1960

Kin and non-kin relationships of a selected group of urban families.

Buckheim, Phyllis Faye

Boston University

http://hdl.handle.net/2144/9519

Boston University
BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

KIN AND NON-KIN RELATIONSHIPS
OF A SELECTED GROUP OF URBAN FAMILIES

A thesis

Submitted by

Phyllis Faye Buckheim
(B.A., Boston University, 1956)

Zelma Grodecki
(Hebrew University)

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Science in Social Service
1960
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method of Sample Selection</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of Sample</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Setting</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATA PRESENTATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case A</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case B</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case C</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case D</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case E</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an exploratory study designed for the purpose of understanding the social and family organization of a selected group of Syrian-American urban families with particular attention given to Syrian culture and its concomitant effects on the kinship structure, marital relationship, the nature of informal contacts (friends, neighbors), and the type of interaction with formal organizations (clubs, service institutions, ethnic groups, church).

The study group was selected from a larger research population of twenty-eight young married couples the wives of whom are subjects of an ongoing research project being conducted by the Child Development Unit of the Boston University School of Medicine with research headquarters at the Massachusetts Memorial Hospital. The project is presently in its fifth year of study. Wives were selected from the pre-natal clinic during their first pregnancies in the years 1955-56, and they and their first born children have since been followed by a multi-disciplined research team for the purpose of studying maternal attitudes and child rearing practices.

A decision to select this particular thesis topic was based on the recognition that all of the material thus far collected has been of a clinical nature with data evaluated in terms of the relative maturity and immaturity of the mothers. We were informed that social and cultural backgrounds have not received as much attention as psychological factors but that a study of these factors has long been of interest to the research staff. The writers hoped that by eliciting from the case material
what socio-cultural backgrounds we could that such a study might be help-
ful in more clearly defining these attitude forming factors which are
known to have a profound influence in personality development.

In planning this study the writers have used Elizabeth Bott's *Family
and Social Network* as a sociological frame of reference which has been
helpful to us in presenting our data in a systematic way. Bott's use of
the home interview as a way of establishing informality and obtaining
first hand information as well as her utilization of the team approach in
evaluating material were similar to the techniques employed by members of
the Child Development research staff.

Also, her detailed study of the kinship structure and social organ-
ization of seven English working-class urban families seemed, at the out-
set, to bear a striking resemblance to our study group. The closely bound
family structure in which physical proximity, mutual dependence, and main-
tainance of intimate ties to parents prevailed; the occupational and so-
cial immobility of these families in which husband's place of employment,
the couples sources of friends, entertainment, service and recreation
organizations were largely concentrated in the same local area were find-
ings which gave us some ideas as to what we might expect to find in our
research group.

On the basis of Bott's study and several consultations with a re-
search staff member we anticipated certain findings. We expected that the
family unit would be a closely knit one and that married couples would tend
to live within close proximity to their own parents and relatives. We also
expected to find that the couples would keep in close contact with their
immediate family, and that there would be more of a stress placed on the
mother-daughter relationship with women being more active than men in keeping up kinship ties.

We anticipated finding that there would be little social intercourse with friends and neighbors, and that mutual visiting and home entertaining would be minimal. We also did not expect that many new friendships were formed after the time of marriage and that this particularly applied to the wives of this group. The husband might, through his work, form new friendships. The wife would tend to remain close to her own home and her parents' home and would not use any of the opportunities available to make new friends but would, in most cases, maintain some of her former friendships.

We did anticipate finding that the church played a significant role in their lives and that church attendance was frequent and regular. However, we did not expect to find that there would be extensive contact with other formal organizations even within the local area.

Although Bott recognized that personalities of husband and wife were crucial variables affecting their social and family roles, she did not include a study of these factors, but rather centered attention on only those environmental aspects which affected the family as a social system. Because of the wealth of clinical material available to us the writers have attempted to incorporate some of the psychological factors which were felt to significantly influence the nature of kinship, social, and ethnic ties.

Clinical material has revealed this research group to have a far narrower range of interests and activities than those described in the Bott book, and with this in mind we would like to use our data to see in what way the culture adds or subtracts to this.
The writers have attempted to evaluate the following questions:

A. Marital Couple

1. What was the nature of the husband-wife relationship, and what were some of the factors which influenced choice of mate? Was a sharp division of labor of household tasks a common feature, or was the emphasis placed on mutual sharing of domestic activities?

2. What were the couple's attitudes and values concerning education, economic and social mobility, and what factors were important in determining them?

3. What were the main forms of recreation, and to what extent did husband and wife share in leisure time activities?

B. Kinship Relationships

1. What was the relationship pattern between these couples and their kin? How were kinship ties utilized? Which members seemed most important?

C. Informal Relationships

1. What were the patterns of social relationships with friends and neighbors?

2. To what extent did husband and wife maintain old friendships, make new friends?

D. Formal External Relationships

1. What was the nature and type of contact with clubs, community groups, and how were these organizations utilized?

2. What was the nature of the couple's church affiliation, and what did religion and its expression mean to them?
3. What were their attitudes toward their ethnic group? What was the nature of their association?

Method of Sample Selection

Because of the tremendous volume of case material and the limited time span in which to complete this thesis, it was not possible to include all twenty-eight cases for study. In deciding on a basis for selection our first consideration was that of amount of information available in the records as the idea of renewed contact with the families at this point of the research with new workers was not considered advisable. However, in the event that case material proved insufficient we did leave open the possibility of supplementing with one home interview, and in this regard physical accessibility was considered as another selective factor. After careful deliberation it was decided that homogeneity of material would be of greater significance in such a brief study, and for this reason we selected six couples representing the entire Syrian population of the research group. Only five of the cases will be included in our data presentation, however, as the sixth case was later excluded for reasons of confidentiality.

Data for this thesis were obtained from twelve tape-recorded research interviews gathered during the wife's first pregnancy. One interview with the subject's mother, a home interview, and one interview with the husband also obtained during this period, were included in our data.

Description of Sample

The ages of the wives at the time of marriage ranged from 18 to 25. With one exception all became pregnant during their first year of marriage. All of the couples were in the same socio-economic status and each resided
in working class urban areas. All had intact households and with one exception maintained separate residence from their parents. Because of the tremendous influence that parents, particularly mothers, could have on their married children, separate residence from parents was one of the requisites for acceptance of wives into the larger research. However, it was felt that since the above mentioned couple lived only with the wife's father and brother that she would not be unduly influenced by this.

With one exception each couple lived in the same neighborhood as their parents. All of the wives and three of the husbands were of Syrian descent. They are all second generation Syrian-Americans, one or both parents having emigrated from the Old Country. In one case the husband was of Greek parentage, both parents having been born in Greece. In the other the husband was of English Protestant birth whose parents were American born.

Cultural Setting

The neighborhood in which most of these couples grew up is a depressed urban area. The streets are lined with rows of old tenement houses many of which are badly in need of repair. It is a section from which the young married couples are tending to move away and where much of the population consists of elderly people living on small pensions, isolated and friendless people living alone in rooming houses, a number of hard core families, and a large number of degenerates and alcoholics. It is also a high delinquency area in which the schools are dilapidated, playgrounds few in number, and recreational centers consisting of two or three Settlement Houses and a Boys' Club. A large City Hospital and one smaller private hospital serves the bulk of the population.

The area is primarily inhabited by Negroes and peoples of Syrian,
Irish, and Greek descent. The Syrian Community retains a group of Old
World families and their first generation children. They are a relatively
new group to this area, most of the families having emigrated a few years
prior to the Great depression. After locating themselves in this section
of Boston, parents of the study group engaged in semi and unskilled oc-
cupations with a number of mothers taking on full time jobs mainly as
stitchers in clothing factories. For the most part parents owned their
own homes, the majority of which were large tenement houses. Spare apart-
ments were often occupied by married children or close relatives.

The writers have not attempted to make a study of this area and, too,
little information had been gathered prior to this study concerning Syrian
culture. It did seem, however, that although the Syrian group is con-
centrated in this particular area they tend to be divided with families
living in various pockets of the community. Our assumption was completely
based on this study group - their places of residence and also the fact
that none of the research couples knew one another prior to their contact
with the Child Development Unit.

Procedure

The five case summaries will be presented in alphabetical order under
the letters A, B, C, D and E. Each will contain summarized descriptions
under a series of topical headings. Subjects of the on-going research and
family members referred to throughout the material have been assigned
pseudonyms.

Limitations

In the collection of original research material attention was pri-
marily focused on psychogenic factors. Therefore, information was not
easily adapted to the environmental focus of this study. Also, in the gathering of data, emphasis on each topical heading varied so that amount and nature of information is not uniform in every case.
CASE A

Mr. and Mrs. A. were 26 and 25 years of age when they were married in September, 1955, and Mrs. A. began attendance at the Child Development Unit about one year later. Both were raised in the same urban working class area until their marriage when they moved to an apartment building in a similar section of Boston.

BACKGROUND

Mrs. A. grew up in a distinctly Syrian culture, both parents having come from Syria at early ages. Since their marriage her parents have been living on the first floor of a three story house. The maternal grandmother occupies the second. An apartment on the third floor which, during all of Mrs. A.'s childhood was occupied by a maternal aunt, is now inhabited by an older married brother. Two younger sisters, both single, live with their parents.

Mrs. A. spent several months out of every year from her fifth to ninth year of age in a Catholic orphanage located in her neighborhood. Mother's alcoholism and constant poor health were the main factors in the family disruption. She was in need of continual medical attention and family care, and as a consequence was seldom available to her children. Being the eldest female sibling, it was frequently Mrs. A. who attended to mother's needs when she was home. Deprivation was further reinforced by extreme poverty, particularly during the depression years when father lost his job at the shipyard. Although he found subsequent employment in a shoe factory, family income was irregular and meager as his wife's poor health often necessitated his staying home from work.
Mr. A.'s family life was decidedly more stable than that of his wife's. Both of Mr. A.'s parents were born in Greece. Father was the more dominant of the two, his wife being more submissive and seemingly content in her mothering role. Although never financially successful, adequate family income was always assured. Characteristic of his countrymen in their preference for their own businesses, father owned and managed an ice-cream selling business. Mr. A., second eldest in his family has three sisters. An older married sister with two children as well as his two younger sisters lived in the parents' home.

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

Mrs. A.'s school experience was characterized by repeated failures and tremendous dissatisfaction. Endowed with limited intellectual resources, she found school work tedious and unmanageable. Her feelings of shame and inferiority at being the tallest girl in the class reinforced inadequacy in the school situation. She felt that "everyone was looking at her." Unable to adjust herself to group demands and academic tasks, receiving little support or encouragement from parents or teachers, Mrs. A. consequently left school at age sixteen.

At fourteen, to help out with the family income, she began working part time as a stitcher in a clothing factory. She continued at this job until her eighth month of pregnancy. Sharing of family expenses was expected until her marriage, at which time her two unmarried sisters shouldered the support of their parents.

Mrs. A. made no effort to improve her position at the factory. She remained in the same dressmaking section with little increase in pay. Yet, work seemed to have been the only satisfying thing in her life, the only
time when she didn't feel "lonely or sad." Her job appeared to be the one area where she felt some measure of adequacy. It was also a place which protected her from loneliness, and the security offered by a small group of women with whom she was familiar seemed far more important than economic advancement.

Family members played an important part in the occupational structure in terms of helping one another to find jobs. Mrs. A.'s brother had worked in the same factory and was instrumental in helping his sister to obtain her job. Mrs. A., in turn, had helped her two sisters to find clerical positions in the factory. It was interesting to note that Mrs. A. had encouraged her sisters to complete high school. It was also she who strongly advocated their "speaking out for better positions" something that Mrs. A. had never been able to do for herself.

Mr. A. seemed more ambitious than his wife; following graduation from a trade school where he specialized in auto mechanics, he tried to enter college taking advantage of his father's World War I disability insurance. Due to father's sudden illness and the removal of family income, he was forced to give up his plan and instead took over father's business until he was well enough to return one and one-half years later. After an unsatisfactory job experience in a mattress company followed by a failure in a canteen business venture with his brother-in-law, Mr. A. turned to his father for help in starting his own business. Although this proved more successful, Mr. A. was called into the Army a short time later.

It was at the time of his marriage and his return from the service two years later that Mr. A. entered a local trade college for evening study in Mechanical Engineering. He had found day time employment as a
laundry truck driver. This arrangement continued for two years after which Mr. A. dropped out of school. His choice of vocation seemed far above his intellectual ability. Too, his motivation to achieve gradually weakened as his wife appeared indifferent to his successes. Mr. A. again turned to his father for help in obtaining a job, and subsequently found steady employment in a factory around the corner from his parents’ home.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Mrs. A. knew her husband five years before marriage having been introduced to him by her brother who was then Mr. A.’s best friend. She admitted feeling indifferent while dating him, saw several other boys during this period, and said that she only went out with Mr. A. because she “knew it would make her mother happy”. It was when she noticed that Mr. A. was dating another girl that she made the decision to marry him, and the couple were married six months after his return from the service. “I thought that if he married her I’d be lonely and left without anyone”.

A wedding trip to Canada marked the first time Mrs. A. had ever been away from her neighborhood. She found the separation extremely frightening, gave no description of the trip, or expressed enjoyment from it merely stating that she had called home every evening to see how mother was feeling.

