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**Husein, Hasan Ibrahim**

**ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL MOBILITY: THE CASE OF THE  
PALESTINIANS**

*City University of New York*

**PH.D. 1986**

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**Economic, Social and Spatial Mobility: The Case of the  
Palestinians**

**by**

**Hasan Husein**

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in  
Sociology in Partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City  
University of New York.**

**1986**

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## Abstract

Economic, Social and Spatial Mobility: The Case of  
the Palestinians

by

Hasan I. Husein

Advisor : Professor William Kornblum

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the processes of the creation of the Palestinian community formation in the Northeast of the United States.

The internal and external factors pertaining to the Palestinian immigration movement are analyzed. The former included an examination of the historical events that were behind the Palestinian immigration movement: the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967, 1973, 1982, and the civil wars of 1970 in Jordan, and Lebanon 1975-1984. The effects of these events on the creation of the Palestinian communities in the Northeast of the United States are discussed. A comparison between the old and new immigrants is presented, and how the situation in their homecountry changed the form of their migration, their occupational structure, and their present and

future prospects in the United States. While the chief external factor affecting the Palestinian immigration was the result of the U. S. Immigration Act of 1965. Palestinians, especially those who were living in South America took advantage of this act. Other members of their families joined them, and made the United States a destination in their endless sojourn.

The concept of chain migration is utilized throughout the study to explain the routes of community creation and development.

This study reveals some of the salient characteristics of the Palestinian immigrants, especially their economic, social and spatial mobility. Also, it explains the changes that occur among this population and their assimilation in the new social structure. Further, it explores the dynamics of ethnic persistence, social adaptation, and the functional roles of traditions and family structure. The study emphasizes the significance of kinship, and friendship as a basis of community creation, development, and unity, which not only reflected itself in the migration process, but also in the occupational, cultural, and residential distribution of Palestinians in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan region.

Five main techniques were utilized in data collection: participant observation, structured, and unstructured

interviews, "snowball sampling", a questionnaire-interview, and literature on the Palestinian history and the Palestinian diaspora.

This study demonstrates that developments outside a people's country have international repercussions and should be taken into consideration in understanding the emergence of ethnic groups and their assimilation within American society.

To: Ibrahim & Aisha  
My Parents

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## INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a study of the economic, social and spatial mobility of the Palestinian population in three cities namely: Paterson, North Bergen, and Brooklyn. It endeavors to discover the reasons for their migration and how these communities have changed over time and in respect of different immigration waves, namely, the Arab Israeli wars of 1948, 1967, 1973, 1982, and the civil wars in Jordan (Black September, 1970), and Lebanon, 1975-1984. The purpose of this study is to explore the historical and structural foundations of the Palestinian community in diaspora.

The present social organization of these ethnics in the three cities will be investigated in order to learn how this ethnic group has been established in the United States, and the changes that have occurred and are occurring to this group.

I will be using data on economic, social, and spatial mobility in order to understand the social structure and social change. Social structure refers to:

"the set of crystalized relationships which its members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government, and recreation."  
(Gordon, 1964 pp.30-31)

The paper will be specifically concerned with : first, the movement of individuals or groups from one social class or social structure to another; second, the change in occupation experienced by the individuals or groups; and, third the process of spatial or ecological mobility in terms of change in the physical location.

Such mobility as will be discussed later in the study is conditioned by economic and social forces. The former includes: income, transportation, place of employment, and rent. The latter consists mainly of: the presence of kin and friends, clubs, and the larger Arab community. This approach involves studying the Palestinian migrants in different sections of the New York metropolis through data on their economic, social and spatial mobility. This study will further explore the relationship between the three types of variables: (economic, social, and spatial), and their effect on the mobility of the Palestinians, and the community's coherence and social integration. Such a process will increase our understanding of the effect of the broader community on the adaptation and adjustment of the Palestinians.

No study has empirically investigated the above-mentioned variables for a substantial segment of overseas

Palestinians, which makes this study unique. However, a few social scientists have studied Arab immigrants (Agocs, 1981; Sengstock, 1969,1977,1982; Elkholy, 1966, 1976; Kayal and Kayal, 1975; Othman, 1969, 1974; Aswad,1974; Abraham and Abraham, (1981).

An initial survey conducted by the author showed that around fifty percent of the Palestinians living in South Paterson are self-employed mainly in the grocery business. Further, rent and housing costs in this area are compatible with the costs in other areas which are higher in 'social status'. Such occupational specialization is also a characteristic of the Palestinians living in Brooklyn and to some extent North Bergen. Brooklyn is not only an area where Arabs congregate, but also represents a 'symbol' of Arab's ethnicity in general and the Palestinians in particular. Atlantic Ave in Brooklyn is taken as a symbol of Arab tradition, history, and culture. It is there that the Middle Eastern goods are stored and shipped to almost every other Arab community in the United State. These goods mainly include pita bread (Syrian bread), Arabic music and video tapes, cuisine, clothing and home furnishings. North Bergen has a miniature concentration of Palestinians extending primarily from 70th st. to 83rd st. A large proportion of Palestinians are employed in the embroidery industry which

has been typical of the area for many decades. Other occupations include supermarketting, peddling, and some professionals that mainly work in New York especially in the United Nations in its various departments. These areas are the first settlement of the Syrian-Lebanese who started their migration to the United States at the end of the 19th century. (Kayyal, and Kayyal, 1975)

The term Palestinian as will be used in the study refers to the Arabs who lived in Palestine and the West Bank prior to 1948; those who trace their descent to the land once called Palestine, and those who have continued to think of themselves as Palestinians regardless of the geographical area to which they moved. Arab is a more general term which refers to those people that are living in one geographical area, have one history, one general set of customs and habits, have common aspirations, and speak the Arabic language. Palestinian communities exist in different, dispersed geographical localities extending mainly from their homeland, Palestine, to Jordan, the Arab Gulf States, and the Americas. These communities although geographically different, share a common heritage, language, way of life, and above all national aspiration. This present reality has been molded by various conditions which can be subjected to sociological analysis.

Almost 1,400,000 Palestinians lived in Palestine before 1948. (Abu-Lughod, 1971; U.N.,1940) The U.N.R.W.A estimated the number of Palestinian refugees slightly under 900,000 as of the 1949 armistice date. Those refugees found themselves residing in cities and refugee camps outside the 1948-49 Armistice line in the West Bank and other neighboring Arab countries. At the end of 1979, the Palestinian population reached 4.2 million based on 3.5 percent annual natural increase. Now, their number exceeds 4.5 million. Abu-Lughod,1986) The following table illustrates the geographic distribution of the Palestinians at end of 1980:

Table (1:1) Geographic Distribution of Palestinian Arabs at end of 1980

Country of Residence	Estimated Number of Palestinian Arabs	Percentage of all Palestinian Arabs
Inside Palestine	1,774,000	43%
Core Adjacent Countries	1,572,000	38%
Lebanon	330,000	8%
Jordan-East Bank	1,035,000	25%
Syria	207,000	5%
Other Arab Countries	650,000	15%
Rest of the World	144,000	4%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,140,000</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Abu-Lughod, 1986 p.23

In the United States Palestinians started their migration early in the late 19th century as "sojourners". They came for a short period of time, and few stayed permanently. The early statistics on the Palestinian migration to the U.S. gave their numbers at a few hundred in 1926. Prior to this period they were included under "Turkish from Asian Populations" in the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. During the 1940's their numbers increased to 1,272 in 1947 as immigrants and 1,783 as non-immigrants. (Immigration, and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports, 1926)

After the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, more than 8,209 Palestinian immigrants and 17,557 non-immigrants entered the United States during the period of 1956-58. The cause of their migration was the result of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. However, the new immigrants (those who came after 1965) migrated to the United States as a result of both the Immigration Act of 1965 and the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. Many more Palestinians migrated to the U. S. to escape economic and political hardships. During the 1970's, an average of 2,500-3000 people were admitted each year as Palestinians and Jordanians as permanent residents together with 6000-7000 as non-immigrants. (Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Reports). These numbers

suggest the growing number of the Palestinian population in the United States. Those immigrants are included under Arab, a term which refers to the medium of communication, and to some extent culture.

A study submitted to the Eastern Sociological Society in 1984 in its annual meeting indicated that in the Paterson area, South Paterson had the greatest number of Arab-Americans (2,443), 10.3% of the total population of South Paterson. (Parillo,1984). Further, the federal government identifies 40,000 Arab Americans as living in New Jersey. Thus, significant number of Palestinians reside in this area including the writer of this thesis. The North Bergen, and Atlantic Ave, Brooklyn areas have also increased their Palestinian populations, but the exact numbers are impossible to count accurately on the basis of census data.

The following questions, and objectives will guide the planning and carrying out this research:

A. Questions:

Any discussion of the Palestinian migration to the U.S. must begin with an analysis of the people involved in the movement, who are they? what are some of their salient characteristics? where did they wish to go? why?

Other questions such as the following will direct the research and carrying out the objectives of the study.

Where did they settle and why did they choose that particular place? Do they tend to settle in close proximity to reinforce the ethnic neighborhood or disperse uniformly? Is it proximity to work? Is it the rent ? Is it the presence of kin groups and friends? How did the migration process bring changes in their economic and social structure? And, how did certain events mainly 1948, 1967, 1970,73, and the war in Lebanon affect their statuses and their migration processes?

**B. Objectives:**

The focus of our study will be to reach the following objectives:

1. To collect and analyze data pertaining to the patterns of Palestinian migration to the N. Y. metropolitan region.
2. To look at the organization and processes of social life and attempt to discover the existing patterns of cultural change and changes in the social organization of the community now characterized by close primary ties, especially with kinsmen, and villagers, and how those ties are constantly reinforced by the arrival of new immigrants.
3. To analyze their occupational mobility through the study of their previous and present occupations. Such an analysis will help us to understand their present status and their future outlook.
4. To show the similiarities and differences between early

migrants and the new ones, and the historical forces that shaped their lives.

5. To study the community structure through an analysis of the economic, social and spatial distributions of persons, groups and their related functions.

### C. Definition of Terms:

The purposes of this section are: (a) Clarify certain concepts (social mobility, acculturation, assimilation, marginality, and sojourners) as they will be used in the study. (b) Review the research that has been accomplished concerning the subject under analysis. (c) Give the historical background of the Palestinian migration to the Northeast of the U. S. with an analysis of the factors responsible for the movement.

It is important to understand what an ethnic group is in order to evaluate the position of the Palestinians in the United States. In the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, an ethnic group is defined as a "distinct category of population in a larger society whose culture is usually different from its own." (Morris, 1968, p.167.) Furthermore, Gordon (1964) stated that the term ethnic group refers to a number of characteristics: race, religion, or

national origin. Yinger defines an ethnic group as:

" a segment of a larger society, whose members are thought by themselves and/or others to have a common origin and to share an important segment of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients". (Yinger,1965 p.200).

The term community has been defined and redefined and argued for many years in different disciplines of the social sciences. The discussion was centered around whether the term refers to geographical area, a social phenomena, a psychological, or a combination of these. No agreement so far has been reached. George Hillery listed 94 definitions of the term. 74% of those definitions agreed that "... social interaction, area, and common tie or ties are commonly found in community life". (Hillery,1955, p.118).

Moreover, the number of persons in a community is important especially in small groups. It is believed when a community is too small, it will be melted in the dominant society or it will find a collateral relationship with other minorities who are similar in many ways such as color, language, and culture to their own. Rose Hum Lee wrote:

"It was found that at least 360 Chinese must be either in the Chinatown itself or live within the same city or state where it is located. Once the Chinese population fall below the figure required, say 180, the Chinatown struggles to survive but eventually disappears". (Lee,1960, p.58)

In this case, the Palestinians, a rather small community, form an ethnic community by joining other Arabs. Thus, we find a Middle Eastern community rather than a Palestinian one. But most of their social contacts are with other Palestinians who share a number of common characteristics within their cultural context especially national aspiration, also the ties between persons who come from a single town or family are stronger than those who trace their ancestry to a single nation or country.

The Arab community is not only a physical but also a cultural "niche" through which many Middle Eastern customs are maintained by the interrelation of four variables: kinship, religion, community and nationality. (Wigel, 1974) The effect of education, occupation, income, religion and family affiliation on the socioeconomic and spatial mobility will be a major aspect of this study.

Social mobility as defined by Lipset and Bendix refers to :

" the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society...positions which, by general consent, have been given specific hierarchical values." (Lipset and Bendix, 1966, pp. 1-2).

Social scientists speak of two kinds of mobility: horizontal and vertical. Vertical is upward or downward,

while horizontal refers to changing positions in the same level of class hierarchy. Also, social mobility is highly correlated with residential mobility. A change in the place of residence often leads to change in the social mobility and its ultimate goal of assimilation. These are mainly caused by change in income or the general status of the mobile person.

Another related concept is the 'marginal man'. This concept was first introduced by Robert Park (1928). The marginal individual is neither belonging wholly to the new society, nor to the old, but to an intermediate state for an indefinite period. (Goldberg, 1941) Stonequist defined the marginal man as:

"[The] one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant" over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations." (Stonequist, 1961, p.8)

The marginal individuals differ from the sojourners as the latter are those who cling to the cultural heritage of their own ethnic group and tend to be isolated, and hardly assimilated in the society in which they usually reside often for many years. (Siu, 1952). In conclusion, the study of an ethnic group can be used to measure their assimilation with the larger community, the social change that the community

faces and the factors that enhance or deter their mobility.

Literature Review:

Two main approaches have been used in studying ethnic groups: Assimilation, and cultural pluralism. The former sees the assimilation of ethnic groups as inevitable since each individual aspires for upward mobility which can only be achieved through leaving the ethnic neighborhood. Ethnic communities were seen as a barrier to individual's assimilation in the dominant culture: White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. The second approach 'cultural pluralism' sees that ethnic communities could maintain their ethnic heritage or part of it through the primary contacts, while secondary contacts can also exist. Ethnicity is more complex than the crude description the processes that ethnic communities go through. It is more accurate to study ethnic assimilation and pluralism along social, cultural, and historical dimensions of a particular ethnic group. Further, push and pull factors are important analytically in explaining what compelled this particular ethnic group to immigrate to the United States. In addition, the location of the ethnic community, the clustering or dispersion of the ethnic community has a great impact on the rates of change that are occurring in an ethnic community.

In the United States, few studies exist on Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular. This lack of studies stems from the misconception that belonging to an ethnic group is something to be ashamed of, and assimilation brings economic advantages. But, among other factors, the bicentennial anniversary of the U.S. 1976 caused new surge of the studies on ethnic communities. This was supported by the outgrowth of federal programs. Other factors include the rising consciousness of many immigrants who came from third world countries. Those new immigrants have strong nationalist feelings, and third world consciousness. The Arabs before 1967, were seeking their self interest in the United States. However, after 1967, when they saw the Arab countries humiliated as a result of the 1967 war against Israel, and the occupation of and confiscation of some of Arab lands, those feelings revived their interests in their homeland, and they began to organize themselves both politically and socially. The establishment of some organizations such as the Arab-American University Graduates, (AAUG), in 1969; The National Association of Arab Americans, (NAAA) established in 1972; The Holy Land Fund; Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), 1981, was part of that reviving interest in ethnicity and social history. Yet, this proliferation did not affect the Arab communities in the United States although their numbers exceed three million, and more than 40,000

migrant professionals came to the U.S. after 1969. (Al-Kindilichie, 1976 pp.4-5) The low level of interest was caused by: First, The fact they constitute a small group dispersed throughout the country and many of them melted into the United States society. Second, Their period of residence in the United States was rather short. Third, the conflict in the Middle East and the continuous support of U.S. to Israel. And, finally, the media played its part in the sixties in avoiding issues concerning the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular.

The local and international issues of the Palestinian problem were and still of great significance on the international scene. Most of the studies, books articles, and news media addressed the political issue of this ethnic group whether in their homeland or abroad. Yet, few studies dealt with the Palestinian 'immigrant', and when they were studied , they were included under 'Arabs' whom they share many characteristics especially language, culture and to some extent national aspiration. But perhaps they differ from such groups in their presence as sojourners, maladapted, and waiting for the international communities to determine their future.

Through the study of their economic and social life as migrant groups, it is hoped that this study will reveal their

origin, ways of life in their home-country and their present and future aspirations, and how such patterns are interrelated with the adaptation and assimilation in the American social structure.

A few social scientists have studied Arab immigrant communities but very few of those dealt with the Palestinians living in the diaspora. Most of the early studies dealt mainly with the historical aspects of migration and the conditions of Arab communities such as Rihabani, A Far Journey (1911); Hitti's classic, The Syrians in America (1924). Risk, A Syrian Yankee (1943); Tanous, Acculturation of an Arab Community in the Deep South, (1943); Houghton, Syrians in the United States(1911);and Berger, Americans from the Arab World, (1958).

These articles and studies are important sources of information, but generally they do not deal with Palestinians, and they are either historical or autobiographical, and generally they lack the conceptual and theoretical frameworks which are the main characteristics of sociological investigation.

The first sociological study of an Arab community in the United States was carried out by Al-Tahir (1952). It dealt with the process of assimilation of two Arab communities -The Syrian-Christians and The Muslem

Palestinians. It was a comparative study of those two different religious groups in Chicago, Illinois. Further, Elkholy (1966) studied two Arab-Muslim communities, one in Toledo, and the other in Detroit. In his study, he showed the fallacy of the negative correlation between religiosity and assimilation.

Othman (1970), studied the Arab community in Springfield, Massachusetts. It is an ethnographic description of the community, including its history, institutions, and social organization. He showed the direction and rate of social change, the degree of social isolation, and the differential processes of assimilation of the two component segments of the Arab community. The Syrian-Lebanese Christians were the main focus of the study. (Othman, 1969, p.3)

In 1969, a collection of seven articles was published by the newly formed organization 'the Association of the Arab-American University Graduates. These articles cover a general description of several Arab communities in the United States, and Canada and give the reader a general background and a glimpse of the Arab's society and ways of life in the new world. (Hagopian and Paden, 1970). Mary C. Syngstock studied the Iraqi-Chaldene community in Detroit

(1969, 1982). In her study, she showed that this community still maintains the old ties such as the extended family concerns, even though many of the old habits such as food habits, language, and old country religious customs are no longer practiced. This is mainly the effect of the Arabic culture on the Chaldenes.

In the 1970's, this trend of writing on the Arab communities continued very slowly. Aswad (1974) in a collection of articles discussed the adaptation and integration that was occurring to several Arab communities in Detroit area. Kayal and Kayal (1975) discussed the acculturation of the Syrian-Lebanese in the United States. They examined the function of religion in the assimilation process and how it affected the social behavior of that ethnic group.

#### Ethnicity and Assimilation

The Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago paid close attention to the distribution of population within our Northern cities. Chicago is, perhaps the most studied area. They have found that racial and ethnic groups were concentrated into ethnic neighborhoods. Their movement was directed away from the center of the city to the periphery where housing and social conditions were

better than those in the areas left behind. Park wrote in 1926 'The physical or ecological organization of a community, in the long run, responds and reflects the occupational'. (Park,1926, p.9)

Such immigrant groups as Irish, Poles, Italians, and Russians were mainly of peasant origin. They came to fill the jobs needed as a result of the huge industrialization and urbanization that was taking place in the U.S.. Those immigrant groups settled in urban areas especially in Chicago which became a social laboratory to study immigrant groups and their social adjustment/maladjustment to the new environment.

The theory of ethnic succession originally introduced by Park, (1926) is a widely employed model in explaining the adaptation of various ethnic groups in urban America. There is a possible correlation between adaptation and length of residence. Under Park's model, recent migrants would fill the jobs and homes of older residents who moved upward and outward. Such a theory neglects the cultural factor that people of the same ethnic group tend to congregate near each other in order to maintain their sense of community and belonging. Lieberman (1961) found that segregation of ethnic groups from the native white population was related to group

differences in social status, time in the U.S., ability to speak English, and degree of naturalization of the foreign born. Taeuber and Taeuber (1964) arrived at the same conclusion when they studied Chicago. Immigrants in American cities were found to be less segregated as they approached native whites in education, income, and occupational prestige. (Lieberson, 1963; Taeuber, and Taeuber, 1965).

Further, suburbanization has been studied as an extension of Park, and Burgess's concentric zone theory and Wirth's 'Urbanism as a Way of Life'. According to those early sociologists, suburbia represents a flight from urban ills and a kind of socioeconomic, and spatial mobility. However, during the 1970's, the shape as well as the functions of suburbs has tremendously changed. They became employment centers especially after the deindustrialization of society, commerce, and other business activities that used to exist in the central cities, mainly for the lower transportation costs, and their preference to be near the market for both production and distribution. But, congestion as well as the increased costs of labor power due to the unions' pressures, corporations sought to go to the suburbs where they could have spacious places. Governments' concessions such as building roads, and tax breaks accelerated their movement. Nowadays, we find major department stores, and corporations

are located in the suburbs. This decentralization of economic activities and jobs created a shift of population to fill those jobs, as a result, the form of suburbs has changed. In 1970, for example more than 22 percent of the nations poor families lived in suburbs. (Social and Economic Statistics Administration. Bureau of the Census. Report #7. U.S. Printing Office. May, 1973). Also the suburban populations became more heterogenous as those economic shifts continued to occur, and some ethnic groups began to penetrate the realm of the 'white suburbs'. Blacks, among many ethnic groups, began to move to those suburbs. The Palestinians did not follow this pattern at least for the time being, as they are in the process of establishing an ethnic community of their own, preferably among their kin groups, and Arabs of different nationalities.

Ethnic occupational structure can be an important source of data that can show ethnic pluralism and social organization. In addition, the degree of ethnic concentration in particular business is an indicator of pluralism and ethnic assimilation in a particular society. (Lieberson, 1963). Occupation, also can be used to study social and economic mobility. This is apparent in the works of early sociologists especially in the works of Herbert Spencer on social differentiation, Emile Durkheim on the division of labor in society and Max Weber on class and status.

Most of the recent major works on social mobility used occupational mobility as an indicator and the main guiding principle of mobility. (Bendix and Lipset, 1959; Duncan, and Blau, 1967)

Some important empirical and theoretical contributions to ethnicity and assimilation have been carried out over the last few decades. Notably among those are Warner and Srole (1945), Gans (1962), Whyte (1943) in the area of community studies. Gordon (1964), Greeley (1969), (1973), Glazer and Moynihan (1970) and Abramson (1973) who emphasized the pluralistic nature of American society.

During the first part of this century, many American sociologists advocated the 'melting pot' hypothesis as the American ideal. According to their model, people of different cultures, languages, etc. will be fused into a new element, the American. Recently, we came to recognize that many ethnic groups are not melting and the best description of their new situation is "cultural pluralism". It stresses the co-existence of many sub-cultures within one society. The migrants practice their cultural and religious beliefs within the overall pattern of the adopted society. (Lieberson; 1961; Gordon, 1964; Price, 1969). Subsequent writers recognized that structural and cultural pluralism would persist accompanied

by occupational specialization and ethnic stratification. (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Gordon, 1964). Milton Gordon (1964) made a crucial distinction between behavioral and structural assimilation. The latter refers to the process by which immigrant groups and their descendents have become distributed in the social and occupational structure and have entered the political, social and cultural organization of the receiving society. These theories saw assimilation as the inevitable outcome of culture contact, yet they did not put a time limit on the assimilation. Therefore, it is impossible to prove or disapprove this theory as it can be argued that the unassimilated did not reach the stage of assimilation. (Gordon, 1964). The early immigrants saw that it was in their benefit to melt in the new society mainly because they came here to live permanently. Thomas, and Znaniecki's study, *The Polish Peasant* is considered one of the major sociological investigations.

Thomas, and Znaniecki explained:

Among the questions included in the as yet relatively unformulated field of social science ...are (without reference to logical order) are:immigration;racial prejudice;cultural assimilation. (Thomas and Znaniecki,1918,p. VII).

Beginning their book with such a statement is an evidence of such important matters. Yet, Thomas and Znaniecki's work is perhaps the only study concerned with the

immigrant in his native land, and the social processes of immigration itself.

"It is this Polish-American society, not American that constitute the social milieu into which the immigrant who comes from Poland becomes incorporated and to whose standards and institutions he must adapt himself.'(Thomas and Znaniecki,1918, Vol. IV, p.VIII-X)

Most of the studies on immigrants deal with their lives in this country especially the assimilation part and the factors that enhance or deter his/her adjustment or integration in the new society.

Park, Burgess, and Wirth are considered the pioneers of the Chicago school. Their approach followed the assimilationist orientation. It was conceived that when the minorities are forced to learn and adopt the White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant dominant culture, they will be assimilated in the new culture, and structural assimilation would occur. Park (1916) believed that the structural and cultural integrity of a migrant community won't last more than a generation:

'Social controls based on home mores, breaks down, however, in the second generation.'  
(Park,1916).

His view was made even more explicit in 1925, in an essay, which originally appeared in the Publication of the American Sociological Society:

Within these immigrant colonies and racial ghettos, however, other processes of selection inevitably take place which bring about segregation based upon vocational interests, upon intelligence, and personal ambition. The result is that the keener, the more energetic, and the more ambitious very soon emerge from their ghettos and immigrant colonies and move into an area of second immigrant settlement, or perhaps into a cosmopolitan area in which the members of several immigrant and racial groups meet and live side by side. More and more, as the ties of race, language, and of culture are weakened, successful individuals move out and eventually find their places in business and in the professions, among the older population group which has ceased to be identified with any language or racial group. The point is that change of occupation, personal success or failure.. change of economic and social status, in short... tend to be registered in changes of location. The physical or ecological organization of the community, in the long run, responds to and reflects the occupational and the cultural. (Park, 1952G), p.170)

Such a statement suggests that occupational and residential mobility are the product of assimilation. Assimilation is defined as a process by which different groups of diverse background come to interact with the life and culture of the larger community. For some scholars assimilation and acculturation are synonymous. (Berry, 1951,p.217; Bierstadt,1963,p.176;Gordon, 1964).

Louis Wirth who studied the Jews in The Ghetto (1928), points out:

"The isolation of the Jews has not been merely of a physical sort, but it has been permanently of a less tangible and less visible character. It has been the type of isolation produced by absence of intercommunication through differences in language, customs, sentiments, traditions and social forms." (Wirth, 1928, p.287).

Such a status is apparent with the Muslim Palestinians especially among the uneducated and unskilled. Their occupations are like the early Jews 'peddling'. Further, their social life is centered around the mosque or the club, or a restaurant where most of their activities whether social or business are held. Such social activities played and are still playing a major part in maintaining their culture and the group's identity. Other factors include the attitudes of the host society, the original culture especially religion, and the group's need to maintain its identity.

