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Occupational Choices Among Arab Americans In The U.s.: An Examination Of The Effects Of Gender, Educational Attainment, Generational Status, Country Of Origin, And Motivation

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OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES AMONG ARAB AMERICANS IN THE U.S.: AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF GENDER, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, GENERATIONAL STATUS, COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, AND MOTIVATION

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my father Rashed - May God have mercy on him, my mother Hissah, my wife, Albandary, and children. Without your belief, support, and prayers, this work could not have been accomplished. It is also dedicated to all individuals who advised me and supported my decisions. A special feeling of gratitude and my deepest appreciation to all of you.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Examining occupational choice and motivation is an important research activity. The extant literature posits that an individual's occupational choice is significantly correlated with social class (Oxoby 2014; Gallagher, Orla and Pettigrew 2015), gender and cultural expectations (Dinella, Fulcher, & Weisgram, 2014), education (Croll 2008), income (Unruh 2004), and health outcomes (Menon, Narayanan and Spector 1996: Stav et al. 2012). These variables represent a critical array of lifestyle and longevity correlates. Consequently, an individual's occupational choice may determine their and their family's immediate and future happiness.

Additionally, occupational motivation assists in explicating these choices. The examination of occupational choice often ignores the concept of diverse motivators that may work in combination to influence the occupational choice of the individual. Furthermore, the role of motivation within occupational choice has limited articulation within the literature. Motivation is often examined post occupational choice (Pipatpol, 2014), and the focus is generally on the individual aspect of that motivation (Zivkovic, 2013). This study examines multiple sources of motivation simultaneously, namely internal, external and familial motivation. The result is a more complete explication of occupational choice.

Additionally, the literature employs three distinct approaches to explaining occupational choice (Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson, 2013). Firstly, there are psychological explanations, which focus on the role of individualized factors, such as, personality (Nauta 2013), attitudes (Brown and Lent 2013), emotions and cognition (Lent et al. 2010). There is a tendency within the psychological literature to examine the problem at the level of solely the personal. This reductionist tendency gives diminished recognition of the wider social and economic dimensions of the problem. Alternately, older sociological and economic explanations tend to focus on the

structural and macro factors. This second approach is often criticized for giving the macro factors a deterministic role, at the expense of the individual aspects of the problem (Hodkinson and Sparkes 1997). However, a growing body of literature departs from these approaches and considers their explanatory power limited.

This expanding body of evidence attempts to reconcile the limitations of structural determinism and individual free will (Amir et al. 2009). This third position posits that while the structure presents a rigid and ossified environment for the making of choice, it is not deterministic. The individual possesses a degree of volition that permits personal decisions within that setting (Bridgstock 2009). This approach is best understood through an interrogation of Bourdieu's (1993), theoretical formulation of habitus. Habitus is an attempt to reconcile these divergent elements of choice into a complementary schema. While Bourdieu's work focused on general choice, subsequent authors have expanded on that work and have interrogated occupational choice. This study falls within this burgeoning investigative body literature. Consequently, the study employs several theories including habitus to explore occupational choice and motivation from a synchronized perspective. This work accepts structural limitations on the available choices of the individual, but simultaneously argues that individuals have the opportunity to choose within that structure.

In this study, the problem of occupational choice is conceived not solely as a function of structural determinants or of the action of a rational actor selecting among available choices. Rather, occupational choice occupies the area where the boundaries of both approaches coalesce. This suggests that occupational choice exists within a structural framework but personal and familial elements modify which choices are made. Additionally, the processes that dominate his or her occupational selection have personal components. This may be understood in the

following manner. Education is a critical structural factor in determining which occupation an individual may access (Smith 1960; Sicherman 1990; Hatlebakk 2016). However, there is still personal preference in determining the types of courses the individual selects, and at times the universities they may choose to attend (Jiang 2016). The individual is an actor who can exercise his/her prerogative of choice even if that choice is limited by structural elements (Bungay, Halpin, Atchison and Johnston 2011; Kahn,Qualter, Young 2012). Kahn, Qualter and Young (2012), note that there is a tendency for theorist in many disciplines to ignore the "interplay" between structure and agency. This study acknowledges that interplay. Consequently, the work argues for a complex interaction between structural and personal variables. Occupational choice is then experienced at the intersection of these competing and at times complementary interactions.

Nowhere is this problem more visible than in the occupational choice of Arab Americans in the United States. Arab Americans have a priori cultural and social elements that have influenced their behavior prior to migration to the United States. Living within the United States brings the individual into contact with diverse cultural and social forces. The individual is then faced with a complex milieu of interactions through which they must decide their occupation. Initially they are faced with the pressing need for income to survive in the new country (Galvaan, 2012). This has to be balanced with the underlying gender and familial norms and values that advocate gender specific occupations. Finally, there is the wider problem of the educational requirements of some occupations, so that, while the occupation is desirable the individual may lack the necessary education. Within this setting, the motivation of the individual may create push forces toward one occupation or another.

Consequently, the recent increase in migration to the United States by persons of Arab heritage presents a unique opportunity for researchers to explore aspects of occupational choice and occupational motivation within that community. Occupational issues relevant to the Arab or Arab American community have received limited attention from previous researchers. This population is subject to additional potential stressors due to their (presumed or real) nationality and religious affiliation (that the wider U.S. population may not experience), increasing the salience and importance of this work. The purpose of this study is to investigate factors influencing occupational choice and motivation by among Arab Americans in Dearborn, Michigan.

The size of the Arab American Community

It is important to note that at roughly 3.6 million individuals, Arab Americans represent a small minority within the United States population (Asi & Beaulieu, 2013). Additionally, the Arab American National Museum (AANM) (2015) offered an overview of the larger Arab American community, noting that there are an estimated 4.2 million individuals of Arab or Arabic descent in the United States dispersed across every state in the union but concentrated in large metropolitan areas, including Detroit. However, since 1990, the Arab American population in the United States has grown by 76% (Asi & Beaulieu, 2013). Far from being a monolithic ethnic group, the population of Arab Americans is highly diverse. Arab Americans trace their ancestry back to a number of different countries on the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa. The U.S. Census Bureau specifically classifies individuals as Arab American if they can trace their ancestry back to one of the following countries: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, and Yemen (Asi & Beaulieu, 2013). Moreover, according to the Arab

American Institute (AAI), contrary to common stereotypes, the majority of Arab Americans are born in the United States and are individuals of Christian faith as well as of individuals who identify as Muslims (AAI, 2015). Furthermore, the Arab American population is highly concentrated in ethnic enclaves in California, Michigan, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles, Detroit, and New York are home to one-third of the Arab American population in the United States (AAI, 2015).

Aggregate data for the United States Arab population show that Lebanese Americans constituted the biggest group within the population of Arab Americans as of the 2000 census (Brittingham& De la Cruz, 2005; De la Cruz, 2008). Arab American of Lebanese descent constituted 28.8% of the population, whereas Arab Americans of Egyptian descent constituted 14.5%, those of Syrian descent 8.9%, those of Palestinian descent 7.3%, those of Jordanian descent 4.2%, those of Moroccan descent 3.6%, those of Iraqi descent 3.5%, those of "Arab" or "Arabic" descent 19.7%, and those of "other Arab" descent constituted 9.6% of the Arab American population (Brittingham & De la Cruz, 2005). The latter group is comprised of individuals of Yemeni, Kurdish, Algerian, Saudi, Tunisian, Kuwaiti, Libyan, Berber, Emirati, Omani, Qatari, Bahraini, Alhuceman, or Bedouin ancestry. Moreover, the "Arab" or "Arabic" was the self-chosen identity of respondents who failed to specify their own national origin or that of their ancestors. De la Cruz (2008) further found that among the Arab Americans living in Michigan, Lebanese Americans also constitute the largest group. A Census data breakdown of ethnic origin for the city of Dearborn is, to the author's knowledge, not available.

Dearborn, Michigan, a suburban city within the Detroit metropolitan area, is one such ethnic enclave, with Arab Americans representing more than 45% of the entire population (AAI,

2015). In many respects, Dearborn is representative of other Arab American enclaves in that Arab Americans living in Dearborn have relatively high levels of education and fall on the higher end of the socio-economic spectrum (Nigem, 1986; Yee & Smith, 2014). Yee and Smith (2014) found that whereas the median income for Americans is $51,000, Arab Americans' median income is $56,000. Related to the purpose of the current study, Huang and Pearce (2013) have pointed out, that there is a strong correlation between occupational choice and income. While Huang and Pearce's (2013) study focused on personal characteristics of participants from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, little is known about other factors that affect occupational choice and motivation, especially among ethnic minorities such as Arab Americans.

A Brief History of the Arab American Community in Dearborn, Michigan

Dearborn, Michigan, is located in a Western suburb of Detroit. The city has one of the largest Arab American communities in the entire country. The city of Dearborn has a population of 95,535 as of 2014 (United States Census Bureau, 2015). Dearborn is home to roughly 45,000 Arab Americans (Haddad, 2011). Immigration has been the primary reason for the growth in Dearborn's Arab American community; however, a significant number of Arab Americans living in Dearborn and the greater Detroit area trace their Arab American ancestry back to the late nineteenth century in the U.S.

Arab American immigration into Michigan is typically described as having three waves. The first wave of immigrants came to Michigan in the 1880s. These immigrants were mostly Chaldeans and other Christians and came from Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine (Smith, 2012). This first wave of immigration lasted until about 1925. Many of these first-wave immigrants came for financial reasons and frequently became entrepreneurs who owned and operated grocery stores. Significantly, as the automotive industry began to take off in Dearborn in the early 1900s, which

led to the creation of a major Ford Motor Company factory, jobs in the automotive industry also attracted immigrants from Yemen (Smith, 2012). In many instances, young Yemeni men came to Dearborn and worked in the Ford Motor Company factory while their families remained in Yemen and followed only years later. The Yemeni immigrants mostly settled in Dearborn's "south end" – close to the Ford production facility.

The second wave of Arab immigrants lasted from 1925 to 1965. The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1924 significantly limited the number of non-European immigrants who could enter the United States legally. Therefore, only about 80,000 Arab immigrants entered the United States during that time (Smith, 2012). Whereas the first wave of Arab immigrants came almost exclusively from "greater Syria", the second wave of Arab immigrants also included high numbers of immigrants from North Africa (Smith, 2012). This is significant insofar as it meant that the percentage of Arab immigrants who identified themselves as Muslim increased quickly.

The AANM (2015) describes the Third Wave of Arab immigrants from the 1970s to the present as facilitated by the 1965 passage of the Hart-Cellar Act, which ended all immigration restrictions based on national origin. The third wave of Arab immigration was mostly driven by wars and conflicts in the Middle East (Smith, 2012). Not only did the Six Day War in 1967 drive throngs of Arab immigrants to the United States, but the Gulf Wars of both1990 and 2003 also led to increased Arab immigration from the affected regions. Today, the Arab American community in Dearborn has a high proportion of Yemeni American immigrants who came to the United States during the 1980s and early 1990s (Haddad, 2011). Like their predecessors at the beginning of the twentieth century, these immigrants were attracted by jobs in the automobile industry, specifically, the Ford Motor Company. Yemeni immigrants were the first to establish

the Arab American and Muslim community in Dearborn. The Yemeni American community in Dearborn is comprised primarily of first- and second-generation immigrants (Haddad, 2011).

Recently Cwiek (2014) examined factors leading to the establishment of the large Arab American community in southeast Michigan, noting that most of the more recent immigrants are Iraqis and, of that group, a substantial population consists of Chaldeans. The addition of this particular Arab group expands upon a growing population of culturally and ethnically diverse Arabs from Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, or Palestine. Cwiek (2014) also pointed out that it is difficult at best to identify the true extent of the Arab American population in this region because the U.S. Census counts them, presently, as "white" without any further divisions. Even plans to add an Arab American category to the Census will not generate data identifying national origin for this minority group.

It was, as noted above, the development of Detroit as the center of the American automobile industry that seems to have fostered the appeal of the Dearborn region to members of this migrant population. However, many Arab Americans have elected to become small business owners, opening liquor stores, gas stations, grocery stores, and other small businesses in metropolitan Detroit and the surrounding areas. Research indicates that Dearborn became the locus of migration for entire families and even villages from Lebanon after civil war broke out in that country in 1975 (Cwiek, 2014). The Dearborn community is overwhelmingly Muslim, Lebanese, and Shi'ite. While Shi'ites are a minority in the Muslim world, they comprise a majority of the Arab Americans in this region. However, the growing presence of Christians, such as the Lebanese, also identifies the Arab American community as diverse.

Cwiek (2014) also reported that, still today, conflict in the Middle East is driving immigration, creating a situation within which substantial numbers of new migrants are seeking

refugee status. Many of these new arrivals are choosing to settle in Detroit's Macomb County suburbs, such as Warren, Sterling Heights, and adjacent cities. As Cwiek (2014, p. 1) put it, "In some ways, the story of Arab American emigration is a unique one. However, in one key respect it is pretty much the same as nearly every other American immigrant group. The larger a community gets, the more it draws others from the same part of the world."

In 2010, the U.S. opened up 25,000 special visas to people from the Middle East (Cwiek, S. ,2014). The majority of the people arriving on these visas are Iraqis, and many comprise family groups. Since so many people arrive with refugee status or on special immigrant visas, they often become sponsors for other family members or close acquaintances and friends from their home country. This creates an ongoing third wave of migration.