FAMILIAL ACTIVITIES

Relatively little information was gathered in this area as Mrs. A. rarely referred to housekeeping tasks. She gave an impression of complete dissatisfaction and unhappiness in her housekeeping role. Yet, it was noted during home visits that Mrs. A. had fixed up a three room apartment in an old tenement house with lovely furniture and modern appliances.
Everything was kept in a meticulously neat fashion. In practice, Mrs. A. managed the cooking, sewing, and housekeeping tasks quite well. She relied on her husband for many of the heavy chores, but they did the weekly marketing together. It was also noted in the records that Mrs. A. was more of the manager in the home; however this was not clearly demonstrated in the interview material.

MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

We were immediately impressed by the marked deficiency in sensitivity and acuteness of feeling of one partner for the other. Our feeling was partly based on the lack of response to questions of this nature and also stemmed from the quality and character of Mrs. A.'s replies. Marriage was conceived of as being a struggle, a difficult task. She described her husband as good and understanding because "we never fight." Mrs. A. thought that all married couples fought and "got a nice surprise as her husband has never raised his voice to her."

Mrs. A. gave lip service to the fact that marriage "helps someone to be more independent" with the feeling that she "speaks her mind more now". She also referred to her husband as someone with whom she could freely confide. However, there was little evidence to support the fact that extensive communication between the couple really existed. In fact, Mrs. A.'s only complaint about her husband focused on his unwillingness to talk to her in the evenings, as he was often tired after work and preferred to relax and watch TV. In reality, Mr. A. appeared to be the more flexible of the two in that he seemed able to tolerate and successfully meet his wife's needs for attention. It did seem that he was overly-submissive and compliant, but again interview material lacked confirmation of this.
Mrs. A. viewed her future life as one that would be fraught with worry and suffering. Fearful of change and responsibility, she envisioned child rearing as an enormous undertaking describing it as "clothing and feeding and taking care of them all those years when they're sick". No consideration seemed to be given to their children's future in terms of educational ambitions, as references to this were completely lacking in the recordings.

Both husband and wife expressed the desire to move from their deteriorated and unkempt neighborhood. Although aspirations for moving were strong, their specific wants were undefined and seemed more fantasy-like in nature. Mrs. A. would like to move to a "nice home where there will be plenty of trees and fresh air". Concomitant with this was her husband's desire to become an architect and design his own home in the country.

Apart from their home the couple expressed no other aspirations for themselves. It appeared that neither mate lived beyond each day. Mrs. A. was particularly reluctant to plan ahead for the future for fear of changing a daily routine that she had maintained for herself throughout the years. "God forbid, if something should happen to my husband, what would I do?"

Lack of sufficient financial resources did not seem a realistic explanation for this inhibition. Actually, the A.'s considered themselves relatively well-off. While Mr. A. provided an adequate income, both seemed to feel that surplus money should be spent only on household items, weddings and other material goods.

FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationship with family members, particularly with the parents, was
the most important aspect of the couple's life. Mr. and Mrs. A. again
gave lip service to the fact that independence from family was good, while
revealing their struggle in breaking away from parental ties. "They say
it's not good to live near parents so we thought it best to stay away from
both and move to T." Yet, after their move Mrs. A. maintained her job at
the factory which was located only two blocks away from her parent's home.
She visited her mother before and after work, many evenings when Mr. A.
was working, as well as weekends when both husband and wife would go to-
gether.

Mother seemed to be Mrs. A.'s all important relative. As mentioned
earlier, her mother had rarely been available in her childhood that was
marked by considerable deprivation and frustration. Unmet dependency
needs seemed to be the underlying motive that drove Mrs. A. to visit and
remain close to her mother now. Although Mrs. A. said that she was con-
fiding in mother more than ever, she rarely referred to their conversa-
tions. When Mrs. A. was concerned about illness during her pregnancy,
mother's response was that "you have to expect to get sick during preg-
nancy."

Mrs. A. felt she was close to her two sisters but never referred to
them singly or called them by name. She saw her sisters often when visit-
ing her parent's home and often one or the other would stay with Mrs. A.
evenings.

Mrs. A. also maintained a close relationship with her father whom
she described as being "so good to her" during childhood. Her attachment
to father and inability to leave him was clearly revealed when father told
Mrs. A. that she was married now and was no longer a Beata. Mrs. A. panicked at the thought of a complete and final break responding, "but my blood is still Beata."

Although there was not a great deal of information concerning Mrs. A.'s brother, it was noted that she was very close to him during her childhood and that they often double dated before their respective marriages. It appeared that there was mutual visiting between the A.'s and Mrs. A.'s brother and his wife, and that occasional evenings out were often shared by the two couples.

Relatives outside of the immediate family were rarely referred to and appeared to have little meaning or importance for Mrs. A. Although there were several aunts and uncles living in nearby areas, Mrs. A. rarely saw them. During her pregnancy she gave the reason that she "got stomach cramps while riding in a car". "I will only ride to work or visit my mother." Paternal cousins living in Maine were infrequently visited. A trip made one summer by her father and two sisters resulted in their calling home every evening to see how mother was feeling.

That there is preference accorded certain relatives was indicated when Mrs. A. said that she made no special effort to visit her grandmother and saw her only when she visited mother's home. Mrs. A. felt bitter towards her grandmother for not offering to care for herself and her siblings when mother was ill.

Although we have little information concerning the nature of Mr. A.'s family relationships there was evidence to support the belief that he is equally dependent upon his own parents. As stated earlier, Mr. A. had always turned to his father for help with employment and had likewise
obtained a job near his parent's home. Mr. A. continued to visit his mother during his lunch hour, and both husband and wife visited his parents on weekends.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDS

The nature of the couple's informal contacts is a dramatic illustration of the tremendous restriction which they seemed to impose on themselves. Mrs. A. felt that her neighbors were cold and unfriendly, but at the same time had made no attempts to meet them. "They don't want to bother with me so I don't bother with them". Similarly the A.'s had made no friends nor had they kept up former friendships. Mrs. A. referred to a group of girl friends whom she saw during adolescence, but no longer saw them now as "they all are married with children". There is no planned joint entertaining in the A. home in which Mr. and Mrs. A. asked another couple to spend an evening with them. One of the underlying reasons stemmed from Mrs. A.'s feeling that she was uneducated, inferior and unable to undertake responsibility for entertaining. She can feel relaxed with the group of women at work but would feel "uncomfortable having them over to her house". She gave further expression of her feelings of uneasiness in social gatherings. "Like other people at a wedding, they start talking to other people. But I can't. I really have nothing to say because I'm shy and don't talk fluently".

Of her contacts outside of the home during latency and adolescence, Mrs. A. said, "I never enjoyed myself without my Mommy." Early adult responsibilities in the home as well as work after school allowed little time for Mrs. A. to experience normal peer group relationships. There were no contacts with Settlement Houses or any other organized group activity
during these periods. She spoke of occasional dances and bowling events with the "gang," but added that she never enjoyed herself as she always "felt guilty leaving mother sick at home".

Although Mr. A. appeared more socially at ease than his wife, he, too, limited his contacts to place of employment. He had made no effort to meet neighbors nor did he encourage contact with friends.

RECREATION

Leisure time activities were characterized by the same limitations noted above. With the exception of watching TV, occasional movies, and visiting relatives the A's spent little of their leisure time in other forms of recreation. There were no special interests or hobbies common to both husband and wife nor were there separate leisure time interests. Mrs. A. particularly seemed unable to derive enjoyment from any activity involving effort, challenge, or creativity outside of the home. She didn't care to read as "she has to read slowly and gets impatient and nervous". "I don't enjoy shopping. There are so many people I can't concentrate on what I want."

Concomitant with this was Mrs. A.'s complete disinterest in joining community, church or other organized groups. When asked about this, Mrs. A. replied, "I really don't know. I never joined so I don't know if I'd like it or not." It appeared that the A.'s only contact with any kind of group or service institution was their use of the Massachusetts Memorial Hospital.

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS

Church affiliation was of particular importance to Mrs. A. Both she and her family had had close association with the Syrian Orthodox and Roman
Catholic (Eastern Rites) churches, and throughout her childhood were most faithful in their church attendance. After marriage Mrs. A. continued her association with the Roman Catholic Church attending regular Sunday services as well as daily morning masses with the feeling that "it gave her strength and encouragement before going to work". Prayers were conceived of as having a kind of magical power, and praying had special meaning for Mrs. A. in terms of her mother. She had felt that her prayers had helped her mother through her illness, and at a time when mother was quite ill Mrs. A. felt it was she who had saved mother's life.

Contrary to Syrian tradition, Mrs. A. did not turn to her husband's religion (Greek Orthodox) after marriage. Mrs. A. was quite insistent that she remain with her own Church and in doing so went against her parent's wishes. Although Mr. A.'s family had strong ties with his Church, he was accepting of this. He felt that if religion was important to his wife then he would respect her wishes to bring the children up in the Roman Catholic faith. Although Mr. A. raised no objection to his wife's wishes, he did not turn to her religion and maintained his affiliation with his family's Greek Orthodox Church. Mr. A. would accompany his wife for Sunday Services at her Church, but both attended each other's on special holidays.

Parents on both sides showed initial concern. Mrs. A.'s parents were angry because she did not follow Syrian custom. Mr. A.'s parents feared that their son would leave the Greek Orthodox Church. The latter showed flexibility when, at the time of the marriage, they voiced recognition of the small difference between the two religious ceremonies and made apologies for their initial adversity. However, Mrs. A.'s parents never
became resigned to this, and father continued to bring up the matter after her marriage. It appeared that a loss of identity with her family was a far more frightening thought than were her parents' vigorous objections.

Particular importance was attached to the wedding with Mrs. A. planning and managing a very large affair for herself. She bought her own trousseau and hired caterers, and the wedding was held in her own Syrian Catholic Church. Mrs. A.'s father had wanted big weddings for all his children having taken specified amounts from their weekly work checks in order to save for these events.

Although Mrs. A. was raised in a closely bound Syrian community, she appeared to have no real identification with Old Syria, Syrian traditions and customs. Aside from cooking Syrian dishes in the home, Mrs. A. gave no other overt signs of closeness or feeling of pride for her people. She referred to regular Sunday outings when Syrian people from different parts of the state got together for pleasure and relaxation. Mrs. A. admitted indifference stating, "I don't care for this. I would rather go to the beach and get a suntan. Anyway, the outings have fresh water, and I can't swim in fresh water." That she felt no real attachment to the Syrian group was reflected in her statement that it was "just luck that my brother married a Syrian girl". She did not feel that the Syrian group were particularly close, and made clear her feelings that Syrians were inferior and considered them outcasts. She referred to her people as being "dark," and expressed hopes that she would not have a dark baby.

Mrs. A. had no friends within the Syrian group and seemed to feel no responsibility to participate in Church or Syrian group activities. It appeared that moving away from her old neighborhood was an acceptable way
of leaving the Syrian community, and that church contact was of necessity in terms of her own psychological need for identity.

ANALYSIS - CASE A

Mr. and Mrs. A. are highly illustrative of the environmental restrictions and emotional self-repressions that are so characteristic of this study group.

One of the outstanding clinical features of Mrs. A.'s constriction was her depressed character structure. Unable to allow any pleasures for herself, housekeeping was viewed as a chore, marriage as a struggle, and the prospects of child-rearing a hardship. It was because of this depressive trend that certain reality issues tended to be obscured in the reading of the material, particularly with regard to familial activities.

In reality, Mrs. A. was an excellent shopper and was neatly and attractively dressed at all times. She was also an exceedingly good housekeeper giving a great deal of thought and attention to the decorating and furnishing of her home as well as the management of household tasks. Domestic activities were actually more segregated than the interview material first revealed. It was later learned that Mrs. A. was clearly the manager of her own home even though she did expect her husband to share in the marketing and some of the heavier household chores.

Another factor which seemed to strongly influence all of the important areas of Mrs. A.'s life was the factor of troubling dependency strivings. Her work, her marriage, her relationships with her friends and neighbors, her religious feeling and social activity - these all contained elements of emotional strain.
In considering the constrained life that Mrs. A. tended to lead it was not surprising that she married someone who lived in the same neighborhood, a man who was her brother's best friend and whom her mother urged her to date. Her marriage was not based on strong affection for her husband; she was quite indifferent to his attentions. Only when he started dating another girl did she want to marry him lest she lose him and "be lonely and left without anyone".

Her job, filled with dull routine, had successfully claimed her throughout her adolescence and early adult life. Only here amidst the security of an easy job and a small group of familiar women had Mrs. A. not felt lonely and sad. Mrs. A.'s fear of separation from the security of familiar people, places, is clearly evident not only from her clinging for so many years to the same job, but also on her honeymoon trip during which she called her mother every evening. Mrs. A. violated Syrian custom by not turning to her husband's church. This continuation seemed also to stem from her reluctance to break away from familiar ways, namely her family ties.

Like his wife, Mr. A. also had inordinately strong dependency strivings but he expressed them quite differently. Whereas Mrs. A. got her job through mutual help from her siblings, Mr. A. turned to his father for one-sided help in finding a job and setting up a business. Although he was more ambitious than his wife this ambition seemed to rest on approvals from others, and when his wife showed only indifference to his successes his motivation to move ahead began to decline.

Mrs. A.'s attitude toward her neighbors showed even more clearly her strong dependency needs as well as her extreme reluctance to face them.
Although she had made no attempt to meet them, to find out what they were like she judged them to be cold and unfriendly - mainly because they had not sought her out. As she herself put it, "They don't want to bother with me so I don't bother with them". It seemed that Mrs. A. wants very much to be cared for but is unable to ask for this support.

Family ties, particularly to parents, were highly dependent ones. Visiting with respective parents were regular and frequent with Mrs. A. making several trips to her parents' home during the week and Mr. A. to his. Both would visit each other's parents together on weekends. It was always Mrs. A. who visited her mother. Her mother never came to her home. She was also attached to her father, but he resisted her attempts to remain dependent on him. His remark was that she was no longer a Beata.