More recently Etzioni (1983) suggested that a group can maintain its cultural and social integration and identity without having an ecological basis. This is partly because of telephone and automobile. This in part could explain the dispersion of the Palestinian community in particular and the Arab speaking people within the cities being investigated, for they do not form a highly concentrated ghetto, yet they maintain close proximity to one another. Another important factor that influences the distribution of the population is the cost of housing. A previous study (1984) showed that

there is a negative correlation between the cost of housing and the distribution of the Arab population. (Parillo, 1984). In summary the Arab community in Paterson area did not form a segregated community as 'China Town' or 'Little Italy'. The proposed study will attempt to give an explanation to the Palestinian residential distribution. This study, therefore will attempt to analyze the Palestinian form of immigration, and settlement in the Northeast of the United States.

The Arab community in Passaic county in general are not residentially segregated, and are not concentrated near the city's core. Most of them reside at the periphery of the city especially South Paterson where more than 2,500 are located in that area. (Parillo, 1984). This ethnic distribution has been found in other American cities. (Aswad, 1974) Further, their residential patterns contradicts those of many ethnic groups who usually tend to locate near the center of the city, near the major points of commerce and industry, and/or near the place of work whether it is a plant or a grocery store. Those who followed; usually kin and friends, joined the already established migrants. Together they formed immigrant communities with distinct characteristics. Therefore, studying this ethnic group will enhance our understanding of the Palestinians in diaspora.

### Methods of Research:

The fact the writer of this thesis is a member of the community being investigated, is of a great assistance to him. He is a Sunni Muslem as are most of the Palestinians being studied. He is familiar with their traditions and speaks their language; therefore he could participate in their social, religious, and political activities. He visited people in their homes, stores, restaurants, and went with peddlers on their tours.

But lacking both specific census data and other kinds of data such as mosque and church records, the researcher set out himself to find them by using "snowball" sampling. This research technique was helpful in this case as most of the people knew each other and continuous visits or phone calls existed between themselves. The fact they were living close to each other helped to maintain closer ties with the whole community.

Further, a preliminary survey was conducted by the author, and "informants" who know the community were introduced and agreed to help in the research, so the community would be more cooperative and the survey more comprehensive. The informants were selected on two main

bases: 1. Social position in the community. And 2. Time spent in the United States in general and the community in particular. Thus, the informants were selected on the basis of their knowledge of the communities.

All the respondents whether males or females were permanent residents or citizens of the United States and at least 18 years of age or older.

A second research technique that was used in the research was the interview. This method worked as a second check. Besides it helped in gathering more information that could not be obtained through other techniques. The writer organized a set of questionnaires designed to shed light on the socio-economic and spatial mobility of the community. Notes were recorded immediately after the interviews.

A pilot study was conducted, and the community showed extreme cooperation, and encouraged me to write about themselves. But, since the community was not used to such interviewing and questioning, at first some were not that expressive and in doubt of the researcher's purposes especially the political as their country experiences an extreme political suppression, although the researcher confirmed to them that the records would be kept secret and no names would be revealed. Bringing a tape recorder was met,

to some, with suspicion, and the anxious outlook on their faces could be easily detected.

Further, a questionnaire was mailed or distributed by hand to a sample of the community. This also worked as a check on the data gathered by other techniques. The questionnaire consists of four sections. The first part consists of questions pertaining to personal information such as: age, sex, marital status, number of children, etc. The second part contains questions on spatial mobility and migration. Section three is on adaptation and assimilation and their future aspirations. And the final part is on income and occupational mobility. The final version of the questionnaire was in a three page printed form and contained 60 items. The questionnaire was translated into Arabic as I found that some of the questions were not easy to understand especially for the newly arrived immigrants, or those whose knowledge of English language was poor. Answering the questionnaire required no more than 10 minutes. Furthermore, a cover letter containing a brief appeal to the respondents to fill out the questionnaire and a short statement on the objective of the study and how anonymity would be guaranteed accompanied the questionnaire.

### The Sample:

Two basic requirements must be met in the sampling procedures: 1. A sample must be representative and 2. it must be adequate.

The sample survey consists of 153 families from the three communities. The family consists of the head of the household, and his unmarried children. 500 questionnaires were distributed and mailed to the respondents. After three months, only thirty percent returned the questionnaire either to the informants or by mail. 15 questionnaires were discarded because of the few data they contained, and another 7 were received late.

### Limitations of the Study

The nature of the "snowball" sampling technique excludes certain individuals or groups from the survey. For political reasons, and in order to maintain privacy of the respondents, I did not explain those who were included or left out in the survey. Other techniques such as participant observation, questionnaire, etc. which were used in the study overcame some of the shortcomings of this technique. Also, the internal politics of the Palestinians was deliberately left out because the communities are small, and such investigation would harm the privacy of certain individuals.

Data collection:

The basic data was collected through a questionnaire mailed and/or distributed to the respondents in order to assure a high return of the questionnaire. Such a process was conducted through the informants. Furthermore, women whether Arab or Hispanic were interviewed through their husbands. But since I found that most of the information was duplicated especially in the areas of socioeconomic factors, income, and occupation, women were dropped from the survey, and I concentrated on the answers given by the male head of household regarding his family.

Finally, Arab-American newspapers, auto-biographies and biographies of Arabs were used as historical sources.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter attempts to analyze the causes of the Palestinian immigration movement to the United States through a historical perspective. Understanding the history of the Palestinians sheds light on the causes of their immigration to the United States. Further, it provides important information on the causes of their maladjustment and alienation.

The Palestinian immigration movement began late in the nineteenth century, but conditions of the area and historical factors were the main motives for such mass immigration to nearly every part of the world. The immigration to the United States is a fraction of that move. Therefore, in order to understand the Palestinian migrants, an analysis of: a) their status before their movement through a historical perspective; b) the forces that compelled them to leave their homeland; and c) the structural factors that brought this community into existence.

The Palestinian is a particular Arab, in that historical events forced him to migrate to both developing and developed countries. I am particularly interested in his migration to the United States, mainly the Northeast.

This process of migration was mainly the result of: 1. World War One. 2. The British mandate. 3. The migration of Jews to Palestine and its culmination in the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967, and 1973. And 4. Recent developments in the Middle East, the civil war in Jordan (1970 Black September), and the continuous wars in Lebanon (1975-1984). Such incidents are part of the Palestinians' history and causes of their alienation.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century the Middle East including Palestine was under the rule of the Ottoman empire. Therefore, in order to understand their movement and causes of immigration, we should look at the Middle East politics and social conditions especially the beginning of the 20th century. Such historical analyses could give us a clear picture of their ways of living in their home country, the countries of their refuge, and the forces that compelled them to migrate to both developing and developed countries. Carrying such an analysis through a historical perspective could explain their present and their expected future in a world characterized by a deep conflict, and political as well as social mischiefs. These factors could be classified as political, economic, and social. The latter is a consequence of the previous factors. But, one should be

cautious in dealing with such factors as it is sometimes hard to depict which caused which as the interrelation between those factors is great especially when dealing with the causes of migration of the Palestinians.

The political factors:

Early in the 20th century, the Middle East was still under the Turkish rule, with almost full sovereignty except taxes and the military. Their rule lasted almost four centuries till 1918. At the end of this period, Turkey became unable to govern its territories, and became interested in collecting taxes at any possible cost. Corruption and poverty were widespread which led to the great revolution of 1908 'Turkey's Al-Fata Revolution. Although it occurred in Turkey, its outcome was spreading on all Turkey's colonies, the Middle East was part of the Turkish empire. This revolution resulted in establishing many associations such as 'The Turkish-Arabic Brotherhood'. Freedom, especially the press, was widespread. Soon, it was discovered that the leaders of the revolution 'Union and Development Society' were aiming to "Turkify" the territories as well as the Arab population, through making the Turkish language the official language, and crushing the Arab history and character.

With time, Turkey became weak and could not perform the duty of a ruling and colonizing nation. The Arabs were dissatisfied with the status quo, and sought freedom . Clashes erupted between the indigenous populations and the Turks. During that time Britain saw that through the help of the Arabs, or excluding the support of the Arabs to Turkey, they could defeat it. Therefore, agreements and negotiations between the Arabs and Britain took place. The Arabs in return would get independence.

During this period, the Jewish immigration to Palestine was restricted. In 1887, for example, the Turkish authorities restricted the immigration of Jews to Palestine who used to come as tourists and establishing themselves as settlers, by giving the Jewish tourist special (red) passports through which they could not stay for more than three months. Sultan Abdul-Hamid, also refused an offer submitted to him by Herzl to purchase Palestine, although Turkey was in extreme need of money. On the other hand, the Jews, who were residents in Palestine before the Zionists settlers came were living in the same areas, and their children used to go to the same schools as the Palestinians. But, Zionists stratified the society, boycotted the Arabic schools and language, and created racial prejudice between the residents of the area in order to achieve the Zionist dream "bring all the

suppressed Jews of the world into one area 'Palestine'", forgetting by this they were dispersing other people.

When Turkey became powerless, infiltration of the Zionists to Palestine and purchasing the land especially from absentee land owners increased. During those political circumstances, the Zionist organization was established in 1887, the aim of which was to evict the Palestinians from their homes, and establishing a Jewish state. The causes of its establishment goes back to an important historical incident, which changed the history of the Jews, and later, the Middle Easterners', especially the Palestinians; the civil war in Russia in 1881. After the assassination of Alexander II, the Caesar of Russia, the Jews were prosecuted and dispersed throughout Europe. Consequently, Zionism saw the solution to the Jewish problem by creating a homeland to the Jews. Palestine was chosen for historical, strategic, economic, and climatic reasons .

Other choices, which were rejected by the Zionist Organization, were on the agenda; Uganda, Cyprus, Sinai, and Argentina.

In 1895, Herzl wrote, "Shall we choose Palestine or Argentina? We shall take what is given us, and what is selected by Jewish public opinion. The society will determine both these points.

The Zionist movement remained unorganized until

Theodore Herzl convened the first Zionist convention in Basel, Switzerland on August 27, 1897. The aim of Zionism was the creation of a homeland to the Jews in Palestine. (Herzl 1960) Zionism's aim, therefore was intentionally looking for changing the depressed Jews of Europe to immigrants and then occupants of the land and dispersing the local inhabitants. Britain encouraged the immigration of Jews to Palestine. During this period, Jews in Palestine increased from 50,000 in 1897 to 85,000 in 1914.

From a memorandum entitled 'Speech to the Rothchilds' on June 1895, Theodore Herzl exposed his views on the new Jewish state:

" A society of Jews should be set up to negotiate the purchase of a country and organize the mass transfer of emigrants. It would be the nucleus of the new government... Palestine was probably unsuitable. It was too close to Europe; for the first twenty-five years at least, it would be necessary to insulate the new state from the military and social entanglements of Europe. There was also the fact that most Jews were no longer Orientals and had become accustomed to a different climate. There were enough countries for sale, and the promised land would be chosen by a committee of geographers and social scientists."

Herzl's proposal was vehemently rejected by Zionism, but he was able to convene the first Zionist Convention in Basle, Switzerland.

The benevolent associations such as "Hibbath Zion" helped in the immigration of Jews to Palestine, yet

less than 20 formed the first wave of immigration. Those first settlers failed , in the beginning, to achieve their aims because of their lack of knowledge of the area as well as the mode of production which was agriculture. The Jewish immigration to Palestine increased especially after the establishment of a Turkish Organization (The Union and Development Society). It helped the Jewish immigration to Palestine and establishing themselves as occupiers, as most of its members were Zionists. With the increase of taxes and the worsening of economic conditions, the Palestinian peasant began to revolt against the Turks. Since they could not by themselves defeat the Turkish empire, the Arabs looked for Britain's help which welcomed the idea. Britain thought that through the occupation of the Arab world, its aims as a colonizing nation would be achieved.

The Zionists, at the same time saw that their aims could not be fulfilled without an international colonial power. During that period, Britain was the main choice for three reasons: First, Britain was the major colonial power, which could achieve many economic advantages through the occupation of Palestine. Britain, therefore could control the international trade as Palestine has a very important geographic location. It is located in the heart of the Arab world, and links three continents namely

Asia, Africa, and Europe through the Mediterranean, Red sea, and the Arab Gulf. Britain was also frightened of France's or Germany's occupation of the area. Herzl wrote in his diaries:

"England with her possessions in Asia should be most interested in Zionism, for the shortest road to India is by way of Palestine. England greatest politicians were the first to recognize the need for colonial expansion. This is why Great Britain's ensign flies on all the oceans. And so I must believe that here in England the idea of Zionism, which is a colonial idea should be easily and quickly understood in its true and most modern form." (Herzl, 1960)

Second, the increase of Jewish immigration to Europe which created a 'nuisance' to many countries. Their aim, therefore their aim was to curtail the Jewish immigration to Europe and direct it to 'somewhere' else. Britain, for example investigated the increase of Jewish immigration to Eastern London in 1902.

Third , the influence of major Jewish organizations and influential officials, for example Balfour, Rothchild, The Union and Development Society, etc.

The grounds of collaboration between the Arabs and the British, on the other hand was inevitable especially when the latter through Hussein-Macmahon correspondence, particularly the letter of Oct. 25, 1915 promised the Arabs independence if they helped them in the war against

Turkey. And, the Arabs by themselves could not defeat the Turks as they were scattered around a vast area divided into many political, tribal and religious groups. The Arab nationalists "hailed" this idea and began their revolt and struggle against the Turks in June 5, 1916 under the leadership of Hussein Ali, The Grand Sherif of Mecca. During the same time, secret negotiations between the British, the French, and the Italians were taking place in order to partition the Arab world into small colonies divided between those three powers according to Sykes-Picot Plan of 1916 which is to take place after the defeat of the Ottoman empire. Another cunning act is the "Balfour" declaration of November 1917 in which the Jews were promised a national homeland in Palestine. A copy of that declaration is attached.

By the end of September 1918, Allenby's offensive attacks drove the Turks out of Palestine. Soon after, the British mandate was established in April, 24, 1920 in the conference of San Remo. Continuous revolts and pledges to end the mandate continued, but the colonizers refused the cries of the people, because their economic and strategic advantage, as stated earlier is by spreading their control over the area, not ending the mandate.

Therefore, the British first step was to divide the area into small nations that could not improve

productive forces whether economic or otherwise. They created many fragmented working classes, autonomous nations, instead of uniting them under one social structure.

Such a long process of human suffering beginning with the Turkish domination for more than four centuries, followed by the British mandate shaped the intrinsic characteristics of the indigenous populations.

The instability of the area nowadays is the latent effect of such policies. Beside the general practices performed by any colonizing nation, the British created and ignited the conflict between the Jews and the Palestinians who were living 'together' for many centuries. The route was through creating a homeland for the Jews in Palestine, carrying out their promise embodied in the Balfour declaration, and encouraging and facilitating the Jewish immigration to Palestine. After 1920, Britain, for example allowed 10,000 Jews to be admitted annually, therefore the Jewish population increased to 19%, and by 1940 it became 30 per cent of the total population. Adding to this, the many thousands of Jews that had been expelled from the Nazi Germany. The total number of Jews increased to almost 500,000 by the end of WW II. The following table shows the Jewish population increase since 1922.

Table (2:1) Jewish Population Increase in Palestine by  
Factors of Increase

Factors of increase	Jews in Palestine
23 Oct. 1922	83,790
31 Dec., 1945	554,359
Overall increase	470,539
Natural increase	129,989
Immigration	340,550
Natural increase as percentage of total increase	28%
Immigration as percentage of total increase	72
Total	100%
Source: Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944-1945, p.17	

A comparison between the Jewish immigration to Palestine and the United States during the 19th, and 20th centuries is shown below:

Table (2:2) Jewish Immigration to the U.S., and Palestine  
by Year

Year	U.S.	Palestine
1840-1880	200,000	10,000
1881-1900	675,000	25,000
1901-1914	1,346,400	30,000
1915-1920	76,450	-15,000
1921-1925	280,283	60,765
1926-1930	54,998	10,179
1931-1935	17,986	147,502
1936-1939	79,819	75,510
1940-1942	70,954	35,000
Total	2,801,890	378,956

Source: Finkelstein, Louis. The Jews, Their history, Culture, and Religion. Vol.2 New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1960. Table 3A, p.1554.

As shown above, the increase of Jewish population in Palestine was mainly due to the migration factor.

The general British immigration, economic and political practices including the confiscation of land caused a wide dispersion of Palestinian peasants. By 1931, 20,000 families were dispersed, and by 1941, 30 percent of all peasant families (119,000 families) were dislocated. In spite of such practices in 1947 only 5.7 of the land was owned by Zionists. (Sayigh, 1979)

However, the facts show that few Palestinians left or sold their lands. Most of the lands that were purchased by Zionists came from absentee owners, or the 'British government lands'.

Table (2:3 ) Jewish Purchases of Land Up to 1936  
by Source of Land Acquired

Source of land acquired: Total land acquired in percent		
Large Absentee owners:	358,974 (dunoms)	52.6
Large resident owners	167,802	24.6
Government, churches	91,001	13.4
Foreign companies		
Peasants	64,201	9.4
<b>Total land acquired</b>	<b>681,978</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Palestine total land area :</b>		<b>26,323,000</b>

Quoted in R. Sayigh , 1979 p.31.

The Palestinians expressed their dissatisfaction of the British practices through the general revolt and boycott which lasted for more than three years 1936-1939. As a result, Britain amended its position on the Jewish immigration to Palestine, by issuing the White Paper on Palestine on May, 1939, by which Jewish immigration to Palestine would be limited to 75,000 during the ensuing five years, then Jewish immigration should be approved by the Arabs. The Zionists were angered by the British decision, and they issued the Baltimore program in which they demanded: 1. The termination of the British mandate over Palestine. 2. Palestine must be a sovereign Jewish state. 3. The creation of a Jewish army. And, 4. The establishment of a Jewish government. (Laqueur, 1968; Yale, 1958, pp.404-6)

The economic conditions of Palestine under the Turkish rule, and the British Mandate :

During the Turkish rule, the mode of production in Palestine was feudal. Few families owned huge areas of lands and dominated the illiterate peasants. Those families were the 'petit bourgeoisie' who also dominated the governmental and high religious positions. Taxes were high and culminated in the expropriation of lands owned by the peasants, thus creating two distinctive classes that of bourgeoisie and peasants.

In 1869, for example, the Turkish government expropriated many lands owned by poor peasants because they could not pay the taxes, and they were sold in an open auction. Even though there was general exploitation and underdevelopment in the area coupled with powerlessness and poor peasants, the Palestinian peasant was linked to his land, and stood against the many difficulties that faced him.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, Great Britain had seized enormous areas of the world and Palestine was not an exception. Britain's aims as any other colonizing nation, were twofold: The need for raw materials and new markets for British finished products. Such goals were enhanced by the strategic geographic location of the Arab world in general and Palestine in particular as the latter is a link between Asia, Europe and Africa. To achieve such aims, Britain turned to a safer and more important client, The Zionist movement especially during that time when the Arab world was characterized by regional, and tribal conflicts.

With the expulsion of the Turks after First World War, Palestine entered the circuit of the capitalist economy. Their policies and economic development plans were directed to the Zionist sector. The British colonization enforced this status through their

expropriation of the land, and selling it to the Zionists. Also, its various economic policies especially those dealing with taxes and trade were directed to the Jewish sector. The aim of such policies was to compel the peasants to either sell their lands or have them confiscated by the government as the peasants would not be able to pay the large taxes being enforced on them. But the Palestinians did not leave their villages for a variety reasons, among those are: First, the self-sufficiency of the villages, as they can live independently of the cities. Coupled with this the form of trade was barter, and cash was a scarce commodity. Second, the inherent psychological feeling of the importance of land as both their means of survival, and a symbol of wealth and honor.

The poorest class of peasants who had little or no land, found the only possible employment in the non-agricultural sectors such as small handicraft. Others found employment in the British Police Force.

The first British census of 1921 found that 80% of the population were peasants who depended on agriculture as their main source of living. For the Muslem Palestinians, the figure was even greater. Commerce, small industries, and other non-agricultural occupations were held by Jews, Christians, and other small minorities who

lived mainly in urban areas. By 1948, with the growth of urbanization and industrialization, the situation has changed very little. At least two-thirds of the Palestinians were still rural. In 1955, 74% of the Palestinian population maintained their rural life style, in 1974 the percentage dropped to 50.5%. (SAI 1956/7, No.8, p.9 and SAI 1975, No.26, p.28)

The Palestinian women also contributed indirectly to the economic life of the country mainly through bringing up and looking for the large families. They helped their husbands especially during harvest collection on the field or grinding the wheat at home, besides milking cows and sheep and looking after them.

George Mansour, Secretary of the Arab's Workers Association, in a testimony before the Peel Commission gave us a general view of rising unemployment on both the rural and urban areas mainly because of the British mandate, and the Jewish immigration to Palestine, he stated:

"In 1935, one thousand of workers in Jaffa were unemployed; at the end of 1935 the number of unemployed reached 2,270. In 1937, the number of unemployed in Jaffa reached 4,000; in Haifa, 4,500, in Qalqilia and six neighboring villages, 1,300 and in the Bethlehem and Nazareth areas about 74% of the labor force was unemployed. (Mansour, 1935, p.55)

As a result, a few Palestinians who could not bear the status quo began to migrate to nearby areas as well as the Americas. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1926 depicted few hundreds of Palestinians. Many others preceded this date as they were included under "Turks" probably because they were carrying Turkish passports, the only available travel document for them during the Turkish colonization of the area. Economic and political factors forced them to migrate, but they were few in numbers and their stay was rather short. Such forces include big taxes, political harassment, and the worsening of economic conditions as a result of the war that was taking place in the Middle East whether during the the Ottoman rule, or the British mandate added to the economic problems of the Palestinians. Natural famine such as the locusts which devastated the crop in 1915, and the spread of some diseases such as cholera, typhoid, and typhus, and the high depreciation of paper money increased the miseries of the people. Those conditions continued under the British mandate.

The Palestinian Social Structure During the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries:

Palestine during the period of Turkish domination had three Sunjuks (districts), the largest was Jerusalem

which contained most of the area of Palestine and at least three quarters of the population. It had 328 villages with an estimated population of 340,000. Two other Sunjuks; Akka had 222 villages with a population of 77,000, and Nablus contained 212 villages with an estimated population of 49,000. Administrative councils were elected by the local people, while the villages had independent statuses. Jews, and Christians had independent self-rule especially regarding marriage, divorce, inheritance practices, and religious practices. The Jews were living in four cities: Jerusalem, Hebron, Tibries, and Safad. Their main occupations were: blacksmithing, knitting, watch repairing, jewelry, and banking. As for the Palestinians, most of them were Sunni Muslims living in rural areas with agriculture as their main occupation. The urbanites which constituted less than 20% were mainly engaged in commerce, small hand craft industries, and government employment. (Kayyali, 1982)

During the British Mandate two classes prevailed, the Bourgeoisie, and the Peasants. The latter constituted at least 80% of the total population. The former included; the British colonizers- a class of military men and administrators; the indigeneous Palestinian and Arab aristocracy, and the leadership of the Zionist movement. The Arab aristocrats and the Zionists acted as the 'petit

bourgeoisie' in order to enforce the British colonization.

The social structure under the British mandate was a continuation of the status had previously prevailed by the Turkish colonization which created rival groups to the ultimate benefit of the Turkish elite. This vivid picture was described by Rosemary Sayigh:

" Among the legacies of Ottoman rule was what Wolf describes in the Algerian case as the Turkish 'checker-board' pattern of checks and balances, setting group against group to the ultimate benefit of the Turkish elite. This pattern carried on into the Mandate, producing the vertical coalition or fractions that cut cross classes, and aligned blocks of rival clans against each other, from the leading Jerusalem families, through its lesser city clans and provincial gentry, down to the bedouin and village leaders. In formations like these, power and influence moved downwards from Government, through a series of patron/client ties, instead of rising upwards from an organized mass base. (Sayigh,1979,p.41)

Further, the British sought to keep the Palestinian society unstructured through dealing with only sectional leaders. Therefore, the distance between the upper class and the peasants tremendously increased.

Even with those internal social cleavages and the interference of outside powers, the Palestinians maintained all the social and cultural characteristics that were built through their historical experience. The outcome was a chain of riots (1921 in Jaffa,1929 in Jerusalem, and the great rebellion of 1936-39). Kayyali gave us a clear picture of the Palestinian social

structure during the British mandate and the role of each group:

"...the notables performed the role of diplomats; the educated middle classes that of the articulators of public opinion, and the peasants that of the actual fighters in the battle against the zionist presence." (Quoted in Rosemary Sayigh, 1979 p.47).

As for the other classes: the bedouin, fellaheen, and peasants, social as well as economic cleavages were extant. The bedouin who constituted a very small minority were just as poor as the peasants, but they enjoyed less oppression by the state, and their leaders were considered part of the ruling class.

Social distance was more obvious between peasants and city dwellers. Cities were centers of trade, power, and learning. The villages traded very little with the cities and gave nothing to them except the taxes that were collected by the British officials. Besides, villages were self sufficient, and trade -barter- would occur between the villages , while cities traded with each other. By the end of the mandate, this 'social' barrier was lifted, but never in the minds of the peasants who thought that the urbanites -city dwellers- were higher in status because of the role of cities as centers of trade, power, and education. Differences in accent, dress, and poverty were the main distinctive characteristics that differentiate

Palestinian urbanites from peasants. Therefore, a gap existed between the leadership and the peasants. Consequently, the leadership looked outward for Arab support, and this increased the distrust in the leadership, by leaving the masses far from the struggle scene. The outcome of the leadership's efforts was the creation of the Arab Liberation Army numbering between 3,000-4,000 which was poorly trained both militarily and politically.

The internal system of social organization in Palestine whether under the Turkish or British colonizing regimes was a feudal one, in which a few prominent families controlled much of the wealth and power of a large segment of the population. A few of those, especially the 'absentee landlords', sold their lands to the Zionists. This had an effect on the displacement of many Palestinian villagers, and decreased their economic as well as social status. The Palestinians considered the land to be their own, and their payments to the landlord, which depended on the harvest, a kind of rent. Therefore, when they saw the open British policies of colonization, together with encouraging the Jewish immigration to Palestine, they revolted against the British mandate. One of the main revolutions was the 1936 uprisings, and the general boycott which lasted for more than three years,

the longest boycott in history. Their demands were centered on two issues: independence, and stopping the illegal migration of Jews to Palestine. None of the two was achieved. But the British tried to reduce the 'legal' migration of the Jews, which was met by angry Zionists who formed terrorist organizations. The continuous cries of the Arabs and Jews, and the heavy losses that the British was experiencing helped in ending the British mandate on April 15, 1948. The same date, the new state of Israel, was established. Few nations confirmed their status as an independent nation. The United States was the first to give their support to the newly formed state. In 1947, as stated earlier only 5.7 percent of the land was owned by Zionists. The only way that the Zionists could evict the Arabs is through military power, therefore, the 1948 war ignited. On May 14, 1948, the British withdrew and ended its mandate of the area, giving their posts to the well armed and trained Zionist settlers.

The Palestinian villages during that time were not armed, and even the A.L.A. (Arab Liberation Army) had little ammunition, and their weapons were old compared to the Zionist's.