Growing diversity within the Arab community

Some Arab Americans retain a strong desire to return to their country of origin. Nasser (2012) conducted a study of the Yemeni community in the metropolitan Detroit region, examining this substantial segment of Arab Americans who have, over time, chosen to migrate not only to other American states, but also to a specific city and region. Results reported by Nasser (2012) after a series of interviews of three first-generation Yemeni Americans considered to be community leaders indicated that all three expressed a hope of returning to Yemen. Further, they expressed a weak form of perceived acceptance by the non-Arab and non-Muslim community in their new country.

However, Nasser (2012) also found that among the children of Yemeni migrants who were born in the United States, weakness in Arabic language skills, a preference for American over traditional Yemeni culture, and a desire to assimilate into the American sociocultural mainstream were common. These young people were more likely than their parents to pursue

professional careers rather than to work in the trades. Yet, Nasser (2012) found that Yemenis were more likely to work in the trades in general in comparison to Lebanese and Syrian Arab Americans, who represent the highest proportion of those in professional occupations or in positions of business ownership.

This researcher also found that the Lebanese American business owners who accounted for 21 percent of metropolitan Detroit Arab Americans were a more deeply entrenched community and one that was more insular than that of other Arab American groups. The Yemenis, according to Nasser (2012), tend to be less educated and less fluent in English, more strictly religious, and more connected to their families in their home country than many other Arab American groups. What this suggests is that the Arab American population in this region tends to be diverse and heterogeneous.

The result, according to the AANM (2015), has been the creation of an extremely diverse minority group in which one finds a high percentage of war refugees as many of the new Arab immigrants originated in regions that were destroyed by long-lasting wars. This includes Palestine, Iraq, and Lebanon. In characterizing this population, the AANM (2015) pointed out that the Third Wave includes a large number of highly educated professionals from a variety of Arab countries as well as middle-class urban merchants. The growing number of university students who chose to remain in the United States after completing their degrees has further extended the community of Arab Americans.

With respect to culture, the AANM (2015) affirms the conclusion discussed herein that the majority of Arab Americans are Muslims, but there is a somewhat substantial population of Arab Christian in the United States as well. Whereas early Arab immigrants in the period from 1880 to 1924 came from rural areas and had limited formal education, more recent migrants

arrived with a college education and are attracted to either entrepreneurial businesses or the professions.

Statement of the Problem

The occupational choices and motivations of Arab Americans require special attention because, as Labib (2008) has suggested, (including those of disciplines such as sociology), people of Arab descent have often been treated as "other" in Western discourses. The notion of "other" encompasses a number of problematic ideological assumptions that limit occupational choice for Arab Americans. These problems have been exacerbated since the terrorists' attack of 9/11/2001. So much so, that it is thus not surprising that Arab Americans are discriminated against when seeking employment (Gaddis & Ghoshal, 2015; Widner & Chicoine, 2011).

Additionally, as noted previously there is very limited research on the problem from the perspective of a middle ground that addresses the interaction between structural factors and the agency of the actor. This quantitative study attempts to begin to fill that void by bringing together critical variables for examination within this setting. The study attempts to answer key questions related to the occupational choices and motivations of Arab Americans. Methodologically, the study also provides valuable insight into both the problems of and successes in sampling minority communities on culturally sensitive issues.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present study is to examine factors that influence occupational choice and motivation among Arab Americans. Kantamneni and Fouad (2013), for example, found that acculturation and individualistic vs. collective cultural values predicted occupational choice in South Asian American students. Some researchers have found that gender does not appear to play a significant role in occupational choices in minority groups in the United States

(Kantamneni, 2014; Kantamneni & Fouad, 2013), while other researchers suggest that gender stereotypes create barriers for girls and women and limit their occupational choices and motivations (Buccheri, Gürber, & Brühwiler, 2011; Eccles, 1994; Vieira et al, 2011). The present study aims to identify cultural and environmental factors that may affect occupational choices and motivations in Arab Americans.

Significance of the Study

The present study is significant because it provides new insights into occupational choices and motivations of Arab Americans. As noted earlier, the challenges Arab Americans face may produce unique occupational choices or motivations, but we do not have literature to confirm this possibility. How occupational choices and motivations manifest among diverse Arab American individuals has not been studied and, consequently, this work provides new insight into the interaction of cultural and demographic variables on occupational choice and motivation.

Secondly, the study examines the theoretical utility of habitus as well as other important sociological theories. The theoretical values of this work is that it answers the call by (Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson, 2013) for more studies examining the problem of occupational choice from a united position rather than a structural or individual position.

Thirdly, the study adds methodological value. Sampling minority individuals for research on sensitive issues is complex. The methodological approach used in this study captured sufficient variability within the sample and therefore sampling techniques may hold promise for future researchers. This study shows that by using multiple sites within a community, acceptable sample sizes and population representation can be achieved.

Finally, the present study may contribute by filling a gap in previous research on occupational choices. The majority of previous researchers neglected to examine workers when studying occupational choices; rather, they chose other samples of convenience, such as college students. This study goes beyond those limitations and specifically examines Arab American workers. The insights gleaned from the present study will provide other researchers with a foundation for further research and will enable policy makers and community stakeholders to understand and meet the needs of Arab Americans living in their community.

Study Questions

The study will address the following research questions:

Research Question # 1

Are there differences in occupational choices by gender, educational level, country of origin, and generational status among Arab American workers in Dearborn, MI?

Hypotheses

Given the insights gleaned from the literature review, the researcher will test the following hypotheses:

The literature clearly points to a fundamental difference in the occupational choices of men and women (Watts 2010). Sagrario, Ranjula and Swain (2013) demonstrated that this difference in occupational choice is more glaring among persons from the lower classes. Peri, and Sparber (2011) looking at the problem economically also identified disparities in occupational choice based on gender. In their study the authors found differences among immigrants. Poschke (2013) also suggested that gender was a critical determinant of which individuals would become entrepreneurs. Additionally, theoretically women and men experience different social expectations as it relates to possible occupational choices. These differing

expectations begin within the family and are reinforced in the wider society (Watt and Eccles 2008). Based on these findings it is hypothesized that:

H1: Arab Americans workers' occupational choices vary by gender.

Education is a key structural feature of society. Additionally, different occupations require different educational abilities and qualifications. Mookherjee, Ray, and Napel, (2010) posited that education is strongly correlated to occupational choices, additionally; persons with greater levels of education tend to work in high income sectors (Galvaan, 2012; Jackson 2013). The effect of education on occupational choice can be observed as early as high school (Ma, 2011). Theoretically, education can function to maintain the status quo and social inequality (Galvaan, 2012). Furthermore, among Latino immigrant's educational attainment has not been a significant explicator of variance of occupational choice because of the interplay of other variables (Maldonado, 2010). However, the influence of education has been significant with other immigrant groups (Peri, and Sparber 2011). It is therefore theorized that:

H2: Arab Americans workers' occupational choices vary by educational level.

Generally, a discussion of how occupational choice differs based on the county of origin focuses on the influence of the original language of the immigrants. This focus is reasonable considering that persons from English speaking countries appear to have distinct advantages over those from non-English speaking countries (Ortega, & Verdugo 2011). This argument has limited utility in this study because all of the countries of origin are non-English speaking. Consequently, language may have diminished influence on occupational choice. Patel and Vella (2007) suggest however that differences can also occur because of social networks. Therefore, where individuals have extensive social networks there may differences in occupational choices (Lafortune, & Tessada, 2010). Another consideration for this study may be

the degree of Westernization of the country of origin. It is anticipated that individuals who come from countries that are similar in values and norms to the United States may develop wider networks and hence have access to different occupations (Bentolila, Michelacci, & Suarez, 2010). It is therefore hypothesized that:

H3: Arab Americans workers' occupational choices vary by country of origin.

Second generation and higher immigrants (irrespective of country of origin) have distinct advantages over first generation immigrants. Firstly, they tend to speak better English (Maldonado, 2010), and they have had greater integration into the culture of the United States (Ortega, & Verdugo 2011), as well as, wider social networks (Lafortune, & Tessada 2010). Additionally, second generation and higher immigrants have the opportunity to be educated within American schools. This means that their cultural assimilation is greater. Su, Richardson, & Wang (2010) described this particular phenomenon of cultural assimilation among second generation Mexican Americans. Furthermore, within American society, having a high status occupation is a desired trait (Judge, & Kammeyer-Mueller 2012). It is probably that this value should be demonstrated among second generation and higher Arab Americans. It is therefore hypothesized that:

H4: Second generation or higher immigrants are more likely than first generation immigrants to seek out high status occupations.

Research Question # 2

What explains the occupational motivations among Arab Americans in Dearborn?

2 a. Is there a mismatch between Arab Americans' motivations and their actual occupations?

Hypotheses:

The literature on occupational motivation tends to examine motivation as an independent variable. Furthermore, the extensive literature on occupational motivation refers to motivation within an employment setting. In this study, there is an attempt to explore motivation as a dependent variable. This study also examines motivation prior to employment. The author in the presentation of the hypotheses notes these important departures. Zivkovic, (2013) notes that culture is a useful explanation for individual motivation, particular in a management setting. Additionally, occupational motivation and culture explained corporate management behaviors in private enterprises (Pipatpol, 2014). Culture was identified as a key determinant of occupational motivation among teachers in Japan (Kumazawa, 2013). Consequently, it is hypothesized that:

H1: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their culture

As noted previously country of origin could be legitimately utilized to explain occupational choice. Much of the literature related to occupational motivation examines that motivation while an individual is employed in an organization. While there is limited, literature related to the potential relationship between county of origin and occupational motivation, Pisoiu, (2011) posits that country of origin is key in explaining motivations for Islamic radicalization. While Islamic radicalization is not an occupation, occupational change process was used to explain radicalization. Finally, Abadi et al. (2011) identified extrinsic factors as related to work motivation among temporary employees. It is reasonable to consider country of origin as an extrinsic factor for this study. It is therefore hypothesized that:

H2: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their country of origin

Gender has been a variable of continuous importance for the explaining multiple social phenomenon. Haase, Heckhausen, & Silbereisen, (2012) examined gender as a key correlate of occupational motivation in the transition from university to the work place. The study found that women had lower levels of motivation than men did. Additionally, Jorfi,Yaccob, & Shah, (2011) looked at the influence of multiple demographic variables, (among them gender) and occupational motivation. The researchers found a positive relationship between gender and occupational motivation. However, Cekin, (2013) examined gender and occupational motivation among Korean teachers and determined that gender had no association to motivation. To support this view Peters, Ryan, & Haslam, (2013) posit that studies that identify differences in occupational motivation between men and women may unwittingly be measuring structural inequalities rather than biological realities. The authors suggest that there should be little difference in motivation based on gender. Given the ongoing debate, surrounding the issue it is hypothesized that:

H3: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their gender

American culture according to Kasser (2016) is rife with the values of materialism and wealth acquisition. Early exposure to American culture and the demands of a capitalist system may influence the occupational motivation of second generation Arab Americans (Lafortune, & Tessada 2010). Additionally, second generation Arab Americans are exposed to the American culture for longer (from birth). These cultural values are likely to have a powerful influence over their occupational motivation. However, it is possible that while there may a qualitative

difference in occupational motivation between the different generations, there will be no actual quantitative difference. First generation Arab Americans have strong occupational motivations driven by immediate survival needs and a quest for the ideological American dream. Consequently, it is hypothesized that:

H4: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their generational status

Summary

This examination of occupational choice and motivation is an attempt to traverse the median position between two dominant views in the literature. The study takes the position that occupational choice is determined not only by structural factors but it is also influenced by the agency of the individual. The chapter presented the ongoing debate and proffered the author's position. Ultimately, this examination of occupational choice among Arab Americans in Dearborn Michigan will make an important theoretical and methodological contribution to the literature in the field. This work will not resolve the debate but it will provide added clarity to central issues.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review discusses the existing state of knowledge about occupational choice and motivation. The examination of the literature gives precedence to studies conducted within the last ten years. However, pivotal studies beyond that time horizon are included because of their utility to the present study. The review organizes the literature into three areas. Firstly, individual characteristics (e.g. personality traits and conscientiousness), this is followed by the influence of external labor market factors. These elements include government policies and labor demand. These variables may be understood as structural in orientation. The final area of consideration is the social and cultural context of occupational choice and motivation. Within this final section, the role of key cultural variables such as family, generational status and gender is considered. The literature review ends with a presentation of the theories that are most suitable for explaining the interaction between the main independent variables and occupational choice and occupational motivation.

Individual characteristics and occupational choice

The argument for the role of individual characteristics as important influencers of occupational choice and motivation may be anchored in the view that in well-functioning economies the ability (mental, psychological etc.) that an individual is born with is correlated to the investment they make in human capital and subsequently into the job or occupation they hold (Munshi and Wilson 2007). This suggests that persons with high ability will ultimately choose occupations that are harmonious with that ability and vice versa. Consequently, this view privileges the individual at the expense of the market.