Mrs. A. also maintained a close relationship with her sisters, but never referred to her sisters-in-law, and it is doubtful that she ever turned to them for companionship.

Aside from visiting relatives, leisure time was spent mainly in watching TV and going to occasional movies. Although limited in range they were always shared by the two partners.

Mrs. A.'s only involvement in Syrian customs and traditions was in the cooking of Syrian dishes. There seemed to be no other overt signs of closeness to or pride in her ethnic compatriots. She considered Syrians as inferior and outcasts. At the same time her ethnic identification was quite strong being evidenced by her faithful church attendance and close family ties. The lack of cultural participation seems more likely to stem from psychological factors rather than any particular cultural effect and is evidenced by her emotional isolation from friends, neighbors and distant relatives.
CASE B

BACKGROUND

Mr. and Mrs. B., aged 26 and 23 years at the time of their marriage in 1954, entered the prenatal study in 1956. Unlike the other couples in the research group, husband and wife are from completely opposite backgrounds.

Mrs. B. was born of Syrian parentage, both mother and father having come to this country at early ages. The only girl of four children, she lived in a small industrial community near Boston until she was 8 years of age, where there were a number of Syrian families. Because of her mother's insistence that she be near her own family, they subsequently moved to the present working class area. Her family life was marked by considerable conflict and loss of strong family tie. Her parents' unhappy marriage was openly displayed and was characterized by explosive arguments and frequent periods of separation from the home. Her mother had few homemaking interests, was dissatisfied in her mothering role, and took advantage of every opportunity to be away from the home. Her father was a passive man who seemed unable to provide an adequate family income. He had been employed in a shoe factory until the Depression at which time the family received sole support from Public Welfare. During this period the father's role changed from that of breadwinner to mothering the children and taking over all household responsibilities. Mother did not work but was demanding of father for material things, constantly berating him for not being a "go-getter". Father left the home on several occasions when marital difficulties became too much for him. A final separation in 1948 followed by a divorce five years later arose as a consequence when mother
left the home with another man and established herself in a restaurant business on the South Shore, where she continues to live.

Relatively little background information was readily available about Mr. B. However, he appears to have come from a more stable background as there is no evidence of family disorganization. He is of Protestant birth; both parents were American born; and ethnically his family is of English descent. Mr. B. was raised in a small (population 200) farming community in Iowa where his father owned a small farm until his death in 1952. His mother and an uncle have since taken over management of the farm. One married sister and all relatives outside of the immediate family continue to reside in the Middle West.

COURTSHIP - MARRIAGE

The couple met three years before marriage when Mr. B., who was then in the Navy, was stationed in Boston. They were introduced by a mutual friend at a ship's dance and saw each other regularly from that time on. At the time of their meeting Mr. B. was separated from his first wife and two children who were still living in Iowa. A divorce did not become final until a year prior to his second marriage. Mr. B. had married at a young age (17 years). The demands made on him by his wife as well as the added responsibilities of children seemed too overwhelming for him to manage and he found relief in the Navy which he joined two or three years after the marriage. A return to the home and attempts at reconciliation after two years proved unsatisfactory. A permanent separation resulted when Mr. B. again left his family for a career in the Navy.

Mrs. B. expressed little concern about her husband's previous marriage and little consideration was given to this fact in her choice of mate.
Selection of a marriage partner seems to have been largely based on Mrs. B.'s dependent needs. She referred to her husband's thoughtfulness, generosity, the fact that he brought her presents as factors which led her to make a decision to marry him. "I can't see anything wrong with him. He's a good provider and he's kind." Attention during the courtship period seemed to focus entirely on Mrs. B.'s needs and concerns. Initially, Mrs. B. saw to it that they were accompanied by one or more of her friends until Mr. B. "proved that she could trust him." At this time courtship was continued "alone" in the protective atmosphere of Mrs. B.'s living room where they would "talk or watch TV." After six months of courtship Mr. B. asked her "to accept an engagement ring." However, Mrs. B. preferred to hold off on her decision because "she didn't want to show him that she really wanted a ring that fast," and waited two or three months more to accept his proposal. Mr. B. still had a six months tour of duty in the Mediterranean to complete. During this period Mrs. B. found the separation difficult and was quite insistent that her husband give up his Naval career and settle permanently in Boston with her family.

EDUCATIONAL - OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

Mrs. B.'s educational and occupational history reveals some factors which may account for the couple's apparent lack of social and economic mobility. Her school experience was a most unsatisfactory one. She possessed limited intellectual abilities, and her repeated failures and inadequacies were further reinforced by emotional conflicts. Her mother's frequent and unpredictable desertions reinforced her feelings of insecurity. She feared leaving the home and as a consequence was habitually late for school. Receiving little support or encouragement from either
parents or teachers, Mrs. B. left school as soon as the law would permit (age 16).

An expressed desire to attend hairdressing school was never achieved. Although this was an accessible and realistic goal, Mrs. B. feared that she would never be able to stand it mentally and was unable to make the attempt. Her work experience follows a similar pattern. Mrs. B. never enjoyed work, was extremely fearful of being on her own, and retreated whenever possible to the protection of the home environment. She held a series of factory jobs each of which lasted for only a month or two. Unhappiness in this area of her life was again manifested by chronic lateness. One position as a sorter in a linen company was maintained for one and one-half years - the longest time Mrs. B. had ever worked.

For the most part Mrs. B. withdrew from the demands and pressures of work responsibilities and retreated to the home and an early mothering role in which she took complete charge in the upbringing of her younger brother, thirteen years her junior. She also had responsibility for household tasks. Evidently, this served as a status preserving mechanism as these appear to be the only two areas in which she felt adequate and confident, and seemed to be the only achievement for which she received any support and encouragement.

At the time of the prenatal study, Mr. B. had ambitions to become a plumber and had completed a one year course at a Boston technical school in preparation for this. He was at this time working for an oil company installing burners and furnaces. Mr. B. is a hard worker, is talented in his choice of occupation but provides no more than an adequate income for his family. Although there are many opportunities available which might
enhance his income, Mr. B. prefers to remain in a position which, in this lower class community, gives him a feeling of prestige and higher status.

Mr. B. referred to a childhood illness of meningitis when he lost his voice and was unable to talk for some time. He added that it was following this illness that he had trouble learning. "I never liked school, and I liked it even less after that. I quit long before I was through". He seemed not to have enjoyed Navy life either saying it was there that he developed a "nervous stomach" which continues to cause him difficulty. While in the Navy, Mr. B. worked in the laundry and in the ship's store as a helper, and from the reading of the material it did not seem that he was very proud of what he had done.

The couple seem not to want more out of life than they already have. Future plans are in no way goal directed, and the B.'s appear satisfied with the materials needed for day to day living. "I really don't want that much out of life. I'd like a few bucks in the bank for a rainy day, and I'd like to have a nice little home and car and things like that". Mrs. B. has no particular aspirations for her children concerning their education or future work and seems content to follow the value systems patterned by her parents. "I would want to bring up my children as my mother did... I want to give my baby the most I can, like keeping it well-fed and well-clothed."

For Mrs. B. economic advancement seems not so important as the desire to be liked and accepted by family members. When Mrs. B. wanted to purchase a rooming house for extra income she was opposed on this idea by her husband who preferred to buy a home in the suburbs. Her father advised her not to force her husband into this plan and Mrs. B. immediately
gave up the idea saying she "wouldn't want to be the cause of an argument."

FAMILIAL ACTIVITIES

Familial activities are characterized by considerable sharing of domestic tasks. Since the marriage the couple have been living in a four-room apartment in an old, deteriorated tenement house with Mrs. B.'s father and younger brother. Mrs. B. places a great deal of emphasis on the fact that men have a responsibility to share in the household tasks. "I don't want my husband to expect me to do all the work." She feels that most Syrian men "expect their wives to be in the house and do a lot of waiting on them but that this is not true in her family." Her father now owns and manages some property in an outlying district and shares in the household expenses. He is expected to take care of his own room and help Mrs. B. with other household chores. Mr. B. has responsibility for most of the heavy housework, and both he and his father-in-law do the marketing on Saturdays. Having men do things for her makes Mrs. B. feel "helpless and feminine." Her dependency on the men around her was strikingly illustrated when the couple visited Mr. B.'s mother on her farm in Iowa. Observing her mother-in-law's heavy work schedule which included the farm chores as well as the household tasks, was extremely upsetting to Mrs. B. Fearing that her husband might expect her to "work as hard as his mother," Mrs. B. made it quite explicit that she "didn't want to be ordered around." "I know I just couldn't do it because we weren't brought up that way here."

MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

The marital relationship as we have previously alluded to seems to be completely based on Mrs. B.'s dependency needs where Mrs. B. views her husband only in terms of his ability to fulfill her needs for support and
reassurance on a physical and emotional level. "My husband is such a help to me around the house... He doesn't talk much about his worries, but I can always talk freely with him." Mr. B. is most tolerant of his wife's demands and this seems to be due to the fact that these are made within limits of what he can realistically supply to her. Mrs. B. is not overly demanding of material things and would "let her husband have his way rather than cause an argument."

Sexual relations seem as "something that just goes with marriage.... I can't say that I'm really crazy about it," and she is glad that "her husband isn't passionate either." When viewed in terms of each other's needs the marriage appears to be a mutually satisfying one in which neither demands more than the other can give.

FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Certainly the most outstanding feature of Mrs. B.'s life concerns her relationship to immediate family members. Living within a close proximity to her two older married brothers as well as her father and younger brother who live with her, has special significance outside of the fact that strong family ties is a cultural phenomenon. Emotional needs seem to have greater import in this case.

Mrs. B. views relationship with family members in terms of their acceptance of her and seems to require constant proof of their devotion. She relies heavily on siblings and their wives for help in making decisions as well as in carrying them out. Sister-in-laws are never referred to by name; affectional terms are completely lacking in her descriptions; and she speaks only in terms of how helpful they have been to her. When the couple was making plans to move, her sister-in-law accompanied Mrs. B. to look for
apartments. When the first place they saw did not meet her requirements, Mrs. B. "lost interest," and it was her sister-in-law who "pushed her to keep looking." Siblings also helped to share hospital expenses when Mrs. B. had an operation early in the marriage.

Obesity is a family problem with Mrs. B. and siblings having phenomenal weights. This is something that she has never been able to manage, and during her pregnancy the entire family focused attention on Mrs. B.'s weight problem. All went on a diet in order to help her through this period.

Living with her father and brother represents an added measure of security and feelings of belongingness. "I'd miss them awful, I think, if they left me now. I'm so used to having them around."

Mrs. B. would want to be extremely dependent on her mother. Her mother has given only a minimal amount of support and has never shown her daughter any real mothering concern. Mrs. B. felt they were "more like sisters." Mother now visits two or three times a month. Mrs. B. eagerly looks forward to her visits with the feeling that "they are closer than ever now." However, Mrs. B. gives no indication of what they talk about or the things they do together, which seems to give sufficient evidence that the relationship is not an affectional but a dependent one.

There appears to be little contact with relatives outside of the immediate family. Almost no mention is made of father's kin even though they live in L., where Mrs. B. was born. Mrs. B. sums up her sentiments saying, "They never offered to help us out so we never bothered with them." During her childhood attention was focused on her mother's family when there was a great deal of mutual visiting - particularly due to mother's
strong family ties. She referred to several aunts and uncles who were "wonderful because they used to bring her presents, money and clothes." Selection of favored relatives was entirely based on their ability to satisfy her needs and descriptions are completely lacking in warmth, affection and concern about them. Since the marriage, Mrs. B. has had no contact with her mother's family even though they all live in nearby areas. Her explanation focuses on the fact that "mother's family feel they have made money and gotten up in the world and don't want anything to do with me anymore." Although several uncles have done well in the drug store and real estate businesses it appears that their mobility has not increased to any great degree. It seems more likely that these relatives no longer give to Mrs. B. as she was accustomed to receiving as a child, and that it is she who would have nothing to do with them.

Information concerning Mr. B.'s family was not available in the record, and our only reference concerned Mrs. B.'s reactions when the couple visited his family in Iowa during the first year of marriage. This was Mrs. B.'s first trip away from home, and she cried during the entire trip as she was fearful of "being strange in front of his family." She was warmly accepted by his family and in turn expressed her acceptance of them. At the same time there is no feeling that she desires a closer contact. Although she carries on a regular correspondence with his mother, Mrs. B. expresses no desire for a return visit. She quite firmly stated that she "would never want to live out there." This is related to the fact that she could never leave her own family and also springs from her strong reaction to her mother-in-law's way of life.

We have little idea of Mr. B.'s past relationship with his family
members or what the loss of kinship ties has meant to him. He says of his married sister, who is six years older, "we're not close." He continues to write to his two children in Iowa, but we are unable to ascertain as to the meaning this has for him. That Mr. B. has been fully accepted into his wife's family is evident, and no doubt this has been a most satisfactory substitute for him. Mr. B. has raised no objections to having his father-in-law and brother-in-law share the home. Apparently, this arrangement has met some of his own dependency needs in terms of sharing responsibilities of marriage and children with relatives.

RELATIONSHIP WITH FRIENDS

At the time of the prenatal interviews Mrs. B. had a number of friends and neighbors with whom she had contact. Mrs. B. finds it exceedingly difficult to manage alone and seems to need a constant supply of people to turn to. "I'm the type that just couldn't be alone. It would drive me out of my mind."