The war was declared, and the Zionists began attacking the villages. The villagers were armless and terrified especially after the mass-slaughter of the village of

Deir-Yassin. One outcome of the war was as many as 800,000 to 900,000 Palestinians became refugees in bordering Arab countries and the West Bank. Many of those thought that their stay would be temporary till the international community decided on their future.

Sir John Glubb, a British Commander of the Jordanian Forces, described the involuntary migration of Palestinians in 1948 :

"The story which Jewish publicity at first persuaded the world to accept, that Arab refugees left voluntarily, is not true. Voluntary immigrants do not leave their homes with only the clothes they stand in. People who have decided to move house do not do in such a hurry that they lose other members of their family -husband losing sight of his wife, or parents of their children. The fact is that the majority left in panic flight, to escape massacres -not of very many at a time, but just enough to keep them running."  
(Glubb,1958,p.251)

The Palestinians refugees carried with them the sentiments to go back to their homes and friends or other family members whom they left behind.

W. de St. Aubin, an affiliate of the American Red Cross also described the status of refugee as:

"several hundred thousand unfortunate victims of the dispute were without sufficient food, medical care, or shelter, and were psychologically confused and agitated... while a few were able to carry personal effects and some money, flight was generally disorderly and with almost no possessions. Many went on foot, some by ship, cars and trucks. In certain cases entire villages kept more or less together." (Aubin,1949, pp.250-252)

On December 1948, Prince Abdullah of Trans-Jordan annexed the West Bank and proclaimed himself a king. The West Bank, therefore, became under the Jordanian rule which aimed to absorb as much as possible of both Palestinian lands and population. While in Gaza, Palestinians were given special I.D. cards issued by the Egyptian administration.

Both the West Bank and Gaza absorbed around 590,000 Palestinian refugees during 1948. Another 300,000 were dispersed through the Arab countries: some 104,000 into Lebanon, 110,000 into Trans-Jordan, 82,000 into Syria, and another 12,000 went to Egypt and Iraq. (Abu-Lughod, 1971,p.161)

The following table shows the distribution of Palestinian refugees in the Arab countries as registered in the U.N.R.W.A.

Table (2:4) Registered Palestinians Refugees by Year  
and Country/Region of Refuge

Country/region	Year			
	1952 (1)	1967 (2)	1970 (3)	1982 (4)
East Jordan	458,250	723,000	489,762	748,552
West Bank	—	—	271,796	340,643
Gaza	201,175	317,000	307,714	377,292
Lebanon	104,641	161,000	171,517	238,667
Syrian Arab Republic	83,694	144,000	154,285	220,572
Other	19,710	—	—	—
Total =	867,470	1,345,000	1,425,219	1,925,726

(1) Annual Report of U.N.R.W.A. 1952/53

(2) U.N. Document A/6713, pp.59-60

(3) U.N. Document A/6714, pp.14-15

(4) U.N.R.W.A. Summary Report of the Commissioner-General  
of UNRWA to the United Nations Assembly for the period:  
1 July 1981-30 June 1982.

By May 31, 1967, few days before the second Arab-Israeli war, the number of Palestinian refugees was placed around 1,360,000. This number did not include those who established themselves or migrated abroad. By the end of 1967, their figure increased to 2,500,000 which included those who became refugees as a result of the 1967 war, and the high natural rates of growth.

During the 1970's, three important incidents faced the Palestinians: the civil war in Jordan in 1970, the third Arab-Israeli war of 1973, and the civil war in Lebanon 1974-1984.

The civil war in Jordan resulted in dispersing many Palestinians who left to Lebanon and Syria. The third Arab-Israeli war of 1973 revealed that Israel did not intend to relinquish the areas it had occupied in 1967. Also the Palestinians became to see their exile to be more permanent.

The 1973 war was also significant because the Arab oil-producing countries were able to impose a temporary oil embargo. This embargo created an increase of demand for labor. The Palestinians took advantage of those opportunities especially when they saw Israel's intention to annex the occupied territories. This was reflected in the increase of Palestinian immigrants to the Gulf states. Before 1967, there were fewer than 120,000 Palestinians in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iraq, and the Gulf principalities. By the end of 1967, their numbers increased to about 200,000, and by 1970, their numbers gradually rose to 240,000. By 1975, more than 375,000 Palestinians were in the Gulf states, and by 1979, their numbers exceeded half a million. (Abu-Lughod, 1986)

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 aimed to

destroy the Palestinian military capabilities, the credibility, legitimacy of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinians, and to disperse the Palestinians yet farther from their homeland. Many Palestinians, as a result, were dispersed in the Arab countries, and the Americas. Therefore, the Palestinian immigration movement should be analyzed within this framework.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE PALESTINIAN IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT

#### The United Nations, and the Palestinians:

After the Arab Israeli war of 1948, the U.N.R.W.A. assumed the role of helping the Palestinian refugees. Its aims were twofold: either integrating the Palestinians in the countries of refuge through changing the occupational structure of many refugees, or through helping them to immigrate to alien lands. Therefore, the assimilation of the Palestinians in those countries would occur, and the Palestinian problem would be solved. At the same time the Palestinians saw that education was the vehicle through which political consciousness, and occupational change would be achieved. Education was marginal to many villagers before 1948. At least half of the villages did not have schools. Those which had were restricted to only the fourth or fifth grade. This situation was reinforced by the British colonization. This fact had consequences on the mentality of the people especially after they were driven from their homes and lands, their only means of survival. The crisis of defeat together with the loss of land created many psychological burdens. Yet many of them were optimistic that a solution to their problem would

soon be achieved through the Arab countries, or the United Nations. The facts show that between 1948-1967, the Palestinian literacy rate was among the highest in the Middle East. (UNRWA report, 1966-67; Shaata, 1972).

After the Armistice Agreement of 1949, and even after the second Arab Israeli war of 1967, the refugees went on believing that the return to their homeland would occur soon. The Arab media played a significant part in arousing their expectations and hopes, therefore their life plans as well as their present were directed to those false expectations. By the same token, the Arab governments saw the Palestinians as a reminder of their humiliation and defeat. Also, the Palestinians were in the beginning an economic burden as those countries of refuge could not absorb the many thousands of refugees that swarmed their lands looking for any kind of job available. Further, the Arab countries mainly Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt driven by humanitarian reasons, U.N.'s promise to take care of the refugee problem both economically and politically, and those governments' perception that the refugees' stay would be temporary, accepted them. The United Nations tried to enforce its peace plans by dividing the area into three separate states: a Palestinian state, an Israeli state, and an international territory; Jerusalem. (The partition resolution,

Resolution 181(II) of 29 November 1947)

Pressured by the Arab countries, the United Nations assumed responsibility of the Palestinian question both economically and politically, the latter was just pleas to the rival parties to accept their resolution plans which went unnoticed. The U.S. vetoed (or put conditions on one party which made the peace plans unreal and hard to accept) every resolution that the U.N. 'tried' to pass against Israel. Further, the U.N. established the U.N.R.W.A. in December 1949 to give assistance and relief to the refugees in their state of absolute poverty and human deprivation. The U.N.R.W.A. proposed that its funds should be directed toward integrating the Palestinians in their host countries through employment in its agencies, in return the refugee would give up his ration card- the card entitles the person to food, clothing, housing and education. Through this, the U.N., thought that the Palestinian would be integrated in the country of refuge, therefore the question of Palestinian refugee is solved. Another form adopted by the United Nations in integrating, and dispersing the Palestinian refugees was through: "Tickets for the Refugees." Any Palestinian Interested in migrating to the New World could do so through their help, as the U.N.R.W.A. would give any Palestinian interested in migrating to (South America) the "ship ticket" in return

for that sacred card or the golden goose. Many Palestinians migrated to South America through such deals as people were very poor, work was not available nor the money to travel, and South America's immigration policies were very easy during that time. This agency extended its relief year after year for more than three decades regretting that a political settlement to the Palestinian problem could not be reached. Those refugee camps that have been supported by the U.N. have a direct effect on the Palestinians especially on keeping the village life and maintaining the national aspirations.

The U.N.R.W.A. also created a state of dependence among the Palestinians on international subsidies which in fact did not exceed 20 cents a day per capita, on which no one could survive.

In the first decade after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the Palestinians who were mainly refugees did not plan for national struggle. Their main aim was to 'survive', as the agony of defeat and humiliation proceeded with every step they took. Liberation and going back to their homeland, they thought, would come soon through the Arab countries who worked to maintain those feelings, either through the news media, and, or political suppression of the refugees. Other means adopted were,

through the social and political integration of the refugees. It first began in Jordan when King Abdullah annexed the West Bank, and proclaimed himself a king. Since then the Palestinians living in Jordan became part of the kingdom, and Jordanian passports, therefore were issued to them. During this period, the resources of the countries of refuge were underdeveloped, and their 'primitive' economies could not absorb the unskilled, uneducated peasants. Unemployment in those countries was high, and if jobs were available, they would be seasonal, and in the tertiary sector.

During the 1950's, the exploitation of oil and the increase in international demand for labor absorbed the many thousands of unemployed Palestinians. Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf States became a pull factor for professionals, as well as skilled and unskilled workers. Palestinians, for example became the largest minority in Kuwait numbering almost 50,000 in 1975. Other Palestinians, especially the peasants, migrated to South America especially to Brazil, Columbia, and Venezuela. This fact will be a major factor in the increase of Palestinians in the United States especially after the 1965 immigration law as will be discussed later. Early in the 20th century few Palestinians migrated to the United States because of its strict immigration policies. And,

Palestinians especially the Muslims did not welcome the idea of going to the United States, for they thought it to be the land of 'atheism'.

#### Alienation and the Palestinians:

Alienation refers to an individual or group's feeling of being cut off from the immediate surroundings and activities. It is a feeling of noninvolvement and estrangement from society and culture.

The Palestinians' alienation stems from their historical experience, which led to their dispersion in the countries of refuge, and later to diverse regions of the world. In most of those countries the Palestinians are treated as second class citizens. Those who are still in the occupied territories are alienated as they feel powerless to determine the events around them, even powerless to determine their own fates. In the U.S., the Palestinians are detached from the political life especially when they see the United State's foreign policy that supports Israel. Detachment, therefore is a first step to alienation.

The general conditions of the Palestinians in such camps of refuge can be described in a study of the Palestinians in Al-Dheisha Refugee (1985) camp near the

city of Bethelhem in the West Bank which is one of the smallest camps. It is almost 15 miles a way from the City of Jerusalem. It was established in 1949 by the U.N.R.W.A. Almost 3,200 refugees lived there. They came from 53 villages from Palestine. In 1984, its population increased to 7,292. About 2,000 now, live in diaspora. (16% of the total population of the camp). The average family size is 5.2. Most of them work in two categories: service, and general workers. (92.75 %). The rest are simple entrepreneurs (commerce) and private businessmen (There are 86 stores and groceries).

The social structure of the camp's community is the extended family. Each big family has a certain section in the camp. Recently, the nuclear family began to appear. Most of them are still marrying within the camp or in the same family. This keeps the social integration and coherence in the camp. In addition, social occasions, such as marriage, death, bring many families together.

Another characteristic of the camp is its housing and the general life conditions. They are characterized simply by overcrowding and deteriorating conditions. The average of 2-3 persons per room is common, and new housing is rare as the area for expansion is very limited and prohibited by law. Out of the 1568 housing units, 1112 were built by

the U.N.R.W.A., the remaining were built by the residents themselves. In short, this study reveals the occupational shift, and the structural changes that occurred to the Palestinian residents of the camps in the Arab countries in general.

In another study Samir Ayoub (1977) found that 62.9 percent of the Palestinians living in Lebanon had a monthly earnings less than L.L. 500 (\$150.00). Also, he showed the general occupational shift among Palestinians. The study reported that 68% of the grandfathers of the respondents' occupation was agriculture, whereas 74% of the respondents were working in the service sector; 9% were employed in industry compared to 2% of the grandfathers. Further, the study revealed that 76.4% of their grandfathers and 59.4 of their fathers were self employed. This means that the occupational shift that the Palestinians experienced was largely due to their loss of their lands, their only means of survival.

Such a general view of the camp conditions, and the social and psychological alienation that became the main characteristic of many Palestinians suggest the push factors that compelled the refugees to migrate to the New World or to nearby Arab countries especially after the economic boom experienced by the Oil-Arab Producing-exporting Countries (O.A.P.E.C.). Also, such conditions

are prevalent in the many refugees camps that extend through the West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria whether established after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, or 1967. The Palestinian, therefore, became:

"a refugee, disinherited of his homeland, inheriting a world of nothingness in the surrounding countries of Lebanon, Syria, and, Jordan. The alienation that he felt as a consequence is reflected in his art and literature, after replete with reference to the anguish of being away from the homeland and to the hardship of living in the ghourba, or diaspora." (Turki, 1974, PP.119-20).

Not all the Palestinians left to live on those refugee camps. A few of the wealthy Palestinians and the more educated carried with them part of their wealth to the cities both in the East and West Bank. Others who possessed British passports left to Europe. The camps dwellers were among the most depressed and poor, therefore many found themselves in a state of destitution, and migration to other cities or the New World, they thought will erase the psychological alienation and poverty.

Even though there was political, social and economic deterioration in the refugee camps, in general, and their alienation in the countries of refuge, the Palestinians maintained their high aspirations, and began to organize themselves both politically and militarily, especially after the establishment of the P.L.O. in 1965.

A few years later, the second Arab-Israeli war of June, 1967 broke out, which resulted in the occupation of the West Bank, and Gaza. More people, therefore had to leave their home, and lands. Many of those recent refugees were the refugees of 1948. This war had an important effect on the Palestinians in the diaspora in the sense that they realized that the return to their homeland is hard, and long, and above all could not be achieved through the Arab countries. Their choice was both political, and military struggle. But, the civil war in Jordan in 1970, and the continuous war in Lebanon 1975-1984 resulted in the dispersion of the military power of the Palestinians, and increased their alienation.

Although many of those refugees established themselves in the countries of refuge, and many did well, they have not given up their desire to go back to their country as their connectedness with their land and houses is more than material. It is primarily their personal and traditional ties connected with home, family, relatives, and community which:

"constitute the primary relationship on which their society, so much more than Western society, depends. Thus individual resettlement, to them, does not mean reestablishment of ties which cherished most in Palestine and then lost, and which constitute the main source of their psychological security and balance."  
(Bruhns, 1955, P.133)

Such sentiments still continue to dominate the attitudes of many Palestinians. Being a refugee, living in a refugee camp, is in itself a depressing experience, regardless of the many losses that everybody experienced. Turki (1974) described the general causes of alienation of the Palestinians in the Arab world:

"The Palestinian's present causes of alienation stems not only, as it did before, from his arbitrary exclusion from the spontaneous activities of the Arab world or from his being reduced to a fragment of a man. Since the Palestinian has commenced, in recent years, to use Marxist idiom and Marxist metaphor, he has discovered that he, his people, and his cause are now in the service of, and being sacrificed to, the collaborative forces of mercenary Arab leaders (who profess solidarity with the struggle) on the one hand, and the reactionary monarchs and the bourgeoisie on the other." (Turki 1974, PP.123-4)

Push and Pull Factors:

Besides those political and social conditions of the Palestinians whether in their homecountry or the countries of refuge, three factors pertain to the Palestinian immigration movement: a) the location of villages, and refugee camps whether in Palestine, the West Bank or the countries of refuge relative to the cities. Jerusalem, for example is just 50 miles, from Nablus or Tel Aviv the same is true for the refugee camps (See the appendix). b) migrants from the villages to the New World often encourage other villagers to migrate. And, third, television, radios, schools, and nearby colleges are

available in the urban as well as rural areas. Therefore, although they are living in rural areas, their lives are connected to the cities or such information could be transferred to them through the different channels that transmit it.

Other factors played a significant factor in either increasing or decreasing the rate of migration to the New World. Religion and culture of the host country are very important factors that enhance or deter the migration process. It is widely believed that acculturation is easier when religion, language and culture are closer to the Anglo-saxon's. Palestinian (Muslem) migrants, therefore would have a difficult time in adjusting to the 'new' ways of living. Such maladjustment occurs at the individual as well as the group level and slows the migration decisions. Also, the lack of education to many Palestinians at the turn of the century played an important part, but the main factor of delaying the migration process of the Muslems according to Abdo Elkholy is:

"The Fear of losing their religion in the unbelieving country was the main factor delaying the Moslems a quarter of a century in their immigration in groups to America." (1966, p.22)

Other factors are also equally important such as the economic conditions of the host society which act as a pull factor. The United States experienced a high demand for labor during the 1960's as production increased, and

the country was involved in the Viet Nam war. Such shortages of labor was necessary to import 'skilled laborers', that could be cheaply utilized. A second factor is that minorities began to see the discrimination of the government specially in treating countries by quotas. The voices of the minorities, at least, in this arena became echoing. And finally, the government's policy as an egalitarian one encouraged migration especially from developing countries.

The early Palestinian immigrants were not highly educated. They began their careers in the United States in menial jobs such as peddling, factory working. Later, some moved to service industries especially groceries which they got through relatives and friends, who preceded them in the New World, which will be discussed in detail later. Those immigrants created distinctive communities both in developing and developed countries. The Palestinian community in the Northeast is a mininiture example of those created in many countries throughout the world.

The occupations of the second generation, however were different from their fathers'. They were more educated, and possessed many skills. Among them were doctors, engineers, teachers, and technicians. Encouraged by their parents and the availability of schools through the U.N.R.W.A., they were able to break the 'vicious'

circle of poverty, and move up in the occupational ladder. Hence, schooling is considered by many as a means of occupational change. Although illiteracy was high among the first generation, those who became educated especially among the second generation were seen by the others as the key to the improvement of the nation, and above all the recovery of the occupied territories. (R. Sayigh, 1982, p.208) The unemployed fathers became dependent on their son's skills, and earnings who migrated or emigrated to nearby countries. Other Palestinians of the first generation became part of the immigration process itself especially to South America, and their financial transfers became the corner stone and livelihood of many families. It also affected the economies of the countries of refuge, For example, more than \$500,000,000 are transferred to the immigrant families. Other 'immigrant returnees' opened businesses in diverse sectors of the economy. (Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, the Central Bank of Jordan, 1979)

Therefore, looking at the history of immigration to the United States and the different acts that affected the movement of populations is essential in understanding the structure of the American society in the 1980's.

Three distinctive waves dominated the history of the Palestinian migration movement to the U.S. since 1900. The first wave began at the turn of the century. Such

immigrants were characterized as mainly "sojourners", few in numbers, and lacking human capital especially education. The Immigration and Naturalization Service depicts that almost 200 Palestinians came to the U.S in 1926. The causes of their migration was mainly poverty as a result of the high taxes that burdened a large segment of the population, and political instability in their home country. The second wave occurred after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 which resulted in the dispersion of the Palestinians into alien areas and refugee camps that still exist today. Most of those refugees carried their only means of survival; their physical power. Their lands were confiscated, and many left their belongings hoping to go back after the end of the war. And the third wave came after 1965 which is the most significant period in the history of immigrants in general, and the Palestinians in particular.

In 1965, the United States passed the famous Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 which became effective in 1968. Although it was not directed to the Palestinians, it had a tremendous effect on their migration movement especially to the United States, whether from the West Bank, the countries of refuge, or South America. Through this act, the already Palestinian residents, and citizens of the United States could easily

bring their close relatives. The Act became a pull factor. Simultaneously, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, and Gaza, and the continuous persecution of the Palestinians became a push factor.

The following table shows the growth of the Palestinian community in the United States as depicted by the Immigration & Naturalization Service, by year of entry:

Table (3:1) Number of Palestinians in the United States by year of entry

Year	Number of Palestinian Jordanian Immigrants Admitted	Year	Palestinian/ Jordanian Non- immigrants Admitted
1926	250	1926	103
1927	464	1927	171
1928	554		
1943	107	1943	20
1944	45	1944	12
1945	133	1945	52
1946	483	1946	396
1947	1,272	1947	1,783
1948	376	1960	439
1949	234	1963	816
1950	212	1966	1,103
1951	210	1969	1,476
1952	156	1972	1,951
1953	118	1973	2,081
1956-65	7,088		
		<b>Total =</b>	<b>10,403</b>
1966	1,325		
1967	1,604		
1968	2,010		
1969	2,617		
1970	2,842		
1971	2,588		
1972	2,756		
1973	2,450		
1974	2,838		
<b>Total</b>	<b>26,511</b>		

Source= Immigration & Naturalization Service: Annual Reports.

The above table shows the growth of the Palestinian community in the United States. Even though these numbers are not accurate especially for the Palestinians who may possess travel documents, other than Jordanian passports, they show the growth of the Palestinians in the United States. Also, they reveal the effect of the immigration act of 1965 on the Palestinian immigration movement.

The 1965 Immigration Act (79. Stat.911) amended the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, better known as the McCarran-Walter Act. It eliminated the national quota system which was based on race and national origin first introduced by the Immigration Act of 1921. According to the 1921 immigration law, the number of admissible aliens was not to exceed three percent. This act expired on June 1924. The 1924 Act restricted the quota to two percent. This act went on till it was replaced by the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. The main characteristics of this act are described by the senate report 1515. The senate committee confirms this:

"Congress had two purposes in mind when it adopted the national quota formula. The first was to provide a basis for determining quotas for the numerical restriction of the flow of immigrants to this country. The second and broader purpose was to preserve the composition of the population of the United States on the basis of the proportionate contribution of the various nationality groups. As one expert on the subject has described the latter purpose, the national origin system represented 'the will of the Congress to preserve the racial composition of the United States through the selection of the immigrants from those countries whose traditions, languages, and political system were akin to those of this country.'" (Quoted in Bennett, 1966, p.129)

Beside discrimination, the 1952 act was characterized by inconsistency, and the existence of many loopholes especially for non-quota immigrants. Bennett explains:

"...[T]he 1952 Act contained a basic inconsistency in that it had sudden huge loopholes for nonquota immigrants that for the next thirteen years two out of every three immigrants would be classed as nonquota and entered without numerical restrictions. This immediately threw the national origin plan out of balance." (1966, p.134)

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 maintained quotas based on national origins, but more countries were included, and sex and race was recommended to be eliminated, but was not achieved till 1965, because the senate committee on migration considered that:

"Without giving credence to any theory of Nordic Superiority, the subcommittee believes that the adoption of the national origins formula was a rational and logical method of numerically restricting immigration in such a manner as to best preserve the sociological and cultural balance in the population of the United States. There is no doubt that it favored the peoples of the countries of northern and western Europe, but the subcommittee holds that the peoples who had made the greatest contribution to the development of this country were fully justified in determining that the colonization and, henceforth, further immigration would not only be restricted but directed to admit immigrants considered to be more readily assimilable because of the similarity of their cultural background to those of the principal components of our population." (Cited in Bennett, 1966, p.129)

The annual quota for any quota country was one-sixth of one percent based on the national origins of the United State's population. Also, minimum quotas would remain at 100, according to preferences. The first preference was directed to those who possessed high skills which were deemed necessary to the United States. The Western hemisphere, however was free from such quota. For further information on the United State's Immigration Law of 1952, see the appendix.

The senate reports as well as the immigration act itself clearly shows the discriminatory procedures embodied in the Walter-McCarran act. Adding to this, the many changes that the act went through especially those dealing with refugees from the eastern bloc countries, and the increase in the numbers and political weight of the

minorities led to its abolishment.

Beside the aforementioned reasons, three more factors compelled the United States authorities to amend the immigration act of 1952 and execute the immigration act of 1965. These could be classified as: humanitarian, economic, and political. (Dinnerstein and Remeires, 1977, pp.84-85)

The 1952 act , as I previously discussed, was discriminatory. Therefore, abolishing that act was necessary for two broad reasons: First, on the international scene, the United States would ease its relations with countries that received unfavorable conditions under the previous immigration acts. Second, international communism was and still the United States's major concern. Therefore, abolishing this act would assure that more nations would revolve in the capitalist sphere rather than the communist's. Third, on the local scene, abolishing the quota system would win or at least retain political support of the minority groups to the democratic party. Late president Kennedy summarized the need for abolishing the quota system:

"The use of a national origins system is without basis in either logic or reason. It neither satisfies a nation need nor accomplishes an international purpose. In an age of interdependence among nations, such a system is an anachromism, for it discriminates among applicants for admission into the United States on the basis of accident of birth....But the legislation I am submitting will insure that progress will continue to be made toward the realization of humanitarian objectives." (Kennedy, 1964, pp.82-83)

The McCarran-Walter act was replaced by the famous Immigration Act of 1965. It had the most comprehensive immigration policies. Among its most important aims is reuniting citizens of the United States, and permanent resident aliens with their close relatives in a very short period of time according to preferences. Four of those preferences were considered humanitarian, two other preferences for economic considerations, and a special category for the refugees.

However, ceilings for immigrants to be admitted annually were embodied in the act. But favorable conditions were given for many countries of the third world. Through this act, 170,000 could be admitted annually from those countries. However, parents, spouses, and unmarried children under 21 years of American citizens were free from those ceilings. Each nation has a limit of 20,000. Regarding the Western Hemisphere, a ceiling of 120,000 was put for the first time in history.

Latin America, however was free from many restrictions. Since the Palestinians first immigrated to South America during the 1950's (as most of those countries needed labor supplies, and their immigration policies were 'open', and many Palestinians possessed Latin American passports), the Palestinians took advantage of the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965. Their Hispanic wives accompanied them. Therefore, the Palestinians, indirectly benefitted from this act especially the parts dealing with South America which remained unaffected by those ceilings.

Since then few changes have occurred in the general framework of the immigration policy. However, in 1976, as a result of the increase in unemployment, and the increase in numbers of immigrants, a few amendments have occurred. Some of those amendements are: 1. The professionals who were entitled to third preference became sixth. 2. Restrictions on aliens receiving welfare. (No new alien would receive welfare at least for the first three years from entry as a permanent resident.) 3. An increase from \$10,000 to \$40,000 became the minimum amount of capital investment through which nonimmigrants could become permanent residents. And, 4. Nonimmigrants, foreign seamen or air crewmen could not work in the United States, those who do, are ineligible for permanent resident status, or an American citizenship.

The 1965 act had a major effect on the Palestinian immigration movement, as many Palestinians looked at the United States as a possible route in their endless sojourn, and an opportunity for upward mobility. Besides, many Palestinians immigrated during the 1950's, and earlier as shown before. Therefore, those two groups together with the new immigrants began establishing the Palestinian communities in the United States through bringing their close relatives through 'chain migration'.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE DEMOGRAPHY OF THE PALESTINIANS

This chapter analyzes the demographic characteristics of the Palestinians in their home country, and the countries of refuge and settlement. This general description of the demography of Palestinians helps in understanding the Palestinian community in the United States.

