves. The first generation fathers are much more active and involved than their Arab-born fathers were. At the same time, the first generation still saw household chores and daily management of the home as the domain of the woman rather than the home entirely. One example of the more active involvement of the father is that he is more active about encouraging his children to behave properly:

> I want to provide them [my daughters] everything they need so that they do not want to do things like date, have sex, or other things they should not be doing that are so open in this society for women. By providing a loving home I want to encourage them to think about what it is they should be doing.

In essence, part of the reason that he is involved in the home more is because he is concerned about his daughters' behaviors. While he is not cleaning, cooking, or driving them places he is providing them with fun activities, items, and other things they need so that they will avoid shame. Fathers are not flat out telling their children not to do certain things, but rather encouraging them to rationally think out their situation in order to avoid shame as well as trying other ways to promote proper behavior and to protect honor. For instead of thinking about shame as flowing from actions one is told not to do, fathers are instead encouraging their children to think and to choose the path away from shame. As a result, fatherhood is changing, but fatherhood is still seen as being centered on a traditional idea of the father as a leader and the father as a provider rather than as a nurturer or cleaner.

However, in the contemporary Arab-American home these boundaries can be more flexible regarding household chores and taking care of children. There are accounts in the interviews of men cleaning and cooking and women running public functions such as the *'eid* party. However, there are also cases where men get angry or confused at their wives for stepping out of the boundaries between public and private. During one interview, when the topic of

marriage came up, one of my informant related the story of a friend named Ahtaj who was always becoming annoyed at his second generation Arab-American wife for her concerns, unhappiness, and desires:

> He [Ahtaj] always asked why does she want more? [Ahtaj will say to her] we have a full fridge and a nice furniture and nice vehicle and a nice house. What does she want more than that. But she wanted to go back to school she wanted to be out in the community and she just did not work out and you know he could not understand that not all she want[ed] was food and an income. She wants more than that, she wants [a] career and education, and he would prefer [that she was like] you know, his sister or his sister-in-law, [who is] a traditional conservative woman and stays at home and provides food and has a cooked meal every night.

In this setting the husband felt that as long as he was fulfilling his obligation as a husband, his wife should be happy. As he was providing for his wife he expected her to run the home and to be happy about it. He was actually confused by her desire to expand on what she had, and he seems to have genuinely thought that fulfilling what he considered traditional roles would bring happiness to his wife. Another interesting point is that as a second generation Arab-American woman she clearly was resisting a push towards the more traditional model of gender that emphasized separation of space and limitations to women's space. My informant felt sympathy with his friend's wife and understood his friend's wife position and her concerns with his limited view of what she could do. He also stated that Dhalam's reaction was uncommon, and that more often men would talk with their wives and agree to set appropriate boundaries. While I was glad to hear that such behavior is uncommon this account still points to the importance of honor and shame and traditional boundaries to men and men's ideals and that crossing these boundaries can have unfortunate results.

Husbands usually perpetuated these fixed ideas of men and women's roles by controlling their wife's behavior through ideological means; however when boundaries were crossed by women, and men were unable to control behavior ideologically, they turned toward more

physical forms of dominance. The end result was dangerous and could result in a more violent

interaction. One of my first generation informants related this encounter to me during an

interview:

> My friend [Dhalam] was married for legal purposes [citizenship reasons[5]] to her
> and something happened [at a get together], some kind of altercation [involving
> something she said or did outside of the house[6]]. The friend ended up basically
> yelling at his wife and ordering her to go to her bedroom and yelled at her, called
> her something, and asked her not to come out again. I guess that she is a little
> more submissive and she did that and this guy basically told me that she has so
> much [need] for this masculine strong man. He [Dhalam] said that, you know, he
> just knows how to tame his wife and is so strong and powerful, and you know you
> should have seen how he yelled at her and she went to her bedroom crying. And
> the next time she came out she was all nice and friendly and apologized. He
> basically kinda gave her the cold shoulder after that.