Contacts, however, are limited to Mrs. B.'s neighbors, most of whom are people she has known since childhood. Omitted from her descriptions are any references to specific friends or the nature of their relationships which seems to indicate lack of any intimate friendships.

Selection of friends as with family members tends to be based on their ability and willingness to give to Mrs. B. in very direct ways. A typical example concerns Mrs. B.'s description of how her girl-friend kept her eye out for her when she went on a diet.

Her past relationships with peers gives us a better understanding of her present situation. Latency period was characterized by relative isolation from peer groups. There were no settlement house programs or club
groups with which she had contact during this time. Self-conscious about her obesity, she was often teased by other youngsters at school and the atmosphere there seems not to have been conducive to making close friendships. Of this period in her life Mrs. B. said, "I never wanted to go out and play... I was more or less the home type."

During adolescence Mrs. B. was unable to take any initiative in moving out of the home and depended on friends to come after her. "I wouldn't go out unless somebody came after me and pushed me to go." Any contact outside of the home seemed a threat to her security and adequacy, and she would only go out when assured of the protection of a crowd of people, particularly girls. Again there were no affiliations with community or club groups and activities consisted only of occasional dances at the neighborhood Settlement House and parties held at girl friends' homes. Fear of sexual urges and drives was another inhibiting factor in which Mrs. B. refused to go out on a date alone, seeing to it that she was always accompanied by other friends. "They would then be able to help each other in case of trouble." Again, she sought out a group of friends who seemed to help her along during this period and these relationships were characteristic of the clinging relationship with family members.

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The use made of recreational and leisure time activity seems to reflect the tremendous inner and outer restrictions experienced by Mrs. B. in the past. Except for an occasional movie and automobile rides to visit relatives or friends the couple have no leisure time interests which they enjoy together. Mr. B. is the "type who likes to keep busy," enjoys working with his hands, and spends many of his leisure hours in fixing and
making household repairs. Quite to the contrary Mrs. B. prefers "to relax and sit around the house." "I enjoy reading movie magazines. I like to see how the stars dress, their hairdos, and the scandals." Even with this limited range of outside interests, Mrs. B. seems to get no particular satisfaction from homemaking either. Her home, although clean, is disorderly and the drab interior reflects decided disinterest and lack of imagination. "I don't care to sew... Sometimes I make sheets just to give me something to do."

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS

The nature of Mrs. B.'s relationship to the Syrian community as well as the character of her church affiliation is very much tied up with family experiences. Unlike most of the families in this group, Mrs. B. has completely severed relations with the Syrian group and at the present time has only minimal contact with the Syrian Catholic Church of which her mother was a member and in which she was brought up.

There was not the closeness in her home that we find in other Syrian families, and the idea of separation and divorce is not customary in this group. Her parents' separations and particularly her mother's running around with another man was a source of shame and embarrassment to Mrs. B. "I was ashamed to meet my people... If I saw a Syrian on the street I'd turn my head the other way." During her childhood Mrs. B. had few Syrian friends and avoided all Syrian group activities and church affairs. At present she symbolically expresses her feelings about Syrian culture saying "I cook a lot of Syrian dishes but I notice that the food doesn't agree with me."

Mrs. B. would never date Syrian men ("they felt too much like they'd
be brothers to me") and married a man much different in background and coloring. (Mr. B. is blond and fair-skinned in contrast to his wife's dark hair and olive complexion.) Her parents seemed to have raised no strong protest to the marriage. Although they would have preferred that their daughter marry "one of their own," religion seemed not to be a major issue.

The nature of her relationship to the Church as with the Syrian group parallels her family picture. Both parents were divided in their church affiliations, her father being a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, and her mother a member of the Roman Catholic Church (Eastern Rites). Mrs. B. attended her father's church up until her move to Boston when siblings became affiliated with the mother's Syrian Catholic Church. Following her parents' separation, the mother left the Church and never went back to it. Father has never left his church and is the only family member who keeps up faithful church attendance.

Since the separation of her parents, Mrs. B. has had only minimal contact with the Roman Catholic Church. Although she no longer attends church services, she still lights candles and holds on to Catholic ritualistic beliefs. It is as though she feels a need to belong in some way. Church became most important to her at the time of marriage. Because of her husband's divorce the couple could not be married in the Catholic Church. The ceremony was performed in a Lutheran Church with only Mrs. B.'s immediate family attending. Less tangible is the magical property which private prayers possess for her. "A lot of them came true so I figure as though I should still have faith."

Again we lack complete information concerning Mr. B.'s religious
affiliations. We do know that he has no contact with a Protestant Church. Although he has not turned to his wife's religion, he has agreed to his wife's expressed wish to bring the children up in the Roman Catholic faith.

ANALYSIS - CASE B

Typical of this research group, Mr. and Mrs. B. are a couple whose limited interests and narrow range of activities remain largely within the confines of the neighborhood.

Familial activities are characterized by considerable sharing of domestic tasks with Mr. B. and his father-in-law participating in all major household activities aside from cooking which Mrs. B., because of her preoccupation with food and eating, prefers to manage by herself. As Mrs. B. sees it, having men take over for her makes her feel more "feminine and helpless." Her assertion that "men should help in the house" is suggestive of a denial of more basic feelings of helplessness, and her strong reaction after seeing the hard working women in Iowa further demonstrates her underlying ambivalence - feelings of uncertainty, a wish to be protected yet fear of being dominated and controlled.

In view of the fact that Mrs. B. comes from a cultural setting where women are expected to work hard, it appears that her husband's compliance in catering to his wife's needs for material support stems from his own passivity and effeminateness. Even though Mr. B. is just as dependent as his wife and has as many neurotic problems, he seems not to be threatened by his wife's demands. As Mrs. B. has so many people to whom she can turn for help, and because of her firm belief that her husband is much
stronger and brighter than she, Mr. B. is not only relieved of undue pressures, but Mrs. B.'s praise and admiration serves to strengthen his masculinity.

This seems to be evidenced by the many gains in terms of work that Mr. B. has made through the marriage. His one year course at the technical school as well as his choice of occupation seem to have given him relative satisfaction and a feeling of success and achievement. In light of his past difficulties in school, dissatisfactions with previous work experience in the Navy, and an unhappy first marriage, this marriage seems to have been quite successful in meeting his needs.

Mrs. B.'s limited intellectual equipment and her neurotic problems which are now manifested by her obesity, constant concern over her physical condition had a great deal to do with her disorganization and eventual failure in school and work situations. Her inability to enter hairdressing school, and the demands that an every day work situation imposed on her seemed indicative of intense fears of new situations, adult responsibility, and tremendous feelings of inadequacy. Retreating to the home and care of her younger brother served as a shield and protection from facing this life challenge. This also tended to further repress sexual and aggressive urges during adolescence and allowed little opportunity for the experiencing of interpersonal relationships.

Although Mrs. B. has friends whom she sees, most of the people she has known since childhood. As the couple seem to have no joint friendships, Mrs. B. confines her visiting to the daytime, gossiping on the front steps, entertaining in her living room while her husband and father are at work. There seems not to be much mutual visiting, Mrs. B.
specifically selecting those female companions who will come to her, needing to be surrounded by a number of people who will meet her dependent needs and allay her anxiety about being alone.

Mr. B. had said that he knew no one in the community but that "everyone knew him because he drives the oil truck". Similar to his wife in his avoidance and seeming fear of personal relationships he avoids situations where demands could be placed on him, and his above remark evi-
dences his defensiveness against his own dependent needs.

Although there appears to be some segregation in leisure time activities this seems to be more of a personality difference than a real differentiation in interests. Mr. B. is the "type who likes to keep busy", spending much of his leisure time doing carpentry work, and activities involving work with his hands. However, these activities are all confined to the home. Mrs. B., on the other hand, prefers to "sit and relax around the house" and she has no special interest which she actively pursues. The reading of movie and scandal magazines which are listed as her only recreational pleasures are suggestive of her preoccupation with adolescent interests.

As divorce and family break-ups are almost unknown in Syrian cul-
ture it would seem that an overwhelming sense of guilt and shame led Mrs. B. to turn away from her Syrian compatriots and her church associa-
tions. However, one Syrian (the sixth case not included in this study) did not associate feelings of shame with divorce. "One just marries for keeps," she said, adding that divorce, separation etcetera were almost never considered even if the husband and wife were unhappy and dis-
satisfied in their marriage.
Mrs. B. does go against many of the traditionally accepted cultural patterns by marrying outside of her ethnic group and by leaving her church. However, in reality, cultural identification was maintained through closeness to her family, her insistence that she be married in a church (even though it was a Protestant Church), the fact that her husband moved into her neighborhood, and her expressed desire to bring up her own children in the Syrian Catholic faith. Although psychological factors strongly determined these attitudes it did seem that ethnic ties had a great deal of significance for her.
CASE C

Mr. and Mrs. C. are a Syrian couple who were raised in the same urban, working class neighborhood. They were married in June, 1951, when Mr. C. was 28 years old and Mrs. C. 22. In 1955, at the time of the prenatal interviews, the couple were living on the first floor of a large tenement house owned by Mrs. C.'s parents who occupied another apartment in the same house. Living with her parents was a 24 year old widowed sister and her two young sons in addition to a younger sister aged 17. Mr. C.'s parents, likewise own and occupy a large tenement house located on the next street. Mr. C. is one of five children, two of whom are unmarried and live with his parents.

BACKGROUND

Mrs. C.'s parents are natives of Syria having emigrated to this country shortly after their marriage. Her father, a fruit stand salesman for many years, has recently worked as a shipper for an oil company. From previous medical records it was noted that the family suffered great poverty during the depression years. Mrs. C. was quite reluctant to talk about this in research interviews as well as to disclose the nature of her father's present occupation. Before the birth of her three children, the mother was employed as a stitcher in a dressmaking factory. Remaining at home during her children's early years, mother returned to work when Mrs. C. was in grammar school. Her two younger sisters were placed in a Settlement House Nursery School, and Mrs. C. was expected to share in household tasks and care for her siblings after school hours.

Mr. C.'s parents are also Syrian. His mother was born in Lebanon, and
his father was born of first generation parentage in the same neighborhood in which he now lives. Following her graduation from a high school in Lebanon, his mother taught English in the Lebanon School system where a college education was not considered a necessary prerequisite. His father, 20 years his mother's senior, divorced with one son, was an ambitious man. He worked as a cutter in the dressmaking business for long hours over a period of several years until he was able to buy his own manufacturing company. He subsequently lost his business during the depression years.

At the time of this study, Mr. C.'s father was retired and their large tenement house had been converted into a rooming house entirely under his mother's management. The family's previous business achievements gave them relatively high social and economic status within the community, which they still maintain.

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

At the time of this research Mr. C. had completed four years of college with a major in Sociology and held a position as Boys' Worker in a small Settlement House. Interest in this field stemmed from active participation in Settlement House programs as a youngster. Before his marriage, Mr. C. had been a Boys' Worker at an Industrial School where he had continued to work on a part-time basis while going to school.

Mr. C. freely admits that it was only as a consequence of pressure from his wife and at her urgings that he had entered college. She had stressed that unless he earned a college degree he would remain an assistant rather than become a full Director. Yet, Mr. C. confessed that he was "never really interested in going," that he found studying tedious and that he "more or less just coasted through." Mrs. C. was also anxious for
him to continue for his Master's Degree in Social Work. Although Mr. C. made application, he did not really desire further education and was unable to realize his plans.

In previous years his father had been eager for Mr. C. to have a college education, but Mr. C. was unable to take advantage of the opportunity offered him, since he had no particular interest or ambition to pursue a career at this time. The father had also kept his machines and tables in the hopes that either Mr. C. or his two other sons would go into business. However, neither Mr. C. nor his brothers showed any interest in this.

Mrs. C. had worked until the third year of her marriage holding a series of clerical positions the last of which was as a secretary in a Boston law firm. She evidenced early ambitions for herself traveling to a high school some distance from her home in order to take a college preparatory course in preparation for a career as an airline hostess. This venture seemed to have been initiated because of her own personal wish to achieve and was shared with two girl friends who had decided with her. Mrs. C. achieved excellent grades, and was most conscientious about her work. Although her parents did not object to her choice of school, education was not an area of emphasis in the home and her learning achievements were given only minimal support and encouragement with no consideration of the possibility of college. Her mother openly disapproved of her daughter's choice of vocation saying that an airline hostess was nothing more than a "glorified matron." Mrs. C. made no attempts to assert her feelings and compliantly gave into her mother's demands, going on to take a secretarial course following graduation from high school. At the same
time Mrs. C. revealed that she "never liked the idea of traveling," and that it was more the thought of a uniform that had attracted her. This seemed to suggest that her ambitious statements were not really goal-oriented but were merely expressions of fantasies with no consideration given to the possibility that they could be realized.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Mr. C. met his wife shortly after his return from the Service. Noticing her in the local ice-cream spa, he was immediately attracted by her good looks and youthful appearance. Following a courtship period of seven months, Mr. C. proposed, and they were married eight months later. Mr. C. felt that it "happened fast." He had actually had no intention of marrying at 28, envisioning at least two more years of bachelorhood, but gives no reason why he did marry at this time. Previous dating had been mainly confined to Syrian girls in the neighborhood with no serious attachment to any before his wife. Mrs. C., however, had had two steady beaux. The more recent one had been a Jewish boy with whom she became quite serious. Due to the religious difference the family exerted great pressures on her to terminate relations. Again Mrs. C. did not put up any resistance, and subsequently ended the relationship saying her decision was based on feelings that "her parents wouldn't like the idea."