The size of any society is the function of three main factors: First, birth (fertility). Second, death (mortality). And third, migration (immigration and emigration). Kingsley Davis identifies those factors as the core of population analysis:

"The primary task of demography are (1) to ascertain the number of people in a given area. (2) to determine what change -what growth or decline- this number represents; (3) to explain the change, and (4) to estimate on this basis the future trend. In explaining a change in numbers the populationist begins with three variables: births, deaths, and migration. He subtracts the deaths from the births to get 'natural increase' and he subtracts the emigrants from the immigrants to get 'net migration'.... It is clear that any factor influencing the number of people must operate through one or more of the variables mentioned. In no other way can a population be changed. For this reason we may call the four variables (fertility, mortality, immigration, and emigration) 'the primary demographic process.' They represent the core of population analysis." (Davis, 1958 p.197)

The basic feature of demographic development of the Palestinians from the beginning of the British mandate to

the present will be briefly discussed , in order to show how the Palestinian population movement was affected by demographic factors, and, therefore its effect in creating a Palestinian community in the Northeast of the United States.

Population growth is also the result of many social factors, including the psychological, economic, educational, and medical and health conditions of the country and people in question. Earlier, I have discussed how colonization, and the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine created a kind of instability for both the individual, and the society, and how these effects are still the major force of the fragmentation, and dispersion of the Palestinians in foreign lands. These factors slow the population growth.

Dealing with the history of the demographic development of the Palestinians presents very important information for those concerned with population movement (migration). However, the statistics were (and are still) meager, and often misleading, because of the underdeveloped techniques of recording birth, death, and migration. Also the political instability of the area, and the absence of researchers and qualified experts in this important area of study made the demographer's task more difficult. Therefore, my concentration will be on the general effects of major incidents that the Palestinians

have confronted both in their home country, and countries of refuge. And, how these general conditions were the main factor of creating Palestinian communities in the diaspora, in particular, the Northeast of the United States. Further, their effect on the demographic characteristics of the Palestinians in their homecountry, countries of refuge, and their recent migration trends especially to the Northeast of the United States will be discussed.

Since there is a shortage of demographic, and census data on the Palestinians whether in their homecountry or their countries of refuge, I will be using data from my sample survey. Other sources especially previous studies on the demography of the Palestinians are helpful in this regard. Although my sample is not representative of the demography of the Palestinians in the diaspora, it sheds some light on the changes that occurred to the Palestinians in different regions, and how continuous migration processes, whether forced or voluntary, affected both their communities of refuge, and communities of migration.

The Palestinians during the British colonization were suffering from 'colonization' as a psychological, and economic burden. Few medical services were available even in the urban areas. The peasants who were mostly

illiterate, and depended on 'natural' medicine. Therefore, during the first part of the current century, both fertility and mortality rates were high.

There were two population counts during the British mandate on Palestine, the first was made in 1922, and the second on 1931. The latter count was less accurate because the people did not trust the British authorities which were seen by the local people as the supporter of Zionism, and another colonial nation. The former count puts the total population around 649,000. By 1931, their number reached 966,761. The following table shows the population growth of major ethnic groups that were living in Palestine prior to 1948.

Table (4:1) Factors of Demographic Increase of the Total\* Population in Palestine by Religion During 1922-45

Religion	Muslim	Christian	Druze	Jew	Total
Factors of increase					
23 Oct. 1922	589,177	71,464	7,617	83,790	752,048
31 Dec. 1945	1,101,565	139,285	14,858	554,329	1,810,037
Overall Increase	512,388	67,821	7,241	470,539	1,057,989
Natural Increase	419,855	48,724	6,493	129,989	677,061
Immigration	20,533	19,097	748	340,550	380,928
Natural increase as percentage of total increase	96	72	90	28	64
Immigration as percentage of total increase	4	28	10	72	36
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\* With the exclusion of British forces and the inclusion of the nomadic population.

Source: Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944-1945, p.17.

The above table shows the high rate of population growth especially among the Muslim Palestinians. Their population almost doubled itself within less than 25 years. Also, it shows the low migration rates of Palestinians prior to 1945, which was only 4%. Among those are the sojourners that used to migrate to neighboring Arab countries as well as the Americas. In contrast, the Jewish population increase in Palestine was mainly due to the migration factor. It accounted 36 percent of the total Jewish population.

At the end of 1948, the Palestinian population was estimated around 1,427,000. The U.N.R.W.A. estimated the number of Palestinian refugees at slightly under 900,000 as of the armistice date. The following table illustrates the geographical distribution and dispersion of the Palestinians as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war.

Table (4:2) Geographical Distribution of Palestinians Refugees after 1948

Country/region	Palestinian Refugees
*	
West Bank & Gaza	590,000
Lebanon	104,000
Trans-Jordan	110,000
Syria	82,000
Egypt and Iraq	12,000
Total =	<u>898,000</u>

Source: George Kosseifi, 1980

(This table does not include those Palestinians migrated to those countries prior to 1948. Author's note.)

The population composition has a great effect on the economic and social activity of any country. The Palestinians follow the same pattern found in many developing countries which is mainly characterized by high fertility rate, with many children in the base of the population pyramid and a small aged population in the top of the pyramid. The developing countries namely Africa, Asia, and Latin America have a population growth of 3.0, 1.7, and 2.3 percent respectively. Therefore, if these rates continue, the populations will double themselves within 40 years or less. ( World Population: Fundamentals of Growth, 1984) George Kossaifi (1980) puts the annual rates of increase for the Palestinians living in the East Bank of Jordan for the years 1952-61, 1961-67, and 1967-72 at 4.7, 3.0, and 4.1 per cent respectively. This is based on the increase of the Palestinians living in Jordan from 185,000 in 1952, to 612,000 in 1972. (1980, pp.26-27)

The Palestinian population is young; 49 per cent of the population are 14 years and below. Those aged 15-59 constitute 46 per cent. The remaining 5% are the aged 60 years and over. (Kossaifi, 1980 p.32) The average rate of growth is 8.42%. which is higher than that of Jordan or Israel which reached 6.4% in 1965. However during the 1970's and 80's, these rates decreased mainly due to

migration. Between 1952 and 1975, the West Bank's population, for example, reached 758,000, an increase of only 0.1 per cent. (Kossaifi, 1980 p.25)

As for sex composition, males predominate according to the following table:

Table (4:3) Percentage distribution of Palestinians by Age and Sex in 1970

Age Groups	Percentage			Sex Ratio Male/Female
	Male	Female	Total	
0-4	9.7	9.0	18.7	107.7
5-9	8.7	8.1	16.8	107.5
10-14	7.1	6.4	13.5	110.6
15-19	5.2	4.9	10.1	107.4
20-24	3.8	3.9	7.7	98.3
25-29	3.5	3.5	7.0	99.8
30-34	2.9	2.7	5.6	108.6
35-39	2.5	2.4	4.9	101.7
40-44	2.0	1.9	3.9	108.0
45-49	1.6	1.4	3.0	108.8
50-54	1.1	1.1	2.2	104.5
55-59	0.8	0.8	1.6	104.6
60-64	0.9	0.8	1.7	103.1
65-69	0.7	0.5	1.2	118.2
70+	1.1	1.0	2.1	112.3
Total	51.6	48.4	100.0	106.5

Source : Kossaifi, 1980, p.32

The above table shows that females aged 20-29 predominate. This might be explained by the heavy losses of males in the continuous wars against Israel and the Arab countries.

Another factor that plays a significant role in population growth is age at marriage. The Palestinians

used to get married when they were young. It was common to find mothers, and fathers aged fifteen and younger. The causes of early marriage were mainly economic and social which was mainly the result of the mode of production of the society, and its lack of exposure to industrialization, urbanization, and modern medicine. The Palestinian peasants considered a large family, especially male children, as part of their wealth. Those children contributed to the family income, and social prestige. Further, mortality rates especially among children was high, therefore more children, it was believed, assured that the family would continue to exist.

During the 1970's, fertility rates were expected to decrease due to different reasons which are part of the Palestinians history, among those are the following: First, the immigration of males, (married and singles) and their long stay in the countries of refuge or employment. The Palestinians experienced an out-migration to nearly every place on earth, but the majority of them migrated to the first areas of refuge, (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, The West Bank and Gaza). The following table shows the geographical distribution of the Palestinian population according to their places of residence in selected countries and regions in the Middle East for the period 1948-75.

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The following tables show the distribution of Palestinians in the major countries and regions of their residence for the period 1975-1981.

Table (4:5) Distribution of Palestinians by Country/Region in 1975, and 1981.

1975*		1981**	
Occupied Palestine	1,500,000	West Bank	818,300
Jordan	900,000	Israel	530,600
Lebanon	300,000	Gaza	476,700
Syria	175,000	Jordan	1,160,800
Kuwait	170,000	Lebanon	347,000
Egypt	35,000	Kuwait	278,800
Iraq	20,000	Syria	215,500
Gulf States	20,000	Saudi Arabia	127,000
U.S.A. & Latin America	70,000	U. S. A.	110,200
Europe	30,000	Elsewhere	325,000
TOTAL	3,255,000	TOTAL	4,389,900

\* The Arab World, Arab Information Center.p.15

\*\* Al-Fajr and Palestine Institute of Statistics (Cited in Tuma, 1981)

The Palestinians were uprooted from their villages, and were forced to live in refugee camps, and in urban areas, thus the new situation forced them to reduce their fertility rates. Then, they migrated to the Oil-Arab Producing-exporting Countries (O.A.P.E.C). J.S. Birks and C.A. Sinclair's study (1978), found that the distribution of Jordanian/Palestinian workers in the Arab Gulf states are as follows: Bahrain 600, Iraq 5,000, Kuwait 47,700, Libya 14,200, Saudi Arabia 175,000, Qatar 6,000, U.A.E. 14,500. Total 263,000.

Second, mortality. Mortality rate is expected to be

high among Palestinians due to the continuous wars against Israel, and the civil wars that occurred in the Arab countries since the early seventies. Excluding this factor, mortality rates among the Palestinians is better than many countries in the third world, for the following reasons; a) education among the Palestinians is tremendously improving especially in medical practitioners. We find an excessive number of Palestinians in the countries of refuge especially in Amman, Jordan, where doctors could not find employment in the city, due to the increase of medical doctors. b) the improvement in the socioeconomic status of the Palestinians, as many of them went to the oil rich countries, and some of them became quite wealthy.

Third, urbanization, industrialization, education for both males and females, and the use of modern techniques of birth control. Urbanization and industrialization have a tremendous effect on the population growth, and therefore its distribution. During the British mandate, more than 80 per cent. of the Palestinians were peasants. Since then, that rate is tremendously decreasing. In 1961, it reached 74.3%, while in 1977, it reached 36.2%. The causes of such decrease is mainly political. During 1948, around 900,000 villagers were forced to leave their homes

and lands, and became refugees living in refugee camps. They became the 'urban villagers' as the geographical distribution of the refugee camps were stamped by the urban way of life whereas their old ways of living (before the forced migration) was mainly rural. Looking at the geographical location of the refugee camps, we notice the closeness of the camps to the cities. Many times, those refugee camps are part of the city as in the case of Amman, Jordan. Further, some of those camps became medium, and small cities, with shops, banks, and many other economic activities that support the central cities, and leave many of their burdens.

The Palestinian immigrants in the U.S. came mainly to urban areas as their first occupation was peddling which requires the peddler to be in or close to the city as it is the center of trade. Others who came after, possessed many skills, which are suitable for an urban rather than a rural area. Further, cultural as well as demographic reasons compelled the new immigrants to move to those cities under study. It is the presence of relatives and friends whom they share with them many characteristics. Adding to this the presence of the Arab community in general makes the congregation of population in cities and neighborhoods possible, and directs the movement of the Palestinian immigrants into certain

neighborhoods, and specific occupations.

Fourth, international events, such as the increase of demand for laborers in South America in the 1950's, coupled with the increase of demand for laborers in the O.A.P.E.C. countries, and later the United State's 'open' immigration policies of 1965 encouraged Palestinians males to migrate, thus reducing their population. In 1980, the West Bank's population including expanded Jerusalem post-1967 was 822,400. Gaza's population according to Israeli figures was 441,000. Whereas, the West Bank's population pre-War 1967 reached 900,000. This decrease in their numbers is the result of the Palestinians' displacement. (Abu-Lughod, 1986)

Recently, the Palestinians began to migrate on family basis rather than on an individualistic basis which was the main characteristic of early immigrants who considered themselves as 'sojourners, whose aims were to 'collect' the most money at the shortest period of time. Money during that time was scarce, so were the expenses. A few brought their families, but not immediately, for different reasons, among them are; a) religion. The Palestinian muslim immigrants did not bring their families because they did not want their children to be 'spoiled' by the 'unbelieving' society 'the United States. b)

Economic, and demographic reasons: The Palestinians have large families, therefore, bringing them will incur large expenses on the immigrant. Economically, they are better off if their families stay in the countries of their refuge. c) the early Palestinian immigrants did not 'think' that their stay would be permanent, (or they did not want it to be permanent), so, bringing their families contradicts their feelings, and their future plans. d) the immigration policies of the United States during the early part of the 20th century were strict. And finally, the recent developments in their home-country made things hard for the immigrant either to live, or stay whether under the Israeli occupation, or under the Arab political regimes. Therefore, the historical events that the Palestinians confronted during this century had a major effect on their population growth. Besides their distribution in the world makes the demographer task very difficult, and sometimes impossible.

Recently, the Palestinians began to immigrate on family bases because of the worsening of political situation in the Middle East in general. Those who came as single, a significant number of them started to go back, get married, and bring wives with them, or wait until wives joined them. A significant number of the Palestinians who came during the 1960's especially those

who came from South America, were married to Hispanic women. On the other hand, the Palestinians who came under the provisions of skilled workers, and relatives of the first immigrants, were married to Palestinian women. This is due mainly to: 1. A significant number of them came with their families. 2. The rising of the Palestinian consciousness, both politically and culturally, as many of them saw the difficulty of understanding the marriage relationships of the West, and they wanted to maintain their history, and national heritage. And, 3. it would be easy for those immigrants to go back to their home-country once they decided to do so.

There are three ways of getting married to one's own ethnic group among the Palestinians: 1. by going back to his country and getting married, and come back with an 'ethnic wife', as this is not restricted to immigrant ceilings (the American citizens); 2. by sending a wife to the person in the U.S., or females would go back to the home-country and bring husbands; 3. by getting married to the Palestinian females living in the United States. According to my survey, more than 80 per cent of the sample were married, with 370 children. More than two thirds of the children were between one and four years. 12% were 5-9 years old, and 12% were between 10-14. A large number of those children were born in the United

States especially the first age group (1-4). This suggests the high fertility among the Palestinians. However, recent immigrants especially those coming from developing countries, have higher fertility rates than the indigenous population, but less than that of their country of origin. Further, the improvement in the socio-economic status, the availability of education for both males and females have a direct effect on delaying the age at marriage, thus reducing the fecund period of the females.

#### Age composition:

Historically, immigrants are young. They migrate in their prime productive years. The Palestinian immigrants are not different. According to my survey sample, more than two-thirds of the Palestinian heads of households were ages 20-39. Also, they were characterized by high dependency ratio (3.5 child per family). This is due mainly to their high fertility either before migrating to the United States, or after their settlement in the Northeast. These ratios are expected to increase for two reasons: a) The form of the Palestinian immigration has changed from an individual basis to a family type. b) The persistent effect of culture, and traditions on the individual's decisions on fertility.

## CHAPTER V

### SPATIAL MOBILITY

Spatial mobility refers to change in residence in terms of employment considerations which require a change of residence, or removing oneself from the ethnic neighborhood. The boundary of the neighborhood is the city or the community where the Palestinians mostly reside, i.e. Brooklyn, North Bergen, and Paterson.

Rossi (1980) differentiates between migration and residential mobility:

"Migration is distinguished from residential mobility because it involves a shift from one local labor market to another and hence ordinarily involves employment consideration in the move, while residential mobility includes shifts that could take place without change in employment." (Rossi, 1980, p.19)

Using data on the Palestinians' spatial distribution by indicators of socioeconomic status and ethnic status provides important information on their spatial mobility. Socioeconomic variables consist of family income, current occupation, educational achievement, and age structure of the group. These variables are cross-tabulated by reason for coming to this area, ownership of housing, and satisfaction in this area.

The association between cultural factor and spatial

mobility has received little attention. Cultural variables such as using national food, listening to Arabic music, and practicing religion are related to acculturation/assimilation which, in turn is related to spatial mobility. Therefore, the residential mobility of the Palestinians in the Northeast provides important data on the acculturation of this ethnic group.

Demographic variables such as marital status, and number of children are used as independent variables to determine their effect on the spatial mobility of the Palestinians.

In this chapter, the nature and causes that influence the Palestinians to cluster in certain areas without forming a 'ghetto' will be shown. The main research questions are: 'Why did they choose that particular area as a place of settlement?', 'Are they satisfied with this area?', and, 'Are they planning to move to another area?'

Korbin and Goldscheider (1978) believe that the mobility of any group depends on the factor that brought the ethnic community to certain locations such as work, business opportunities, housing, education, and proximity of other individuals from the same ethnic group. Although

these factors are important in determining the residential distribution of the Palestinians ,by themselves, they are not sufficient to explain their spatial mobility in the Northeast. The main factors are embodied in the inherent characteristic and general experience, which is mainly characterized by alienation as a result of their exodus from their home country. Although their current situation is discussed in terms of socio-economic and spatial mobility, the alienation factor is also present.

Eisenstadt identifies three stages in the migration process:

In every movement of this kind we can find three such stages. First, the motivation to migrate... the needs or dispositions which urge people to move from one place to another; second, the social structure of the actual migratory process or the physical transition from the original society to a new one; third, the absorption of the immigrants within the social and cultural framework of the new society. (Eisenstadt, 1954, p.1)

Earlier, I discussed the historical factors that compelled the Palestinians to migrate to both developed and developing countries, along with the change in the social structure of the Palestinians in their home country, and the countries of refuge. In this section, I will be looking at the spatial mobility of the Palestinians in the Northeast and its relation to their socioeconomic status. But first, close attention should be

paid to the social structure of the Palestinian communities in the Northeast as it also affects their spatial mobility.

The Palestinians are among the most recent immigrant groups that migrated to the Northeast. Brooklyn was their first settlement as it is one of the major entry ports and the nearest to the Middle east in general. Also, the Syrians were the oldest Arab immigrants who settled in Brooklyn then, later moved to nearly every state in the nation. The Palestinians followed their foot steps.

Paterson has been and still continues to be mainly an industrial city. The old mill buildings that were a feature of the city for more than a century still exist today. Paterson was known as "The Silk City". In 1825, it became known as the "Cotton Town of the United States." Although this industry has moved out of the city, silk dyeing still exists. More than 15,000 workers handle 75 percent of the nation's textile output. Paterson is still the largest single silk-producing center in the nation. However, this industry has been curtailed. Today, 4,000 workers weave about 12 percent of the country's silk. Other occupational activities of the city include; sweat shops, clothes, airplane motors, and other metal products. Further, its proximity to New York City adds to its

importance.

The city's population is mixed, with blacks predominant in the central city. The Hispanics are the second largest ethnic group. They are residentially located around the 'black built' area. More than 30 percent of the population are foreign born. Italians, Jews, Poles, Syrian and Middle Easterners, Germans, and Irish are among the major ethnic groups found in the city. Its whole population exceeded 160,000 in 1980. The Arabs constitute only a small percentage, who came mainly from New York, and North Bergen during the first part of this century. They came to seek employment in the silk industry. Today, few Syrians work in these mills, because of their educational achievement, and occupational mobility.

North Bergen, also has a similar function. It is a township of Hudson County, located north of Jersey city, bounded north, and northeast by Bergen county, east by the Hudson River, Guttenberg, West New York, Union City, and Secaucus. The two major aspects of the city are; its weaving industry, and its proximity to New York City. It is in effect an extension of the New York metropolitan area. It is the center of the nation's embroidery industry. It has more than 50 factories of different sizes.

According to the 1970 census, 33 percent of North

Bergen's population were employed outside the county. It is presumed that most of them were working in New York City. Its total population reached 47,019 in 1980. The majority were whites 43,914. As for their income, the 1980 census showed more than 20 percent of the population had an income level of \$15,000 or more. 9.1 percent had an income less than the poverty level. The median income level was \$9,698.

Brooklyn is one of the five districts of New York city with a population of (2,230,936) that would make it the fourth largest city in the nation. Many times Brooklyn is called "The Rooming House of New York City" because many persons live in Brooklyn and work in Manhattan. Also, it is a leading manufacturing, and port center. Hundreds of ships enter Brooklyn's ports everyday. The borough's factories are located along the water front, and manufacture a variety of goods such as; textiles, clothing, shoes, and sugar. Atlantic Avenue, one of the main downtown streets, runs through the heart of the borough.

In Paterson, the Palestinians are mainly found in South Paterson. In North Bergen, they congregate between 70th and 83rd Streets. And in Brooklyn, they are dispersed around Atlantic avenue, near the downtown area where Atlantic Avenue meets Flatbush Avenue, and in Bay Ridge.

Sociologists at the turn of the century, had been concerned with the locational patterns and social differences that exist among ethnic groups. The Chicago School of urban sociology dominated theory and research on ethnic residential mobility within urban areas. The classical ecologists believed that the organization of human society center around two processes: Competition, and communication which give different orders in society: the biotic or ecological, and the moral or social. Further, the overall spatial pattern of the community, and the natural areas existence and development are regulated by competition which determines the ecological structure of human communities through two processes: invasion, and succession. Thus, ideally, the urban expansion causes modern cities to form different concentric zones. Mobility, which is a major concept in the Chicago school, was introduced by Park. It causes the immigration and outmigration in the natural areas. In a literal sense mobility refers to any kind of movement. The sociological definition refers to a relatively permanent change of place or location in either physical or social space. Therefore, mobility from one zone to another, to Burgess, occurs mainly due to the rise in the socioeconomic status. Newly arrived immigrants, however, will fill those deteriorated areas left by the previously mobile

individuals.

Ecological factors are also important in the sense that ethnic communities provide an ecological basis through which entry to that area is restricted to their own ethnic group. Those 'cultural islands' tend to isolate the newcomers from the mainstream of American life. Park explained:

The physical or ecological organization of a community, in the long run, responds to and reflects the occupational and the cultural. (Park, 1952 p.170.)

In this vein, Duncan and Lieberman asserted that

"...immigrants tend to locate near the center of the city, and in the course of time and with the progress of assimilation, to disperse toward the periphery until they are no more centralized than the native population." (1959, p.368).

The movement out of the ethnic or racial neighborhood into the larger nonethnic white areas, according to this school was considered an important sign for social mobility, and assimilation with the native Americans.

The association between socioeconomic and spatial mobility is not hard to understand. Resources, and opportunities, geographically are varied. Individuals compete with others in order to take advantage of those opportunities and services that are abundant in some

areas, and are lacking in many others especially in the deteriorating parts in the central cities which became unattractive to many businesses who began to relocate to suburban and nonmetropolitan areas. The local governments encouraged many big companies to relocate out of the central cities through many routes, such as tax rebates, and building highways. Tax rebates by the government, for example, became a pull factor. Crowding, high rates of crime, and unionized work force became push factors as well. The 1980 census showed that newly arrived immigrants tend to settle immediately in suburbs. Duncan and Lieberman explain:

A group highly concentrated toward the center of the city as compared with the general or native population, is necessarily segregated, but the converse is not necessarily true: a group may be highly segregated without being centralized. It is even possible for a segregated group to be decentralized, that is, have its major concentrations located toward the periphery of the city. (1959 p. 368)

Further, the ecological approach has been concerned mainly with investigating ethnic residential segregation and concentration, and their movement which is directed away from the deteriorating center of the city (Zone I), toward more desirable areas, which depends mainly on their assimilation with the 'new' culture, and the improvement in their economic status. The more successful individuals

were considered more residentially mobile. Since those high status areas are located away from the ethnic ghetto toward the suburbs, it is more likely that some ethnic groups when they become more assimilated will occupy decentralized residential locations.

Further, the ecological approach has been mainly concerned with the residential distribution and segregation of ethnic populations as a form of assimilation to the new society. The mobile individuals were considered more assimilated in the new culture as they possess the attributes of assimilation such as, ability to speak English, and citizenship. Lieberman (1963) found that these attributes are highly correlated with residential segregation.

Contrary to the Chicago school, Etzioni contends that the social and cultural integrity of an ethnic group could be maintained without being isolated or concentrated in a particular geographical area. He asserts:

"Jews and some other ethnic groups in America seem to pass from ecological traditional immigrant 'totalistic' groups which are concentrated in 'natural areas'. (Etzioni, 1983)

Walter Firey emphasizes culture as a primary explanatory concept in studying human ecology. Since space has 'symbolic value', therefore, it should not be judged

only in economic terms.

Recently, many theories have diverged from the ecological approach, the cultural pluralism is the most important. Cultural and structural assimilation according to this school are different dimensions of ethnic change. Social and spatial mobility are considered a latent function of the groups' assimilation in the new culture. (Gordon, 1964; Greeley, 1974; Parsons, 1975). Gordon suggested that there are seven stages through which groups or individuals from different societies pass through. Those stages are: cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavior receptional, and civic assimilation. In his analysis of the stages of ethnic assimilation, Gordon considered structural assimilation (Stage II) as the most important. Once structural assimilation occurs, other types of assimilation would follow. This stage is mainly characterized by: the entrance of the group into primary relationships with members of the host society, and engaging in the clubs and social organizations of the host society. The key to assimilation, to Gordon, therefore is structural assimilation which occurs when: "large entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary level." (Gordon, 1964 p.71). The pluralist theory implies that each ethnic group demonstrates a unique

developmental and adaptation experience to certain geographical locations.

The association between cultural factors and spatial mobility has received little systematic attention, but it was implicit in the Chicago school's model of assimilation as well as the cultural pluralism models. Gordon, for example refers to the spatial location of the ethnic groups, indirectly when he discusses organizations as an aspect of ethnicity:

"Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permit and encourage the members of an ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships throughout all stages of life-cycle." (64:34).

This statement suggests the inter-relationship of ethnicity and geographic location of the ethnic groups. A negative correlation is implied between spatial mobility and ethnicity.

Further, many pluralist theorists have shown that ethnic segregation still exists among many ethnic groups regardless of recency of immigration, or social class position. Uniform patterns of ethnic community development and persistence as well as assimilation are not possible in the foreseeable future. ( Guest and Weed, 1976; Kantrowitz, 1973; Greeley, 1974; Newman, 1973).

Two models have been introduced to explain ethnic residential dissimilarity: "social class" and "ethnic status". The former emphasizes socioeconomic differences among ethnic groups, while the latter sees that one's preference to maintain his/her ethnic identity encourages others to live near those with similar ethnic backgrounds. Gordon (1964) combined the two concepts into 'ethclass', which he defines:

"...we refer to the subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical stratification of ethnicity with the horizontal stratification of social class as the ethclass."

Further, there are two processes of group identification: historical, and participational identification. The former is "a function of the unfolding of past and current historic events." The latter are those of the same ethnic group and same social class. (1964, P.52-53).