In addition to the ability an individual is born with, researchers have examined conscientiousness as a means to explain why persons would choose blue collar or white collar

jobs (Ham, Junankar and Wells 2009). Ham, Junankar and Wells (2009) used data from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics study (Australia) to examine occupational choice. The researchers determined that the personality trait of "conscientiousness" had a "large" effect on occupational choice. Furthermore, the effect was almost as powerful as education. The study further demonstrated that while both genders were affected, there was a greater effect for women when compared to men. The authors argued that the diminished influence of education on the occupational choices of women amplified the effect. Nieken and Stormer (2010) examined the relationship between multiple personality variables and occupational choice. The researchers used data from the German Socioeconomic Panel. The study found that "manual workers are less extroverted, more conscientious, as well as, less agreeable and open than employees from most other occupational groups" (p.232). This finding is consistent previous research that suggested the conscientiousness would be a trait of persons engaging in manual labor.

Collins (2006) conducted further exploration of psychological variables, in particular birth order and self-described personality. The author found statistically significant relationships between birth order and first child personality traits. However, there was no relationship between personality traits and occupational choice. This is interesting since it is conceivable that first-born children, who are often perceived as more conscientious, should make different occupational choices than children with a different birth position (Herrera, et. al. 2003). However, these findings suggest that the relationship between personality traits and even personal abilities and occupational choice may be influenced by other more powerful variables.

External labor market and occupational choice

The limited influence of personal and personality traits invites investigation of other more powerful variables. A consideration of the role of macro-economic forces on occupational choice requires a discussion of the role of inequality. Gutierrez-Romero (2010) argues that occupational choice is influenced in the "long run" by the "initial distribution of wealth." This "initial distribution of wealth" shapes how entrepreneurs expand their business enterprises. This expansion in turn determines the number and type of available jobs or occupations. This argument privileges the economic or macro factors suggesting that the individual has limited choice, irrespective of personal ability and traits. The choice is among what is available through participation in the labor market. Occupational choice is therefore more a function of the entrepreneurial action than individual ability or personality. The authors also argue that time exacerbates the effect, through widening inequality. Importantly for this present study is the view that choice is limited within the context of the structure. The actual occupations available contour individual ability and personality traits. You can only choose from what is available to you at the time you are making your choice.

Another component of this dynamic is offshoring. Offshoring refers to the process of moving occupations from a home country to some other place (Unel 2016). According to Unel (2016) offshoring is an important market behavior that limits occupational choice in both the home and foreign country. The countries that engage in offshoring (home) tend to create more entrepreneurs in their country whilst the foreign country creates more workers. Additionally, the wages paid to workers in the foreign country are less than those of the home country are. This inequality encourages the movement of low skilled labor from the home country to the foreign. Consequently, some types of jobs are simply not available in the home country. Examples of this

behavior can be seen in the manufacturing sector where key jobs have shifted from the United States to Mexico and other foreign countries. The net effect of this policy is that within the United States unemployment or limited occupation choice affects some sectors of the economy.

Additionally, the social protection policies of a country also influence the occupational choices of individuals. The term social protection refers to a variety of governmental and private policies that cover pensions, unemployment insurance, cash transfers and social assistance (Nagler 2015). In many countries, social protection benefits are linked to participation in the formal employment sector. The existence of these policies shape employee behavior as leaving or changing employment can have deleterious effects on these protections. This means that the employee who needs to change jobs must consider and weigh carefully the risks and benefits of that action. These social protection policies may have a dialectic effect on the labor markets as a whole. They may produce rigid structures limiting the restructuring of workers into different sectors. They may also provide barriers against informal workers joining the formal labor force. Estevez-Abe et al. (2001) explains that unemployment protection may function in that way by reducing the probability that individuals make investments in skills where there is a high probability of losing employment. In this way, social protection policies influence the occupational choice of individuals.

Since the 1800s, U.S. immigration policies have had a significant effect on socio-economic patterns, including occupational choices. The Immigration and Nationalization Act of 1965 particularly influenced the occupational choices of recent immigrants to the United States made. Since the Act gave preference to individuals with specific academic and/or professional occupations, a significant number of immigrants, particularly from South East Asia, thrived in professions in the fields of technology, healthcare, and the sciences (Poon, 2014).

Beyond the actual policies of the government, the individual faces problems from the process of acquiring skills to become employed. Choi (2014) examined the role of student debt on the occupational choices of students in America. The researcher employed a meta-analysis of the empirical literature on the subject from 1985. The study found that student debt had little to no direct negative influence on the occupational choices of individuals. However, the researcher noted that student debt could reduce market equality and introduce market distortion.

The final consideration in this section is working as an adolescent. While this choice appears to be individual, it may not be. Zimmer-Gembeck and Mortimer (2006) identified previous employment as an adolescent as important predictor in later occupational choices. The authors suggested that prior work experience might influence the educational outcomes of individuals and subsequently their occupational choices. The effect of this interaction is more profound for lower income individuals where the movement from the informal work economy to the formal is a necessity. Poorer parents are forced to trade the immediate gains derived from the child's employment with any potential future additional income that may have been accrued by allowing the child to go further in school. Within this setting, the nexus of multiple elements creates a scenario that is beyond the ken of the individual.

Social and cultural context and occupational choice

The social and cultural context of occupational choice is pivotal to this study. It is within this context that key variables such as gender, race, immigrant status and familial norms and values, are discussed. The primary importance of these variables is that they function at a silent or covert level and the individual is often unaware of the powerful influence that these factors have on their occupational choices and motivation.

Cultural influences

Culture is directly linked to questions of ethnicity, race, migrant status, language, and nationality. Social scientists such as Macionis (2004, p. 61) define culture as "the values, beliefs, behavior, and material objects that, together, form a people's way of life." Culture not only shapes what individuals do; it also helps to form one's personality and attitudes, or what is commonly but incorrectly referred to as one's human nature. Furthermore, Hofstede (2016) proposed that there are a number of dimensions of culture. These dimensions can be used to identify the characteristic of a particular group. These are individualism versus collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, achievement versus nurturing, and long-term orientation. Further, Hofstede (2016) makes the case that countries in the Arab world tend to be characterized as collectivist or focused on the obligations of the individual to the group. They are also respectful of extreme power differences (in which there is significant inequality between superiors and subordinates or family elders and others), and demonstrate a preference for certainty versus uncertainty, and a long-term rather than short-term orientation.

Hofstede (2016) characterizes the vast majority of Arabs and by extension first and second generation, Arab Americans as more oriented toward familial responsibility than individual achievement. Al Harahsheh (2011) opined the persistence of cultural values and implications for socialization in Arab-American families. Additionally, the author proposed that culture shapes the extent to which occupational decisions are based on family preferences rather than individual choice. Culture matters in this context because, while many Arab Americans have experienced a degree of assimilation into mainstream American society, the Arab American community itself is a fairly cohesive community in which traditional cultural norms and mores are maintained by means of close ties between family members and kinship groups.

On the other hand, Fleming, Kifle, and Kler (2016) note that the migrant experience is not homogenous. As the length of stay in a new country increases, immigrants from all cultural, national, and linguistic backgrounds tend to assimilate the cultural norms of the new country. Based on Fleming, Kifle, and Kler's explanation, this appears to be particularly true with respect to those norms and mores that are linked to occupation. Thus, one might anticipate that second and third generation Arab-Americans would be less significantly influenced by culture and tradition than immigrants who are first generation residents. Al Harahsheh (2011) noted that second- and third-generation Arab Americans show some substantial variations in their adherence to cultural norms.

Additionally, Vilhjálmsdótti and Arnkelsson (2013) examining the theory of habitus among secondary school students (n=475) in Iceland, determined that "culture" was a significant determinant of future occupational choice. The study found that students could be divided into distinct groups derived from their leisure activities and "cultural consumption." Membership in the particular group could then be used to identify the future occupational choice of the student. The value of this work is that it supports the role that cultural elements play in determining occupational choice. While the students were not employed at the time of the study they were already being steered toward a specific occupational choice based on their culture.

The influence of parents on occupational choice

Another area where culture appears to have a key role is through the influence of parents on the occupational choices of their children. Doepke and Zilibotti (2007) posit that historically (with particular reference to the post industrial revolution period) parents along with external labor market forces shaped the occupational choices of their children. Parents' guided their children's choices based on economic incentives. Parents were fundamentally valued two

considerations “rate of time preference (patience)” and “the taste for leisure.” (p.748). Parents who valued leisure time focused on choices that produced better economic outcomes. These parents were upper middle class and were attracted to rental incomes. Middle class families valued “patience” and were drawn to occupations where work ethic, effort and skill dominated. This meant occupational choice was the result of an interaction of parental guidance based on market exigencies.

Contemporary parents however, often believe that they have very little influence over the occupational choices of their children. Taylor, Harris and Taylor (2004) interviewed freshmen parents at the University of North Carolina and more than half of the parents believed that they should adopt a neutral position when it come to the occupational choices of their children. This posture is contrasted by that of the children who report that their parents are the largest influences on their occupational choices (Ferry, 2006).

Further support for the importance of parents is provide by Jungen (2008). In a recent review of the existing literature on the subject, the author suggests that children and adolescents rather than defying parental expectation for occupation, embrace parental direction. The idea of parents having little or limited influence over the occupational choices of their children is more myth than reality. Kniveton (2004) also suggested that parents have an even greater influence on the occupational choices of children than teachers do. Simpson (2003) extends the argument and showed that parental influence extends to the major their children choose when the children go to college. Parents therefore have a significant influence on the occupational choice of their children both directly and indirectly through suggestions of degree majors.

Gender and occupational choice

The effect of parental direction of children can also occur covertly through the influence of gender expectations (Jacobs, Chhin and Bleeker, 2006). The ideas related to gender specific occupations may begin within the familial setting and remain with the child throughout their life (Hesse-Biber and Carter, 2000). Consequently, gender becomes an important variable for consideration in the explication of occupational choice. The reality is that there is a statistically significant difference between the occupational choice of men and women (Watt 2010). This gendered difference appears to be robust even when examined in different settings. Gender is a social construction and works in combination with other structural elements to influence occupational choice. Armani (2013) notes that in spite of the efforts of promote equality in the American work place women continue to experience unequal treatment and employment outcomes. This inequality suggests that gender can be a useful variable in the examination of occupational choice. To investigate this relationship from an early age Durosaro and Adebanke (2012) collected data from secondary school students in Nigeria (n=167). The data were assessed using a chi square test of association. The authors found that there was a statistically significant association between the gender of the student and their career choice. Additionally, male students tended to select occupations that are "masculine" in nature while their female counterparts selected more occupations that are "feminine." This work is further supported by the findings from an examination of 150 kindergarten and elementary school children in Greece. Tzampazi, Christodoulou and Kyridis (2013) found that among this group of children boys more frequently chose "traditional masculine occupations." The authors contend that while these career choices are not "real" and are somewhat fantasy, the choice provide an important window

into the child's understanding of gender and its interaction with occupational choices. Gendered occupational choice begins very early and its influence is enduring and resistant.

Al Harahsheh (2011) suggests that in patrilineal societies, sons tend to be valued more in some ways than daughters do. Sons are directed toward education more frequently than daughters are, giving them greater occupational choices. While many Arab American families have acculturated to the United States, Al Harahsheh (2011) states that Arab American communities continue to typically regard women as responsible for the private sphere (childbearing, child rearing, homemaking, and instilling future generations with Arab values). Consequently, Arab-born American female employment rates are the lowest of any immigrant group, even when women are highly educated (Abdulla and Ridge 2011).

Gender differences can be substantial determinants of individual career choices and options in the Arab American community (Al Harahsheh, 2011). This community values the family above all other group affiliations. Traditionally, the '*alia*' is a social and economic unit in Arab American society that is governed by the oldest male in the family, and the clan is a valued social network that is patriarchal and hierarchal with respect to age, gender, and extended family membership.

Gender differences within the family are reinforced beyond the boundaries of the familial setting. So that, as Macionis (2004) suggests, while societies do not consistently define most tasks as either feminine or masculine. Female roles are often influenced by sexist attributions of power (or the lack thereof) in patriarchal countries or those countries in which male authoritarianism is prominent. Macionis (2004) also notes that women's capacity for autonomy and personal decision-making in highly patriarchal countries is somewhat limited. In Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Libya, Oman, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt, and Algeria,

patriarchy continues to be a dominant role of social organization (Al Harahsheh 2011). Consequently, in such countries, women often find themselves much less free to act autonomously when compared to their male counterparts. However, the impact of cultural prescriptions for gender roles is evident even among Arab Americans in the contemporary U.S. For instance, in most Arab American families in her study, Al Harahsheh (2011) found that, even when women are encouraged to attend and complete university programs, they are also expected to take on their primary responsibilities related to marriage and the family.

It should be noted that the relationship between gender and occupational choice is rather stable across different ethnicities and races. It is clear that women have different occupational choices to men. In a forefront study on this issue, Eccles (1994) found that immigrant women are concentrated in a few professions. Outside of teaching and healthcare fields (e.g., nursing, medical doctors), immigrant women are underrepresented in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics careers. Eccles (1994) attributes the educational and occupational choice differences between men and women to an array of cultural factors, including gender expectations. Watt (2010) expands on Eccles' (1994) work and finds that, whereas most women forego careers in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), women from India and former Soviet Republics are more likely than their immigrant peers to choose STEM occupations. Watt (2010) points out that India and the Soviet Union emphasized educational and occupational equality among the genders. The effects of immigrants' educational attainment and gender on occupational choice are still evident among immigrant groups today.