In essence, in her husband's mind she had stepped out of her realm of the home and as a result

needed to be put in her place. In terms of honor and shame, she had challenged her husband's

honor and as a result he directed verbal abuse toward her and justified his abuse by appealing to

the need to protect honor. This turn towards violence and abuse in the face of changing ideas,

conceptions, and desires on the part of women is a form of masculine power and an attempt to

hold onto patriarchal institutions and beliefs. Totten (2003) notes that girlfriend abuse is often a

method used by men to both retain power and to formulate masculinity. In a similar situation

Dhalam is constructing and asserting his masculinity by setting himself in contrast his wife. By

suggesting that his wife needs to be "tamed" he is both legitimizing his behavior and his version

of a dominating leading masculinity. At the same time, he is reacting against her independence

out of the house and reasserting his dominance and his role. In this case he is clearly appealing to

the traditional boundaries of space and the traditional powers of the husband in order to maintain

the ideals of familial roles. At the same time, my informant sympathized with his friend's wife,

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5   She was an Arab-American woman but he was born in the Middle East and came to the United States by
    marrying her and obtaining US citizenship.
6   She had gone to the mall to go shopping.

and observed that many of the people at the gathering were equally concerned by his behavior as such behavior is fairly uncommon among Arab-American men. He felt that Dhalam was being a poor husband and not respecting his wife. This is clearly a very coercive form of masculinity and I was fortunate to not witness any of these type encounters firsthand.

4. Conclusion

To recount, my aim with this thesis has been to explore Arab-American conceptions of masculinity. One of the key points of Arab-American masculinity is that in the United States woman are taking on more of the roles traditionally seen as masculine. As a result, men are experiencing challenges and changes to their masculinity. In order to cope, men are reconstituting honor and shame in reaction to the changes among women in order to maintain their ideas of masculinity. This is evidenced throughout my data on how men see themselves, and how they relate to their families. It is also evident in the reactions Arab-American men took to the changing school environment, dating, and marriage. My main argument is that Arab-American men respond to these changes by appealing and returning to tradition in order to sustain the patriarchy and maintain men's status and leadership. This section sums up the major findings before moving onto the further research possibilities.

First, Arab-American masculinity in practice is transnational, thus it is hybridized. How Arab-Americans conceive of their masculinity has its root within their transnational experience, particularly in the interaction of the gender ideas and practices of their homeland, and the United States. It is transnational in that Arab-American men take elements of both Arab and American contexts into account within their masculinity. This is evident from the experiences at the school and university, in clothing, and in choice of friends among the second generation. It is hybridized as they take elements of masculinity and mix them, bringing about a new form of masculinity

that is negotiated between their Arab and American ideas of masculinity; however, depending on the situation it can be more Arab or American. An element of this hybridism is that they can be more Arab or more American in different setting, a point notable in the examples given around the second generation's choice to not drink at parties, their discussions with their parents about going out with friends, and the differing interactions they took with women at school and at the parties. Essentially, their masculinity is different at home than at school, amongst and between friends, at holidays, parties, and at gatherings at home. However, in the end Arab-American masculinity retains a central core of traditional masculinity. This is present notable in their choices of not dating, of who their marriage partners are, and how they lead and direct their family. For, while many of them embraced forms of dating both generations largely hold men accountable to an acceptable form of Arab marriage. At the same time though it takes aspects of Arab and American masculinity it retains a central core of traditional masculinity. In essence, they are blending the boundaries of masculinity while creating a simulacrum of traditional Arab masculinity.

Second, the data provides an overview of the most critical practices and conceptions of ideal Arab-American masculinity. At its core Arab-American masculinity is about family. To be a man is to be married, to have a wife, and to have children. It is also about family in that one's role as a man is to direct the family, to provide for the family, and to take care of the needs of the family. As many of my informants suggested, to be a man and to be husband it is to be the captain and the hunter of the family. The words that they chose are important as hunter and captain are dominant positions, but they are also roles that require calculation, rationality, and intelligence. These positions are also roles that involve overseeing others and are filled with decision making. This speaks to a larger idea of what it means to be a man as they are to be

rational, and to make important decisions. For a man makes decisions for the family when decisions need to be made, even if they are tough or unpopular; however, it is important to find the right path for one's decisions. This decision making aspect of masculinity is found throughout the literature. Notably by Gallagher (2005) who observes in her study of conservative Christian masculinity and fatherhood that men lead their families by living up to Christian values and persuading their families to behave properly. At the same time men do not make all the decisions for the family, only patriarchal decisions that guide the larger goals of the family. Abu-Lughod (1986), while writing about Bedouin gender ideals, points out that for the Bedouin protecting and leading the family away from shame is an important part of men's roles.