The pluralist theory, also suggests that many different variables are experienced by different circumstances such as a historical experience, or the location of their original settlement are also important factors in the community formation and development.

The pluralist theory serves as a sensitizing element. It serves to explore the unique experience of each ethnic group. This contradicts earlier theories which uses the assimilation as ahistorical and individualistic.

Marxists tend to emphasize that the presence of social classes in the capitalist society which cause ethnic differentiation. Ethnicity in this regard has been characterized by social class conflict. The poor, the oppressed who occupy the lower socioeconomic status retain ethnic identification. As they move up in the social, and economic ladder, their identification with their ethnic culture and groups tends to decrease. Therefore, eliminating those social classes in society tends to eliminate those differences.

However, my main concern is not only to identify those processes of spatial agglomerations, it is rather to see their effect on social behavior, and to interpret and predict the current and future status of the Palestinian community in the diaspora. Also, the relationship between strength of social networks and levels of residential segregation is explored through a case study of the Palestinian community in the Northeast. The influence of shared religion, culture, and ethnic settlement patterns are investigated.

The majority of Palestinians, during the first part of the 20th century, were identified along two classes: the peasants, and the landowners. As discussed earlier by 1948 and as a result of the exodus of Palestinians to alien lands, both of those classes were

dismantled, thus reducing their statuses to refugees. Later they became immigrants sharing one experience, and one character, 'alienation' regardless of the social class they previously belonged to or are currently occupying. However, ethnic concentrations in certain geographical locations are more recognizable than social classes. By definition social classes are not equal while ethnic concentrations could be formed at all levels of socioeconomic status. Another major characteristic of these immigrants is alienation which occurred as a result of the major historical events that shaped the Palestinian history and presence. Chain migration is the vehicle for community formation, while alienation is the driving force.

My survey shows that the choice of the community was mainly due to the presence of relatives and friends, and the Palestinian and Arab community in general. Further, the form of clustering is "migration chains", a term first introduced by R.A. Lochore which he defines as

" ...an established route along which immigrants continue to move over a period of many years from a European peasant community to a modified peasant community in the new land."

Further, Lochore explains how chain migration manifested itself in Europe:

"sixty years ago a Strombolese seaman was put ashore at Wellington with a broken leg. Coming out of hospital, he took a shore job and did well. He took a return passage to Italy, had a holiday in his home village, boasted about the new land and brought his brother back with him. When they had earned enough they financed the passage for a cousin, and then a friend, until there was a complete crew for a fishing launch....And so year after year people continued to move along the migration chain, until they built up what was virtually an Italian village in New Zealand.... (Lochore, 1951, pp.24-25)

The MacDonalds who borrowed the term from Lochore, showed how new immigrants learn about new opportunities, secure housing and transportation facilities, and employment in the new society through previous immigrants. They defined the process of chain migration as:

"[T]hat movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accomodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants" (1964: p.82)

This concept is useful in this study, not only in spatial mobility, but also in explaining the factors that are behind the creation of the Palestinian community in the Northeast. It, further explains how those new immigrants keep enforcing and maintaining their ethnic culture, customs and habits, and how such factors affect their pattern of residential distributions in the Northeast.

The general distribution of the Palestinians is toward those areas which already have a Palestinian population, as they are in the process of establishing their ethnic neighborhoods. The Northeast is still a major reception area for newly arrived immigrants based mainly on the presence of kin and friends of the already existing population rather than 'class'. However, based on my observation, movement across states, or even among neighborhoods of Palestinian or Arab community is meager.

As for employment, especially among peddlers, a shift in employment may occur, but they maintain their residence in their 'first' neighborhood. Also, change of location many times occurs within the neighborhood. This is mainly a result of housing purchases which usually occur in the same neighborhood. As for employment, separation between residence, and place of employment is the general characteristic. Spatial mobility, in short, does not follow an employment location. This is due to the improvement of transportation and communication. Choosing a place of residence does not follow the location of a job. Rather, their ethnic presence is supported by the ethnic establishments and institutions especially the mosques, schools, shops, social clubs and cultural organizations. Also the presence of other Arab ethnic groups, emphasizes their presence in those neighborhoods,

and gives the area a particular atmosphere that ties the individuals as well as the groups into one ecological distribution as they find comfort in the neighborhood's culture, language, and aboveall social relationships based on family organizations. Furthermore, the new immigrants, who came mainly through the 'chain migration', settle where their kin reside, although the neighborhood in general is a mixed one.

Drawing the analysis to the small units such as the family, the general pattern of social relations among the Palestinians is a fan-shaped spatial arrangement with women and children remaining in the house and very often the males move progressively outwards, and sometimes cross-states especially so with peddlers who travel with their vans and merchandize to the Mid-west and South of the country, usually for many days.

### The Neighborhood

The ethnic neighborhood is conceived by many sociologists as the first stage in the life cycle of an ethnic community. It plays a significant role in clustering immigrants of the same ethnic heritage in certain locations which are not necessarily in the center of the cities. Rather, they join relatives and friends in

generally mixed neighborhoods. Lenski (1970) distinguishes between two types of ethnic communities : "geographical communities", and "cultural communities". The former refers to communities which are tied by spatial proximity, and the latter by 'ties of common cultural traditions." (1970, p.41) Wirth (1933) expressed the importance of kinship in the distribution of populations regardless of ethnic or racial group. Wirth defined the community as:

"A territorial base, distribution in space of men, institutions, activities, closer living together on the basis of kinship and organic interdependence and a common life based on the natural correspondence of interests, tend to characterize a community." (Wirth, 1933)

The presence of kinship and friendship plays a significant role in the spatial distribution of the Palestinians in the diaspora, especially in maintaining the ethnic heritage through grouping families within a building or within an area. According to my survey sample, 65.8 per cent of the sample stated that the presence of relatives and friends were the main reasons for choosing this area. In Brooklyn, the Palestinians are clustered throughout the Atlantic Avenue area, and Bay Ridge. In Paterson, they are dispersed in South Paterson. And in North Bergen, they congregate around 70th St to 83rd. The Palestinians in those neighborhoods did not form

a ghetto-like community, perhaps due to their number which is rather small, and the recency of their immigration; they are scattered throughout the Arab community. Also, what we see in the diaspora is a clustering of villages within each area of the Palestinian concentrations. In Brooklyn, for example, most of the Palestinians from the village of Beit Hanina live and work in Brooklyn, few families from this village live in Paterson. In North Bergen, more than 25 families come from one village near Jerusalem. In Paterson, more than 200 families come from less than 10 Palestinian villages.

Another factor that is also important in the clustering of Palestinians in certain neighborhoods is the fact that more than 33 per cent of the sample are homeowners whom would like to have Arab neighbors because it is easy to communicate and socialize. Furthermore, kinship also influences the pattern of spatial distribution. It is not economic status that influences their behavior, it is rather the social aspect of the process of immigration. Parillo, (1984) found that housing costs in Paterson are comparable with many other areas which are considered higher in social status. My research confirms this finding, especially on the ground of the choice of this area to live in. In Paterson, 65.5% of the respondents expressed the cause of choosing this area is the presence

of relatives and friends. Work-place was secondary (11.1%) However, in Brooklyn, the per cent decreased to 48%, followed by the presence of work-place 24%.

Furthermore, those neighborhoods are not distinguished by occupational, and income differentiation. It is rather a clustering of families of the same ethnic background. They are located, especially in Paterson, on the Hispanic ring.

Al-Tahir asserted that the causes that encouraged the Palestinians to reside in certain area were due to economic factors.

"For the Muslim-Palestinians, the spatial scattering does not indicate a desire to live away from each other, but a wish to be as near as possible to their stores, where they can secure furnished rooms and apartments at lower rents.... The spatial distribution of the Muslim-Palestinians is mostly influenced by economic forces, that is, the problem of occupation and lower rent.' (1952, p.57)

This description of the Palestinian community is not applicable to the Palestinian communities of the Northeast. Today, the general trend among the Palestinians, is to separate work from residence, especially with the availability of transportation whether public or private. Also, many changes have occurred both in their home country and the countries of refuge. Those incidents were (and are still) political. These changes reflected

themselves on the Palestinian immigrant. The form of immigration, for example has changed from an individualistic to family type. Also, the presence of Arab, and non-Arabic ethnic groups supported their residence in these areas. Sometimes there is a spatial integration of the Palestinians with other ethnic groups, especially Arabs of different nationalities. The Hispanic because of inter-marriage and similar complexion. The blacks who are concentrated in the center of the city, (Paterson) are not foreign to them because of the Islamic principles of equality regardless of color. Moreover, the Turks, share religion with the Muslem Palestinians which is an important feature of social cohesion. In short, all those factors combined made the neighborhood suitable for the Palestinian to cluster, but the main factor is the presence of relatives and friends rather than economic motives.

Further, not only do social clubs play an important role in spreading information both from the home country, and the general social and cultural events that occur in the community, but also have a direct effect in clustering the Palestinians in certain neighborhoods and maintaining a particular kind of community.

Correspondence with their friends and relatives who

are still living in their home country has a great effect on the Palestinian community in the United States. It keeps the individual as well as the group attached to the old country, thus slowing the process of assimilation. When the sample was asked about correspondence with home country, 97% used either telephone or letters. Also a significant number of those interviewed, about two-thirds, visited their home country at least once within the past two decades. The 1980's showed an increase of visiting patterns. Only one-third of the sample did not go back to visit, mainly due to the political situation of their country.

The Palestinian did not form a ghetto-like community. Rather, family groupings and the presence of Arab community are the determining factors of their settlements. Therefore, their spatial mobility is towards this area rather than leaving the area to secondary settlements. Supporting this argument is through looking at the distribution of the Palestinian populations residing in the three communities under investigation. Their settlement takes the form of kin of the same village, or their friends rather than the cost of housing, rent or an occupation. Interestingly, when the Palestinians change their residence, they follow a certain pattern even within one section in a city. In Brooklyn,

for example, the Palestinians formed their first settlement around Atlantic Avenue, however, nowadays, they are moving to Bay Ridge. A resident in that area who came from Atlantic avenue area said; "most of the Palestinian residents of Bay Ridge used to live around Atlantic ave. The reasons that propelled him to leave to Bay Ridge were: his kin, and many Palestinian families have moved to this area, besides it is less crowded, more clean, and more quiet". Kayal and Kayal, in their description of the spatial mobility of the Syrians stated:

"...when Syrians change residence they tend to replace themselves wholly in some other community. ...Most of the newly formed of Paterson, N.J., for example, are settling in Wayne, New Jersey, while those of Boston have moved from the South End to West Roxbury and Roslindale district. Quite simply, they do not move at random but follow specific patterns. By far the most interesting residential patterns are those of the Brooklyn collectivity. Originally housed on Atlantic Avenue and environs (Brooklyn Heights-Cobble Hill), the group moved, between the two world wars to the prestigious Park Slope of Brooklyn. Today, it is located in Bay Ridge and more specifically on and near Shore Road." (1975, p.197)

The Palestinians follow a spatial mobility similar to the Syrians. In Paterson, the Palestinians are clustered in South Paterson, their movement to Wayne, N.J. as experienced by the Syrians has not started yet. It will remain to be seen whether they would follow the same pattern as in Brooklyn. Therefore, we may conclude that

although change of residence is minor to many Palestinians, they follow one pattern, i.e. to get closer to their kin and friends, and the Arab community in general. Also, the dispersion of the population is due only to their low numbers. If their numbers continue to increase, a ghetto-like settlement is possible.

Further, decreased residential segregation has been positively correlated with the following variables: Income, education, occupation, and English speaking ability. (Beshers, Laumann, and Bradshaw, 1964; Darroch and Marston, 1971; Duncan and Lieberman, 1959) These variables will be used as independent variables; the dependent variables are: Reasons for coming to this area; satisfaction with this area; and ownership of housing.

Socioeconomic advancement is positively correlated with spatial mobility as individuals or groups tend to move to better areas where social conditions are conceived to be better than the areas they are living in. According to Berry:

"Any increase in job or financial status must be matched by a move to a better neighborhood in which the new and higher-status life style may be pursued." (Berry, 1973, p.50)

According to this view, urban ecology would sort out people into homogeneous neighborhoods that are

commensurate with their income.

The following are the percentages of the Palestinians' family income based on my survey sample:

Table (5:4) The percentage of income groups of the sample survey:

Income	Percent
0 - 9,999	11%
10,000 - 14,999	16
15,000 - 19,999	18
20,000 - 29,999	22
30,000 +	33
Total =	<u>100%</u>
N = 153	

The above table shows that more than 50 % of the sample have incomes of more than \$20,000, and one third of the sample have incomes of \$30,000 and above. Therefore, income by itself could not explain the ecological distribution of the Palestinians in those areas. Supporting this argument is that more than 70% of the survey sample are not planning to leave the neighborhood. As an interviewee told me "This place has a kind of magic that attracts Palestinians to those areas." This 'magic' is revealed, in my opinion, by many factors, of which the presence of kin, friends, work, the community in general, and the length of residence in those areas made a kind of psychological 'belonging', and

comfort with the neighborhood that is hard to erase at least for the time being. It may require several generations before we can see a spatial assimilation to this ethnic group.

El-kholy, who studied two Arab communities of Toledo, Ohio, and Detroit, Michigan, found that the dispersed group was more assimilated than the segregated community. El-Kholy wrote:

"The nature of the Toledo business...has necessitated ecological dispersion of the community. Thus the members, who have become exposed to the American culture in their business and residence, are more assimilated into their new culture than the Detroit members. Working almost solely in the auto factories in Detroit, these Moslems live in a ghetto-like community in Dearborn." (Elkholy, 1966 p.16).

As for their socioeconomic status expressed through income, the Toledo community has a higher socio-economic status than the Detroit's community.

Many studies have proved that white populations living in suburban areas have higher socioeconomic status than those living in central cities (Birch, 1975; Farely, 1976, Pinkerton, 1969; Gist and Fava, 1970). According to the 1970 census, the median income of all suburban families was \$11,210 as compared with \$9,510 for central city residents. (Gist and Fava, 1970 p.304). Our survey sample showed an average income greater than those figures as more than 33% have an average income of more than

\$30,000. In Brooklyn, for example, there are more than 2000 grocery stores and supermarkets owned by Palestinians. More than one third of these business establishments belong to people that come from one village in the West Bank, Beit Hanina.

Another measure is ownership of housing, and the percentage of rent to income. When the survey sample were asked about whether they own their house or they are just renters: One third of the sample were found to be homeowners. The following table is the percentage of rent to income for the the Palestinian renters according to my survey sample:

Table (5:2) Rent to Income & Homeownership in Percent

Rent to income	Percent
20% of income	21%
30%	31
40%	11
Percentage of Homeowners	37
Total =	<u>100%</u>

N = 153

Michelson's recent longitudinal study on residential mobility in Toronto (1977) showed that those who moved to apartment houses are more likely to move again; while those moved to houses are more likely to stay. This means

that housing ownership is linked with stability. This is a simple answer to a multidimensional process, not a single answer is satisfactory.

### Spatial Mobility and Satisfaction

Most studies on housing in North America have shown people among all subgroups tend to favor single-family houses in a low density area. Several factors are associated with residential satisfaction. It is assumed that income, education, occupation, and ethnicity in general are among the most important factors that determine the place of residence of a group. In this survey, I found that the social factor expressed by the preference of the group to live near their kin and friends was more important than many other reasons.

In this section, I will be examining the relationship of socio-economic and demographic variables, and indicators of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

#### Satisfaction by Age:

Most studies have shown the significance of the lifecycle on both residential mobility and satisfaction in the neighborhood. Rossi (1980) wrote:

"Households which remain intact necessarily change over time in size; socioeconomic status level; and in the mix of ages, earning capacities, and accessibility requirements. Such changes are almost universally regarded as the more important sources of residential mobility operating by changing the housing expenditure capacities of the household and their housing requirements and aspirations. Indeed, Why Families Move, as indicated earlier, places life cycle changes at the top of the list of sources of residential moves." (Rossi, 1980, p.37)

The following table shows the level of satisfaction of the Palestinian male head of household by age.

Table (5:3) Satisfaction by Age in Percent

	Age			
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Satisfied	56%	62%	39%	81%
Non-satisfied	44	38	61	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(52)	(61)	(23)	(16)
N = 152				

The above table shows the least satisfied group are those who are in the age group of 40-49. The most satisfied are those above the age of fifty. Several reasons could explain the difference of satisfaction of those two age groups. First, the length of residence of the second group (50+) in the neighborhood in particular,

and in the United States in general affected their satisfaction. Second, It is commonly accepted in residential mobility studies the older the individuals are, the less mobile they become. Among many studies, Campbell, et al, for example, found people 65 years of age and older were more satisfied than others of younger age groups. (Campbell, et al,1976) Third, the presence of people of the same ethnic community impedes mobility.

Satisfaction by Length of Residence:

Length of residence has a great impact on the assimilation process of many ethnic groups. Sometimes it requires several generations before assimilation could occur, yet it is implicit in the theories of assimilation as well as cultural pluralism that ethnic groups will be assimilated. The Palestinians still maintain strong ties between their communities in the United States or with their home country. The newly arrived Palestinian immigrants act as a kind of revival to the ethnic neighborhoods. Their children, not only learn the Arabic language from their parents, and the Arab community in general, but also the religion, culture, and history. The Arab institutions such as mosques, schools, and clubs have important roles in maintaining the ethnic neighborhoods regardless of length of residence. However, those of mixed parents, usually are more assimilated than those of

Palestinian parents. Many times those of mixed parents do not speak Arabic, or belong whole-heartedly to the community. They are more comfortable with the Hispanic community rather than the Palestinian. Therefore, length of residence is assumed to exert many pressures on the young generation to acculturate more easily than the newly arrived immigrants. This table shows satisfaction by time of immigration.

Table (5:4) Satisfaction by Time of Immigration to the U.S. in Percent

	Time of Immigration		
	1960's	1970's	1980's
Satisfied	70%	64%	43%
Nonsatisfied	30	36	57
Total =	100%	100%	100%
	(27)	(81)	(44)
N = 152			

Satisfaction, and Socioeconomic Status:

Several studies have shown a positive association between socioeconomic status (its major components are; education, income, and occupation) and satisfaction. (Rossi, 1955)

Satisfaction by Income

It is assumed that income is strongly related to satisfaction. The more income an individual has, the more satisfied he/or she is, and the more they could satisfy

their physical needs and aspirations. The following table supports this argument. The least satisfied people, are those who reported the least income, also the highly satisfied are those whose income extends beyond \$30,000.

Table (5:5) Satisfaction by Income in Percent

Satisfaction in the area	Income		
	0-14,999	15,000- 29,999	30,000+
Satisfied	42%	63%	70%
Nonsatisfied	58	37	30
	100% (40)	100% (61)	100% (50)

N = 151

Education is also related to satisfaction. The more educated the person is, the more opportunities that are available to him, the more income, and the more satisfied he/she is. However, in my survey, I found that the least educated were the most satisfied. While the least satisfied were among those who had bachelor degrees or graduate degrees. This discrepancy has its roots in the discrimination in the job market which stratifies people by race, and ethnicity as well. Language fluency is a barrier to many newly arrived immigrants. It makes entrance into prestigious occupations that are related to their education and experience difficult. Therefore, many

of them found employment in sales, or supermarkets that were 'free' from discrimination as the employer was of the same ethnic group.

Table (5:6) Satisfaction by Education in Percent

	Education		
	High-school	Bachelor	Graduate
Satisfied	63%	53%	55%
Non-satisfied	37	47	45
Total =	100%	100%	100%
	(87)	(36)	(29)
N = 152			

Satisfaction and Current Occupation

Occupation is also among the socioeconomic variables that are related to satisfaction. The following table shows satisfaction by current occupation. Those employed in sales were the highest satisfied group, followed by those employed in skilled, and unskilled occupations. The least satisfied were the professionals.

Table (5:7) Satisfaction by Current Occupation in Percent

	Professionals	Sales	Skilled- semiskilled	Unskilled- peddling
Satisfied	50%	65%	67%	60%
Nonsatisfied	50	35	33	40
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(20)	(57)	(15)	(42)
N = 133				

Another dimension on which spatial mobility could be analyzed is through the desire to move. The survey sample were asked directly: "Are you planning to leave the neighborhood to another area?" Twenty-five percent of the respondents considered moving to another area, whereas 75% stated they were not planning to move. It is worth mentioning that more than seventy percent of the sample would like to go back home to live permanently in condition that the turmoil in their country is settled. The following tables illustrate the desire to move by demographic and socioeconomic variables.

Table (5:8) Planning to Move by Age in Percent

	Age		
	20-29	30-39	40 and over
Planning to move	33%	25%	17%
Not Planninig to move	67	75	83
Total =	100% (52)	100% (61)	100% (39)
N =	153		

The above table shows that the younger the group is, the more mobile they are. This is expressed in the desire to leave the neighborhood. Further, marital status affects the mobility of the sample survey. Single persons are

more mobile than married persons. However, according to my survey sample, more than fifty percent of the singles stated they were not planning to leave the neighborhood. 79 percent of the married persons of my survey sample stated that they were not planning to move. The following table illustrates the above points:

Table (5:9) Planning to Move by Marital Status in Percent

	Marital Status		
	Single	Married	Divorced-widowed
Planning to move	47%	21%	17%
Not planning to move	53	79	83
Total =	100% (30)	100% (115)	100% (6)
N = 151			

Previous studies have shown that socioeconomic variables mainly occupation, income, and education are positively linked to moving decisions. However, the ethnic factor was found to play a more significant role than the socioeconomic factors. Income for the sample was high as more than 33% of them had an average income of more than thirty thousand dollars. Moving to more 'prestigious' areas, therefore could be affordable to many of them. But, my sample survey showed that the higher the income was,

the fewer were the decisions to move.

Table (5:10) Planning to Move by Income

	Income			
	0-14,999	15,000- 19,999	20,000- 29,999	30,000+
Planning to move	45%	4%	21%	24%
Not-planning to move	55	96	79	76
Total	100% (40)	100% (28)	100% (33)	100% (50)
N = 153				

Education and Moving:

It is commonly perceived in sociological theory that the more the person becomes educated, the less are the ties between him/her and the ethnic neighborhood. Movement out of the ethnic neighborhood is presumed to be highly correlated with education. However, my sample survey did not show education to be an important factor in the decisions to move. This is explained by the following table:

Table (5:11) Planning to Move by Education in Percent

	High School and less	College	Graduate
Planning to move	23%	28%	31%
Not planning to move	77	72	69
Total	100% (87)	100% (36)	100% (29)
N = 152			

Another dimension that reflects social prestige is occupation. Those with prestigious occupations are expected to move or plan to move more than others with lower level occupations. But, my survey sample did not reflect this.

Table (5:12) Planning to Move by Current Occupation in Percent

	Current Occupation			
	Professionals	Sales	Skilled- semi-skilled	Unskilled- peddling
Planning to move	35%	12%	27%	24%
Not planning to move	65	88	73	76
Total	100% (20)	100% (57)	100% (15)	100% (42)

N = 134

In conclusion, the above data show that the intentions to move does not seem to be strongly influenced by income, education or occupation. However, I believe the ethnic factor expressed as the desire to live among people of the same ethnic group overrides these other factors.

CHAPTER VI  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOBILITY

The subject 'social mobility' has not been systematically analyzed by empirical research for small, newly arrived ethnic groups. The Palestinians are, perhaps, among the least studied ethnic groups in the United States. The analysis of socioeconomic characteristics of the Palestinians in the Northeast of the United States provides important information on the occupational and social class origins of this ethnic group, and their present and future outlooks.

The Palestinians' causes of immigration, as stated earlier, were mainly due to the historical and political factors that shaped their lives through migrating to both developing and developed countries. Once they are in the U.S., they have to work in order to provide for their basic needs. Socioeconomic factors, therefore provide an important dimension through which we can analyze the changes that occurred to this group of immigrants in relation to the new setting. Also socioeconomic mobility is a good indicator of the integration and assimilation of this ethnic group in the American social and economic structure. Korbin and Goldschieder expressed this point:

The upward shifts of individuals and groups in the status hierarchy from one generation to another is the clearest indicator of the continuous process of socioeconomic integration and assimilation of America's heterogeneous subpopulations. (1978, p.125)

Socioeconomic mobility will be studied through the intragenerational rather intergenerational mobility. The latter is not significant in our case on the grounds that the Palestinian society went through many changes , discussed earlier, that made a generation gap between the fathers and their children in terms of their occupations. The fathers were mainly peasants. Farming was their main occupation. When those farmers lost their lands, they were forced to work in the tertiary sectors to provide for their immediate necessities. Occupational change to this group could not be achieved through education, as the majority were illiterate and poor. Therefore, they hoped that such change would occur through their children. They worked hard to achieve that goal. Education became the family pride, and the hope for the parents was to see their children educated. As a result, the parents would gain psychological, financial, and social rewards. An educated person is a symbol of families prestige and reputation. Financially, those sons would be employed and therefore would supplement the income of other members of the family, or help their younger brothers to go to college. Many times, one member of the family would not go

to college because he dedicated himself to provide for the family as well as supporting the brothers and sisters that go to school and later college. Another type of sacrifice was made by some parents through migration to the new world, mainly South America. Some of them became successful, and their families, whom they left behind for many years, benefitted financially.

Previous research on the occupational mobility of the American-born individuals showed that their current occupational achievements were linked to their previous jobs. (Featherman, and Hauser, 1978) However, in our case, it is important to stress the changes that occurred to the Palestinian community at large that changed the occupational structure of the group. Perhaps, the only group that could link their present occupation to their past experience is the professionals. This group is educated mainly in the western style, and many of them held similar positions in another place. However, for the other skilled, unskilled and semiskilled occupations, their previous experience contributed little to their current occupational mobility and advancement because their previous occupational structure was completely different socially, culturally and technologically from the the United State's. Their past experience, in short, did not contribute to their advancement even if barriers

of language, culture, and discrimination were eliminated.

An important indicator of the socioeconomic status is the educational achievement of the members of the ethnic community. Education is perceived by many Palestinians not only as an opportunity for upward mobility for the individual, but also for the opportunity to bring prestige to the whole extended family. It affects the social structure of the community which is based on the inter-relation of many family groups. Education was mainly restricted to the males during the first part of the current century. Males rather than females were considered the providers and were given a better opportunity for education. Recently, Palestinian women began to catch up with males. However with more traditional families, female education is still restricted to the lower levels of education which usually does not extend beyond high school.