Mr. C. had quite a reputation as a gambler and gay bachelor before meeting Mrs. C. Her parents seemed not to consider this in terms of their daughter's future with him, and their approval appeared to be based entirely on the fact that he was Syrian. We have no information regarding Mrs. C.'s feelings about the marriage and wonder to what extent her parents' approval influenced her choice of mate.
MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

Mrs. C. gives very little information concerning her marital relationship. Omissions seem particularly significant as they tend to confirm our feeling that the marriage lacks closeness, intimacy and mutual affection. Indeed, her descriptions are stated in very unromantic and business-like terms. "He's like my mother and that's why we get along well." "We are complete opposites." Mrs. C. describes her husband as easy-going and patient while she is the kind who takes things more seriously.

There is a considerable degree of separation in terms of time spent together. Mr. C. is away from home nearly five evenings a week. He spends many evening hours at the Settlement House and also holds a part-time position as a dancing instructor in a local studio involving a few evenings a week plus Saturdays. Mrs. C. frankly states that she really doesn't mind as "it has become a habit." During the past several summers, Mr. C. has been the assistant Director of a Boys' Camp located some distance away from home. His wife does not accompany him and visits only two or three weeks during the three month camp period.

In the area of future planning the couple again demonstrated some degree of disparity in thinking. Mrs. C. definitely felt her husband should have something better than a Settlement House job. She stated that they might have to move to another state where there would be more opportunities for advancement. Yet, Mr. C. did not express the same feelings of ambition for himself and said he would be content to live in a small town "where he could know all the children and coach them." Both are quite positive that they would not want to remain in their present neighborhood and have considered a move to D., a suburban area just outside of Boston. Mrs. C. is
considerably more status conscious than her husband and described her street as one which was supposed to be the best street in the neighborhood. "I guess only wealthy people used to live here at one time." At the same time ambitions to improve her social and economic position are clouded by emotional restrictions. In reality, Mrs. C. wants to move to D., because "it's not too far from home, the living is cheaper, and the area is cleaner."

Concerning children, their hopes and aspirations for them, there appears to be little thought given to these issues. When asked about her feelings during pregnancy, Mrs. C. said, "It's too far off, I guess, to really think about it." Mr. C. has quite definitely expressed his wish for a boy. Mrs. C. "doesn't care" but might prefer a girl "so she could dress her." Regarding educational and work plans, Mrs. C. said, "I never thought about that. It's too far in the future."

FAMILIAL ACTIVITIES

There again seems to be a sizable degree of separation between husband and wife in the area of domestic tasks. Mrs. C. is by far the controlling and dominant member of the household. She completely manages the household budget, Mr. C. turning over his weekly pay check to her. "I can do it better than he can. He told me so himself." Indeed, Mr. C. agrees that his wife is a more efficient manager than he, and that by right she should be the one to handle the finances.

Mrs. C. assumes full responsibility for housekeeping tasks. She is an exceedingly neat housekeeper and takes great pride in her expensively furnished and well-kept apartment. Mrs. C. is disturbed by lack of order and cleanliness, and has said that she couldn't go to sleep if a dish was
unwashed. She refers to earlier responsibilities in the home as being good training for the future as she wasn't afraid of housework at the time of marriage. She feels this was better than girls who have had everything done for them, and is glad she was never spoiled. She would like to bring up her children to be as independent as she.

Concomitant with her desire for orderliness is Mrs. C.'s need to appear well dressed and well groomed at all times. Again she refers to her mother's opinion that a woman should always "look nice" and in practice had her children "dress just so." Mother continues to watch both husband and wife to see that they are appropriately dressed. Mrs. C. gave an example of how mother yelled at her when she once noticed that her daughter was wearing a housecoat while doing housework. Mr. C. said that he liked his wife's interest in the home and her appearance, as he was never ashamed to bring company home at any time of the day. He had received warnings from friends that Mrs. C. would be a very expensive wife to keep as she had closets full of clothes. On the contrary, Mr. C. found his wife to be exceedingly thrifty and a "wonderful bargain shopper."

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Family relationships are characterized by the same lack of intimacy and affection mentioned previously in connection with the marriage. Mrs. C. gives little information concerning her family and what is offered is shallow and superficial in nature.

Contacts appear to be entirely confined to immediate family members. Relationship to mother is a significantly dependent one which is based on rigid conformity and compliance. Mrs. C. denies the fact that she is dependent on mother and that choice of residence was planned. "It just
turned out that way. Mother never encouraged me to live with her. It was just that the apartment was there if we wanted it." With the exception of her husband's tour of duty overseas and the couple's wedding trip to Canada, both Mr. and Mrs. C. have remained close to their respective parents. Mrs. C. rather clearly expressed her sentiments on this subject when she stated, "Mother would go crazy if we just up and left her."

Mrs. C. feels that in growing up she confided in her middle sister since she was never able to talk with mother about anything pertaining to sex. Yet, at the time of her sister's pregnancy, Mrs. C. merely asked how she was feeling. She expressed little interest or curiosity saying, "anyway, I wasn't pregnant and my sister didn't talk about it."

Mrs. C. maintains very close contact with her husband's family and in this connection states that "relationship with family is fifty per cent of marriage." She speaks highly of her mother-in-law describing her as being very modern, sociable and that she speaks beautiful English. Again emphasis is placed on their social standing in the community, and Mrs. C. is very proud of her association with them.

Outside of the immediate family there seems to be no contact with other relatives. Mrs. C. mentioned a trip that she and her family made when they visited relatives in Detroit. However, she gave no information about these relatives or indicated in any way that she has knowledge of other family members.

RELATIONSHIP WITH FRIENDS

Since the marriage the couple seem to have made no friends nor have they kept up previous friendships. In reality, Mrs. C. has never had a
number of friends and says, "my best girl friends are still my best girl friends." She refers to the two girls with whom she went to high school, but says that they now live in another part of Boston "so naturally we're not as close." Mrs. C. liked these friends because "they were intelligent." There is little evidence to support the fact that Mrs. C. experienced close peer relationships even with these girls. They never double-dated, and did not share many social situations. Although each occasionally slept at one another's homes, Mrs. C. did not give the impression that she was able to confide in any one of them. She made no friends at high school and all contacts with school friends were limited to class hours. Mrs. C. admitted that she has never been the type to have many friends, that she was never much of a talker, and rarely confides in anyone now except her husband.

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Recreation for Mrs. C. consists mainly of individual types of activity such as knitting and crocheting which she learned at a Settlement House camp where she and her sisters went for three summers during their grammar school years. When her husband is away evenings Mrs. C. watches TV, prepares food for the next day, or cleans the house. She doesn't care for reading and says "I used to read when I was in school but haven't lately. Maybe a magazine once in a while up at my mother's house."

Recreational activities before her pregnancy were entirely confined to the church where both husband and wife enjoyed church dances. As a youngster Mr. C. took a very active part in the Settlement House programs and participated in various sports' clubs, dancing classes and dramatic groups. Mr. C. identified with one of the workers in the House and it was
through the latter's active interest in Mr. C. that he became interested in group work.

Mrs. C.'s previous contacts with groups was decidedly more limited. Although there was little information available we do know that responsibilities in the home probably restricted social contacts during latency and adolescence. After school hours she was expected to care for siblings and carry out mother's housekeeping assignments.

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS

One of the more significant features of the C.'s life focused on their relationship to the Church. Church affiliation held a particular meaning for them in that it represented more of a social group contact than a religious experience. The couple had few social contacts outside of the family which they described and depended entirely on church services, social functions connected with the Syrian churches to fulfill this need. Before Mrs. C.'s pregnancy the couple were active in attending church dances, Syrian outings and regular Sunday services.

Mrs. C. was raised in the Syrian Orthodox Church and became a member of the Eastern Rites of the Roman Catholic Church in marriage to her husband. It was due to her family's feeling that "a wife should follow her husband's religion" that Mrs. C. made the conversion. The couple were married in the Syrian Catholic Church with Mr. C.'s family arranging the wedding and reception in the church hall. Mrs. C. saw little difference between the two churches and seemed not concerned about the change.

As a child Mrs. C. was faithful in her religious practice and, in addition, attended Syrian School two evenings a week where she learned to read and write Arabic. Since her mother spoke very little English, Arabic
was the language spoken in the house. Both her mother and father have been faithful church goers and continue their affiliation with the Syrian Orthodox Church.

Mrs. C. felt that the Syrian group was more closely knit than others and expressed a desire to remain close to them. She would want her own children to have close ties with the church, to speak and write Arabic. However, in practice neither she nor her family displayed knowledge of Syrian history, art, literature nor did they observe feast days or Syrian traditions. In reality, they were not active participants in the Syrian community. Mr. C. lived around the corner from Mrs. C. for many years before their meeting in the local spa. Neither family had even met or knew of each other until this time. It appears that associations with Syrians were actually restricted to small sub-groupings within the neighborhood. We were also impressed by the general lack of pride and admiration felt for the Syrian group which was particularly evident in the reading of Mrs. C.'s material.

Although Mr. C.'s parents have strong church ties and ethnic associations, they appear to be more flexible in their thinking and have made attempts to move away from Old World patterns. When Mr. C.'s 20 year old brother married an English girl, his family did not dwell on the fact that the girl was not Syrian, but seemed more concerned with the fact that the couple were too young for marriage.
ANALYSIS - CASE C

Mrs. C., unlike the others in this group, shows ambitions for social and economic rise and has, in fact, made attempts to revolt against being kept in the low socio-economic status of her ethnic group.

In accord with Syrian custom, familial activities are characterized by considerable segregation, Mrs. C. clearly assuming full responsibility for household finances and domestic tasks. At the same time, it appears that the compulsive character of Mrs. C.'s household management and her need to control in this situation are emotional factors which tend to support and perpetuate this pattern.

The marriage seems to be one of convenience in that there appears to be little awareness or understanding of one another's needs and that communication between the two seems superficial and without much feeling. This was suggested by Mrs. C.'s hostile criticisms and devaluative comments concerning her father and husband. Derogatory remarks about her husband's inability to handle the household finances and her ability to "do it better" than he as well as her resistance in revealing her father's occupational status seem indicative of her strong masculine strivings.

It was this writer's impression that Mr. C. was a quite passive and basically dependent man whose over-submissiveness to his wife tended to intensify her need to control and manage. It seemed that it was Mrs. C.'s emphasis on ego mastery i.e. the superb management of her home, the close tie with family members, and the couple's shared interest in dancing, and church which were significant in terms of keeping the household intact.
That Mrs. C.'s intellectual aspirations were strong were evidenced by her school and work achievements which were accomplished in spite of her parents' lack of encouragement. Yet, it was also apparent that fears of loss of parental affection and acceptance were a more powerful influence in terms of further educational and occupational achievements as was dramatically illustrated when mother disapproved of her career as an Airline Hostess. Mrs. C. seems to act out her unrealized ambitions through her urgings that her husband enter college. His modest intellectual resources and seeming disinterest in furthering his position in life gave the impression that this effort was made only to satisfy his wife. However, his perseverance and eventual completion of the college program did demonstrate his own strength and ability to achieve in this endeavor.

Although social distinction and financial success have great meaning for Mrs. C., the need for security and stability seem to dominate which serves to maintain their status. Despite the fact that Mrs. C. gives an outward appearance of independence and thoughtful planning, the realization of these desires are blocked by strong dependency needs. Satisfactions in this area seem to be obtained safely and with assurance through her church affiliations and the association with her in-laws who hold a relatively high social position within the community.

Mrs. C.'s comment that relationship with family is fifty per cent of marriage seems characteristic of the well established family centered culture in which immediate family members live in the same neighborhood and where relationships are based on congeniality, mutual sharing and dependability on one another in times of crisis. However, the absence of material concerning her relationships with individual members tend to give
the impression that there are no intimate ties. In view of her controlled
manner in the interview situation, her tendency toward intellectualization
and reluctance to reveal her feelings, it would seem that intimate rela-
tionships are strongly feared and need to be avoided in order that she
maintain the image she has of herself as an independent, competent person.

Mother is the only relative who is consistently referred to and it is
through this that Mrs. C.'s underlying infantile dependency needs are re-
vealed. Mrs. C. is extremely dependent on her mother and the relationship
is characterized by rigid conformity to mother's every suggestion. Mrs. C.
has daily contact with her mother and seems still to be under mother's
guidance in connection with her own daily activities and management of the
household. Her vigorous protest that she is not dependent upon mother
gives further evidence of her strong attachment. The nature of Mrs. C.'s
relationships with friends seem again to indicate a high degree of control
and distance. She seemed not to have experienced any close relationships
with her peers during latency and adolescence giving little information
about her peer group activity. In describing her liking for her adoles-
cent girl friends because they were intelligent, Mrs. C. gives evidence
that the relationships were based largely on their shared educational
interests and that sexual drives and aggressive impulses were strongly
repressed. At present Mrs. C. has made no friends within the neighborhood
nor has she kept up her former friendships. Mr. C. seems the more flexible
of the two in this respect. Although we have not the information to confirm
this, his earlier settlement house activities and the nature of his work
might indicate that he has greater strengths in the area of inter-personal
relationships. However, it does not appear that there was any joint
entertaining of friends even though opportunities through church and Mr. C.'s place of employment are available for meeting people.