Educational attainment and occupational choice

Education is an important correlate of occupational choice. Primarily since the opportunity to participate in the labor market, is affected by the qualifications and skills of the

individual (Block, Hoogerheide and Thurik 2011). Bukodi and Goldthorpe (2011) examining the relationship between education attainment and occupational choice in England determined that educational attainment was a strong predictor of occupational choice. Additionally, this relationship was persistent across generations. While the study focused on the British context, it is not in conceivable that a similar relationship should exist in other capitalist economies.

The influence of education also goes beyond qualification and skill correspondence to market demands and explains key decisions about starting a business. The decision to participate in the labor market, whether as an entrepreneur or an employee has its antecedents in education. Block, Hoogerheide and Thurik (2011) examined a dataset containing data for 10,000 persons from 27 different countries in Europe and the United States. The authors determined that education had a strong positive association to the decision to become self-employed. Therefore, as the level of education increased the probability that the individual would start his or her own business also increased. Poschke (2012) suggests that the relationship between education and occupation choice continues even when an individual is employed. Consequently, employees who increase their education may leave the current employer and seek new employment. The new employment may be more harmonious with their educational and skill levels.

Additionally, with specific consideration for this present study, Arab Americans value educational achievement highly. More than one-third of the Arab Americans in the United States hold Bachelor's degrees and 15% possess graduate degrees. Consequently, the importance of education as a precursor to career and economic success cannot be overstated. Arab Americans also value self-employment and entrepreneurship and see educational attainment as the path to these goals. These positions are highly consistent with the literature on the effect of education on occupational choice.

Furthermore, Read and Oselin (2008) found that educational attainment may have a different effect on occupational choice among Arab American women. Arab American women have higher levels of educational attainment than women from other immigrant backgrounds; however, they also have lower levels of employment (Read and Oselin, 2008). The authors contend that this education-occupation paradox is in part explained by religious and cultural values specific to Arab American contexts. The authors conducted a qualitative study in which they investigated the reasons for this paradox. Read and Oselin (2008) found that whereas Arab Americans (both from a religious as well as ethnic perspective) adhere to beliefs about the importance of education, there are also steadfast cultural beliefs about women's roles within Arab American communities. Educational investment is not being utilized by Arab American women because working outside the home and pursuing a career are deemed inappropriate goals for females, whose primary role in the Arab American community is to nurture and raise children and provide time and work in supporting other family members (Read and Oselin, 2008). These findings were consistent with an earlier study conducted by Read (2004) in which the researcher found that religious values had a negative effect on Arab American women's workplace participation if children were present in the household.

When one considers Dearborn Michigan, Miranne and Metzger (2001) commented that as the Arab American population increased in Dearborn and the surrounding region, a substantial increase in children as a share of the state's population has also been observed. This enhanced presence of second- and third-generation Arab American children in public schools in the region has brought about some important changes. Firstly, many schools now offer bilingual programming and others offer what could be called Arab studies. These innovations are required because of the demands of the growing segment of the population. The large numbers of new

immigrants require these programs to enhance and speed up their integration into the society. Alternately, some of the programs provide opportunity to reduce prejudicial and stereotypical barriers between Arab American immigrants and the wider American population.

This is development is important evidence of the impact of Arab American migration to the educational system within the region. It is particularly important because second generation Arab American migrants have a better command of English. They develop this mastery because they have gone to English schools in the United States. Furthermore, speaking English is a necessity to access the labor market in the United States. Chiswick and Miller (2010) suggest that the labor market tends to match the worker's English skill with occupational requirements. Additionally, the authors note that as English skill increases the earning potential of the employee also increases.

The significance of the findings of Read and Oselin's (2008) study is that Arab American women's pattern of educational attainment and employment does not follow the pattern commonly observed among other immigrant or non-immigrant female populations. Specifically, whereas education and employment are strongly correlated in American women and in other minority groups, it is not a strong predictor of employment in Arab American women. Research literature has often suggested that education is a tool of empowerment for women. However, the findings of Read and Oselin (2008) suggest that education is not always a tool of empowerment for Arab American women. This finding has wide implications, highlighting the necessity of addressing the needs of Arab American women beyond providing access to education.

Moraccio (1976) compared the vocational maturity of ninth- and eleventh-grade students, and revealed that Arab students had lower maturity scores than students born in the U.S. Eleventh graders of both nationalities were more vocationally mature than ninth graders.

Moraccio (1976) asserted that the overall difference found between these two populations could be attributed to cultural differences. Arab students were less likely to be reasonably independent during high school than their U.S. counterparts. Vocational maturity, then, may also be different across nationalities.

Occupational choice, therefore, seems to be a construct derived from the convergence of a variety of factors, including vocational maturity, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, family pressures and preferences, gender, and opportunity. Among Arab American high school students, Nassar-McMillan and Zagzebski-Toval (2012) noted that career counseling is challenging because many U.S. public high school counselors have limited knowledge of Arab culture; further, many counselors continue to accept stereotypes of Arabs imprinted by media portraits of them as either religious extremists or wealthy oil barons. Arab women are portrayed as passive, unenlightened and submissive, dependent upon a patriarchal system for most decisions they will make.

While many of these stereotypes are based on, legitimate cultural assessments (such as studies on vocational maturity), Nassar-McMillan and Zagzebski-Toval (2012) state that Arab American secondary school students require special assistance from career and vocational counselors. Career interventions for members of this population must be culturally sensitive and provided within a culturally appropriate context. For example, involving parents in such counseling can be beneficial, to honor familial and cultural norms while simultaneously encouraging vocational choice.

Country of origin and occupational choice

The literature related to the effect of country of origin and occupational choice focuses on persons of Latin American, European, Asian and West Indian heritage, there is a dearth of

literature on persons of Arab heritage. Latin Americans are some of the fastest growing groups of immigrants in the United States (Maldonado 2006). Berrios-Allison (2011) posits that Latin American individuals have reduced access to educational opportunities (because of language barriers) and consequently they tend to cluster in the service industry, which requires minimal education. Improvement across generations is limited because only 10% of individuals finish University (Berrios-Allison 2011). Consequently, second generation Latin American children demonstrate very little social mobility and occupational divergence when compared to their parents. Berrios-Allison (2011), laments that this situation persists despite the prevalence of programs to assist Spanish-speaking individuals. However, Baum and Flores (2010) suggest that a more nuanced approach is needed to understand the influence of generational status. Since the same cannot be said for persons of Caribbean heritage, where second generation West Indians consistently outperform African Americans born in the United States in terms of graduation from university as well as median income. While these two groups (Latin Americans and Caribbean peoples) come ostensibly from similar parts of the globe, the fundamental difference is that Caribbean peoples tend to be English speaking. As has been suggested previously, persons who speak English have better opportunities within the present labor market.

Research on immigrant occupational choices has consistently shown that immigrants are more likely to be entrepreneurs than their native-born peers (Kwon, 2014; Hart & Acs, 2011; Chand & Ghorbani, 2011). However, most of the research on the issue of immigrant entrepreneurship in the United States has focused on other ethnic groups, such as Koreans, Indians, Chinese, etc. Research on Arab American entrepreneurs remains rather limited in comparison. For example, Min (1984) investigated the reasons why Korean immigrants to the United States forgo traditional, white-collar professions and, instead, become entrepreneurs and

business owners. Min (1984) finds that Korean immigrants' perceptions of disadvantages within non-business occupations, their sense of status inconsistency, and their anticipation of economic mobility through business are three major factors which lead them towards creating their own small business.

Raijman and Tienda (2000) compared the choice of business ownership among Hispanic, Korean, non-Hispanic white, and South Asia/Middle Eastern immigrants. The authors analyzed a stratified random sample business survey administered to small business owners in the Chicago area. The authors found some differences among the ethnic groups studied. For example, in the case of Hispanics, participation in informal economies frequently led to business ownership. In addition, the desire to enjoy upward social mobility was often the strongest motivator for Hispanics to embark on this occupational path. Koreans, on the other hand, often entered small business ownership after first being an employee, then a co-owner of an ethnic business, and finally a full and solitary owner. Raijman and Tienda (2000) also found that Middle Eastern small business owners frequently worked in family-owned businesses before branching off on their own business ventures.

Smith and colleagues (2012) suggest that Arab Americans have higher entrepreneurship levels than non-immigrant Americans. One observed difference between Arab Americans and other immigrant groups, however, is that Arab American entrepreneurship is not focused on innovation or high performance but, rather, on work in specific sectors, such as owning gas stations or grocery stores. In contrast, Chinese or South East Asian immigrants often own high-tech companies or venture capital companies (Hart & Acs, 2011). As previously mentioned, a significant number of first-generation Arab immigrants to Dearborn were attracted by jobs in the automotive industry; however, embarking on entrepreneurship is also a major path to

employment for this population. Smith, et al. (2012) report that Arab Americans living in the Detroit metropolitan area (including those living in Dearborn) have high levels of entrepreneurship. Gosh (2010) reports that 90% of gas stations and convenience stores in the Detroit metropolitan area are owned by Arab Americans.

An interesting interaction occurs between immigration, education and occupational choice when highly educated immigrants come to a new country. Peri and Sparber (2011) suggest that when highly educated migrants enter the labor market in a new country they tend to occupy occupations that require analytical and technical skill (programming etc.). Consequently, the native born highly educated individuals move to areas that require greater communication skill rather than technical. This shift in occupation is a result of the intersection of education and immigration. The presence of highly educated immigrants influences the occupational choice of native employees. This effect of immigration is also seen in low-skilled areas where, according to Peri (2011) low skilled immigration influences occupational choice by depressing wages. The result of this action is that native individuals move to occupations that pay more or that are under a less strenuous attack from immigrant labor (Ortega and Verdugo, 2011). These occupations usually require more education and training, increasing high school completion rates among native individuals (Hunt, 2012). The net effect of these interactions is that natives and immigrants tend to work in different sectors of the economy (Marchiori, Pieretti and Zou 2014).

Generational Status and Occupational choice

Occupational choice changes from one generation to another. These changes are often driven by changes in the economy (Eckhout and Jovanovic 2012), governmental action (Pais 2013), cultural features (Cortes and Pan 2015) as well as immigration (Tolciu 2011, Pais 2013). Lyons, Lyons, Schweitzer, Eddy and Kuron, (2012) explore this phenomenon using a qualitative

study of 105 Canadians. The authors found that there were significant generational differences within the group. The differences however were more pronounced among 20-24 and 30-34 career stages. In terms of occupational choice, the findings suggest that younger generations change jobs more frequently than previous generations. The authors also determined that younger generations are more likely to accept jobs with limited upward mobility. The nature of this study suggests that care should be employed in the generalization of the findings. However, it does identify key areas for future researchers to explore differences in occupational choice influenced by generational status.

Early research on occupational choice failed to account for immigrant status (see for example, Sewell & Orenstein, 1965). However, a rich body of research has begun to explore occupational choice among various immigrant groups over the last three decades. Chiswick and Taengnoi (2007) analyzed occupational choices of highly skilled first-generation male immigrants to the U.S. and also found that, post 1965, first-generation immigrants tend to work in technology, science, and healthcare professions. These authors also discovered that English language proficiency (or linguistic distance from their mother tongue to English) was predictive of occupational choice in first generation highly skilled immigrants. Specifically, individuals with lower levels of English proficiency chose professions that required higher levels of analytic skills (computer science, engineering, etc.). Immigrants whose proficiency in English was higher typically chose occupations that required more communication and social interaction, such as medical professions or management. Although Chiswick and Taengnoi (2007) state that Arabic has a relatively high level of linguistic distance from English, the study does not disaggregate occupational data for different ethnicities, generational statuses and countries of origin.

Therefore, it is unclear how their findings apply to the population of Arab Americans in Dearborn, MI.

Highly skilled immigrants tend to choose professions that require high levels of analytic skill (Peri and Sparber 2011). While Peri and Sparber's focus was to investigate the claim that immigrants take away jobs from Americans, the authors conclude that, when the percentage of immigrant employees in a given occupation rises, younger generations of immigrants choose educational pathways that lead them, as well, into this occupation. Native-born workers, on the other hand, increasingly made educational and occupational choices that focused on soft skills rather than analytic and quantitative skills (Peri & Sparber, 2001), and did not always follow familial occupational traditions. This study supports the view that immigrant parents or other older members of a specific immigrant group's previous generation, function as occupational role models for younger generations.

Along similar lines, Poon (2004) found that second-generation immigrants often remain in the occupations that were chosen by their immigrant parents because of immigrant parents' awareness of labor market discrimination in other industries, fear of being tokenized, and the usefulness of peer networks that are already in place. Thus, familial influence may have an effect on second-generation individuals' occupational choices. Occupational networks appear to be deeply rooted in the immigrant experience. Lafortune and Tressada (2010) analyzed US immigration data from 1900-1920. The authors identified intended place of residence of new immigrants and compared it with actual place of residence after a specified period. Significantly, the authors found that the geographic distribution of new immigrants closely followed patterns of existing occupational networks and, therefore, potential occupational opportunities. Immigrants were more likely to settle in areas where their specific skill sets and education were needed and

could be utilized through existing occupational networks (Lafortune and Tressada, 2010). Constant and Zimmermann (2004) alternatively found that intergenerational occupational choice was significantly affected by gender and parental occupational choice in Germans and immigrants to Germany. Specifically, the authors found that German and immigrant children were likely to choose a profession similar to that of their parents. Interestingly, German children were more likely to choose the father's occupation, whereas immigrant children were more likely to choose the mother's profession.