During the early part of this century, education for both males and females was an irrelevant issue, as most of the people were peasants, uneducated, and above all considered the land as the source of income, prestige, and upward mobility. However, the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 had a great impact on the people mainly due to the change in the occupational and social structure of the community. Education began to be perceived as a vehicle for social and

occupational change. Therefore, we expect those aged 20-39 to be more educated than their older groups who are characterized by illiteracy or elementary education levels. This is supported by two sample surveys on the Palestinian refugees living in Amman, Jordan conducted by Halim Barakat, and Peter Dodd. The surveys showed that 50% of the sample were illiterate, 22% had some elementary schooling, 11% completed elementary schooling, and the rest (10%) had some secondary schooling. These rates, however changed for those refugees who were not living in the refugee camps. In other words, those who established themselves or moved up the socioeconomic ladder in Amman became more educated than those living in the refugee camps. Their educational status was: 71% literate, 28% completed elementary school, and 43% had secondary education or higher. The following table illustrates the educational background of the Palestinian male immigrants sample by age:

Table (6:1) Education of Palestinian Male Immigrants  
Sample by Age in Percent

No of years in school	Age			
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Elementary & high school	58%	51%	50%	88%
College	29	25	23	6
Graduate	13	24	27	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%
N = 151	(52)	(61)	(22)	(16)

The above table shows that those in the age groups 20-39 were better educated than those who were in the age group of 50+.

Education also influences the occupational structure of the community. Before 1948, the majority of Palestinians were mainly peasants. Education was marginal to many people, and the illiteracy rate was high. It was common, for example, to notice that within a whole village less than 10 persons who could read and write. Even those who could, did not finish the equivalent of primary school.

Three stages of Palestinian occupational shifts have to be investigated in order to understand the current occupational status of the Palestinian community in the Northeast. The first shift occurred as a result of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. Their occupational status has

been reduced to merely refugees with no specific occupational pattern. The majority were employed in the tertiary sector of the countries of refuge. Peter Dodd, and H. Barakat, in their two sociological studies showed that more than two thirds (68%) of their representative sample on the Palestinians living in refugee camps in Amman, Jordan in 1968, and 1973, were peasant farmers, unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Only 7% were in clerical, and skilled occupations. 17% of the sample were shopowners, and salespersons. Unskilled occupations were the majority's form of employment. The second stage is the early immigrants' occupations mainly in South America, and the United States which were mainly peddling. The third stage is the sons of the first generation of refugees, whom unlike their fathers possessed many skills. This latter group when migrated to the United states, experienced a different shift in their occupational status, which usually did not accord with their education, or their past experience. Their fathers, who came from South America, began to work in factories, others maintained their previous occupation of 'peddling'.

Many studies on social mobility have emphasized occupational mobility as the major explanatory indicator. (Reisman, 1959; Bendix and Lipset, 1959; Blau and Duncan, 1967) Reisman noted that "Occupational measures seem to

catch and concretize the impressions that most people have of the social structure." (Reisman, 1959, p.157) Also, income, and education are among the most important indicators of socioeconomic status and social mobility. In this study current occupation, family income, and educational status of a sample of Palestinian immigrants is used in order to show the major characteristics of this ethnic group, and the changes that occurred to this group in the new social structure.

A comparison of the occupations of Palestinians before coming to the United State, their first occupation, and their current occupation, gives us a clear picture of the community's occupational structure, and the changes that occurred to this group. We have devised four main categories of occupations that are perceived to be ranked by both income and social status with professional occupations as the highest, and unskilled and peddling as the lowest which are crosstabulated with socioeconomic, and demographic factors.

Table (6:2) The Occupations of the Palestinians Male Survey Sample, Before coming to the United States, First Occupation, and Current Occupation.

Occupation	Occupations in Percent		
	Occupation before coming to the U.S.	First Occupation in the U.S.	Current Occupation in the U.S.
Professional/Technical	22%	7%	14%
Sales	13	24	39
Skilled and semiskilled	9	23	10
Farming	4	0	0
Unskilled and peddling	13	38	28
Temporarily not in labor force			
Students	31	6	8
Unemployed	8	2	1
	100%	100%	100%
N =	(151)	(153)	(153)

The above table shows the career development of of the Palestinian survey sample. In column one (occupation before coming to the U.S.), it is obvious that two occupational categories predominate: students, and professionals. 31, and 22 percent of the sample reported the above two as their occupations before coming to the United States. Further, farming as an occupation of the sample was very low (4%). This could be interpreted in two ways: First, before their exodus from their homeland in 1948 more than 80 percent of the palestinians were peasants. Therefore, they were forced to change their

occupation from farming to unskilled occupations. In the new world, they became peddlers, and unskilled workers. Second, the majority of the sample are in the age group 20-39. Those immigrants were born after, or a few years before the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. In the second column (first occupation in the U.S.), we note, the absence of farming as an occupation. 38% of the sample reported peddling and unskilled occupation was their first career in the United States. In the third column (current occupation), 28% of the sample reported they were employed as unskilled workers, and peddlers. Also, the percentage of those employed as professionals increased from 7% (first occupation in the U.S.) to 14% (current occupation).

It is typical of many newly arrived immigrants that during their first years of arrival to the United States, they would experience a downward occupational mobility. Thereafter, some move up the occupational ladder. However, sales as an occupation of the Palestinian male survey sample showed increase in first, and current occupation in the Northeast of the United States. Before coming to the United States, only 13% worked in sales, while 24 percent reported sales as their first occupation. Now, this percentage has increased threefold according to my sample, 39% reported they were engaged in sales.

### Income and Socioeconomic Mobility:

Income is an indicator of socioeconomic mobility. It entails more power over the means of production as well as the mode of production. Before their exodus from their homeland Palestine in 1948, the Palestinians considered land their wealth, prestige, and honor. Their income was derived from the harvest, mainly for consumption. Barter between villages or within the same village was widespread. Money during that time was a scarce commodity for the majority of villagers who constituted more than 80% of the population. Money was derived mainly from work in the city part of the year especially when the seeds were in the ground, and there was not too much work to be done. Others were employed with the British government. Trading with the city existed although on a small scale.

After the Palestinian exodus from their home lands in 1948, as discussed earlier, poverty was widespread, because of their loss of their only means of survival, their land. Part of that exodus came to the United States after spending some years in the countries of refuge, saving some money for their long journey, and unknown future. Those were the pioneers. After they arrived, they found that the road was not paved with gold as they used to hear. They discovered that they had to work very hard at least to survive, but 'hope' kept them alive. Although the

opportunities were scarce, they were better than the countries of refuge. Their income during those days was very small, so were their expenses.

Today, the Palestinians family income is high compared to their recency of immigration. Their income is mainly derived from their ownership of supermarkets or working at them. This does not exclude the fact that the Palestinians are dispersed on various occupations similar to their dispersion in the world. Their income, therefore is diversified depending on their jobs. Those who work in the skilled and semiskilled occupations have income that is much lower than those who own their businesses, for example supermarkets.

#### Peddling and the Palestinians:

The majority of early Palestinians immigrants to the United States before World War II, chose peddling as an occupation. But due to their few numbers, most of them were unnoticed, and their stay was rather short. Peddling is not, of course, unique to the Palestinians. Early Syrian, and Jewish immigrants to this country chose 'pack peddling' as an occupation. They used to travel with their merchandize throughout the states. Their main transportation was the mule, and the cart. The spread of the Syrian communities in the United States reflects their early occupation 'peddling', as some of the courageous

peddlers decided to settle down and open a wholesale store that supplies other peddlers with merchandize. It is believed that the early Jews are the ones who brought peddling to the United States. But, after they achieved socioeconomic mobility, the Jews as well as the Syrians left those occupations. Peddling is considered a first step in upward mobility, and achieving middle class status. Today, few Syrians or Jews are peddlers.

The Palestinians, however still have peddling as an occupation. The factors that brought peddling as an occupation among Palestinians could be described under a.the occupations of the early Palestinian pioneers; b.Palestinian immigrants from South America. And c.the educational status of the early, and new Palestinian immigrants.

The early Palestinian immigrants to the United States considered their stay temporary. They were undereducated, and poor. Peddling, therefore suited their characteristics. It does not require education, large capital, or permanent residence. This group of peddlers kept going back, and forth without forming a community of their own. Many of those peddlers returned back home for good. This picture of the Palestinian immigrants continued during the 1950's.

After the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, more Palestinians migrated to the United States, and South America and

peddling continued to be their major occupation. During the 1960's many Palestinians peddlers came from South America. Many of them remained peddlers in the United States. Although there are similarities between peddling in the United States, and South America, there are major differences which stem from the social, and economic structures of the two areas. Peddling in South America is of three kinds: 1. Door to door peddling. The peddler carries a bag that contains the merchandize, and knocks at the doors asking the people (usually women) whether they would like to buy some of his merchandize (mostly clothes). Many times the peddler is referred by another customer. Credit, and the low prices offered by the peddler is the main motivation for his customers. Soon, a kind of social relationship develops between the customer and the peddler. The social structure of the South American society helps the peddlers to maintain their business. In Venezuela, for example families with female daughters start saving some of the merchandize till their daughter gets married. In North America, credit comes through the department stores, and major financial institutions. Therefore, it made peddling a 'cash' transaction. 2. Peddling by cars. This form of peddling is similar to the Palestinian peddlers in the United States. Cars, and vans are used in peddling. Clothes, and electric equipment are the major items that

the peddlers carry. Cash rather than credit is the form of transaction. The individualistic, private life of the United States' society reflected itself on the Palestinian peddlers. Peddling became a kind of 'hit and run' rather than developing a social relationship. Analogous to Marx' reference to the process of alienation among workers because of the absence of control over the means of production, the Palestinian peddlers became alienated from their customers. 3.Hawkers. This is the first stage that a peddler starts the occupation. It is mainly cash, and small in volume. This is part of the training period that the early peddlers in South America would receive during their first months of stay. They usually sell small items such as socks, belts, etc. Buying the merchandize from wholesale entrepreneurs is made through his sponsor, usually a father or a brother.

#### Peddling and Assimilation

Many sociologists link peddling with assimilation, as those peddlers move within the society, talk to people, and therefore, acculturate rather quickly. Naff in discussing the assimilation of Syrians considered 'pack peddling' as the most important factor in the assimilation of Syrians in the United States. (1985, p.128) In the Palestinian case, peddling does not add to assimilation, it rather slows it. The main factor is the peddlers' perception of this country

whether they think their stay is temporary or permanent. Those peddlers tend to live part of the year back home, and most of the time in the United States, thus forming a true picture of an 'alienated sojourners'. In the introduction to Stonequist' study (1937), Park described the marginal man as:

"The fate which condemns him to live, at the same time, in two worlds is the same which compels him to assume in relation to the world in which he lives, the role of a cosmopolitan and a stranger. Inevitably he becomes, relatively to his cultural milieu, the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint." (Stonequist, 1961, p.xv)

Peddling, also embodies a kind of unbelonging and temporary living as peddlers usually wander from a state to another without having roots in one place. Peddling does not require a 'sophisticated' knowledge of the language. And, peddling is a seasonal occupation, and many of them do not consider themselves part of the society. However, the Palestinian peddlers nowadays are attached to one place. They leave, sometimes for many weeks, and come back to their community. Others, simply peddle within short distances by leaving in the morning, and coming home after sunset. Some peddlers, usually have 'stations' either near factories, gas stations, or main streets. Of course a licence is acquired from the local authorities. Also, many peddlers leave their families back home, and during cold weather, when work is slow, return to them.

Young, newly arrived Palestinian immigrants who are more educated than their parents turned to the supermarket business rather than peddling. Also, many peddlers opened their own supermarkets, and began employing other young Palestinian immigrants. A chain of supermarkets developed as those employees would start their own supermarkets as soon as they have the money to do so. Therefore, peddling among this group is not a common aspiration. It is rather to own their own supermarkets. The supermarket business absorbed many peddlers, and new immigrants who could have found peddling as a route for occupational mobility.

#### Peddlers' Income

Income among peddlers varies from one to another, and from time to time depending on many factors, among those are; weather, skills of the peddler, his knowledge of Spanish, and so on. A peddler interviewee compared peddling and supermarketting, he said; "during the early seventies, when other Palestinians and Arabs who owned supermarkets did not make good money he was making more than a thousand dollars a week, of course this is not the usual case each week." Till now this peddler has the same occupation. Other peddlers work part of the year, but during January they go back home because the work is slow during this time of year. Others find employment in the unskilled or semiskilled market for a short period of time. Others use

peddling as a supplementary income, not as an occupation. They tend to peddle after work, and during the weekend. Their best customers are their co-workers in the factories. Therefore, income for this group varies, and differs from a peddler to another.

Peddling, Supermarketting, and the Palestinians

Another major occupation among the Palestinians is supermarkets, and grocery stores. Unlike peddling, supermarketting is linked to a certain geographical area. Also, it is the major employment for the members of the community. Those who work in the supermarkets, work hard, at least for twelve hours, six days a week. Their income (\$250-300.00 a week) is high, but compared to the hours they work, it is barely above the minimum wage (\$3.35 an hour).

Table (6:3) Current Occupation of Palestinian Survey Sample by Income in Percent

	Current Occupation			
	0.0-14,999	15,000-19,999	20,000-29,999	30,000+
Professionals	8%	4%	13%	25%
Sales	23	42	28	58
Skilled & unskilled	5	19	19	4
Unskilled & peddling	41	27	40	13
Students	21	4	0	0
Retired & unemployed	2	4	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(39)	(26)	(32)	(49)

N = 146

This table shows that professionals and sales are among the highest income group. The latter reflects the owners of the business establishments, mainly supermarkets. However, those who stated that their occupation was in sales, but their income is below \$20,000, were employees in the supermarkets. Another important finding from this table is that peddlers' incomes were high. 13 percent of those who stated peddling as an occupation reported their income to be more than \$30,000. But, the majority of peddlers' incomes fell within the category of \$20-29,000.

A compelling question is why did this ethnic group choose this kind of business (supermarkets) as an ethnic occupation? A clear cut answer is not possible. However, in broader terms, cultural as well as economic forces propelled the Palestinians into certain occupations. The role of the concentration of ethnic groups in a certain occupation has not been sufficiently investigated in ethnic literature. Congregation in the 'supermarket' occupation of the Palestinians is related to some extent to the major occupation of the pioneer Palestinian immigrants. Peddling in the early days of immigration was adopted for various reasons, among those are the following: First, it does not require experience. Second, large capital is not essential. Peddlers could start their business with less than five hundred dollars. Sometimes,

peddlers do not need money, especially among those who personally know some of wholesale Palestinian business owners. Transaction of goods depends on 'man's word is his honor' rather than the impersonal relationships of the market. Third, the economic return of peddling is much better than many low paid jobs that are suitable for an undereducated, inexperienced foreign worker. Those well paid jobs excluded many new immigrants. The Palestinians are, perhaps, discriminated because of some events that occurred and are still occurring in the Middle East, and media's influence on the public policies. An outstanding example is the Arab oil embargo of 1973, and the American's (people and administration) reaction to it.

Congregation in the 'supermarket' business is also related to peddling. Many of the owners of the supermarkets started with peddling. With hard work, they accumulated the capital which is necessary to open a 'supermarket'. Also both of them are part of the commercial enterprise, and both of them deal with buying and selling to customers. However, peddling is not 'tied' to a particular location. Retail business is perceived as a classic avenue for upward mobility. (Light, 1972) Peddling, in the Palestinian case, is the starting point, and supermarketting is its ultimate goal.

Entering the 'supermarket' business, however could

not have occurred without the Jews leaving them. Therefore, they left a vacuum especially in the black neighborhoods. Blacks were not eager or able to run those stores. The white entrepreneurs, on the other hand saw these areas as a high risk neighborhood especially because of high rates of crime. It is difficult to analyze why the blacks did not operate retail stores within their neighborhoods. Part of that explanation stems from : discrimination, motivation, and the vicious circle of poverty. Blacks are more visible than other minorities, easier to spot, and therefore are more susceptible to discrimination than other colorless minorities. Glazer and Moynihan (1970) pointed out that the blacks did not invest in the retail business due to the lack of a business class among them, and discrimination by the proprietors against any outsiders. The Jews monopolized the garment industry which demands both skills and training that tend to remain within the ingroup. Glazer and Moynihan wrote:

"Negro youths have little contact through family and friends with the skilled trades. They have little experience with apprenticeship, and do not always see any point in long training at low wages." (1970,p.39)

However, other ethnic groups experienced discrimination because of their accent and ethnicity while the native-born are 'free' from those actions except for the blacks as they are more visible than other minorities. Discrimination

against blacks should have directed them towards those occupations more than any other minority, but perhaps those new immigrants are motivated to save, even at the self exploitation, in order to achieve upward mobility not just in the new environment, but also to 'brag' about it to their relatives, and friends whether their domicile is the United States or overseas. Therefore, the disadvantaged minorities, the Palestinians are just an example, found self employment as a better opportunity for upward mobility. Unskilled jobs, and some of the nonunionized skilled occupations were open to them, and they moved to them. The Palestinians moved to those areas occupationally mainly because of the absence of competition from the large corporations, such as the A & P. Many times the palestinians 'reopen' A&P stores that were left vacant in some poor black neighborhoods. Also the overall costs are smaller than other areas, especially, the rent. In short, alienation, discrimination, and the early experiences of other Palestinians who opened the door for the newcomers both in terms of immigration, and occupation, compelled them to seek jobs in the supermarket industry in order to achieve better socioeconomic status and at the same time escape discrimination found in the job market.

From the foregoing, it seems that economic reasons could not by themselves explain the Palestinian

concentration in the supermarket business. Besides the economic factor, the ethnic factor which is embodied in the culture, and structural conditions that brought the community into existence are important as well. It is the goals and horizons of this ethnic group that brought them to these occupations as an entry to the occupational structure of the United States. Other members of the community who used to be employed in those supermarkets began to open their own stores once the capital necessary to run those stores was available. Manytimes, partnership would occur between two or more members of the community, and employing members of the community would proceed. It became a kind of 'chain' of occupation, and a major goal for many members of the community.

#### Real Estate and the Palestinians

Another form of investment that the Palestinians are engaged in is real estate and housing. Property acquisition provides the household of a sense of security and freedom especially for those large families. The market puts pressures on them to buy houses, as most landlords would like to rent their space to small families. The Palestinians, therefore looked at the housing market as an investment and shelter, even small real estate firms developed. There is at least one office in each of the areas being investigated that provides business service of

this type. According to my survey, more than one third of the sample are homeowners, and their numbers are increasing due mainly to the improvement in their socioeconomic status.

Ownership of housing also has a major effect on rooting the people to the neighborhood, therefore , reinforcing the common bonds between the people of the same ethnic background. Thus reducing their assimilation with the dominant culture. Paradoxically, at least for the time being, housing ownership has a major effect on rooting the Palestinians to America.

#### Education & Socioeconomic Mobility:

Another indicator of socioeconomic mobility is education. It is widely believed that education is the path through which one climbs the social and economic ladder, and an avenue to have prestigious occupations, adequate income, and assimilation in the dominant group. In my survey sample, it appears that ownership of supermarkets or grocery stores, and to some extent peddling are important in their financial returns, perhaps more than education. Many of the owners of the supermarkets did not even finish high school, yet their income is above \$30,000. Also other professionals, and educated individuals have chosen this line of occupation because of its high economic returns. This is best illustrated in the following table:

Table (6:4) Current Occupation by Education in Percent

Current Occupation	Education		
	Elementary-high school	College	Graduate
Professionals	0%	21%	41%
Sales	37	47	35
Skilled-			
Semi-skilled	13	8	3
Unskilled-			
peddling	38	18	14
Temporary out of the labor market			
Students	7	6	7
Retired-			
unemployed	5	0	0
	100%	100%	100%
	(84)	(34)	(29)

N = 147

Looking at the education and current occupation variables, we notice that 75% of the least educated in our sample (elementary-high school) are engaged in sales and peddling. As noted earlier those occupations bring the highest income. A significant percentage of the highly educated (35%) are engaged in sales or in unskilled jobs, and peddling (14%). Therefore, our survey sample offers little support to the hypothesis that links education with income, and occupation with education. The causes that compelled this group to those low, degrading occupations are as varied as the individual's circumstances, and the opportunities available to him. But discrimination in the job, and language barriers that exclude the new immigrants

from certain jobs are present. The following table shows the distribution of the survey sample's first occupation in the U.S. by education.

Table (6:5) First Occupation in the U.S. by Education in Percent

First Occupation	Education		
	>High School	College	Graduate
Professionals	0%	9%	28%
Sales	25	31	17
Skilled-semi-skilled	27	20	17
Unskilled-peddling	41	40	31
Students	7	0	7
Total =	100%	100%	100%
N = 149	(85)	(35)	(29)

Demographic factors, mainly age and marital status, are discussed in relation to socioeconomic mobility. Usually, recent immigrants are young, in their prime productive years. Many countries have suffered from the migration of their youth, the problem of 'brain drain' became widespread in many countries. The Palestinians immigration to the U.S. affects the West Bank, and their first countries of refuge. Demographically, migration of males in their prime productive years creates an imbalance in the age groups. Occupationally, those immigrants possess many skills whose the cost of training has already been paid by the sending country. More than two thirds of our survey sample are in the age category of 20-39 divided equally between the two

decades. In terms of occupation, the following table illustrates the distribution of the age groups by their current occupation. Those whose ages 20-29 are also among the recent immigrants.

Table (6:6) Current Occupation by Age in Percent

Current Occupation	Age			
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Professionals	4%	15%	32%	12%
Sales	33	49	36	25
Skilled-semi skilled	16	8	0	13
Unskilled-peddling	35	18	32	44
Temporary not in the labor force				
Students	10	8	0	0
Retired-unemployed	2	2		6
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(49)	(60)	(22)	(16)

N = 147

This table shows that the first age group (20-29) are employed mainly in sales, and unskilled-peddling, while the second age group's (30-39) occupations are mainly sales, and few professionals. In the third age group, professional occupations (32%) predominate.

In order to show the changes in the occupations among the age groups, the following table shows the first

occupation of Palestinian immigrants in the United States by age.

Table (6:7) First Occupation in the U.S. by Age in Percent

First Occupation in the U. S.	Age			
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Professional	4%	3%	22%	13%
Sales	26	32	13	13
Skilled- semi-skilled	22	28	13	20
Unskilled- peddling	41	32	52	54
Students	7	6	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N = 149	(51)	(60)	(23)	(15)

The preceding table shows that the unskilled and peddling occupation predominate in all the age groups.

As for marital status, early Palestinian immigrants used to come as singles. The sojourner role was their main characteristics, however, recently Palestinians began to migrate on family basis. Even those who left their wives and children back home began to join them. Both males and females began to go back home, get married, and bring their companions to the new world. Therefore, an outgrowth of Palestinian immigration occurred as a result. The following table shows the current occupation of the survey sample by marital status.

Table (6:8) Current Occupation by Marital Status

Current Occupation	Marital Status		
	Single	Married	Divorced-widowed
Professionals	14%	13%	17%
Sales	38	40	33
Skilled-semiskilled	14	10	0
Unskilled-peddling	17	31	33
Student	17	5	0
Unemployed-Retired		3	17
Total	100% (29)	100% (111)	100% (6)

In this table, we notice the high numbers of married individuals (111), and the low numbers of divorced individuals (6) in this survey sample.

Socioeconomic mobility and Assimilation:

Most recent research on ethnic minorities tend to emphasize structural pluralism rather than assimilation which was the dominant framework for investigating the processes that ethnic groups and new immigrants pass through as a result of the cultural and social mixing with the dominant society. According to the assimilation model, all immigrant groups will adopt the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (W.A.S.P.) cultural image. The vehicle for assimilation was mainly a result of the improvement in the socioeconomic status of the individuals. This is a holdover from the early Chicago school which saw the mobile person,

the more energetic tends to leave the ethnic neighborhood to more prestigious zones which are located at the outer ring of the city, the 'suburbs'. Structural pluralism, on the other hand emphasizes that each ethnic group could remain an entity, and retain some of the cultural aspects of their original culture. Some of the ethnic groups could remain within the ethnic boundary especially in terms of neighborhood, occupation, and choosing friendship patterns within their own ethnic group, while secondary relationships develop outside the ethnic community.

Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life cycle.  
(Gordon, 1964, p.34)

Among other factors, congregation in the supermarket plays a significant role in congregating the people, thus increasing the social contact that already exists within the group. Therefore, in order to test my hypothesis that community integration is a factor hindering the assimilation of Palestinian immigrants, cultural factors such as English proficiency, food habits, celebrating national holidays, acquisition of U.S. citizenship, and more importantly how people relate to each

other, and to their home country in terms of cultural contacts expressed in visiting patterns, and correspondence with their families and friends back home are used.

Knowledge of the host country's language has been regarded an important step in the economic mobility. (Eisenstadt, 1970) Not all occupations require knowledge of the language especially in the tertiary occupation, and ethnic grocery stores whose clientele is also of the same ethnic group, and so the suppliers. Workers within an ethnic establishment need not to know English. The owner or manager, however must communicate with the suppliers, as well as the customers as he is not the owner of the means of production. Other occupations in the secondary or tertiary sector such as peddling, knowledge of at least English and/ or Spanish is a must. Without communication, business transaction would be difficult to achieve. Early Palestinian immigrants, in Latin America were mainly engaged in peddling. Therefore, learning Spanish was a must. Also most of them were young, uneducated, and needed jobs. So they learned the language on the job rather than schools. Contact with the native Hispanics eased the process of learning, but intermarriage was the greatest influence. Once they entered the U.S., English was a third language to them, and remained so, but they learned the necessities. Occupations in the primary sector, however

require more sophisticated knowledge of English which is grasped mainly by education. The new immigrants, who are usually the descendents of the early pioneers, are more educated, and younger. An important factor is that this latter group was exposed to the English language in their home country, or the countries of refuge. English is part of the educational curriculum which starts in the primary school. Children in the private schools start learning English in the kindergarten. 63 per cent of the sample stated that their knowledge of English was excellent or good, while 31%, and 6% answered their competence in English was fair, and poor respectively. As for Spanish, 19% answered that they knew Spanish very well. This is perhaps due to the fact that many of the Palestinians have lived in South America prior to their immigration to the United States. 14% of the sample possessed Latin American passports when they entered the United States. This group acquired the English language, but most of them remained within the (fair) category especially as their dealings could be fulfilled with Spanish and Arabic languages. Palestinian females, on the other hand are characterized by poor knowledge of English, this is due to the fact that most of them are confined in social mixing to the Arab community. Few improved their English except perhaps the few numbers of them that went to college, or helped their

husbands in their grocery stores. Television is perhaps the main 'teaching' facility for women.

Using national food, listening to Arabic music and tapes, and maintaining the traditional costumes are an aspect of the culture of this group of immigrants. Wearing traditional costumes characterized by the 'coffeyas' head wear for men, and the long embroidered dresses for women is still practiced by few members of the community especially the older generations of peasant (fellaheen) men and women alike. However, the younger generations abandoned those styles as they are too old fashioned even before coming to the United States, but older people kept their costumes. Wearing them in public places is frequently seen.