The impact of transnationalism has been apparent in the changes occurring around honor and shame. Protecting the family from shame is one of the important roles of the father. However, protecting the family from shameful acts has changed as a result of their transnational experience. As these men arrived in the US they interacted with a system that was much more accommodating and open to women making decisions and having independence. This caused a break in how they taught shame. Arab fathers enforced shame through punishment, discipline, and enforcement. However, Arab-American fathers instead appealed to reason in order to teach their children about shame through what I had called the "lens of choices." Arab-American fathers emphasized that they would be disappointed rather than "mad" with bad behavior. They also appealed to provisioning in that they try to provide everything their daughters would need so that they will not engage in activities such as sex, drugs, or other activities that would bring shame. In essence, these men were still concerned with honor and shame, but they were teaching it in a new transnational way that emphasized the importance of youth making their own decisions to avoid shame.

Arab-American conceptions of masculinity have their root in a society with a strong division of gender. In the Middle East the divide between men and women was, and remains, quite rigid and emphasizes the differences between public and private spheres, as well as between men and women's roles, behaviors, and practices. Moghadam (1993) notes that traditionally men were the public face of the family. Pearson (2002) notes that most of the gender roles and values that children were taught are found in the particular lessons taught by parents. The mother taught more lessons about cooking, cleaning, and household management to their daughters while boys were taught trades, skills, and other public roles by their fathers. Naturally, However, the division that remains important in the Middle East is being re-echoed among Arab-Americans. The importance of this public/private divide was clear throughout the interviews, particularly regarding the roles of mothers and fathers, and the appropriate spaces of man-woman interactions. Their responses point to the continued importance of the man as the leader and public face of the family and the mother as the nurturer. At the same time, however, the distinctions between the public/private divide have lessened as evidenced by the increased man-woman interactions in school, the reports of men doing more household chores, and mothers working. These spheres and realms are not absolutely distinct and are changing as Arab-Americans develop a much more fluid idea of the boundaries and what is appropriate.

This separation and division of gender is also key to understanding the changes in honor and shame. This naturally is a broad statement as women seek out honor via acts of modesty, but these efforts notwithstanding most researchers of honor and shame agree that women are the weak link in making a family susceptible to shame. Abu-Lughod states that within the honor-shame system, men are usually the bearers of autonomy and honor, while women are the bearers of dependency and shame (1986:118). Wikan (1984), while studying in Egypt, suggests that

traditionally family shame is largely a result of the behaviors and practices of women. However one of the big changes for Arab-Americans is that both men and women can bring shame to the family and thus both men and women need to make decisions that avoid shame. An example comes from dating and marriage. First generation Arab-American reacted against the idea they had been given of the western woman as slutty and shameless by seeing the behavior of shameless men as equally shameful. The first generation incorporated this attitude into their behaviors and taught these lessons to the second generation. As a result, although second generation men will go on dates, and participate in events such a dances and proms, the family, who also is concerned about the appropriateness of their dates, will often meet their dates beforehand. As a result, the second generation men have followed the guidelines set by their parents and state that they are avoiding shameful acts such as premarital sex. Arab-American men are also direct in talking with their friends about the limitations on their emotional involvement with them. Even when Arab-American men engage in long term relationships with non-Arab women, in the end Arab American men are not looking for American wives, or Arab-American wives. Instead, they return to their parents' homeland and find Arab wives and women who are more traditional and seen as more appropriate by their families. Thus, honor and shame continues to be important.