Mrs. C.'s background of consistently regular church attendance, her marriage to someone from her own ethnic group, and an expressed desire for her own children to have close religious ties, suggests a rather strict adherence to Syrian tradition. Yet the absence of Syrian friendships, and complete inattention given to ethnic group associations aside from church dances seemed to imply a basic disinterest and unconcern about her people. Conformity to cultural patterns seemed far more influenced by Mrs. C.'s rigidity and compulsivity than by genuine religious and ethnic feeling.
CASE D

BACKGROUND

Mr. and Mrs. D. are a Syrian couple both of whom grew up in the same working class neighborhood. Mrs. D. was 18 and her husband 22 at the time of their marriage in 1955. They had known each other for six years and had begun dating two years prior to their marriage.

Mrs. D.'s mother was Syrian born of the Maronite faith. Her father was American born of Jewish parentage. This is the second marriage for both parents. A passive and dependent man her father was unable to provide an adequate income for his family. He had worked as a hospital aide but was laid off for unsatisfactory performance. He later developed diabetes and for the past five years has been unable to work at all. Mrs. D.'s mother was the more dominant member of the household, and had supplemented the family income by managing a Syrian restaurant for several years. She now has a permanent position as a stitcher in a clothing factory. Mrs. D. is the youngest and only daughter of five children. Her brothers are Dick, 35 (from mother's first marriage), Gerry 24, Allen 22, and Ricci 20. With the exception of Gerry all are married.

Mr. D.'s family was considerably more stable than his wife's. His father was the more dominant member of the two, his mother seemingly content in her housekeeping role. Mr. D.'s father has always been a steady provider having worked as a shipper in a food store for the past fifteen years. Mr. D. is the oldest of three children. His seventeen year old brother and twelve year old sister live with their parents.

The couple have remained in the same area and live in a small
apartment nearby respective parents. Mrs. D. feels comfortable in the neighborhood and does not wish to move away. Although her husband has expressed a desire to have his own home, neither have any definite plans for moving. Both felt that if they did move they would only consider an area where there was a concentration of Syrian people.

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

Mrs. D. left public school at age 15 but was required to attend a continuation school until she was 16. She expressed no regrets about leaving saying that she never enjoyed it and had not learned anything. Her chief objection concerned the fact that the atmosphere was "too carefree", that the other children spoke back to the teachers and that there was no discipline. Held back in the first grade, Mrs. D. felt rejected by her teachers expressing feelings of "being left out". During her fifth school year she began to daydream for long periods both at home and at school and later developed various somatic symptoms in order to avoid going to school. Her mother was "mad and disappointed" but left the decision to her daughter. Mother stated that Mrs. D. had had no social problems at school. "She was never selfish or spoiled and therefore was liked by others".

Mrs. D., too, thinks of herself as having always been "easy to get along with".

During the time that her mother owned an oriental restaurant, Mrs. D. enjoyed helping out and would work there occasionally. At fifteen she took on a part-time job as a counter girl in an ice cream parlor which she held for six months after which time she worked as a floor girl in a factory. Nearly a year later she left this job after a minor work accident. Following this she obtained similar types of employment for short periods until
her fifth month of pregnancy. She expressed dissatisfaction with most of her jobs but stated that her primary objection was getting up early in the morning.

Mr. D. has been working as a shipper in a skirt factory for the past four years. Mrs. D., who tends to idolize and compliment everyone of significance in her life, is very proud of the fact that he obtained this position on his own and that he has been making steady advancements. Mr. D. works overtime most evenings and on Saturdays which leaves him tired and unwilling to engage in any social activity.

Mr. D. did not graduate from high school and expressed regrets about leaving. Although it was not necessary that he leave for economic reasons, he felt that he wanted to work and subsequently found employment in a sporting goods company after school hours. The burden of school and work soon became too great, and he chose to leave school. Although he claimed to have liked school, that he got along well with friends and teachers, the material lacks sufficient information as to the reasons for this choice.

FAMILIAL ACTIVITIES

Mrs. D. assumes most of the housekeeping responsibilities, although Mr. D. takes charge of household finances and will often help his wife with the marketing and heavier chores. He would also consider the disciplining of children as his responsibility.

FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The couple have remained very close to their immediate families. Mrs. D. sees her mother two or three times a week and both consider their relationship as being very close. She said that she always confided in her mother and "talked to her about boy friends as if she were a girl friend".
At the same time Mrs. D. feels inferior to her mother whom she says is "very smart and intelligent." She speaks of her mother as being "well read" but adds that she never encouraged her to read. "I'm not like her in any way, although I have always wished to be."

When Mrs. D. was 10 her mother suffered a coma for 21 days and was hospitalized during this period. Mrs. D. feared that her mother would not return and vowed that "I will do all the dishes and housework if she returns." She also slept with her mother for many years and would never go to sleep until she came home from work evenings. "I learned to recognize the clicks of my mother's feet."

Mrs. D. feels very close to her father and is concerned about his health. "Like me he is quiet and not outspoken, but he is smart." She speaks very warmly of him and considers herself his pet.

Mrs. D. has always felt inferior to her brothers. "They all have good heads on their shoulders, write beautiful letters and carry on intelligent conversations. I don't know what happened to me." They were protective of her yet domineering, and frequently embarrassed her by interfering with her dating and when they considered her dates unsuitable. She did not get along well with her youngest brother Ricci; however, he often confided in her despite their frequent fights. At the present time she maintains a very close relationship with his wife.

She "idolizes" her brother Gerry but is not very close to him. She feels closest to Allen who "understood me and helped me a lot." She often confided in him and as children they shared a room and at times the same bed when she was frightened at night. Because of the age difference she was never very close to her oldest brother, Dick. He was married when
Mrs. D. was nine, although he and his wife continued to live at home. It was Dick's wife with whom she became very close. She confided in her sister-in-law, and it was from her that Mrs. D. learned about sex and menstruation. Dick later divorced his wife. Although her sister-in-law remained in the Boston area, Mrs. D. made no attempt to seek her out. Contact was limited to occasional visits the last occurring the night prior to her marriage.

Mrs. D. has had practically no contact with her father's family and says "They are nice but live far away". It seemed that their being Jewish and relatively well to do people had a great deal of significance in this case.

Mrs. D. states that she gets along well with her mother-in-law and feels that "it's nice to have her around." Living next door to her mother-in-law they see each other every day. There seems to be some feelings of resentment which Mrs. D. denies in this relationship. Her mother-in-law is a person who tends to take over and is constantly offering advice. As Mrs. D. is unable to express negative feelings, she tends to deny them by such statements as, "She isn't mean. She always means well". She expresses feelings of affection and respect for her father-in-law.

Mr. D. is also very close to his family. He feels that his mother "has a dream personality", that she is intelligent and very easy to get along with. He describes his father as a very sweet person with whom he always enjoys spending time. He has almost daily contact with his parents and frequently spends his lunch hours at their home. Mr. D. continues to exercise some influence over his sister, but remains closest to his younger brother. Although Mrs. D.'s parents approve of Mr. D. and have fully accepted him into their family he is not particularly close to them. The
lack of material did not permit further exploration into reasons for this.

RELATIONSHIP WITH FRIENDS

Mrs. D. considers herself to be "popular, sociable and easy to get along with". She has four or five girl friends whom she has known since adolescence. Franny, who she has known since she was six years of age, is her closest friend and confidante. As children they played together and shared many of the same social situations. Nearly a year older than Mrs. D. and more mature and independent, Franny was her constant companion and quite protective of Mrs. D. who feared being alone. As Franny had the responsibility of caring for her brothers and sister, Mrs. D. soon became friendly with other girls who were more accessible. She had met them on a housing project's playground at age 12. Although she maintains these friendships at the present time she does not feel the closeness that she had previously enjoyed with her first friend. After her marriage, Franny moved to another neighborhood and contact since this time has become very infrequent.

Mrs. D. needs to be surrounded by a number of people constantly and during the daytime will often visit with her girl friends and meets with them every Friday and Saturday to play cards. Although ordinarily she has difficulty sustaining a conversation, she feels comfortable with these women and does not consider herself less intelligent or inferior in any way.

Mr. D. has also maintained some of his former friendships, but like his wife they are those who have remained in the neighborhood. There is little information to support the fact that the couple have joint friendships, but it was known that neither have made any new friends since their marriage.
RECREATION

Prior to their marriage Mr. and Mrs. D. went out almost every night of the week for dinner, dancing or movies. After their marriage, however, their social habits together changed dramatically. Mr. D. "slowed down a lot and became an old family man" losing almost complete interest in their former activities. He has always enjoyed movies, however, and still goes very often. Recreational activities have actually become more segregated since the marriage. Occasionally Mr. D. will join his wife and her friends for a game of cards on weekends. Joint recreational pleasures consist mainly of watching TV and visiting relatives.

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS

Mrs. D. was the product of a mixed marriage. Her mother was Syrian, her father Jewish. Although having had some religious training in her youth, religion does not appear to play a significant role in her life. She converted to her husband's religion (Greek Orthodox) according to custom, but neither attend church with any regularity. They have made no attempts to join in other organized activities. Their only contact with formal organizations occurred during childhood when both were members of a local Neighborhood House and attended summer camp for one or two seasons.

The couple think of themselves as Syrians, however, and are closely identified with their ethnic group. Both have spent their entire lives in this neighborhood and the security which this affords seems to be repaid with a strict sense of loyalty to their cultural group even though they have few ties to the Old Country in terms of the observance of customs and traditions.
ANALYSIS - CASE D

Mrs. D. is an immature, inhibited, and somewhat phobic woman who presents herself as inadequate and helpless and is dependent on all who surround her. She was described as an attractive, youthful appearing woman who was very much liked by the research staff. Living within close proximity to her own and her husband’s family, she receives substantial emotional and physical support, and in view of this help manages to function quite adequately. She has learned to effectively ingratiate herself to others partly by expressing her hostility through somatic complaints (to stay home from school) and by turning it inward, thereby getting others to satisfy her strong dependency needs.

The marital relationship appears to be smooth with little open friction between the couple. In her choice of mate Mrs. D. married a man unlike her own father who was a highly dependent person and not a good provider. This disparity seemed to express her great need for care and protection. Mr. D. had a steady job, was stable and reliable. Her parents’ approval seemed also an important influence in her choice of mate. Because of the mixed religions of her parents, Mrs. D. was freer to date men of other nationalities. Being raised as a Syrian and having contacts largely confined to Syrian people, however, Mrs. D. was quite likely to marry within her group, and she did.

Mrs. D. fitted the image Mr. D. had of a wife. Like his mother she had a "pleasing personality" and was easy to be with. In their marriage Mr. D. protects and helps his wife. He is understanding and accepting and seems to assume almost a parental role towards her. Mr. D. saw his
role in his own family very similarly.

Mr. and Mrs. D. essentially see their tasks as being segregated. Mr. D. is the provider and future educator of the children while Mrs. D. has the homemaking responsibilities. However, Mr. D. would help out with domestic chores when necessary. He did not resent it, since it did not conflict with the male role that he assumes. To the research staff he appeared to be an effeminate type.

Mrs. D. looked up to and respected her husband. Although their income was modest it seemed adequate to their needs. They had no aspirations for social or economic rise and seemed only to strive for security. This seemed in accordance with their capacities as they appeared to have limited intellectual resources and little motivation to achieve high success. This is based on a realistic estimation of their own selves which contributed to their stability and caused reduction of tension and anxiety.

The couple see a great deal of their respective parents, so that the pressure they put on each other for companionship is minimal. Their leisure time activities are actually quite segregated with Mrs. D. meeting her friends for card playing on weekends which her husband only occasionally joins. The fact that they had ceased recreational activities enjoyed by both partners before marriage upsets Mrs. D., but she is unable to express her dissatisfaction.

Familial relationships are essentially restricted to the immediate family, although Mrs. D. does see her husband's aunts who live in the same neighborhood. That physical proximity is the major factor influencing intimacy in family relationships was demonstrated by the fact that she has almost no contact with her father's family who live "far away", and the
fact that she rarely sees her sister-in-law with whom she had formerly been very close.

Psychological tests confirmed our impression that Mrs. D. was sustained in her present stability by the external help she asks for and receives in any minor crisis and through the benevolent image she had of her mother. Being the only girl she was frightened of and often embarrassed by her brothers. This was, in part, a reason for her inferiority feeling and her tremendous lack of confidence. We can also speculate that other reasons for her inferiority stemmed from her confused sexual identification. Mrs. D. seemed very much identified with her father. She had always felt inferior to her mother resulting in her self-image of being dumb and inadequate.

Mrs. D. is at times resentful of her mother-in-law but again is unable to express her negative feelings.

The nature of the relationship of both Mr. and Mrs. D. to their families has changed very little since their marriage. They have remained in the same neighborhood and see their respective parents almost daily, although Mrs. D. is closer to her husband's family than he is to hers. The time they used to spend together during their courtship is now spent with the family. The reason that Mrs. D. visits more often with her in-laws is due to their close proximity. They live "practically next door", while her mother "lives a few blocks away."

Mrs. D., who is a very likeable and sociable person, was never isolated from friends. However, she had only one girl friend in whom she could confide, who truly 'helped' and 'protected' her. It was significant that this friendship was a one-sided relationship of dependency and seems
to express the limitations of Mrs. D.'s way of relating to others. The relationships to her other friends seem more superficial and less meaningful. They appear to serve only as companions - people with whom she can do things. Mrs. D. has the capacity to keep friends over a long period. Her choice of friends seems to be based on how comfortable she feels with them, and in all of her relationships her security appears to be gained by relying on the strength of others.