The original language of the particular immigrant group may moderate the relationship between generational status and occupational choice. If the group is English speaking there is a greater tendency for the second generation to have better occupational choices available (Maldonado 2006). Maldonado (2006) examined this phenomenon through the question "Does generational status matter?" The author determined that generational status had no relationship to educational completion rates among Hispanic individuals; consequently, achievement and generational status were independent of each other. This finding was counterintuitive, since it was hypothesized that second generation Hispanic individuals would complete high school, at higher rates than those in the first generation. The finding demonstrates the enduring influence of language interactions on education and subsequently on occupational choice.

Chung and Arnold (2014) examined the effect of generational status among Chinese college students using cross sectional (n=271) and longitudinal (n=101) designs. The authors determined that generational status had no significant effect on occupational choice at both time limits within the study. However, the authors identified that career support from teachers had a significant effect on occupational choice. Hui (2014) looked at the effect of generational status on career choice among Asian Americans. The author determined that generational status had a

significant effect on values. However, the effect size was small. He noted, "Foreign born Asian Americans reported higher investigative self-efficacy, whereas U.S. born Asian Americans reported greater family support in the pursuit of investigative careers compared to foreign born Asian Americans" (p.65). The effect of generational status on occupation choice among Asians remains inconclusive.

Abada, Hou, and Lu (2014) used a generational cohort and the 1981 and 2006 Canadian Census 20 percent sample files, to examine whether the effects of three determinants for self-employment differ between immigrants and non-immigrants. The three determinants studied were difficulties in the labor market, residing in an ethnic enclave, and expected earnings differentials between paid and self-employment. The study revealed that unemployment was a stronger push variable among immigrant fathers than it was among Canadian-born fathers who were motivated by earnings differentials. The second generation sons of both immigrants and Canadian born fathers were more strongly affected by expected earnings differentials than their fathers and were not particularly motivated by unemployment as a reason for choosing self-employment (Abada, Hou, and Lu 2014)

Additionally, Plunkett and Bamaca-Gomez (2003) used generational status as a measure of acculturation, the authors surprisingly found no correlation to either academic motivation or educational aspirations. This finding is consistent with previous research that suggests that though generational status is associated with higher rates of English language usage it does not always result in academic improvements for some groups. The work of Aretakis (2011) further complicates the interaction as the author identified as significant predictor effect for generational status on GPA for Latino and Dominican students. It should be noted that few studies have directly examined generational status and occupational choice. Additionally, studies that have

examined generational status have not examined Arab American populations. However, given the existing knowledge on the topic it is reasonable to suggest that there are conflicting findings about the effect of generational status on occupational choice.

Social networks and Occupational Choice

Given the absence of clear direction on the issue of generational status, it is useful to consider the influence of social networks on occupational choice. Bentolila, Michelacci, and Suarez (2008) considered the impact of social contacts on job acquisition. The authors determined that social contacts were very useful in providing individuals with avenues to find jobs. In this way, the social network of the individual influences their occupational choices both directly and indirectly. The authors determined that contacts could reduce the unemployment duration by 1 to 3 months. However, individual were often chose occupations that were less suitable and desirable to the individual. It is therefore possible that second generation persons who may have more social contacts should find it easier to acquire employment.

Connections among independent variables

The intersection of gender, country of origin, generational status, and education influences occupational choice. It is important to present this intersection because while the variables are often considered individually. In the "real world" they work together to produce observed outcome. A study by Khattab (2012) which focused on the effects of gender and education on Muslims' position within the British labor market made the case that gender played a significant role in determining both educational access and occupational choice. Muslim women were likely to opt for educational and career paths that emphasize traditionally "feminine" work roles. Additionally, Muslim women who reside in Britain who do work tend to

be from the second or third generation of immigrants, unlikely to wear the hijab, and better educated than Muslim women who do not work (Khattab, 2012).

Khattab (2012) also reported country of origin variations in how gendered cultural expectations affect women's choices for education and occupation. For example, Muslim women from predominantly Middle Eastern or Asian countries such as Pakistan encounter fewer barriers to both education and employment than Muslim women from African countries. Therefore, Khattab (2012) argues that country of origin itself plays a substantial role in shaping gendered choices for education or occupation.

Summary

The literature on the subject of occupational choice and motivation is diverse and varied. While the author has presented the literature in three thematic areas, suggesting boundaries in the literature, it is clear that there are multiple avenues of overlap. The many macro factors and their interaction across themes have received limited attention. The cultural components while receiving generous attention largely remain insufficiently examined among minority populations. Possibly the most interesting consideration is the paradox of improved English skills among Latinos but the absence of significant academic improvement. Additionally, many areas of investigation remain inconclusive if not contested, in particular the effect of generational status. However, one thing is obvious. There is a dearth of literature relating to the problem of occupational choice within the Arab American community. Few studies have considered the problem as it is articulated within that community; it is also highly probable that Arab American communities because of the strong patriarchal structure and close community may provide useful departures from the expected outcomes. Consequently, the Arab American community is a rich field for theory exploration and testing.

Occupational Motivation and Occupational Choice

While many factors contribute to occupational choices, in the view of Kniveton (2004), it is important to consider the role played by motivation. Personal and cultural characteristics are significant, such as, the independent variables explored above. That said, Kniveton (2004) found that motivation varies from individual to individual and that the extent to which young people feel that they have control over their own affairs is a significant determinant of occupational choice.

Occupational motivation

Motivation is a multifaceted concept (Macionis, 2004). It is developed in individuals by a combination of influences that certainly include parental guidance, personal preferences, opportunities, socialization, and culture. The extent to which individuals are likely to break out of the cultural norms and mores with which they are surrounded will invariably differ from one individual to another. The question of whether or not Arab-Americans, particularly those in Dearborn Michigan, are more or less likely to be motivated toward certain careers, and how motivation influences occupational choice are important to this present study.

Additionally, Pas, Peters, Eisinga, Doorewaard, and Lagro-Janssen (2011) focused on career motivation among female physicians in the Netherlands, noting that the gender imbalance in senior medical positions is often attributed to an alleged lack of motivation on the part of female doctors, particularly those who have young children. While career motivation for both men and women is affected by numerous variables, it appears that women are more affected by factors beyond themselves. For women the presence of children in the home, the ages of children, marital status, and motherhood ideology were primary motivators regarding career choices in the field of medicine (Pas, Peters, Eisinga, Doorewaard, and Lagro-Janssen 2011).

Certainly, as Pas, Peters, Eisinga, Doorewaard, and Lagro-Janssen (2011) point out, women with young children -- regardless of their generational status or country of origin -- are likely to experience conflicts between career aspirations and familial responsibilities. In cultures where maternity and marriage are defined as women's key responsibilities, both of these responsibilities would have a demotivating impact on occupational choices for women. Women who have already pursued careers and then acquire the responsibility for children and the home may choose not to pursue career advancement (Pas et al. 2011).

Centers and Bugental (1966) interviewed a cross-section of working Americans (a total of 692 subjects) about job motivations to determine the extent to which intrinsic or extrinsic job components were valued and how these components related to occupational level. This study found that, as one's occupational level increased, intrinsic job components such as opportunity for self-expression, the interest value of work, and job satisfaction were most valued, and these components had an impact on occupational motivation among those with higher occupational status. At lower levels of occupation status, extrinsic job components such as pay and security tend to be more valued.

Centers and Bugental (1966) did not observe significant gender differences in the value placed on extrinsic or intrinsic factors in general. Women did tend to place a higher value on good coworkers, however, while men were more likely to value opportunities to use skills and talents in a job. What this research suggests is that once individuals have embarked upon their careers, they are likely to be motivated by essentially the same kinds of things regardless of their gender. While this finding appears to contradict the previously cited work of Pas, Peters, Eisinga, Doorewaard, and Lagro-Janssen (2011), it should be noted that significant time has elapsed between studies. The changing economic and familial landscape could have a possible effect on

the interaction of gender and motivation. Consequently, it is important to avoid the pitfall of interpreting the absence of women in some occupations as a lack of motivation. Rather what may be at play is the complex interaction of structural and familial factors working together to limit women's occupational choice. Reskin and Roos (2009) provide useful insight into this problem by suggesting that the observed phenomenon can be interpreted through the lens of gender queues. Employers routinely prefer males to female workers. Women are fundamentally at the end of the queue despite their skill or motivation to succeed. Consequently, the consideration of motivation as a limiting factor for women must be understood within the highly skewed gender dynamic of the workplace.

Occupational choice

Zulfikar (2014) describes occupational choice as the process of selecting one occupation from a group of occupations. While making the occupational choice, the individual spends time determining suitable/unsuitable occupations for himself/herself. Additionally, an individual's occupation choice is progressive as over the life span of working age individuals, persons may choose to be active or drop out of the labor market at various stages of life. Furthermore, they may adopt different positions in variant sectors and employment areas, or to even decide to become entrepreneurs (Blau et al., 1956). Borchert (2002) defines career choices as "The broad opportunities that exist for lifelong vocations. These occupations are set out in a framework of strategies moving toward personal goals. Fields of occupational, academic, and sociological endeavors are explored for the purpose of satisfying personal, economic, and intellectual goals" (p. 18).

There are subjective and objective factors associated with occupational choice. Subjective factors are interest, demand, skill and social status; objective factors are payment,

income and promotion, which mean social security and economic return. Three variables that become prominent in an individual's occupational choice are skill, value, and interest. While making a choice, the individual compares his/her personal preferences (interest, lifestyle, values, skills, etc.) alongside current options (e.g., types of occupations, sectors of paid work, location of companies, social security and other benefits, etc.). By matching preferences with options, he/she chooses an occupation.

Theoretical Framework

Explicating occupational choice has been the focus of researchers since the 1950s. Both research and general experience provide suggest that individual and social variables work in concert to influence occupational choice. The trend within the literature is to suggest that social variables have greater explanatory power than individual ones (Super & Bachrach, 1957, Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Roberts 1997). While there has been extensive attention to the psychological aspects of occupational choice multiple theoreticians opined that the social forces that affect occupational choice should receive attention (Blustein, 2006; Ivey, 1980). The following brief theoretical review focuses on key prominent theories psychological theories but ultimately presents a combination of sociological theories as the most suitable explanations for occupational choice and occupational motivation.

Psychological theories

Roe's (1957) psychoanalytic theory of occupational choice is one of the earliest attempts to explain occupational choice through psychological factors. Roe (1957) argues that early childhood experiences and child-parent relations are important determinants of occupational choice. For example, a child may choose acceptance or avoidance of familiar family situations in choosing a profession. Holland (1959), on the other hand, maintains that occupational choices

are an expression of personality type. He argues that individuals develop images or stereotypes of what specific occupations look like and, hence, make their choices based on these perceptions. Holland identifies several basic personality types that supposedly explain occupational choices: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional.

Furnham (2001) noted that it had been almost 50 years since Holland first proposed his theory of vocational choice, and, in that period, this theory has been applied in more occupational research than any other. According to Furnham (2001), a key contribution of the theory is the concept of fit or congruence between the person and the environment/job/machine/organization. High performance is the result of the best fit between individual experiences to environment. This fit is also expressed in satisfaction, and limited stress (Furnham, 2001). Lack of fit may result in decreased performance, dissatisfaction, and stress in the system. Occupational choice emerges in this particular theory as the result of the perceived congruence between the individual and a particular occupation.

Additionally, Furnham (2001) notes that occupational choice is influenced by a variety of other factors, including personality traits, attitudes, beliefs, values, abilities, and demographic factors. These factors work in combination to produce the best occupation for an individual. Thus, individuals who value leisure may gravitate toward occupations where there is the increased potential for days off. Persons who are "detailed oriented' may become attracted to occupations that required extensive focus and attention to minutiae. This theory therefore focuses on individual attributes and suggests that those attributes are the push factors for occupational choice.

The immediate problem with this theory however is its focus on the individual. Theories that attempt to address the problem of occupational choice across different populations consider

that the problem has less to do with the person. While it is probably that many people choose their jobs to fit their own characteristics, others are limited in their choice by external factors. External factors such as job opportunities, access to education and training, and acceptance in the workplace are major limitations in occupational choice. This limitation reduces the utility of these types psychological theories.

Ginzberg and Super (1951) proposed a developmental model of occupational choice. The authors maintain that three developmental processes determine occupational choice. The first process takes place during childhood. At this age, children have stereotypical perceptions of occupations that they wish to pursue. As they grow older (age 11-17), they develop a tentative interest in certain occupations. This is, among other things, related to discovering their personal strengths and weaknesses. Finally, during the third stage (age 17-20+), they arrive at realistic perceptions of their abilities and options in terms of occupational choice. In the third stage, they make their occupational choice based on a realistic assessment of their situation. Individuals who know themselves well and navigate career decisions carefully in the third stage (based on learned experiences) will be more successful than their peers in selecting an occupation that fits them well (Reardon et al., 2004).