As for food habits, and listening to Arabic music and tapes, as aspects of their culture, are still practiced by most families especially those who are married within their own ethnic group. Selling video tapes, and Middle Eastern restaurants became a flourishing business within the Arabic speaking communities. Even some of the American families were influenced by some of the Arabic dietary patterns, especially pita bread, commonly called Syrian bread, and 'felafel' became known to many Americans especially those living closer to the Arabic community. Seventy five per cent of the sample stated they were still using national

food as their main diet. The remaining are either married to non-Arabic women, or singles, who do not have the time or knowledge to prepare national dishes.

Further, visiting pattern, and communication with the old country or the countries of Palestinian refuge has a tremendous effect on the Palestinian community in the United States. Keeping in touch with their home country influences their behavior, and slows their assimilation. 97 percent of the sample used telephone, and/or letters as a form of communication. This fact affects the assimilation of the Palestinians as it keeps the group tied to their home country. The availability of telephones, and airplanes make the world easy to reach. Also visiting the old country is another factor in hindering the assimilation of Palestinians. More than two thirds of the sample visited their home country at least once within the past decade. These are the main channels that the Palestinians keep informed in the local developments of their home country, and act as a counterforce on the many pressures that are exerted on them by the receiving society.

Celebration of the American national holidays is considered an important indicator of social integration and social mobility. Most Palestinians do not celebrate American national and religious holidays. When the sample was asked about whether they celebrate American national

holidays, 76% answered that they did not. However, those who celebrated them were mainly those who were married to Hispanic and American women. Those occasions, to many Palestinians are devoid of the real meaning behind. They share those occasions just to be polite. Among Christian Palestinians, however, those meanings are similar to the American due to the religious meanings that those occasions have. On the other hand, celebrating Muslim national and religious holidays is not widely practiced mainly due to: a) the social structure of the American society. b) The alienation that the Palestinians have experienced during this century made those 'celebrations' a reminder of grief, and suffering as many Palestinians are killed or jailed every day. c) Many Palestinian immigrants still have friends and relatives back home that did not immigrate with them. This is supported by the fact that more than 66% of the sample have visited their home country, yet many others especially among peddlers, immediate members of the family are still living back home.

#### Islam, Mosques, and the Palestinians

Religious affiliation was a powerful factor in the deassimilation of the Muslim Palestinians in the Northeast. Religion to the Muslim-Palestinians is a way of life. It covers and organizes all spheres of the individual as well

as the group and creates a community which is significantly different from other communities. Further, it organizes the relationship between people and God, and people with each other. A complete social, economic, and religious system is embodied within Islam which is a reflection of the Holy Kuran, and Mohammad's teachings.

Since Islam is a secondary religion in the United States, Muslims in the United States would have a difficult time in maintaining their religion because of the economic, political, and social system that are different from a Muslim's beliefs and practices. However, even with these difficulties, Muslims in the Northeast were able to establish religious institutions. The mosques, besides their main function as a 'place for prayer' permeate all community life; social, cultural, and educational. People pray side by side regardless of color, educational background or social position. Culturally, and historically mosques, played and are still playing an important role in the transference of religion and culture. Due to the dispersion of the Muslims in the Northeast were able to establish two kinds of mosques : big mosques, and small ones. The former is a central place especially for Friday prayer. It also has a school which emphasizes religion, and Arabic culture in its curriculum, and teaches children how

to behave in an Islamic manner. The Islamic school, therefore harmonizes those relationships, and reduces the tensions that exist as a result of living in two cultures. Muslims come to those central places from neighboring communities to observe the Friday prayer. Their number sometimes exceeds 1000. The latter mainly serve the local communities. Social relationships are reinforced by those religious institutions. Two sections are usually found in the mosques in order to separate men from women. Beside the abovementioned functions of the mosques, they are the places for funeral ceremonies, wedding parties, social, and cultural events.

Therefore, maintaining some of the Palestinian culture in the United States whether through the mosques, cultural institutions, or the family has two major effects: First, it sets an example for the group's cohesiveness both culturally, and ideologically not just for this generation, but also for many generations to come. Second, the community has a tremendous effect on the behavior of the individuals, and applies its strict orders on many of them. The Palestinians deal with their problems as collectivities rather than in an individualistic manner. They are literate and mobile despite the cultural differences between the United State's and the Palestinians. Now, many collectivities are resisting assimilation by taking the form

of kinship, and religious institutions. Adding to this, the concept of nationality is reinforced through the United States's foreign policy pertaining to the Middle East especially in supporting Israel.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter is intended to summarize the main conclusions reached in the investigation of the Palestinian community in the Northeast, and the changes that occurred to this group. These conclusions are arrived at through the study of the economic, social and spatial mobility of this newly arrived ethnic group. However, in order to delineate those processes of mobility, I looked at the essence that brought those communities into existence. It also should be noted that those conclusions may not be applicable to every Palestinian community in the United States. But, I believe that many of those characteristics such as; causes of immigration, occupations, and structural changes are similar in many Palestinian communities that exist throughout the United States.

First, I discussed the major historical events that compelled many Palestinians to migrate to both developing, and developed countries. Attention was given to some important incidents that had been responsible for their movement.

The general situation of the Palestinians during this period was discussed, and I showed how the British

colonization of the area, and later the establishment of Israel in 1948 had the major effect on dispersing the Palestinians into alien lands. The British policies were aimed to create a subordinate power in the region in case the mandate, and colonization of the area ceased to exist. This power was Israel. International events forced them to be dispersed in the world especially after the assassination of the caesar of Russia in 1881. The Zionist organization, headed by, Herzl saw the creation of a Jewish state that would unite all the Jews in the world provided that an international colonizing power could help them to achieve their aims. Britain, during that time was eager, and willing to colonize the area. Therefore, they saw by achieving a Jewish state in the heart of the Arab world, their policies would be achieved through their client. The Arabs during that time also wished to be independent of the Turkish rule. Agreements, and negotiations between the Arabs, and the British were enacted, but never carried out. However, British promises to the Jews in establishing a home country for them in Palestine were quickly apprehended, and carried out by encouraging, and facilitating the Jewish migration to Palestine, and at the same time curbing any possible revolution, or economic development in the Palestinian sector. The Jewish sector on the other hand was more developed than the Palestinian one.

The most dramatic period for the Palestinians, and Jews was the year of 1948. Israel became a Jewish state recognized by many nations, and the Palestinians became refugees living in refugee camps. Many Jews became concentrated in one geographical area, while the Palestinians became dispersed in the Arab countries, and later throughout the world.

Second, I discussed the Palestinian immigration movement, and the pull and push factors that compelled them to migrate to both developing and developed countries. Push factors were found to be more significant in the Palestinian case. This is supported by historical incidents, as well as the general economic and social conditions of the Palestinian refugees whether in: the West Bank, the camps, or in the countries of refuge. The proximity of the refugee camps to the cities was found to be an important factor in the discussion of the Palestinian immigration movement.

The general situation of the Palestinians living in those refugee camps and regions were mainly characterized by poverty, and alienation especially during the first years of their settlement in those areas. Migration to nearby areas as well as the Americas, was considered a relief from the alienation, and poverty. The latter part

was achieved rather quickly as immigrant remittances put many young generations into colleges. Economic, and social mobility was achieved rather quickly, but alienation still exists among the majority. The Palestinians immigrants to the new world, suffered a multiple kind of alienation. They were alienated as a result of living far from their lands, homes, and people. The culture, language, and religion of the dominant group in the New World were far different from their own. Their status as refugees in the Arab countries, half residents in Israel, and, aliens in the New world, intensified those feelings.

Another significant period in the history of immigrants in the U.S. in general, and the Palestinians in particular, was the U.S. immigration act of 1965, which was effective in 1968. During this period, the second Arab-Israeli war of 1967 occurred which resulted in more dispersion of the Palestinians to neighboring Arab countries, and the Americas. However, its main outcome, from a psychological view point had been that the Palestinians began to see that liberation could not come through the Arab countries. Recent developments in the area during the 1980's proved their point. This revealed itself through the immigration of many Palestinians to the United States. An average of 2,000-3,000 immigrants was experienced each year since 1969. And, acquisition of U.S.

citizenship numbered more than 1566 for the year ended, September, 1978. (INS, 1978)

The social structure of the U.S. society is a dynamic institution in which each ethnic group can practice their own beliefs, and move upward in the economic, and social structure. The Palestinians constitute a small dimension of that social structure. The larger social structure is the mechanism through which the Palestinians have to live, and secure their living. They have to send their children to the American schools, and they have to watch television, learn English, and participate in the American society. However, most of the interaction whether economic or social occurs within the boundaries of the smaller community which takes different shapes from ethnic establishments, grocery stores, to visiting patterns, and social meetings in the social clubs. Social interaction within other Palestinian communities is restricted to national meetings. One of the major findings of this research is that the Palestinians have retained their ethnic enclave despite the many forces that compell them to assimilate. They have maintained their social as well as religious identity.

Thus, community solidarity, historical experience, and the difference in culture retard their assimilation particularly for those married to Palestinian women.

However, Palestinians of mixed parents are more assimilated with the American social structure than those of Palestinian parents. Those of Hispanic origin are more assimilated with the Hispanic communities. Many Palestinian interviewees expressed their dislike for their children to grow up in the United States especially female children. They did not want their children to be 'spoiled' by the American culture. This factor adds to their lack of assimilation.

The most salient demographic trend among the Palestinians living in the Northeast since 1965 has been the continuous increase both in proportion, and absolute figures. This increase is the result of both natural increase, and migration. The latter is the most significant.

Further, the presence of ethnic boundaries serve to maintain the ethnic group. Kinship, and friendship brought the community into existence, and chain migration keeps reinforcing the ethnic identity, and its persistence. Other factors such as religion, language, and culture are also reinforced by their concentration in the areas being investigated, although they did not form a ghetto like ethnic neighborhood. They have distinctive characteristics and are less culturally assimilated than native ethnic

groups. They tend to cling to their culture, and customs. In addition, the ethnic enclave is reinforced by: the presence of immigrants who possess entrepreneurial skills and sufficient capital. Further, newly arrived immigrants of the same ethnic background, renew the enclave labor force.

The analysis previously reported shows that an ethnic enclave is in the process of being established by the continuous arrival of kin, and friends of existing community members. Further, employment in the supermarkets, and groceries, is ethnically homogeneous in most cases. It would seem that the preservation of the ethnic identity will continue for the generations to come. This is manifested in the internal dynamics, cultural characteristics, and historical experience which supports the ethnic identity, and tends to explain the persistence of this ethnic group. That experience, which is characterized by alienation in the countries of refuge, contributes to the intensification of Palestinian nationalism, and their lack of assimilation.

The family, and the community institutions whether an occupational, religious, or organizational together act as an integrating force for the Arab, and Palestinian communities whether for the layman or the professional. Adaptation of the new immigrants occurs simultaneously to

the Palestinian-American, and American social milieu. As Thomas, and Znanieki described: "It is this Polish-American society, not American society, that constitutes the social milieu into which the immigrant who comes from Poland becomes incorporated and to whose standards and institutions he must adapt himself." (Thomas, and Znanieki, 1918: VIII-X) Nationalism, and historical experiences whether against Zionism, or the Arab countries gave support to those feeling in the diaspora.

In short, the importance of nationality, and immigration laws were found to be very important in determining ethnic boundaries, and Palestinian community formation in the Northeast. My attention, unlike many other researchers who looked at variables external to the ethnic group, was paid to the internal dynamics, and cultural characteristics of the Palestinians immigrants themselves in attempting to explain the persistence of the group's identity.

The chapter on socioeconomic mobility shows the occupational mobility of the Palestinians. Sociologists have shown the effect of socioeconomic mobility expressed through the change of income, education, and occupation as major factors of measuring mobility, and assimilation. The analysis of Palestinians' mobility, and assimilation shows that even with their recency of immigration, and lack

of assimilation, they achieved higher socioeconomic status, and mobility.

A general occupation among the Palestinians is managing grocery stores. More than fifty percent of the Palestinians in the areas being investigated own or work in grocery stores. An estimated 1,500-2,000 grocery stores exist in Brooklyn. In Paterson, more than one third of the Palestinian population have grocery stores or work in them. Others work in the factories that are generally the characteristic of Passaic county. While in North Bergen, the smallest community, more than 25% of the Palestinian community are engaged in the supermarket business. The largest group, in the latter area is engaged in the embroidery industry.

As for income, the Palestinians showed a relatively high income, due mainly to their ownership of supermarkets. However, mobility measured by income only is a "disguised" kind of mobility, other factors especially education, and occupation should be taken into consideration. Education by itself also could not explain the mobility/immobility of the Palestinians across occupation, as those employed in supermarkets are heterogeneous in terms of education. Some of the highly educated are working in supermarkets, and a significant number of owners of business did not finish high school. As for occupational mobility, the survey

sample showed a situation similar to many ethnic groups. Those employed as professionals tend to experience a lower occupational status during their first years of arrival. The Palestinians are occupationally different from many ethnic groups because of their ethnic concentration in the supermarket business. Their early occupation was peddling, and through hard work and time, they were able to save money to open their own businesses. At the beginning, it was based on partnership between two, or more people. They, also tend to employ persons of their ethnic group, who in turn learn the occupation and open their own stores. However, other professions such as medical doctors, engineers, pharmacists, college professors some of whom achieved a national, and international reputation, and a significant number of students in the sciences, and engineering are good signs of occupational mobility among Palestinians especially when the political situation in their homecountry is still deteriorating. This is supported by the form of immigration which used to be individualistic, also their stay was rather short without making 'roots' in the country of immigration. Now, the form of immigration is a family type, and investments in real estate, grocery stores and supermarkets are widespread.

The reasons behind moving to these businesses are different, but the following are among the most important

factors: First, they moved to this kind of occupation, because such businesses were 'unwanted' by many natives, for their location in the high-risk Black areas, especially after the Jews moved to 'big business'. Second, it is easy to buy, and sell especially if someone decides to leave for good. And, third, discrimination in the job market compels many individuals into unfavorable occupations, and conditions.

As for spatial mobility, the study showed that the sample of the Palestinians are relatively not mobile. They tend to remain in their neighborhoods, although, they financially could live in more prestigious areas. Movement within the neighborhood could occur, especially as a result of housing purchases.

The Future of the Palestinian community in the Northeast:

The Palestinian community is in the process of being established in the areas being investigated. New immigrants still come to those areas. Chain migration is the vehicle for both keeping the integration of the community, and increasing their numbers. The new immigrants are more educated, and possess many skills which are deemed necessary for occupational mobility. In these areas a ghetto-like community perhaps would occur especially with

the deteriorating political situation in their homecountry. However, those new immigrants, will act as a kind of revival for the previous immigrants. They will be more organized, and try to influence the political machine of the local governments which is a first step to influence the state, and federal governments. However, this road is long and hard, and requires dedicated individuals and groups before we could see an outcome for their efforts. Other members of the community would be integrated within the American society, especially those of mixed parents, whereas those who continue to teach their children the Arabic language, culture, and Islamic religion will continue to experience an adverse kind of assimilation. Perhaps, the route for deassimilation, and organization would occur through the religious institutions.

The Palestinian immigration movement, therefore, should be understood under the rubric of international colonialism. Analysis of the events that occurred in their home country sheds light on the present and future of the communities under study as well as the Palestinians in the diaspora.

Even though this study is not representative of the palestinians living in the diaspora, it reflects some of the general characteristics of this ethnic group of immigrants. Other areas may differ, but this could only be

measured by a more representative sample in each of the communities that the Palestinians are found throughout the world. Comparing and contrasting the Palestinians in different regions in the world adds to our understanding of the palestinians in the diaspora.

Generalizability from this study, however is limited due to the geographical distribution of the Palestinian communities throughout the United states, and the small sample of the study. The political situation in their home country, and the lack of experience in such kind of research made the researcher's task more difficult. however, this study explores some options which other researchers might consider in investigating the role of national origin, group boundaries, and migration chains as an aspect of ethnic continuity and persistence. Further, sociologists may consider the intermingling of economic and social forces that affects ethnicity, and assimilation in the new environment.

Preference System, Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (McCarran-Walter Act)

(1) First preference: Highly skilled immigrants whose services are urgently needed in the U.S. and the spouse and children of such immigrants.

50% plus any not required for 2nd and 3rd preference.

(2) Second preference; Parents of U.S. citizens over the age of 21 and unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens.

30% plus any not required for 1st and 3rd preference.

(3) Third preference: Spouse and unmarried sons and daughters of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.

20% plus any not required for first or second preference.

(4) Fourth preference: Brothers, sisters, married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens and an accompanying spouse and children.

50% of numbers not required for first three preferences.

(5) Nonpreference: Applicants not entitled to one of the above references.

50% of numbers not required for first three preferences, plus any not required for fourth preference.

Preference System, Immigration Act of 1965

(1) First preference: Unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens.

Not more than 20%.

(2) Second preference: Spouse and unmarried sons and daughters of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.

20% plus any not required for first preference.

(3) Third preference: Members of the professions and scientists and artists of exceptional ability.

Not more than 10%.

(4) Fourth preference: Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens.

10% plus any not required for first three preferences.

(5) Fifth preference: Brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens.

10% plus any not required for first four preferences.

(6) Sixth preference: Skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which labor is in short supply in U.S.

Not more than 6%.

(7) Seventh preference: Refugees to whom conditional entry or adjustment of status may be granted.

Not more than 6%.

(8) Nonpreference: Any applicant not entitled to one of the above references.

Any number not required for preference applicants.

Source: Report of the Visa Office, 1968, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, p.68

Foreign Office,

November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

*Y. W.*  
*Arthur James Balfour*

Please, completely answer the following questions by checking the appropriate response. This questionnaire is for academic purposes only. Complete privacy, and secrecy of the data are assured. The data will be used only to arrive at general conclusions regarding the Palestinians living in the diaspora. However, you will not be held responsible for any part of your answers, nor could it be used against you in any possible way.

Thank you for  
your cooperation

1.No.	Circle, please	Card	Column
2. Age			
1. 20-2	1	2	
2. 30-39			
3. 40-49	3	4	
4. 50-59			
5. 60-over	5		
2. Place of birth			
1. Palestine	1	2	
2. Arab Countries			
3. America	3		
3. Sex			
1. Male	1	2	
2. Female			
4. Marital status			
1. Single	1	2	
2. Married			
3. Divorced	3	4	
4. Widowed			
5. Spouse's nationality			
1. Palestinian	1	2	
2. Hispanic			
3. U.S.	3	4	
4. Other			
6. Place of her residence			
1. America	1	2	
2. Overseas			

7.	No of children		
	1.Zero	1	2
	2.One		
	3.Two	3	4
	4.Three		
	5.Four	5	6
	6.Five or more		
8.	Age of young child		
	1. 1-4	1	2
	2. 5-9		
	3. 10-14	3	4
	4. 15-19		
	5. 20-over	5	
9.	Education		
	1. Elementary	1	2
	2. High School		
	3. College	3	4
	4. Graduate		
Knowledge of Languages			
10.	Arabic		
	1. Excellent	1	2
	2. Good		
	3. Fair	3	4
	4. Poor		
11.	English		
	1. Excellent	1	2
	2. Good		
	3. Fair	3	4
	4. Poor		
12.	Spanish		
	1. Excellent	1	2
	2. Good		
	3. Fair	3	4
	4. Poor		
13.	Hebrew		
	1. Excellent	1	2
	2. Good		
	3. Fair	3	4
	4. Poor		

Section II

14. Year of coming to the United States

1. Before 1959	1	2
2. 1960-1964		
3. 1965-1969	3	4
4. 1970-1974		
5. 1975-1979	5	6
6. 1980 +		

15. Kind of travel document at the time of arriving to the United States

1. Palestinian travel document	1	2
2. Jordanian Passport		
3. Latin American Passport	3	4
4. Other, please specify		

16. Time of bringing members of your family to the U.S.

1. 1960- 1964	1	2
2. 1965- 1969		
3. 1970- 1974	3	4
4. 1975-1979		
5. 1980-1984		5

17. Kind of visa acquired

1. Independent immigrant	1	2
2. Sponsored immigrant		
3. Student		
	3	4
4. Visitor		
5. Other		5

17. Why did you come to the United States?

1. Family reunion	1	2
2. Political circumstances		
3. Economic	3	4
4. Study		
5. Other		5

18. Prior to coming to the U.S. you lived in
- |                      |   |   |
|----------------------|---|---|
| 1. In a big city     | 1 | 2 |
| 2. A large town      |   |   |
| 3. Small town        | 3 | 4 |
| 4. In a village      |   |   |
| 5. In a Refugee Camp | 5 |   |
19. Why did you come to this area?
- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Relatives and friends                     | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Place of work                             |   |   |
| 3. The Presence of the Arab community        | 3 | 4 |
| 4. The Presence of the Palestinian community |   |   |
| 5. Other, please explain                     | 5 |   |
20. Are you satisfied with this area?
- |        |       |   |   |
|--------|-------|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|--------|-------|---|---|
21. Are you planning to move to another area?
- |        |       |   |   |
|--------|-------|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|--------|-------|---|---|
22. How many different places (countries) have you lived in, please specify?
23. Did you ever leave your neighborhood?
- |        |       |   |   |
|--------|-------|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|--------|-------|---|---|
- Please explain.....
24. Are you a U. S. citizen?
- |        |       |   |   |
|--------|-------|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|--------|-------|---|---|
25. If your answer is no, are you planning to become a citizen?
- |        |       |              |   |   |   |
|--------|-------|--------------|---|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 3. undecided | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|--------|-------|--------------|---|---|---|

Section III

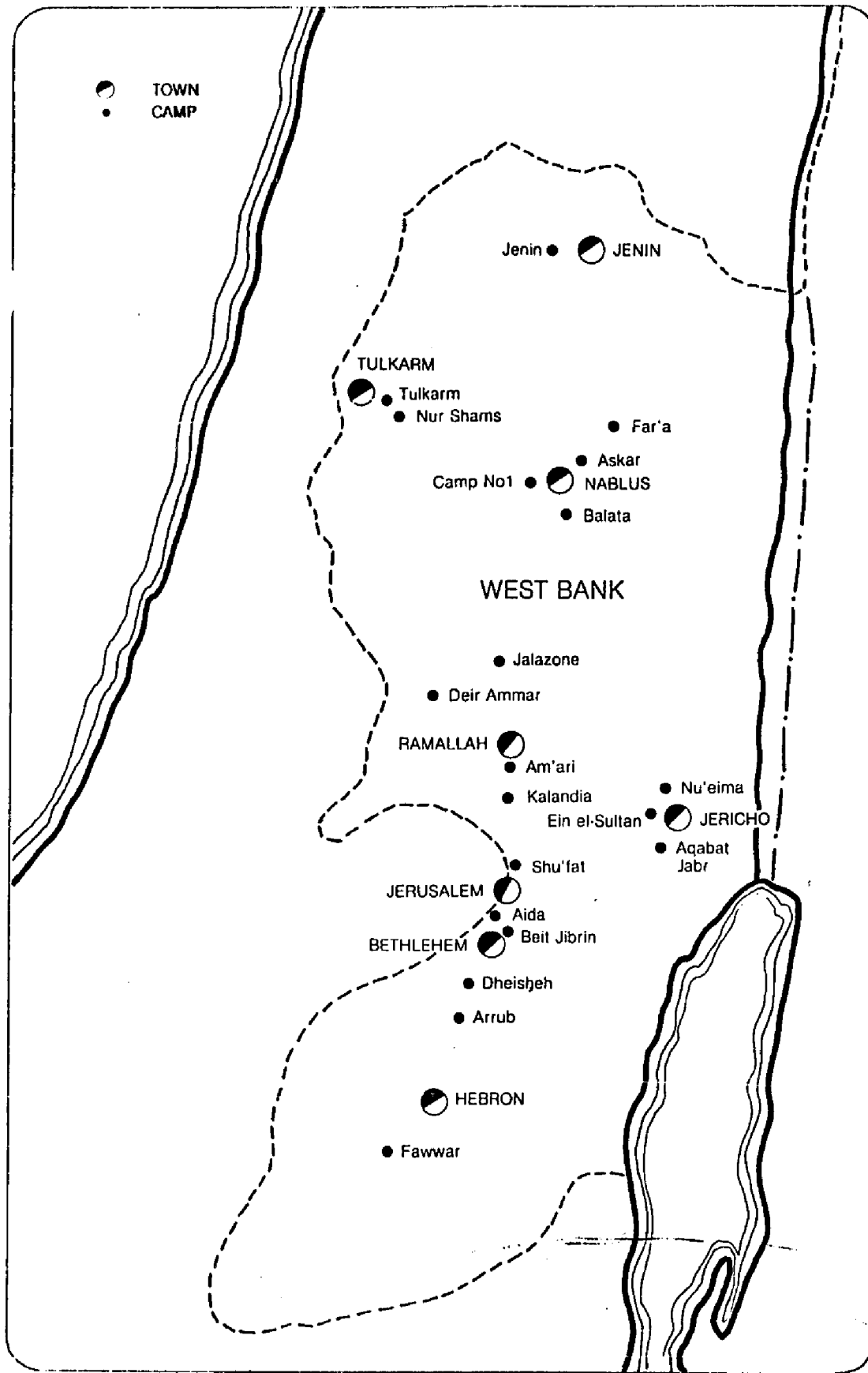
26. Are you a resident of the West Bank?      1            2  
       1.yes    2. no
27. Since you left your country,  
 did you go back to visit?  
       1.    yes                                    2.    no
28. If yes, please answer the following:  
 How many times?  
       1.once    2.twice    3.three time                    1            2  
       4.four times or more                    3            4
29. When did you visit it last time?                    year
30. Do you often feel that going back home is all you wish  
 for?  
       1.Very often    1            2  
       2.Once a while  
       3.Never felt that way    3
31. Do you correspond with relatives and friends who still  
 live in your home country?  
       1.No    2.Yes, occasionally                    1            2  
       3.Yes, frequently    4.Yes, very frequently                    3            4
32. If your answer 'yes',  
 what is the form of correspondence?  
       1.Letters    2.Telephone    3.both    1            2            3
33. Do you read Arabic press?  
       1.No    1            2  
       2.Yes, but rarely  
       3.Yes, occasionally    3            4  
       4.Yes, frequently
34. Do you listen to Arabic music and songs?  
       1.No    2.Yes, but rarely                    1            2  
       3.Yes, occasionally    4.Yes, frequently                    3            4
35. Do you use Arabic language at home?  
       1.No    2.Yes, but rarely    1            2  
       3.Yes, occasionally    4.Yes, frequently                    3            4