Mrs. D. clearly chose a Syrian identification. However, both her culture and her religious affiliations seem to have little meaning for her. This seems to stem from the fact that religion and Syrian ways were not emphasized in her own family as her parents were of mixed nationalities and each one felt almost an outsider in his own group. Mrs. D.'s father never carried on the traditions of his cultural group nor did he affiliate with a synagogue. Mrs. D. was raised as a Syrian and was taken to church by her mother. Since she also lived in a Syrian neighborhood, she accepted this without any major struggle or conflict. The fact that she married within her ethnic group was a positive factor which prevented further difficulties and complications in her life. For Mrs. D. the culture provides a framework - a highly structured situation which is familiar.
CASE E

BACKGROUND

Mrs. E., a 22 year old Syrian woman, was born and raised in a large industrial city fifty miles outside of Boston. She is the fourth in a family of ten children. Mrs. E.'s father was born in this country but at age 5 emigrated with his family to Syria. He returned after his marriage with his Syrian born wife to settle in the Mid-West. After the birth of their third child the family moved to their present location in a section which was predominately composed of Syrian-Americans.

Mr. E. was born and raised in a Syrian neighborhood in Boston. Both of his parents were Syrian born. He is the oldest and only son of four children. His mother has always been a sickly person largely as a result of her addiction to alcohol. During his childhood he and his sisters were sent to a Catholic orphanage several months out of every year because of mother's illness. Although his sisters submitted to this Mr. E. was very unhappy away from home and after a time refused to return to the Orphanage.

Since their marriage the couple have been living on one floor of a three story tenement house owned by Mr. E.'s parents. His parents occupy the second and his grandmother the third. The couple have no immediate plans for leaving the area and would only consider such a move if Mr. E.'s parents would join them.

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

Mrs. E. left school at age 16 claiming that she did not enjoy studying. She also felt that it was her responsibility to go to work. After leaving school she began working in a factory which produced TV equipment
but soon left this position to take care of her oldest sister’s children. At age 17 she joined two of her sisters during the summer months at a hotel on the South Shore where they worked as chamber maids. At 18 she took a job as an assembly line worker in an engineering firm. She proved to be a good worker and had no problems "keeping up with the belt". She enjoyed the free atmosphere and the feeling of belonging saying it was "as if we were all one family". She got along very well with her co-workers and supervisor (who happened to be a woman) and spent some evenings with them at parties and other social functions.

Following her marriage Mrs. E. worked as a stitcher in a clothing factory which was located near her apartment. She obtained this position through her sister-in-law who also worked as a stitcher in the same factory. This was her first experience in this type of job, but since she enjoyed the work as well as her fellow employees she was not particularly concerned with the low salary. All of her sisters had at one point or another been similarly employed, and Mrs. E. claimed that it was something she had always wanted to do. She remained at work until her fourth month of pregnancy at which time she was laid off during a slack season at the factory.

Mr. E. graduated from high school working part time on Saturdays. Following high school he went to a technical school to study electronics for one year. He then joined the Navy but was discharged after six months when his father had a heart attack. Mr. E. returned home and spent the next five years working as a shipper for a drug company. Although he enjoyed his work he was dissatisfied with the low salary. His main interest continued to be electronics, and after marriage was encouraged by his wife
to seek employment in his special field of interest. At the time of the interviews Mr. E. had obtained a position as an electrician's assistant in a factory training program where he often worked overtime without extra pay. Despite the long hours and low salary he enjoyed "being pushed to advance himself" and was a hard and conscientious worker.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

The couple met at a church outing in Mrs. E.'s home town. As they lived some distance from one another they saw each other only on weekends. However, it was not until her youngest sister's marriage that Mrs. E. would consider marriage for herself, and the couple were married six months later.

In selecting a mate it was important for Mr. E. that his wife be Syrian and a good housekeeper. He considered himself fortunate that his wife was both.

Mrs. E. experienced her first separation from her family after marriage, and it proved to be quite a difficult adjustment for her. During the early months she had frequent periods of depression and needed to visit her family nearly every weekend. As she could not drive the burden fell on her husband - an arrangement which Mr. E. somewhat resented. He felt that his wife was too attached to her family and would also have preferred their coming to visit her occasionally. Although he did not approve of the weekend trips Mr. E. was, in reality, understanding of his wife's difficulties. He was considerate and gentle with her and never refused to take her whenever she wanted to go.

FAMILIAL ACTIVITIES

Housework is done by Mrs. E. who is extremely neat and enjoys keeping
her home in perfect order. "I never felt lazy about my housework and cooking." At the same time she doesn't believe in separation of tasks between husband and wife. "I'll never hesitate to ask my husband for help and he doesn't mind it either." The couple do the weekly marketing together and consult one another before making any major household decisions.

FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

When Mrs. E. was nine years of age her mother died, and it was her oldest sister who then assumed the mothering role in the family. Actually, from the time of her birth this sister had taken almost full responsibility for Mrs. E.'s care. Mrs. E. indicated little feelings of warmth or affection for her sister, and at the time of the interviews, stated that she missed her entire family equally and claimed to have no lesser or greater affection for any one member.

Mrs. E. remembered very little of her mother and their relationship. Her main recollection concerns being awakened in the middle of the night by mother. Her brothers were enuretic and although she was not she was nevertheless often awakened at night. Mrs. E. also remembers feeling guilty after making her mother angry. It seemed that she had strongly repressed the memory of her mother. The fact that she never grieved at the time of mother's death as well as her reluctance to talk about it suggests a massive denial of a most traumatic event in her life.

Her father was briefly incapacitated after his wife's death. He recovered within a few months to reestablish control of the family which he has maintained. Father was very restrictive of Mrs. E.'s social activities, and there was little discussion of personal or sexual matters in the home. The sisters rarely confided in one another, and Mrs. E. describes
her family as being modest and shy.

As three of her sisters married when she was quite young, Mrs. E. spent most of her time with a younger sister two years her junior. She describes her sister as "lively, active and outgoing" and one who had a great many friends. Unlike Mrs. E. this sister also made considerable demands on her father for money, toys and other material things. At age 10 Mrs. E. assumed full responsibility for the care of her sister - a responsibility she maintained long after it was necessary. It was not until her sister married that Mrs. E. was able to accept the separation.

Mr. E. has a very close relationship with both of his parents. Although there is a history of family instability due to mother's alcoholism neither he nor his wife ever mentioned it during the interviews. As a result, Mr. E.'s father often had to assume both a maternal and paternal role in the family. Mr. E. recalled that his father would take both he and his siblings on vacation trips but then added that father refused to give permission to play football. Father felt it was too dangerous, and Mr. E. was highly resentful of father for not allowing him this privilege.

When the couple were first married neither of Mr. E.'s parents seemed very enthusiastic about their son's choice of mate. They thought her too quiet and described her as "dead and having no life in her". Mrs. E. now spends a great deal of time with her in-laws and both parents have come to like her very much. Mrs. E. gets along extremely well with her husband's family. "They are all wonderful, and I don't know what I'd do without them". She is closest to her mother-in-law and is able to discuss intimate subjects with her - something she could never do with her own sisters. She requests and receives advice and help from her mother-in-
law, and it seems that this is the first time she has found an acceptable mother substitute. Both Mr. and Mrs. E. often share social situations with the parents as well as Mr. E.'s sister and brother-in-law.

RELATIONSHIP WITH FRIENDS

Mrs. E. had very few friends during childhood. This was due in part to the close relationship she had with her younger sister with whom she spent most of her time. She was shy in school and rarely mixed with the other children or attended their parties. With the exception of one Polish girl Mrs. E. never associated with non-Syrians. It was not until she began working in the factory at age 18 that she started to make some friends. These were two girls who used to visit Mrs. E. at her home. Although she still writes to one of them she has not seen either since her marriage.

Mrs. E. has a continuing need for friendships but doesn't know how to go about making them. "I get blue and impatient when I even think of how much I'd like to meet a few girls", but realizes that "it won't happen just like that". She has made no attempt to seek out friends since her move to Boston, and her fear of going anywhere by herself is a serious limitation. Mrs. E. has made no attempt to make even casual acquaintances in the neighborhood. "The neighborhood frightens me. There are a lot of characters around, and I don't bother much with anyone around here besides my in-laws." Mr. E. "has a few nice friends who live around here," whom the couple visits occasionally on Sundays. However, they rarely share social situations together.

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Mr. and Mrs. E. had few outside interests when they single, and this
has changed very little since the marriage. At home, after completing her work, Mrs. E. "relaxes or watches TV". Except for a few books about childbirth, she never reads. When she is depressed a ride in the car or a walk helps her. Entertainment is most often confined to movies and visiting relatives. Occasionally the couple will go to a Syrian nightclub but are always accompanied by family members.

In her home town there were clubs and groups under church auspices, but Mrs. E. never bothered to participate. She had occasionally attended a dance or an outing but always felt like an outsider. "I can never really mix in". Mr. E.'s activities were likewise very restricted. Until he was 16 he considered himself a "lone wolf" using the local neighborhood house only for movies which were held once a week.

**ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS**

Mrs. E. considers herself Syrian and does not like to mix with people of other nationalities. "I like to stick to my own kind". Her feeling of belonging to the Syrian group is apparently very strong even though she lacks familiarity with the Old Country and its traditions, and customs.

At the time of the marriage Mrs. E., according to Syrian custom, turned to her husband's church. She was Greek Orthodox and her husband belonged to the Roman Catholic Church (Eastern Rites). She expressed no feelings about this change nor the meaning it had for her. Mr. and Mrs. E. attend church together quite regularly.
ANALYSIS - CASE E

Mrs. E. is a second generation Syrian woman of low average intelligence who rarely left her home town. Being a member of a large closely knit family, she had always had the minimal necessary companions but did not make any attempt to meet people outside of her immediate group.

She is a very anxious woman and, at the time of the interviews, gave the impression of extreme helplessness as for the first time she found herself living away from home. The fact that she lives near her in-laws is a tremendous source of strength for her. Mr. E. is also highly dependent on his parents. It is doubtful whether the couple could have functioned adequately had they been more isolated.

As is often the case among this ethnic group the couple met through a common relative. Mrs. E. had dated infrequently prior to marriage, and Mr. E. seemed to have been her first steady boy friend. There was no indication as to whether there was any pressure from Mrs. E.'s family for her to marry. The contributing factor to her change of attitude towards Mr. E. seemed to have been the anxiety that was created by the marriage of her youngest sister and the loneliness that threatened her. Also, the fact that her husband was Syrian was another significant factor in her choice of mate. There was a great deal of pressure by Mr. E.'s family for him to marry. The reasons for this are not clear. However, it seemed that Mr. E. felt ready to settle down and that he was waiting for the girl who would meet his requirements. Although his experience in the Navy allowed him freedom to meet other girls he was determined to marry only a Syrian girl who would be a good housewife. Mrs. E. is an attractive girl who is
shy but friendly, and she met his requirements. The emphasis placed on housewife seemed to be a reaction to the example he saw at home. He was quite resentful of his mother for not fulfilling her responsibilities which required his father to assume a quasi maternal role.

Concerning familial activities Mr. E. has few domestic responsibilities. His wife is a very competent and meticulous housekeeper who derives great pleasure and satisfaction from her homemaking abilities. Mr. E. shares in the shopping and major household decisions. In reality their tasks are quite segregated, although when asked they claim not to have any segregation.

In all other areas, however, Mrs. E. is very dependent on her husband. Her helplessness seems to show him as a much more competent person than perhaps he is. He must escort and drive her any place she wants to go, as she will never go anywhere alone. Mr. E. expressed little resentment. This might be due to the fact that at the time of the interviews, his wife was still relatively new to the area, and he was being understanding of the tremendous adjustment she had to make to being away from her family, marriage, and her recent pregnancy. However, Mrs. E.'s inability to move around more freely on her own is not due to lack of experience or knowledge of the community but rather stems from her restriction and her fear of doing anything which is not familiar.

Mr. E. is pleased that his wife gets along well with his parents and that they like each other. He accepts his wife's limitations without exerting any pressure on her to change or overcome her difficulties.

In their recreational activities, too, we see their dependency on each other and on the family. The couple always do things together and
neither have their own special hobbies or interests.

They do not seek out new people. Mrs. E. is too shy and doesn't know how to go about making friends even though she has a great need for outside companionship. Recreational activities are never shared with friends. It is confined to visiting in their homes, and the couple's descriptions of these friends are in such vague and unspecific terms that it is difficult to know the nature of these relationships. All recreational activities are undertaken with other members of the family with whom they both feel secure. When Mr. and Mrs. E. are home together they talk very little and usually spend their leisure hours watching TV.

Mr. E.'s highly dependent relationship with his own parents is evidenced by the fact that he preferred to live near them after marriage as well as the fact that he still spends a great deal of time with them. The marriage seems not to have changed his filial relationship significantly.

Marriage did seem to change Mrs. E.'s relationship with her own family, however. Because of her move to Boston, and her pregnancy, she could more easily separate from her father and siblings. It also seemed that her marriage tended to raise her self-esteem. She could now go out with her sisters - something she never could do before. Also, there was the satisfaction which was gained when her family made the effort to come and visit her in Boston.

The tremendous amount of help and support that she received from her in-laws should be emphasized. The fact that her mother-in-law was a free and outgoing person made it possible for her to discuss her sexual problems and other personal subjects particularly during her pregnancy. This is
something she had desired to talk about with her older sisters. It seems that the close relationship that developed between her and her mother-in-law allowed her for the first time to accept a mother substitute.

Psychological tests indicated that Mrs. E. is able to express aggressive feelings, and it can be speculated that she would be able to assert herself if she had drastically disagreed with her in-laws or felt that they were intruding on her privacy. This ability seems to be a strength in her personality.