Honor and shame is reconstituted as a result of the transnational context. It is dealt with more lightly and with an emphasis on proper decision making and avoiding causing shame to the family. It is also more open in that while women continue to face the brunt of shame, men can attract more of it as well. However, the shame that is wrought on men is the shame of stepping out of boundaries that could harm male status. The changing dynamic of honor and shame speak to my larger point that Arab-American masculinity is centered on women and reacting to the

changes occurring among women. This concern results in an appeal to tradition in order to maintain status. For example, to be a man one must be a family man and to have a family, a man needs to be married and thus have a wife. For the family to truly be a family it needs to have children and the father needs to provide for them. Thus, the essentialized qualities of leading and directing a family are largely an outgrowth of a concern for women for these qualities cannot exist for men separate from women. A man is supposed to be a captain, a hunter, he is supposed to guide the family. In this case, the man is meant to direct women and his primary goal is to direct and watch out for women and children. He also needs to watch out and instruct family members against shame. As a result, the man is responding to the changes in women's behavior by being more persuasive and taking a cooperative role in family relations instead of being unquestioningly followed. However, the end result is that traditional ideas of men's roles are still present, if somewhat modified by their American context. The Arab-American man is still leading the family and is still enforcing patriarchal decisions; however he is enforcing it through an appeal to reason and by teaching his children to choose well.

In public events, men are still centered on women as they follow the directions of women, such as 'Aisha's commandment about playing a game. These were situations in which the younger men knew that they would be required to fulfill the commands and requests of other, always older, women. However, at the same time, boundaries continued to be erected, particularly around sports and games. This exclusion reinforced the separation of the sexes and served to show the concern for appropriate boundaries for men and women's roles, and men and women's behavior. At the public gatherings women were taking more and more positions that are seen as masculine such as directing social activities and planning the public events, while at the same time the men reacted to these roles by continuing to erect boundaries between men and

women. As a result, although they appear to be open to a more fluid evaluation of male-female roles the end result is still that traditional divisions between the sexes are formulated that emphasize male status.

While it has become acceptable for a woman to have a job and to work out of the home, it remains unacceptable for a man to remain at home with the children, indeed it is impossible for him to do so. Staying at home would be seen as shameful and damaging to masculinity – as is evident in the case of an Arab-American man who did not find a wife abroad and married an American woman who is well educated and career oriented. His father feared that she would be unsuitable and possibly damaging to his son's masculinity. This fear is that the wrong kind of woman and wife can emasculate the Arab-American male. At the same time, it is frowned upon for the women to work while raising children, something that even the women accepted. Again, a reactive quality is established whereby the man responds to the changing dynamic of women by establishing and erecting traditional boundaries of gender to ensure male status in the family. In essence, while the woman could work, the man must work to support the family. To stay at home would be to give up one of the most agreed-on aspects of manhood. One of the results of this point is that the hierarchy of family takes precedent over the desires of individuals.

To conclude this section, Arab-American masculinity, even though transnational and hybridized, continues to emphasize some of the dominating aspects of masculinity. Arab-Americans in general are not enforcing masculinity through punishment, discipline, or abuse, and are generally more accepting of fluid boundaries and relations between the sexes. But these fluid boundaries and more open relationships only extend so far as they are still appealing to traditions and status divisions in order to maintain their status as men. One of the results of this is that Arab-American men in general are still utilizing a hierarchy that elevates family over