36. Do you eat Arabic food?
- |                     |                   |   |   |
|---------------------|-------------------|---|---|
| 1.No                | 2.Yes, but rarely | 1 | 2 |
| 3.Yes, occasionally | 4.Yes, frequently | 3 | 4 |
37. Do you celebrate 'American' national holidays such as the 4th of July and thanksgiving?
- |        |       |   |   |
|--------|-------|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|--------|-------|---|---|
38. Do you agree that a Palestinian male getting married to American of non-Arabic origin?
- |       |       |   |   |
|-------|-------|---|---|
| 1.yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|-------|-------|---|---|
39. Do you agree that a Palestinian male getting married to an Arab of different religion?
- |        |       |   |   |
|--------|-------|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|--------|-------|---|---|
40. Do you agree that a Palestinian female getting married to an American of non-Arabic origin?
- |        |       |   |   |
|--------|-------|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|--------|-------|---|---|
41. Do you agree that a Palestinian female getting married to an Arab of different religion?
- |        |       |   |   |
|--------|-------|---|---|
| 1. yes | 2. no | 1 | 2 |
|--------|-------|---|---|
42. Do you pray?
- |                     |   |   |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 1.Yes, regularly    | 1 | 2 |
| 2.Yes, occasionally |   |   |
| 3.No                |   | 3 |
43. Do you fast the month of Ramadan?
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 1.Yes             | 1 | 2 |
| 2.Yes, part of it |   |   |
| 3.No              |   | 3 |
44. Do you read the Kuran?
- |              |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|
| 1.Yes, daily | 1 | 2 |
| 2.Weekly     |   |   |
| 3.No         |   | 3 |

45. Do you think there is apparent solution to the Palestinian problem?			
1. yes	1		2
2. no			
3. no answer		3	
46. If your answer is yes, how may this solution be achieved?			
1.The United States	1		2
2.The United Nations			
3.War with Israel			
4.Other, please specify	3		4
47. How do you consider the role of the U. S. in supporting Israel?			
1.Fair	1		2
2.Unfair			
3.No answer		3	
48. If peace were ever to occur, how would this affect your future plans, would you go back home to stay permanently?			
1. yes      2. no      3. undecided	1		2
		3	
49. Would you stay in America?			
1.yes      2.no      3.undecided	1		2
		3	
Section IV			
50. Do you own the house you live in?			
1.yes      2. no	1		2
51. If your answer is no, what is your monthly payment relative to your income?			
1. 20% or less      2. 30%      3. 40%	1	2	3
52. In what category did your family income fall last year?			
1. 00000- 9,999      2.10.000- 14,999	1		2
3.15.000-19.999      4.20.000-29.999	3		4
5.30.000 or more		5	

53. What was your occupation before you came to the U. S.?
- |                                     |   |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Professional and technical       | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Sales and clerical               |   |   |
| 3. Skilled and semi-skilled workers | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Farmers and farm managers        |   |   |
| 5. Unskilled workers                | 5 | 6 |
| 6. Peddlers                         |   |   |
| 7. Student                          | 7 | 8 |
| 8. Unemployed                       |   |   |
54. What was your first occupation in the U.S.?
- |  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|  | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|  | 7 | 8 |   |
55. What is your current occupation?
- |  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|  | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|  | 7 | 8 |   |
56. How did you get your first job?
- |                                    |   |   |
|------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Employment agency               | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Advertisement in the newspapers |   |   |
| 3. Through friends and relatives   | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Other                           |   |   |
57. Do you agree that education increases your income?
- |                   |                      |   |   |
|-------------------|----------------------|---|---|
| 1. Strongly agree | 2. Agree             | 1 | 2 |
| 3. Disagree       | 4. Strongly disagree | 3 | 4 |
58. Do you agree that the U. S. is the land of opportunity?
- |             |                      |   |   |
|-------------|----------------------|---|---|
| 1. Agree    | 2. Strongly agree    | 1 | 2 |
| 3. Disagree | 4. Strongly disagree | 3 | 4 |
59. What do you find most difficult to cope with here in America?
- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Understanding the American way of life | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Finding a satisfying job               |   |   |
| 3. Finding a decent place to live         |   |   |
| 4. Other, please specify                  | 3 | 4 |





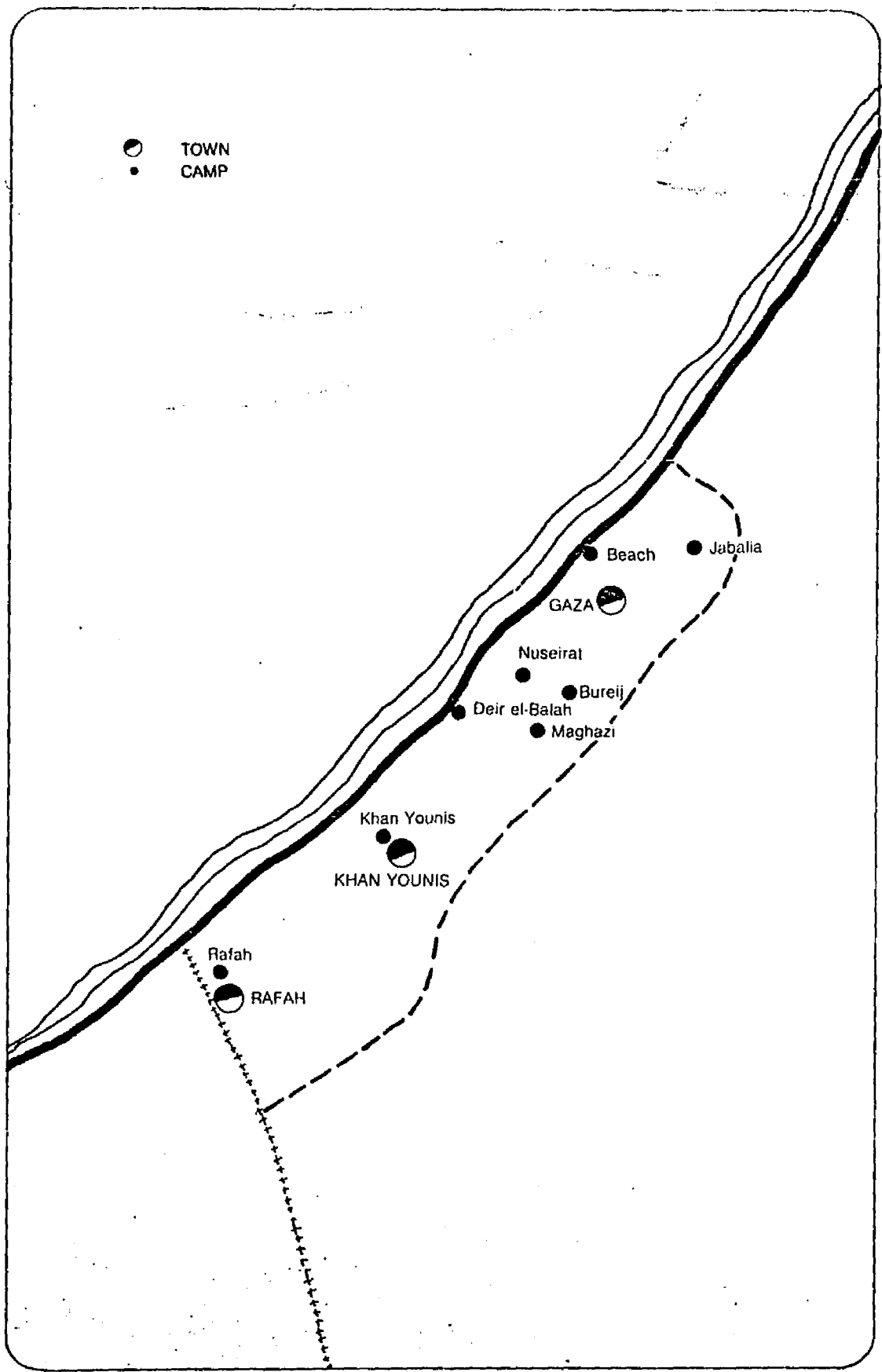
**UNRWA field map: West Bank**

Registered refugee population in West Bank

340,643

Proportion of total registered Palestine refugee population

18%



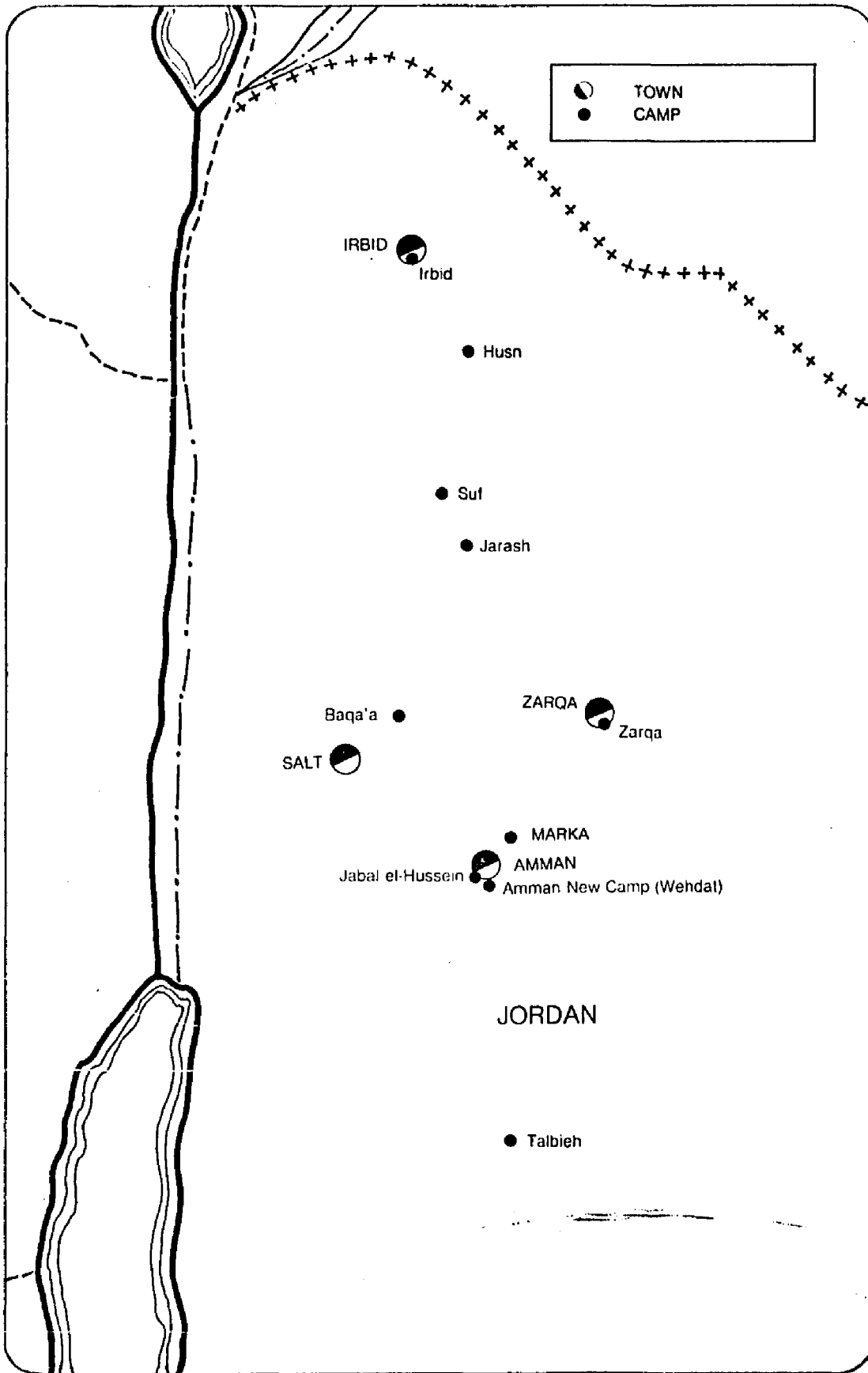
**UNRWA field map: Gaza Strip**

Registered refugee population in Gaza Strip

377,292

Proportion of total registered Palestine refugee population

20%



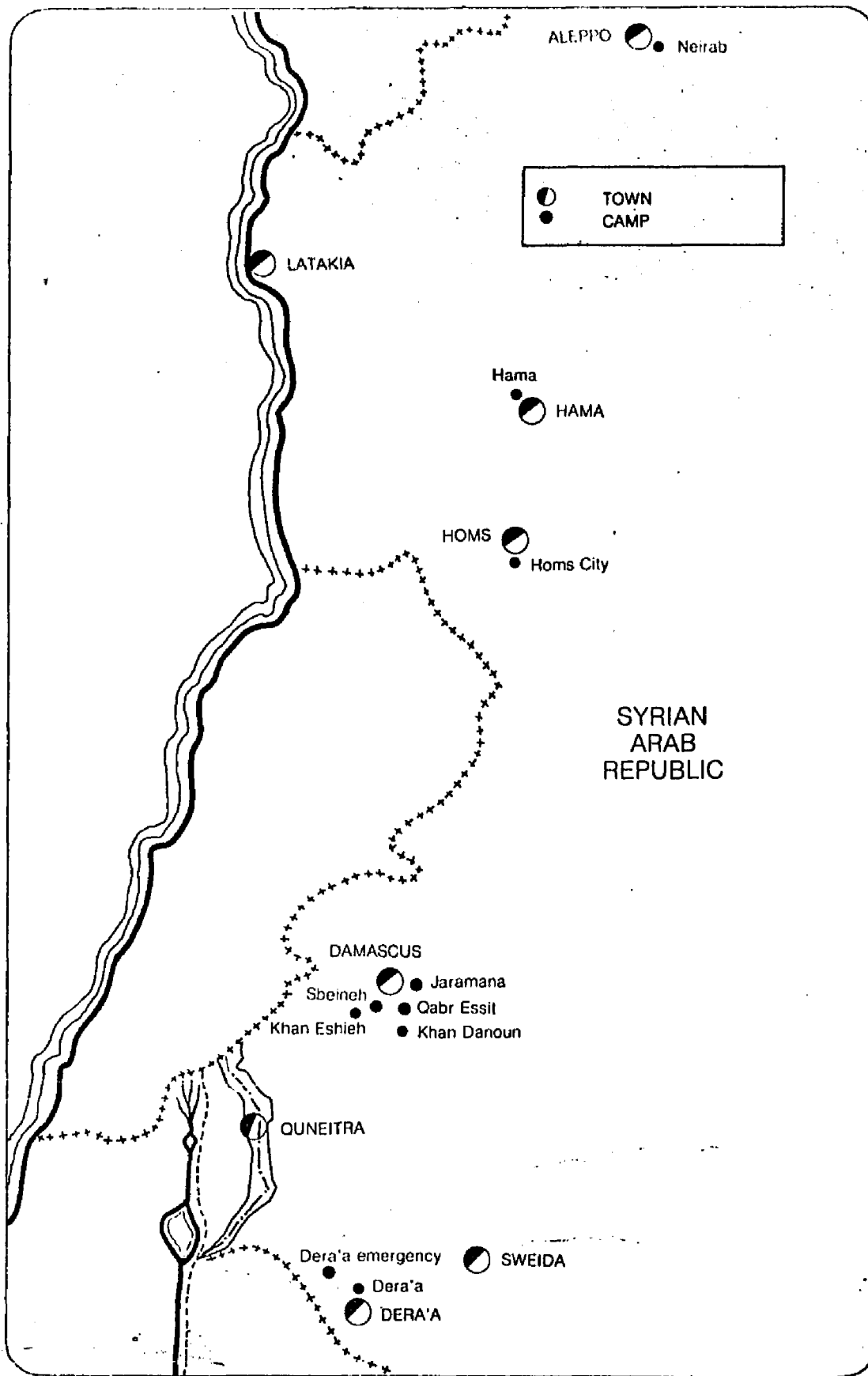
**UNRWA field map: east Jordan**

Registered refugee population in east Jordan

748,552

Proportion of total registered Palestine refugee population

39%



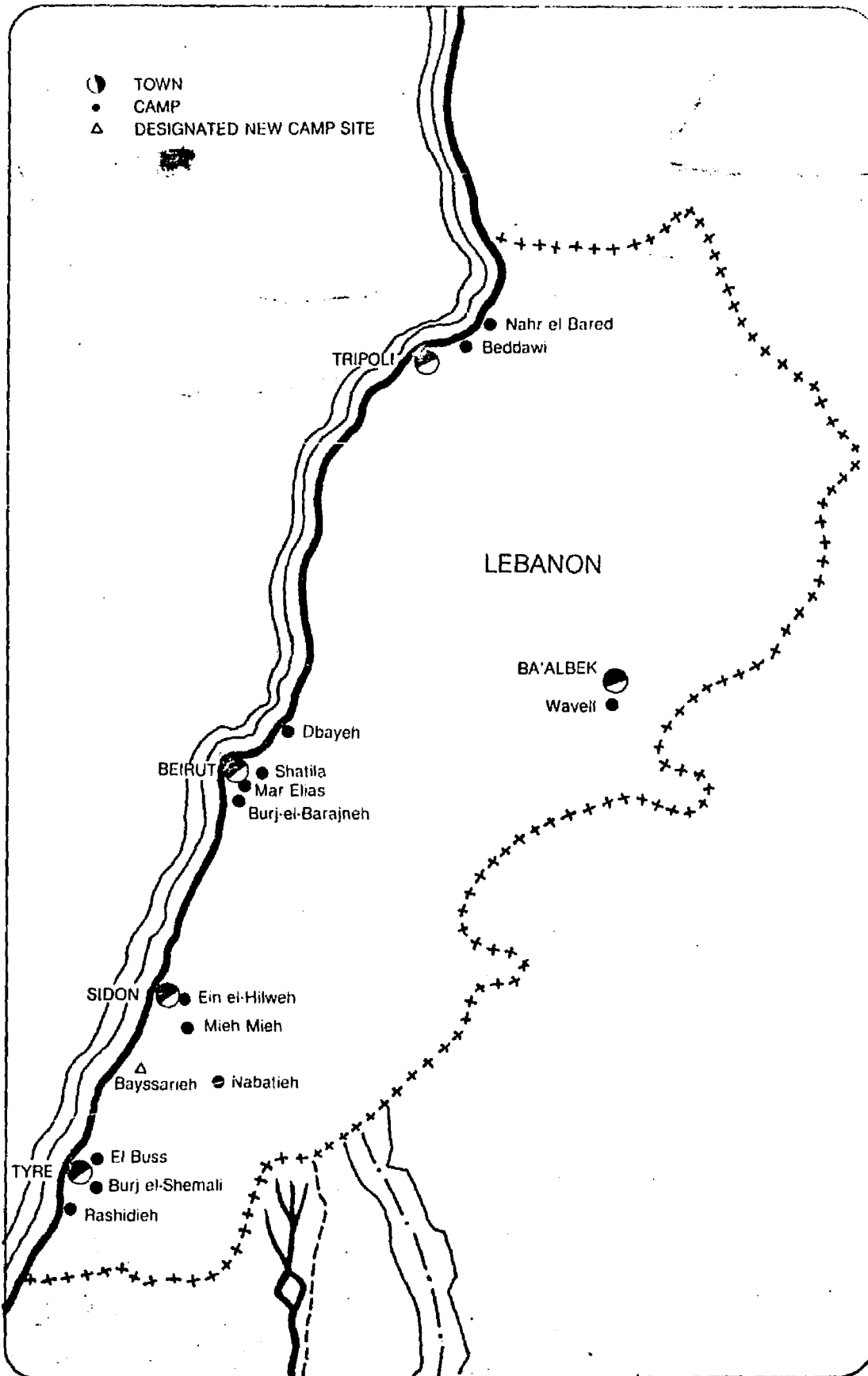
**UNRWA field map: Syrian Arab Republic**

Registered refugee population in S.A.R.

220,572

Proportion of total registered Palestine refugee population

11%



**UNRWA field map: Lebanon**

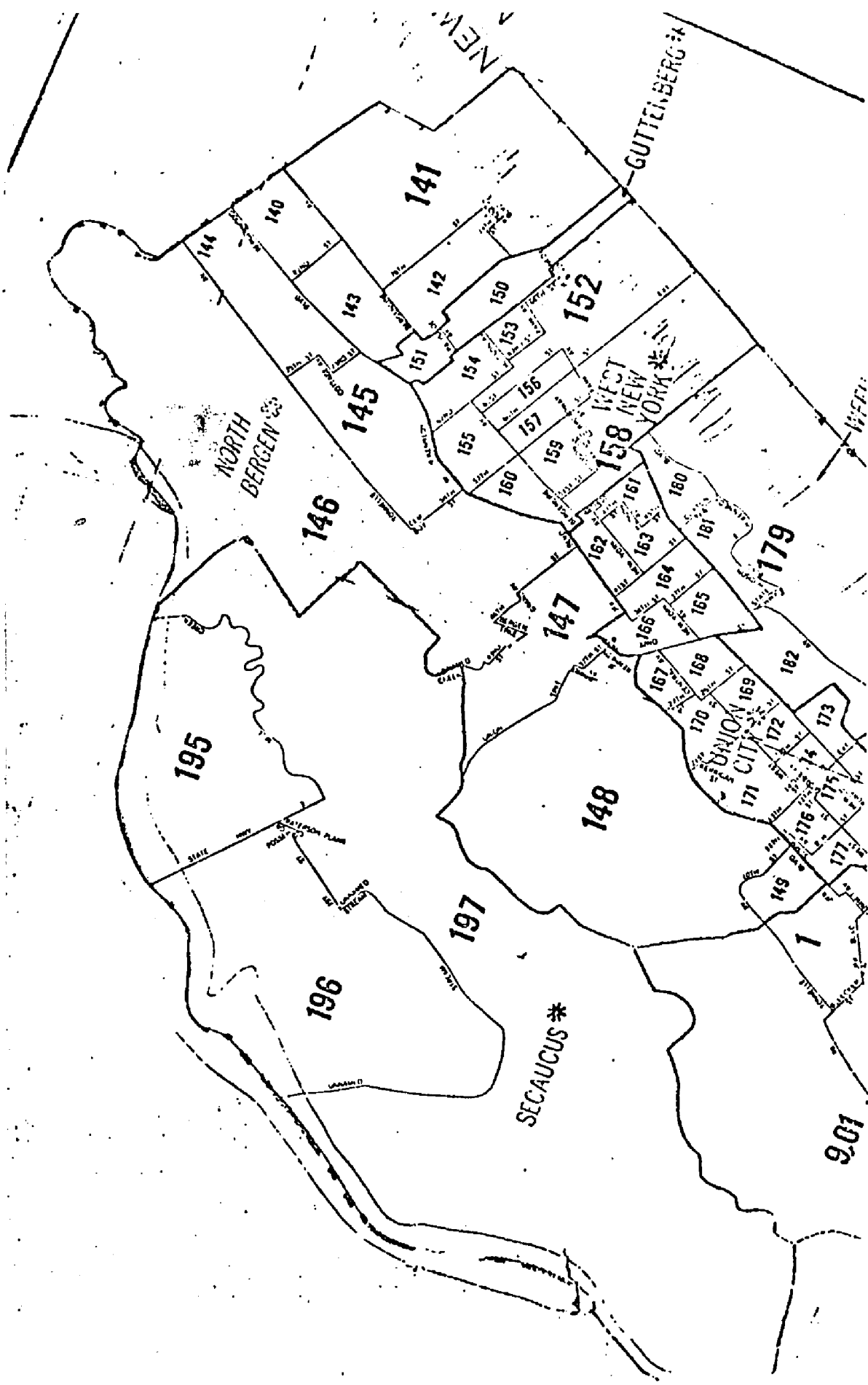
Registered refugee population in Lebanon

238,667

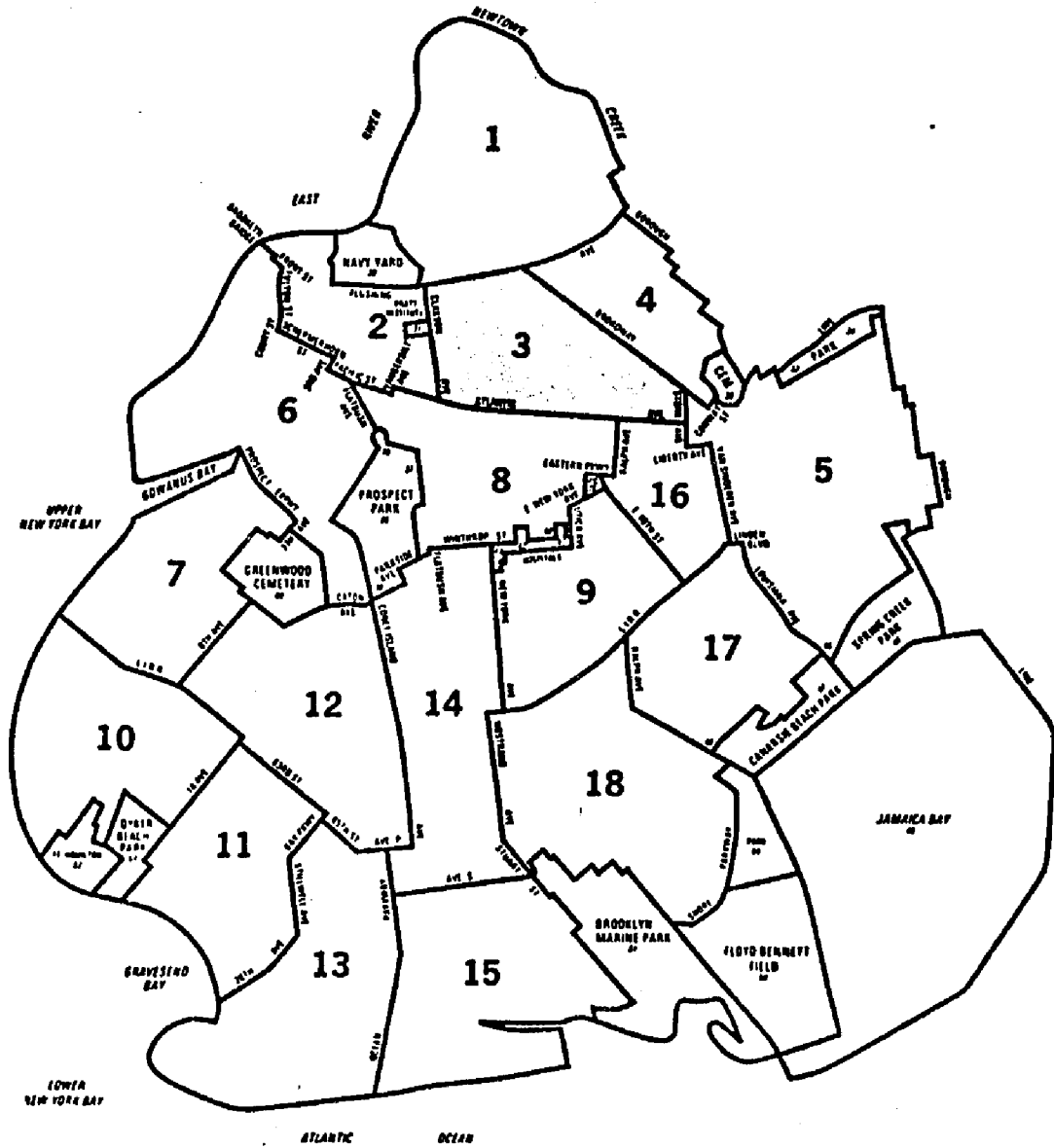
Proportion of total registered Palestine refugee population

12%





# BROOKLYN COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 3



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