In her own family the two most significant events in her childhood appeared to be the loss of her mother, which she never really accepted, and the close, dependent relationship with her younger sister. The two sisters had completely different personalities. Each one’s strength was the other’s weakness. Mrs. E. seems to have been much more dependent on her sister than was her sister on her. She was almost entirely dependent on this sister for companionship and social needs. At the same time she accepted her sister’s outgoingness, her many social activities without expressing resentment or feelings of being rejected. Her sister being more independent and mature got married first, and it was only after this that Mrs. E. was able to accept the separation and act on her own.

Mrs. E.’s friendships lasted only until the time of her marriage. At the present time she visits with her husband’s friends (his friends prior to marriage) but makes no attempt to establish stronger relationships with them or to meet new people. Her social needs seem mainly to be met by her husband’s family.

The E.’s did not have contact with clubs or organized community groups after their marriage. There were no pre-existent groups to which they
belonged prior to their marriage nor were there many organized groups in the community which they could have joined. As this is a depressed urban area it offers few opportunities to young married couples. Also, the fact that the couple, particularly Mrs. E., prefers to associate only with Syrian people is another limiting factor.

Although Mrs. E. knows few Syrian people in the area her cultural tie is very strong. The E.'s are frequent and regular church goers. They attend the Catholic Cathedral which is located across the street from their home instead of the Syrian Church which is a few blocks away. The Cathedral is large and impersonal. It has no organized groups for young married people and allows a greater degree of anonymity. The E.'s have made no effort to use the church as a way of making social contacts. For the E.'s, who are highly dependent people, the fact that they attend church and belong to a cultural group is a source of support and strength. Their dependency on it is very similar to their dependency on the family which although limiting and protective are important strengthening factors which they need in order to function adequately.
CONCLUSIONS

We have before us the cases of five Syrian-American married couples, whose lives are being shaped by the impact of past and present psychic, cultural, and social forces. As personality, culture, and social organization are interacting factors in human behavior we must consider all of these forces in order to further our analysis and understanding of such behavior.

Since most of our information about each couple deals specifically with the wives, we shall use them as the focal point for analyzing our data.

As a common denominator linking all of the couples has been a narrow, constricted life, it was not surprising that they all married men of the same or similar cultural and class backgrounds. Particular importance seemed to be placed on finding a Syrian mate. Three of the women married within their ethnic group, the fourth chose someone from a cultural background which generally corresponded to her own, and the fifth married a man from a completely different ethnic background. Yet, the small farming community from which the fifth woman's husband came was actually similar to his wife's since it too was family centered. His willingness to move in with his wife's family and the relative ease with which he adapted himself to them suggests that his outlook was not strikingly dissimilar to that of the others in this group.

Specific choice of mate was highly dependent on individual personality factors, but a common factor among all the couples was a reluctance to move away from familiar ways. Three of the wives married men from the same
neighborhood, two met their mates through a close relative, and at least three clearly voiced the factor of parental approval as being significant in their selection of a husband. In three cases it was quite apparent that choice was based not on strong affection for the particular man chosen, but rather on the woman's self-centered needs. One married to join a "better family", another because of fears of "being lonely and left", and yet another because her younger sister had recently married.

There was a fairly wide age range among the wives at the time of marriage (18-25). The latter seemed a relatively late marriage for this particular group. Few of the wives appeared to have dated very much prior to their marriages and in most of these cases, the respective husbands had been their first steady boy friends.

Concerning the nature of the marital relationship there was again individual variation, but at least four of the wives clearly exhibited inordinately strong dependency strivings, differing only in their expression and handling of them. Dependency in these four cases was manifested by feelings of helplessness and tremendous anxiety about being alone.

Rather than outgrowing it, wives were tending to displace their dependency needs onto their husbands even though ties to family were still very strong. Like their wives the husbands also had strong dependency needs but were able, in most instances, to successfully meet their wives demands through the pattern of mutual aid among their parents and members of their families. Although their handling of their dependency differed, all seemed to use as their main defense against overt expression of it their work, their roles as head of the household and provider of the family.

The relationships between husband and wife was also characterized by
the striking absence of emotional spontaneity with some being more devoid of affect than others. This was particularly noticeable in regard to expression of negative feelings. Difficulties in communication between partners seemed largely an inability to discuss dissatisfactions. There appeared to be few open arguments and, concomitantly, little ability to verbalize affection for one another. This problem may not only stem from inhibitions imposed on them from the past but may also be related to the cultural phenomenon of the closely-knit family in which continuation of intimate ties with family members tends to dilute the intensity of the marital relationship.

In certain cases the wives gave vent to feelings of helplessness, and weakness to the point of exaggeration. This may be largely as a direct result of their pregnancies which tended to elicit more than the usual amount of sympathy and support normally demanded of husbands and relatives.

With only one exception wives took complete charge of housekeeping responsibilities with husbands helping out with marketing and heavier chores when necessary. In general, the women seemed to view homemaking as their chief satisfaction and all activities were performed competently and skillfully. Particular stress was placed on neatness, orderliness and the decorating of their two or three room apartments (which were located in old deteriorated tenement houses) with very attractive and expensive furnishings. Their pride in capable homemaking seemed to be the one ego-ideal factor which served as a defense against their dependency needs. Mrs. B., the wife who proved to be an exception to this rule, revealed her dependency more openly than did the others; she actively sought help. She was also the only woman who had not, as an unmarried girl in her parents' home,
had homemaking responsibilities which would have helped her later to cope with the management of her own home after marriage.

Lack of ambition for upward economic and social mobility, true of all the people except Mrs. C., seemed to be partly explained by feelings of inability to adequately cope with the environment. This appeared to be the main factor which made the prospect of separation from familial security and from familiar people, places, and routine seem especially traumatic. In general, not only were husbands lacking in ambition for high success goals, but wives were also unlikely to make demands for such goals—although there were individual variations. One wife, Mrs. C., sought to rise socially and economically by marrying into a family which would better her position and by urging her husband to acquire a college degree. In another family, the B.'s, the wife's demands for more achievement were readily abandoned when her present situation and the feeling of security it gave her were placed in jeopardy—an attitude more typical of this group.

Four of the husbands had jobs of a skilled or semi skilled nature; the fifth was a settlement house worker.

Even though there seemed to be little communication between the partners concerning the nature of the husband's work, the wives were not urging of their mates to push for rapid advancements, it did not mean that the wives were totally lacking in interest. Actually they did show interest and some enthusiasm and were particularly pleased whenever their respective husbands had made some advancements. This was noted in four cases. Two of these women were instrumental in encouraging their spouses
to seek out a career or further their position. The fifth wife showed relative indifference to her husband's ambitions to obtain a college education. This indifference eventually caused the decline of his motivation.

Four of the wives failed to complete high school. These women had been very dissatisfied with school because of their modest intellectual resources and emotional problems and also because of the seeming lack of parental encouragement for academic achievement for female children.

In general, the couples seemed satisfied with just those materials needed for daily living - a nicely furnished apartment with modern appliances, a car, and T V. No consideration was given to spending money on vacations away from home or other forms of entertainment. The wedding trip was seen as a fixed thing, something one did only on the occasion of their honeymoon. In the two cases where information was available both wives found the separation from the parental home to be traumatic. They seemed to derive very little enjoyment from the honeymoon and neither expressed a desire for a return visit.

Although it was not always indicated in the records, personal communication with a research staff member revealed that all of the wives had put a great deal of thought and time into the planning of elaborate weddings. This seemed to be the one event in their lives in which money was no object, each wife putting aside a specified sum from her weekly pay check in order to save for this occasion.

Concerning recreational activities findings revealed that in all cases the couples had few special hobbies or interests which they actively pursued, the main forms of recreation being T V, movies, and the visiting of relatives. However, there were some variations. One couple, Mr. and
Mrs. C. attended church dances one evening a week and another wife, Mrs. D., played cards with friends on weekends. However, all were alike in that each activity was essentially confined to the neighborhood setting. With the exception of Mr. and Mrs. D., whose recreational interests had become more segregated since marriage, leisure time seemed in general to be shared with the spouse.

Outside of the church none of the couples were affiliated with formal groups, and the only connection with a service institution was their use of the Massachusetts Memorial Hospital. The lack of participation in organizational and group activities seemed not only to stem from their fears of the unfamiliar but also was due to the limited opportunities for such participation in the area itself.

There was not enough information to fully determine the extent of their childhood contacts with formal organizations. Although it did seem that the husbands had been somewhat more active in seeking out recreational groups, neither appeared to have had any extensive contact. In only one case was it clearly demonstrated that one husband had had long term association with a Settlement House. He later got a job there. Two of the wives and one of the husbands had had previous experience at summer camps, but none seemed to have used this as a way of furthering their social contacts.

As we said earlier, these people feel secure only with the familiar - familiar places, familiar people, familiar routine. As a result they have felt constrained from developing friendships far beyond their immediate group. The couples were all alike in that none had acquired any new friends since marriage. We are not sure whether this was as true of the
husbands as of the wives in this group since we knew less about the nature and extent of the husbands' outside contacts. However, it was our impression that they, like their wives, had not made any attempt to seek out new friendships. Each already existing friendship seemed to involve husband or wife but not both. Only two of the wives actually had friends outside of the family. However, these friendships, stemming from childhood, seemed so superficial that whenever a friend moved away from the area, the contact was broken. In the context of telling about their lack of friendships, three of the wives expressed feelings of shyness, inferiority, and inability to sustain extended conversations with people outside of the family, especially new people. One of the wives clearly showed her strong dependency needs and her extreme reluctance to recognize and express them.

Regarding her neighbors, Mrs. A. stated, "They don't bother with me so I don't bother with them". Although she wants very much to have people with whom she can associate, she refrains from making the kinds of attempts to approach others which would lead others to meet her needs.

Concerning their kinship relationships all couples were highly dependent on their respective families to fulfill emotional and social needs; contacts were almost entirely limited to immediate family members. Although most of the couples probably knew something about members of their extended kin group, few indicated that they had any knowledge of these relatives or that they had contact with them now. In one case the wife attributed her lack of contact to physical distance; another mentioned the fact that her husband's family had never offered to help them; a third wife expressed bitter feelings against her grandmother for not caring for her and her siblings when her mother was ill. The latter two cases suggest
that among these Syrian-Americans maintaining ties with distant kin depends on fulfillment of an expectation that they will offer help when it is needed.

Contrary to our original impression that wives were more active in keeping up kinship ties than were their husbands, it turned out that the husbands were just as close to their own kin. Although the husbands' contacts were limited by their work schedules, two of them did, however, spend their lunch hours with their parents. The nature and intensity of such relationships were not clear, but frequent and regular visiting was noted in all cases in which parents were available.

All of the wives appeared to be quite dependent emotionally on their mothers - even in cases where the mother had been minimally nurturant. In one case the wife's mother was no longer living, so the wife turned to her mother-in-law to satisfy her dependency strivings; she saw her mother-in-law every single day. Three of the other wives also had daily contact with their mothers. Few of the wives told much about their relationship with their mothers except to say that they were close or that they confided in one another. In most instances, however, the wives, when being interviewed, did not seem to be people who shared their most intimate thoughts with their respective mothers.

With one exception wives tended to speak more affectionately of their fathers, while attitudes toward their mothers were decidedly more ambivalent. In two cases in which the wives expressed a strong attachment for their fathers, each father gave quite different responses to their daughter's attempts to remain emotionally dependent on them. Mrs. A.'s father resisted her attempts and tried to get her to shift her dependency
onto her husband and his kin group. Mrs. B.'s father, in sharp contrast, encouraged the maintenance of dependence on him by living with his daughter after her marriage and by helping her with housework. This type of help reflects his own seemingly maternal role in their relationship.

Among these families siblings tended to informally organize for the purposes of companionship, mutual help, encouragement etc., and were often joined by his or her mate. Also the establishment of close ties with in-laws was characteristic of these Syrian-Americans. This trait was even more pronounced among the wives than among the husbands. This seemed to suggest that the girl tended to shift her allegiance, upon marriage, from her father's kin group to that of her husband.

The people studied differed greatly from one another in how often they attended religious services. However, with the exception of Mrs. B., all had church membership and in each case the church was utilized for the wedding. The difference in frequency could not be explained on the basis of particular church affiliation (Greek Orthodox vs. Roman Catholic). We would add that each of these churches had an entirely Syrian population.

In the two cases which were lowest in church attendance, those of Mrs. B. and Mrs. D., this seemed to stem from family disorganization rather from lack of religious feeling. Mrs. B. was a person who avoided Syrian people, yet did not show any negativism toward the culture or its people. Her explanation for this avoidance was as follows: "I was ashamed to meet my people. If I saw a Syrian on the street, I'd turn my head the other way". This remark was made in the context of telling how her mother ran around with other men and how her parents separated and eventually were divorced. These practices were a serious violation of Syrian custom. It
thus seemed quite likely that her avoidance of Syrians and her ethnic church (where she couldn't avoid meeting them) seemed to stem from familial shame rather than lack of religious feeling. As a matter of fact, she did pray at home, lit candles, etc. Mrs. D.'s Syrian mother had disrupted her kin group by marrying a Jew who was not even Syrian in origin.

Although all of the women seemed closely identified with their ethnic group, there was a decided lack of familiarity with Syrian culture. Their only overt participation in Syrian culture seemed to be the cooking of Syrian dishes. We are led to ask why there is such a discrepancy between the strength of ethnic identification and the degree of cultural participation, and also why this small degree of participation is found in the realm of cooking. Although these questions cannot be fully answered in this brief study, it appeared that, in general, these women only learned cultural traits associated with the immediate family - namely the details of Syrian cooking.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS


JOURNAL ARTICLES


ARTICLES IN A COLLECTION