individuals, elders over juniors, and largely still, men over women,

Another area that this project raised questions about is hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity has long dominated discussions of masculinity; however it has recently come under attack for its vague theory and difficulty in application. Connell states that hegemonic masculinity is "always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women" (Connell 1987:183). This shows that one of the basic tenets of hegemonic masculinity is that masculinity is used to devalue men and women and certain kinds of men in order to maintain men's higher ideological status and preferred ideals of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity also argues that women are encouraged to do "masculinity" (Almeida 1996; Henderson 2001; Hennan 2005). Yet, Arab-American masculinity is actually encouraging a continued separation of gender and a separation of space – they are not encouraging women to do masculinity nor are they judging women according to their masculine standards. In the end, while my data shows that a form of hegemony exerts influence, it also shows that the relations between men and women are more complex and that perhaps multiple forms of hegemonic masculinities exist and that the "subordinated masculinities" that hegemonic masculinity constructs are equally hegemonic. For example, Arab-American hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to women, but structured as a reaction to women. As a result, perhaps Arab-American masculinity shares some of the patriarchal qualities of "hegemonic masculinity" but takes it essential cues from an Arab hegemonic masculinity rather than an American hegemonic masculinity. As a result, although hegemonic masculinity does shed some light on the situation, but perhaps a single model cannot account for all masculine behaviors. For example, rather than just saying that hegemonic masculinity is constructed according to men and women it could discuss how men must constantly define themselves in relation to women and how

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hegemonic masculinity is constantly restructured to maintain status.

In its attempts to elicit normative concepts of masculinity hegemonic masculinity the theory rejects the idea of different "hegemonic" masculinities that exist in different spheres. For it takes as an assumption a basic or singular nature of a dominant masculinity and that this dominant masculinity should exert an ideological hold on subordinated masculinities. However, Arab-Americans are making few references to outside masculinity and instead enforcing their own form a "hegemonic" masculinity. They are essentially indifferent the Euro-American hegemonic model. In essence, hegemonic masculinity in its current form misses the cross-cultural element of gender and masculinity a criticism commented on by previous masculine researchers (Whitehead 2002; Jefferson 2002; Howson 2006).

To conclude, throughout my interactions and interviews men I observed that men are constantly involved in the lives of women and center their conceptions of masculinity around these women's roles. However, this involvement is reactive not proactive. Masculinity is created as a response to changing women's roles. One of the results is that Arab-American men are recreating traditional Arab masculinity in an American context – they continue to police their daughters and sisters, and they continue to emphasize the role of provisioning and leading the family. Honor and shame continue to dominate the relations between men and women and have influences and effects on both as men are concerned about honor and about shame. However, these traditional ideals have been reformed and reconstituted for the new setting.

<center>Further Research Possibilities</center>

Further research can confirm and enrich my findings. First, this project focused largely on first and second generation males. Although there similar projects looking into the lives and ideas of women of the first and second generation Arab-American in Detroit and New York,

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projects that examined masculinity and femininity in smaller "isolated" communities such as Tacoma would add to these findings significantly. At the same time, concepts of honor and shame continue to be important within these transnational communities and thus more projects examining the specifics of honor and shame within transnational communities would also add to my findings.

Second, this project opens up questions about masculinity and femininity not only in the Arab-American community, but also the larger domain of men's studies. Much of the last twenty years of men's studies has been dominated by theories of hegemonic masculinity. This thesis, along with many others, calls into question parts of the usefulness of aspects of hegemonic masculinity theory. In light of these critiques, more research should examine the specifics of masculinity systems and their historical developments in relationship to men, women, femininity, especially given the growing importance of transnational, national, and non-western masculinities within the world. This project raises questions about masculinity in general. While much of the theory of masculinity focuses on male-male interactions, or male behaviors, this project calls into question this underlying assumption. As a result, taking on-board an understanding of the importance of women and femininity in creating masculinities will help to further our understanding both of masculinity, and male-female interactions.

In this thesis I have shown that Arab-American masculinity is in the midst of change as a result of the transnational setting. This change is largely reactionary against the change occurring among women and women's roles in order to preserve masculinity. One of the results of this change is that honor and shame, important concepts of Arab and Middle Eastern masculinity, have been reconstituted within the transnational setting. It has been made transnational, more fluid and flexible, but still present whether it is the new experience of sharing classrooms with

women, or the experience of negotiating American high school dating, dances, and male-female interactions. However, in the end Arab-American masculinity is best understood as a reactionary masculinity that attempts to maintain gender disparities and to preserve the essential traditional components of masculinity by emphasizing the separation of space and the importance of honor and shame in order to reassert male power and status.

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