Consistent with Ginzberg and Super, Bandura (2001) suggested that self-efficacy is critical in occupational choice. Low levels of self-efficacy according to the author are associated with avoidance behaviors that prevent career advancement. This effect of self-efficacy can be observed in the process of choosing a college major. There are majors that provide high financial rewards to the successful students particularly in the STEM area. However, these degrees require students to be proficient in math and science areas where many students struggle. Consequently,

students with low self-efficacy may avoid these areas. Therefore, they are left with the choice of less prestigious careers.

Among these mostly psychological theoretical explorations of occupational choice, the most relevant for this study is Krumboltz and colleagues' (1990 social learning theory of). Krumboltz et al. (1990) maintain that career choice is influenced by four distinct factors, specifically:

1. Genetic factors (race, sex, physical appearance, handicaps)
2. Environmental factors (availability of jobs)
3. Factors related to past learning experiences
    a. Acting on the environment
    b. Responding to the environment
4. Skills and cultural values

Krumboltz et al. (1990) suggest that these factors all affect occupational choice and, hence, should be considered both separately and collectively for their impact. It is important to note that none the theories discussed above explicitly address issues of immigrant occupational choice. However, Krumboltz et al. (1990) view occupational choice as a multi-factorial construct.

Sociological theories

The psychological theories have the common weakness of a heavy reliance on explanations anchored in individual behavior. While this approach is useful, it is limited in its explanatory power. Blau (1956) critique of the problem has utility at this point. Blau (1956) pointed out that psychological theories tend to focus on motivation and the personal characteristics of individuals that explain occupational choices. These theories view background characteristics such as gender, country of origin, educational attainment, socioeconomic status,

or the availability of jobs, merely as limiting factors to a fundamentally psychological process of decision-making (Blau 1956). More importantly, according to Vilhjálmsdóttira and Arnkelsson (2013) theories that seek to explain occupational choice need to "examine both sides of the person -environment-fit equation" (p.581). What is required is a theoretical formulation that acknowledges the personalized nature of some of the factors and gives cognizance to the structural elements of the phenomenon. Furthermore, given that cultural norms and expectations, especially regarding gender, family and education, seem to be particularly important for immigrant populations (Brown, 2002). This present study will employ a theoretical framework that explicates the interaction of a variety of structural factors such as gender, educational norms, generational status, as well as, individual motivations.

Bourdieu's Habitus

The first theory the study examined was Bourdieu's Habitus. Bourdieu (1993) disavowed the dualistic approach to examining social phenomenon and advanced a more nuanced integrated understanding of social phenomenon. As a student of both classical sociology and philosophy, Bourdieu believed that, a dualistic approach lack viability given the nature of problems. Additionally, Bourdieu asserted that the continued propagation of the division between the individual and the society lack utility. Instead, Bourdieu posited that choice (in this study occupation choice) was both social and individual in nature (Vilhjálmsdóttira and Arnkelsson 2013). Consequently, choice is the product of historically structural antecedents related to preference working in combination with individual volition. For Bourdieu these structures are the habitus (Vilhjálmsdóttira and Arnkelsson 2013). It is these structures and their reproduction that best explain occupational choices across diverse populations, rather than simple individual action.

Key concepts in Bourdieu's Habitus

Bourdieu's theory contains three main concepts, namely habitus, field and capital. These ideas are dominant as he explains choice and preference. Bourdieu presents habitus as "social subjectivity" which means that the thoughts of social actors are structured in harmony with the structure of their social setting and surroundings (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This arrangement results in a way of thinking, or "cognitive structure" that is ossified or hardened within the social setting. This means that the social setting becomes very important because it is within that setting that individual experiences harden and become structural. Another way of looking at the issue is to suggest that norms of values of the society do not remain distant from the individual but rather become part of the way that the individual understands and organizes their world, even without rational thought. Subsequent actions while appearing to be generated from the individual agency are actually the emanations of structurally embedded patterns and expectations (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Mansfield (2000) notes that habitus also provides room for individuality because the individual is free to select their behavior from a series of available structural options. The subsequent arrangement of those options is the expression of choice.

Bourdieu (1993) also discusses the idea of field and capital. According to (Wacquant, 1998), field and capital represent the institutionalized elements of historical action. So that, social spaces divide into different "fields." Within each field a different set of rules are applicable to that field. Each field has its acceptable patterns of behavior. In this particular study, the fields would be similar to occupations. Each occupation has a set of requirements and its own discourse, as well as, its own acceptable sets of behavior for that discipline (Eagleton, 1991). Within each discipline, there is also cultural capital. Consistent with this work Bourdieu's

cultural capital is akin to the knowledge that is required to be in the field. As with other forms of capital, cultural capital can be distributed unequally. So that persons who have high degrees of knowledge within a particular field excel in that field.

Another critical addition to the argument from Bourdieu's work is the view that the system of power is sustained through "cultural inheritance." The power structure is hierarchical in nature and there is unequal distribution of power. Education is one of the social institutions that maintains the existing structure. Going to school therefore reinforces and recreates the existing class and power inequalities. Education also provides the mechanism through which these rules related to the disciplines are internalized by the individual (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). This means that young persons within the educational system are shepherded into the appropriate social classes and positions. Bourdieu (2001) describes the tacit acceptance of the world (produced by education) as it is socially constructed as symbolic violence. So that, for Bourdieu the acceptance of the norms associated with the gender and race are forms of symbolic violence. This violence is beyond the individual and explains why even girls internalize the pervasive views related to occupations or what women should do. In Bourdieu's theorizing women fail to enter some occupations in larger numbers not because of personal factors but rather because of the gendered social arrangements that present barriers which many women also fail to understand and resist.

The strength of this theory is that it has been utilized frequently in the study of occupational choice. Artaraz, (2006) and Colley (2003) used habitus to examine career choice among college students in the field of career counseling. Hodkinson and Sparkes (1997) employed habitus to produce a model of occupational choice that conceptualized choice as a median position between the deterministic structural factors and the individual factors. The

authors' view mediated the position between structural determinism and the volition of the actor. Additionally, habitus has been used to comment on the policy position of many organizations that are heavily weighted toward the free choice of the individual (Vilhjálmsdóttir, 2008; Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson, 2013). Consequently, habitus is an excellent fit for the investigation occupational choice and motivation among Arab Americans as constructed in this study.

Social construction theory

While Bourdieu's work an excellent explanation for occupational choice as a median between structural determinism and individual action. The theory required additional support to adequately explain the influence of gender on occupational choice and motivation. A useful supporting theory is the social construction theory.

The symbolic interaction and phenomenological traditions are the starting points for social construction theory (Appelrouth and Edles 2011). Symbolic interaction posits that human interaction combines shared meanings that individuals appropriate and attached to objects, behaviors and events. The inference is therefore that behavior is occurs not because of objective reality outside of the individual but rather because "reality" is subjective. The beliefs individuals have about the world are important as individuals act out of these beliefs (Cole 2016). The focus for symbolic interactionists in the micro level of social interaction and consequently, personalized meaning becomes ascendant. Phenomenology also supports this paradigm as it gives primacy to the individual's perception of events and not the events themselves (Van Manen 1990). In that sense the event does not exist outside of the individual's capacity to interpret and give meaning to the series of physical stimuli that the person receives. These ideas form the fundamental basis for social construction theory.

Social construction theory posits that knowledge is "constructed" through the interaction of the shared understanding of world (Ritzer 2008). Each person contributes to that understanding. Reality is therefore the product not of an individual solely, but rather the result of the meanings individuals derives from their interactions. Consequently, human beings have the capacity to rationalize their behavior through the construction of individualized models of social reality. Therefore, there is no objective reality; rather, reality is a function of each individual's perspective. These personalized understandings of reality are shared with other persons through language and other symbolic communicative elements.

Additionally, to describe anything as being socially constructed is to suggest that the thing, whether it is material, idea or belief, did not have to exist in the form it exists. The present form that the thing takes is a function of the society that has constructed it. Consequently, there is a very close proximal association between the things that are created and the types of societies that produce them. Ultimately, the argument is that things, material or otherwise, exist not as objective realities but rather as the subjective products of particular societies. The specific elements, as well as, the way in which the elements are manifested are an outcome of forces within the society. It would even be accurate to suggest that some things did not have to exist at all or even exist in the manner in which they are presently observed.

Hacking (1999) suggests that the idea of the social construction of reality is not only related to the material world and its associated norms and values, but also the beliefs about those things. For Hacking, belief is an important site of epistemological contestation and ferment. Beliefs can therefore be amenable to change and modification because they are the product of the society. These beliefs extend to the roles that male and females play and how the persons participating in that society should understand those roles.

Social construction of gender

The idea of the social construction of gender is consistent with the theoretical propositions of social construction theory. In keeping with social construction theory, gender is therefore a creation of society and its associated cultures. According to West and Zimmerman (1987) gender is not a personal attribute rather a product of the specific society. The roles associated with any gender may be conceptualized as the "appropriate' or culturally accepted behaviors for any persons occupying that social position. This means that the observed behaviors are ascribed and not biologically determined.

Furthermore, Gilligan (1990) asserts that culture defines females as ideally calm and controlled rather than controlling, and eager to please. Girls learn these cultural prescriptions. Bem (1993) further described gender schema theory and argued that children learn about what it means to be male and female from the culture in which they live. The theory suggests that children adjust behaviors to fit with the gender norms and expectations of their culture. According to Bem (1993), children form gender identities from associations developed from their culture, adopting or responding to cultural expectations regarding what constitutes male versus female traits. The resulting gender schemas not only influence the ways in which individuals' process social information, but also influence attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Individuals tend to engage in behaviors that are consistent with schema for gender appropriate behavior. This conception harmonizes with the concept of habitus and provides a more complete explanatory framework.

Additionally, Bem (1993) notes that a child who is reared in a highly traditional and conservative culture may learn that the role of women centers on the caring and the rearing of children, while men have roles in work and industry. Girls who are raised in such cultures

(among which one must include Arabs and Arab-Americans in particular) may believe that the only path open to her as a woman is to marry and raise children. Whereas, a girl raised in a different culture with regular opportunities to interact with career women, may decide to pursue a career in technology, science, health, or other fields including those historical considered as the domain of males. Bem (1993) makes the case that gender schema create a gender lens influencing how individuals believe people should behave and what is possible for the individual. Such schema are seen by Bem (1993) as limiting for men, women, and society as a whole.

The role of the theory of the social construction of gender is applicable to this study because this present work examines the differences in occupational choices between men and women. The context is particularly useful because the population for the study is Arab Americans. In Arab American society, the dominant gender roles are those that are highly consistent with a worldview where men have clearly defined roles and the same is true for women. Consequently, each gender would be directed into socially appropriate occupational choices. The individual then is choosing from a culturally staged set of choices. The choice of a particular occupation would carry powerful symbolic meaning within the referent group.

Social learning theory

The final theory that finds applicability in this work is the social learning theory. Social learning theory also places strong emphasis on how children think about themselves and learn from other people. Bandura (2001) suggests that as they age, children become more selective in what they imitate, developing personal standards for behavior and a sense of self-efficacy or the belief that their own abilities and characteristics will help them to succeed. This particular theory further proposes that parental feedback, both positive and negative, contributes to the images of

themselves that children develop over time. Parents who encourage their children to pursue challenges and to carve out their own paths with respect to education and careers tend to be more progressive and to believe in the ability of children as they mature to make decisions regarding their own lives that may or may not be thoroughly reflective of cultural expectations. Appelbaum (1980) indicates that women who choose atypical occupations may be exceptional, but part of their exceptionality derives from the socialization to which they were exposed as children. Their socialization was a process that empowered them to choose careers for themselves.

Summary

The psychological theories that attempt to explicate occupation choice and motivation are limited because they fail (in general) to consider the structural elements of the problem. The theories privilege individualized explanation at the expense of structural components, which may have greater explanatory power. Alternately, some sociological theories give limited value to the personal elements of the problem, fail prey to a similar failing. However, this present study combines the key concepts of habitus, gender socialization, and social learning to provide an explanatory framework that recognizes the role of the actor and simultaneously considers the dominance of the structural dimension of the problem. Explaining occupational choice and motivation requires an appreciation of the complexity of the interaction of a multiplicity of variables in diverse social settings. This dynamic effectively describes the setting of Arab Americans in Dearborn Michigan.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology and describes the research design utilized in the examination of occupational choice and motivation among Arab Americans in Dearborn, Michigan. The chapter describes the procedures used to collect the data using a survey, and the statistical approaches used to analyze the data. This study employed a quantitative methodology and a cross sectional study design. The data were collected using questionnaires administered through interviewer-led interviews.

The use of a quantitative methodology is consistent with the nature of the phenomenon and the requirements of this study. A quantitative methodology allows the researcher to examine phenomena and test theory through the collection of numerical data (Nachimas and Nachimas 2008). Consequently, a quantitative methodology presupposes that the phenomenon of interest has been adequately articulated in the literature. The key variables and their underlying concepts are amenable to operationalization and numerically investigation. As previously demonstrated in the literature review and discussed later in this work, the key independent variables gender, generational status, education, and national origin have been examined in numerous previous studies. Additionally, occupational choice and motivation are concepts that have been theorized in the work of Bourdieu (2003); Hodkinson and Sparkes (2006); Bem (1993) and Appelbaum (1980). This theoretical robustness assures the researcher that the theorized relationships may be observed. More specifically, while occupational choice has been examined previously, as evidenced by the literature review within this document. There is an absence of data related to Arab Americans. It is therefore appropriate to use a quantitative methodology to explore occupational choice and motivations within this group.

Additionally, a quantitative approach is superior to a qualitative methodology in this setting because the population (Arab Americans) is not hidden population. Kerlinger and Lee (1992) suggest that qualitative approaches are more apt for settings where the population is hidden or the problem being investigated is of a sensitive nature. These two elements reduce the likelihood of identifying and securing an adequate sample size, making it difficult to engage in a quantitative design, which requires a large sample. The rationale for employing a confidential survey is that such an approach provides the mechanism for examining the attitudes, beliefs, and values of a representative sample of individuals within a well-defined target population. Participants are more likely to give accurate and truthful answers when the data are collected confidentially. Confidentiality is a key requirement for collecting data in culturally sensitive areas. The data for this project were collected using surveys. As described by Remler and Van Ryzin (2011), surveys involve the collection of information from both individuals and organizations (here, individuals) by the use of structured questionnaires or interviews.

Survey research is based on the simple idea that the best way, and one of the most efficient ways, of gathering data is to ask questions directly of individuals who are representative of a well-defined target population. Where time and cost are important considerations surveys are valuable tools for producing valid and reliable data under those constraints. Remler and Van Ryzin (2011) state that surveys conducted in person, via telephone, or online are a cost-effective strategy for gathering data from a large group of individuals in a relatively short period. Data generated by the survey will consist of responses to both open-ended and multiple selection items.

In this study, a questionnaire was administered “face to face” to participants following screening for compliance with the inclusion criteria. After individuals were selected to

participate in the study, they reviewed the Information Sheet. All recruitment and data collection occurred face to face and, as a result, all participants were involved in interactions with the researcher. The researcher asked the questions from the instrument and wrote the responses of the participants. The questions were designed as demonstrated in the attached survey instrument (see Appendix A).

Data Source

The target population for the study consisted of male and female Arab American workers, between 18 years and 65 + years. All of the participants were resident in Dearborn, Michigan at the time of the study. Dearborn Michigan was selected because it contains one of the largest Arab American communities in the United States (AAI, 2015). Furthermore, there is a diversity of Arab ethnic groups living, and working in the city. This diversity provided the required variability for a robust sample. The sample would demonstrate heterogeneity as it applied to country of origin an important variable in the study. Additionally, the researcher has lived in this area for more than seven years. Therefore, the researcher had close firsthand experience with the community and its residents. This insider information ensured that the selection of participants would occur at locations that permitted the researcher to generate a robust and reliable sample.

Sample Design and Recruitment Procedures

This study employed a convenience sample design. Convenience sampling was used since the researcher does not have access to a listing of all Arab Americans in Dearborn (thus, no sampling frame and no possibility of a simple random sample). Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, (2012) note that while convenience type sample design is limited the design allows the researcher to generate samples from populations where randomization is not possible. This is suitable for use with Arab Americans in Dearborn Michigan.

The composition of the sample and the absence of randomness is a limitation. However, this limitation does not severely undercut the value of the work, given the dearth of information on Arab Americans. Therefore, while it is not possible to statistically generalize from the sample to the population. The sample data provides a window into the manifestation of the phenomenon in Dearborn Michigan. Furthermore, these data offer important insights into the occupational choices and motivations of the target population and adds to the existing descriptive knowledge on the subject.

Based on the prior knowledge of the research area, acquired through observation and questioning of local persons, several key locations were identified. Additionally, the map from ACCESS was used for more precise targeting of recruitment locations. Locations were selected because of the frequency of usage by Arab Americans, as well as, the potential diversity of the participants. These venues included shopping centers, community centers, and religious centers regularly trafficked by Arab and Arab-American populations. There were 10 different recruitment sites selected. Site selection was designed to increase sample variability, a strategy of convenience sampling consistent with the guidance of Babbie (2004). A key concern of the sampling procedures was ensuring that women were adequately represented. Primarily since, the study focuses on the relationship between gender, culture, education, national origin, and occupational choice. Following selection, each questionnaire was coded to identify the recruitment locus.

To determine whether or not a potential subject will be given the opportunity to complete the entire survey, three screening questions were asked: 1) have you worked for pay in the last week; 2) do you consider yourself to be Arab or Arab-American; and 3) are your age 18 or older?

An affirmative answer to each of these three screening questions was necessary for inclusion in the study. Additionally, potential participants were informed of the goals and objectives of the study, and the requirements for participation. The participant was then asked if they understood what was said. Following an affirmative declaration, the consent information, as instructed by the Wayne State University Institutional Review Board was presented to the participant. It should be noted that because the questionnaire was in English, participants who could not speak English were also eliminated and did not receive a questionnaire.

Starkweather and Moske (2011) suggest that sample size guidelines for multinomial logistic regression indicate a minimum of 10 cases per independent variable. Therefore, the sample size should be a minimum of 150-200 cases. The following is the disaggregation of respondents by interview location: shopping centers (N = 81, 31.9%), mosques (N=34,13.4%), parking lots (N=20, 7.9%), cafes/restaurants (N= 39, 15.4%), hair salons (N=9, 3.5%), waiting areas (N=47, 18.5%), airport lobbies (N=7, 2.8%), churches (N=11, 4.3%), and other public neighborhood settings (such as parks and recreational areas) (N= 5, 2.0%).

Fifteen individuals did not complete the survey. Ten of these persons could not speak English adequately and were eliminated in the screening stage. Five other individuals, who satisfied the requirement for participants did not complete their questionnaire because they need to leave the interview area sooner than was originally believed. No follow up could be done on these individuals as no personal identifiers were collected in the interviews.

To accommodate concerns regarding gender, additional steps were taken to ensure female representation by approaching potential female subjects at shopping malls, local community and other colleges where Arab and Arab-American women were present. The researcher found male subjects readily available at mosques and Arab owned businesses, where the majority of

potential subjects were male. Focusing recruitment in public sites where both males and females congregate, ensured that an adequate number of female subjects were also available for participation in the study. Babbie (2004) points out that incentives facilitate recruitment for surveys, this study did not employ any incentives. The study was positioned in the context of providing much needed insight into the development of occupational counseling efforts for Arab Americans.

Babbie (2004) notes that brief oral interviews and surveys are often the most effective approach to interviewing. The interaction between researcher and participant (i.e., from the first moment of recruitment to the completion of data collection) took between approximately 20 to 30 minutes. Participants could refuse to answer any question and could end their participation at any time and, as stated previously only 15 persons did not complete the interview. The high response rate may be a function of the recruitment approach. Nachimas and Nachimas (2006) suggest that face-to-face recruitment and data collection has a high rate of responsiveness. Additionally, the researcher's local knowledge and acceptability to the participants may have been a key contributor to the level of participation.

Measurement Instrument

According to Babbie (2004), a key procedure involved in conducting survey research centers upon the development of a questionnaire that will accurately capture the kind of information needed to answer research questions and test research hypotheses. In this study, the questionnaire contained the following categories of questions:

- Demographic questions: age, gender, nationality, religion, education level, family background, and generational status. Information was also collected on participants' last

job, in addition to their current job. These questions gather necessary information about independent variables that may affect the variation in occupational choice.

- One question asked about the participants' current occupation, subsequent questions ask reasons for their choices in occupations.
- Questions are also asked about cultural and gender expectations for jobs, as well as, their internal, external and familial motivations when choosing specific occupations. Each item in these questions will be assessed on a 5 points Likert type scale ranging from 'strongly agree' (valued at 1) to 'strongly disagree' (valued at 5).

Main independent Variables

"Country of origin" was assessed using a semi-structured question "what country were you born in?" The respondent was provided with eight specific options inclusive of "Lebanon," "Yemen," and "USA" as well as, "Other."

"Education" was measured through the following semi structured question; "What is the highest level of education you and your parents have completed?" Respondents could select categories from 1 to 7; where 1=less than high school and 7 "Other" Higher numbers (up to 6) represent increasing levels of education.

"Gender expectation" was measured using an eight-item scale. Items were scored from 1-5 where 1= strongly agree and 5=strongly disagree. Some of the measures in scale are "gender is a major determinant of job choice in my culture," "my job allows me to combine work and childcare responsibilities," and "there are certain jobs that are not acceptable in my culture for women."

Cultural expectation was measured using a seven-item scale. Each item was scored from 1-5 where 1= strongly agree and 5=strongly disagree. The items included statements such as, "my

culture tends to focus on the needs of the group rather than the desire of the individual." "My culture emphasizes the advice of family elder's, regards work, marriage and education."

Generational Status was determined through a re-categorization of the responses from country of origin. Individuals who were born in America were classified as second generation and coded as two for entry into SPSS. Individuals who were not born in the United States were classified as first generation and coded as one for entry into SPSS.

Dependent Variables

Occupational choice measured using two approaches. The first was as responses to the question "what is your current occupation?" Respondents could select from a listing of twenty-three options inclusive of "other…." The response options referenced industries rather than specific occupational titles. The options included responses such as, "business and financial operations," "computer and mathematical occupations," "legal occupations," "personal care and services e.g. hair stylist," and protective services e.g. police and fire." These twenty-three industry categories were subsequently reorganized into five clusters as documented in the table 1 (overleaf).

Table 1: Occupational cluster composition

Clusters	Items
Business and Financial	Business + computer + engineering + farming + construction + installation + production + sales + maintenance
Hospitality	Social service + personal care + entertainment + foodservice
Education	Science + legal + education + clerical
Transportation	Transportation
Healthcare	Healthcare + protective + healthcare support + military

The second measure of occupation choice required the participant to respond to the prompt "Please answer the following questions about the status of your occupational position." Participants were provided with five descriptors to which they could respond "yes" or "no." The descriptors included "non-supervisor: I do not supervise other employees," "team leader: I am not an official supervisor; I provide employees with day-to-day guidance in work projects, but I do not have supervisory responsibilities or conduct performance appraisals." Persons with executive status would select the final category. The degree of responsibility for the management of others progressed from the lowest category of 1 to the highest of 5. This measure of occupational choice assessed the leadership status of the respondent.

Motivation was measured using a multi-construct measure. Motivation was conceptualized as having three components namely "internal motivation," "external motivation" and "family motivation." All components of motivation were measured using a series of questions based on a Likert type scale. Respondents were asked to register their degree or agreement with a series of statements; 1=strongly agree, to 5, strongly disagree. Internal motivation was assessed using an eight item scale, some of the statements were "I took my current job out of financial necessity," and "I lacked access to other job options." External motivation was measured using a seven item scale. The measures in the scale included "my friends have chosen similar jobs." Finally, family motivation was measured using a five item scale. Examples of items in the scale are "my family members are employed in similar jobs," and "the expectations of family and friends impacted my job choice."

Statistical Methods and Data Analysis

The data were analyzed firstly to produce descriptive statistics related to the key demographic variables. These univariate measures allowed the researcher to demonstrate the

suitability of the sample for further analysis. These basic descriptive statistical analysis procedures, such as percentages, means, medians, and modes, along with standard deviations, were computed where appropriate for study variables (Babbie, 2004). Analyses were completed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version 23. A significance level of .05 was used for all analyses. This value (0.05) while arbitrary has acquired wide acceptance in the statistical and research communities. Using an alpha level of 0.05 allowed a 0.05 probability for generating a Type I error (Gravetter and Wallnu 2013).

The inferential analysis was conducted using parametric statistical tests. Information on key variables was examined for reliability using the analysis of Chronbach alpha statistics, and the following results were gathered: Chronbach alpha=.779 for motivations, .763 for cultural expectations and .830 for gender expectations. A value of .779, .763 or .830 is an acceptable measure of reliability (See Appendices D, F & G). Parametric statistical tests are more powerful than non-parametric test and consequently provided the researcher with the best possibility to reject the null hypothesis (Vernoy, Kyle and Vernoy 2001). Analysis of variance (ANOVA), t-test, and both linear and logistic regression analyses were used to examine the data. Because the dependent and independent variables are categorical, these statistical approaches allowed the researcher to test different hypotheses involving more than two categories for dependent variables and several independent variables (Babbie, 2004). Starkweather and Moske (2011) stated that "multinomial logistic regression is used to predict categorical placement in or the probability of category membership on a dependent variable based on multiple independent variables (p.76). The independent variables can be either dichotomous (i.e., binary) or continuous (i.e., interval or ratio in scale). Multinomial logistic regression is a simple extension of binary logistic regression that allows for more than two categories of the dependent or

outcome variable (Vernoy, Kyle and Vernoy 2001). Like binary logistic regression, multinomial logistic regression uses maximum likelihood estimation to evaluate the probability of categorical membership (Leech, Barrett and Morgan 2008). The data related to the reasons for the participants' choices in occupations were analyzed using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). To understand the underlying contributions of the variables to the significant multivariate effect, the researcher tested each dependent variable using one-way ANOVAs for each IV/DV pair.

Specific statistical analyses

Analyses appropriate for each research question are listed below.

Research Question # 1: Are there differences in occupational choices by gender, educational level, country of origin, and generational status among Arab American workers in Dearborn, MI?

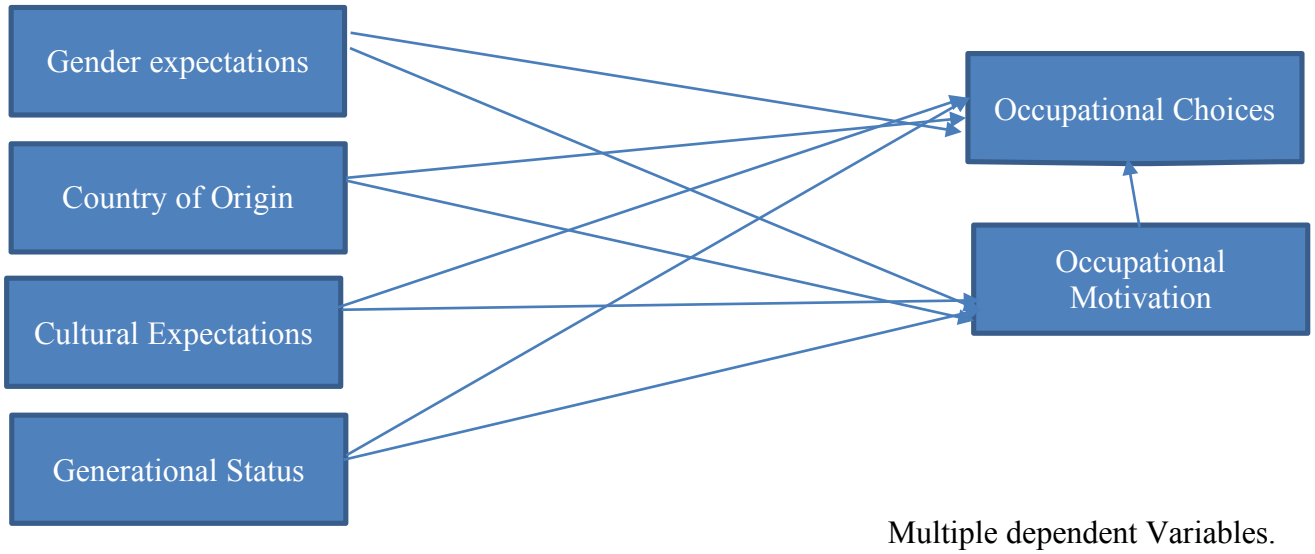
Multinomial regression was used to answer this research question. Gender, educational level, country of origin, and generational status were entered as categorical independent variables and occupational choice as the dependent variable. Because occupational choice could be operationalized in different ways, this analysis will be done twice, once with leadership status as the indicator of occupational choice (non-supervisor, team leader, manager, etc.) and once with industry as the indicator of occupational choice (i.e. business, architecture, education, etc.). Industry categories were collapsed into a few larger categories in order to facilitate analysis. Significant parameter estimates were interpreted by creating cross-tabulations of the variables involved.

Research Question # 2: What explains the occupational motivations among Arab Americans in Dearborn?

To examine research question 2 and the accompanying hypotheses, the ANOVA test was used. ANOVA is a parametric test that allows the researcher to examine the differences between groups. Additionally, both linear and logistic regression was employed for their predictive capabilities. Linear regression predicts the proportion of variance in the dependent variable that is attributable to a specific set of predictor variables. Logistic regression was used to examine the odds or likelihood of making a particular occupational choice based on different types of motivation (Gravetter and Wallnu 2013) The model for this study is as follows:

Model Tested

Independent Variables (IVs) **Dependent Variables (DVs)**



These variables are categorical with the possible exception of education with is at times assessed as an interval level variable

Multiple dependent Variables. Note that Occupational Motivation is influenced by the independent variables and it influences occupational choices. In this arrangement it is possible that you will need to examine occupational motivation as a moderator /mediator variable.

Limitations

The researcher faced some difficulties regarding collecting the data that were the result of the traditional constraints and culture mores. These difficulties made recruiting a sufficient number of female participants more challenging. Also, the researcher faced difficulties in recruiting equal numbers of individuals within certain ethnic groups (e.g. Lebanese, Yemenis, and others). Lebanese were present in larger numbers and were easier to recruit, while other groups were more difficult to find and convince to participate. These challenges were reduced by going to specific locations such as restaurants, mosques, bakeries, and the waiting areas in some settings, such as the Secretary of State Office, college campuses, and gas stations to recruit certain groups that were more difficult to reach using the previously described approach.

The study is limited in that while the sample size of 254 individuals is substantial, the design does not permit generalization. Additionally, the Arab American population of Dearborn is a heterogeneous population. Thus, it is quite likely that there are differences between the attitudes and experiences of different Arab American ethnic or national groups captured in this study and those who are not. Secondly, the study is restricted in that it does not control (methodologically) for any potentially intervening variables such as age, socioeconomic status, etc.

Furthermore, the study lacks the capacity to generalize to the population of Arab Americans. This study because of population variability and elusiveness of some categories of respondents could not utilize a random sample design. The absence of randomization limits the ability of the data to generalize, principally because the quantum of error within the study is unknown to the researcher. So that, the findings are limited to the members of the sample and wider extrapolations must be done cautiously.

Another limitation of the present study is that the findings are unlikely to give insights into the psychological and or cultural sentiments and motivations of Arab Americans as they pertain to occupational choice. Further, there is no way to confirm how Arab American individuals in this study may be socialized to familial or gender norms. These factors can only be identified superficially through the present study. A qualitative study that utilizes, for example, in-depth interviews as a data collection method may shed light on these factors in the future, and may help to explain how cultural and religious values affect occupational choices on both the macro and micro-level. With these constraints in mind, the study nevertheless provides an excellent opportunity to shed light on the occupational choices and motivations of Arab Americans in Dearborn, Michigan. This study examines an aspect of the American cultural mixture that has received limited attention in the literature thus far.

Summary

By investigating occupational choices in the population of Arab Americans in Dearborn, Michigan, the researcher hopes to make a meaningful contribution to the existing body of knowledge regarding occupational choices in immigrants. Thus far, Arab Americans have been under-researched despite the fact that this ethnic group has seen significant population growth in the last two decades. Furthermore, the researcher believes that the present study is a useful contribution to the creation of informed policy decisions about educational and occupational support programs for Arab immigrant population. The descriptive findings added to the literature because of this study may spur on future researchers to study this topic in greater depth.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the statistical analysis. The results are organized to be conceptually consistent with attempts to answer the research questions. This chapter commences with a discussion of the demographic characteristics of the sample. This is followed with a presentation of the results of statistical testing that is consistent with the research questions. Tables are used to supplement the narrative within the text; consequently, repetition of information is avoided. Additional analysis is also provided in the accompanying appendices.

Sample Characteristics

Demographic characteristics

The sample participants were 54.3% male (N=138) with females comprising only 45.7% (N=116). The largest number of participants were born in Lebanon (N=57) or Yemen (N=53), and participants have lived in the U.S. for an average of 15.16 years (SD=9.17 years). The mean age of emigration to the U.S. was 17.34 years (SD=10.03 years), with a range of 1 to 50 years. The large majority of respondents report their religion as Muslim (N=231, 90.9%). The majority are married (N=144, 56.7%) and have children (N=146, 57.5%). Participants had varying levels of education, and were largely more educated than their parents (see Appendix C).

Table 2: Distribution of selected characteristics in the sample		(N= 254)	
		N	%
Gender	Male	138	54.3
	Female	116	45.7
Education level	less than HS degree	12	4.7
	HS degree or equivalent	53	20.9
	some college but no degree	53	20.9
	associate's degree	39	15.4
	bachelor's degree	53	20.9
	graduate or professional degree	43	16.9
	other (please specify)	1	.4
Marital Status	Divorced	21	8.3
	Married	144	56.7
	single, never married	85	33.5
	separated	4	1.6
Religion	Muslim	231	90.9
	Christian	21	8.3
	Jewish	1	.4
	Other	1	.4
Nationality	Lebanese	74	29.1
	Yemeni	83	32.7
	Iraqis	20	7.9
	Palestinian	32	12.6
	Syrian	8	3.1
	Egyptian	9	3.5
	Jordanian	13	5.1
	American	1	.4
	Other	14	5.5
Generational status	First generation	194	76.4
	Second generation	60	23.6

Employment characteristics

The employment data for the respondents were recoded into five categories consistent with the clusters developed by Slaper (2015) and Harvard Business School (2015). The largest proportion of the respondents (N=98 or 38.5%) worked in the business and financial cluster, while the transport cluster had the smallest proportion (see table below).

Table 3: Employment Characteristics

		N	%
Industry/Cluster	Business and Financial	98	38.5%
	Hospitality	51	19.9%
	Education	57	22.6%
	Transportation	7	2.8%
	Healthcare	41	16.2%
Total		254	100

Most respondents reported having permanent employment (N=210, 82.7%), and full-time employment (N=165, 65%). Only 36 participants (14.2%) said they had a second job. Participants were employed in their current position an average of 5.67 years (SD=6.07 years), and had worked for their current company an average of 5.74 years (SD=6.30 years).

I now turn to present data that attempt to answer particular research questions.

Research Question # 1: Are there differences in occupational choices by gender, educational level, country of origin, and generational status among Arab American workers in Dearborn, MI?

Chi-square analyses were conducted to better understand the relationships between the predictors and industry. Gender and industry were significantly related ($\chi^2(5) = 28.88$, $p<.001$), with males being more likely to be in business/financial or engineering/computer jobs and females more likely to be in education/training or healthcare jobs (See Table 4).

Table 4 *Cross-tabulation of gender and industry*

Gender	Business & Financial	Engineering & Computer	Sales	Education & Training	Food Prep & Personal Care	Healthcare Support & Practitioners	Total
Male N	14	22	18	11	6	11	82
%	17.1	26.8	22.0	13.4	7.3	13.4	100
Female N	5	3	15	20	9	27	79
%	6.3	3.8	19.0	25.3	11.4	34.2	100

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	28.880[a]	5	.000
Likelihood Ratio	31.174	5	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	22.716	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	161		
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.36.			

Generational Immigration Status was also significantly related to industry ($\chi^2(5) = 13.85$, $p<.05$). Individuals born in the US Were more likely to be in business/financial or educational jobs, while those not born in the US were more likely to be in engineering/computer or food preparation/personal care jobs (See Table 5).

Table 5 Cross-*tabulation of generational immigration status and industry*

Immigration	business & financial	Engineering & computer	sales	education & training	food prep & personal care	Healthcare support & practitioners	Total
Not born in US N	12	24	25	19	14	30	124
%	9.7	19.4	20.2	15.3	11.3	24.2	100
Born in US N	7	1	8	12	1	8	34
%	18.9	2.7	21.6	32.4	2.7	21.6	100

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.849[a]	5	.017
Likelihood Ratio	15.772	5	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	.092	1	.761
N of Valid Cases	161		
a. 2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.45.			

Education level was also significantly related to industry ($\chi^2(15) = 50.69$, $p<.001$). (See Table 6) for detailed percentages and counts. Overall, those with less education were more likely to be in food preparation and sales jobs, while those with the most education was likely to be in engineering/computer, education, and healthcare jobs.

Table 6: *Cross-tabulation of education and industry*

		business & financial	engineering &computer	sales	education & training	food preparation & personal care	healthcare support & practitioners	
HS Graduate or less	N	4	1	12	5	10	6	38
	%	10.5	2.6	31.6	13.2	26.3	15.8	100
Some college/associate's degree	N	9	7	15	7	5	9	52
	%	17.3	13.5	28.8	13.5	9.6	17.3	100
Bachelor's degree	N	3	10	4	9	0	8	34
	%	8.8	29.4	11.8	26.5	0.0	23.5	100
graduate or professional degree	N	3	7	1	10	0	15	36
	%	8.3	19.4	2.8	27.8	0.0	41.7	100

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	50.685[a]	15	.000
Likelihood Ratio	56.598	15	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.702	1	.402
N of Valid Cases	160		

a. 7 cells (29.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.19.

Chi-square analysis was also used to examine the relationship between nationality and industry. No significant relationship was found between nationality and industry ($\chi^2(10) = 14.18$, $p>.05$). Chi-square was also used to examine the relationship between gender and supervisory status and between nationality and supervisory status. Gender was significantly related to having a position involving responsibility for hiring and firing employees ($\chi^2(1) = 14.25$, $p<.001$).

Males were more likely to be in positions with hiring/firing authority than females (see Table 7: *Chi-square* below). Gender was not significantly related to one's relative supervisory status (as non-supervisor, team leader, manager, etc.) ($\chi^2(4) = 5.34$, $p>.05$).

Table 7 *Cross tabulation of gender and hiring responsibility*

Gender	**Not responsible for hiring/firing**	**Responsible for hiring/firing**	
Male N	89	49	138
%	64.5%	35.5%	100%
Female N	99	17	116
%	85.3%	14.7%	100.0

*Gender*Industry categorized*

Gender		Industry categorized						
		business & financial	engineering & computer	sales	education & training	food preparation & personal care	healthcare support & practitioners	Total
male	Count	14	22	18	11	6	11	82
	% within	17.1	26.8	22.0	13.4	7.3	13.4	100
Female	Count	5	3	15	20	9	27	79
	% within	6.3	3.8	19.0	25.3	11.4	34.2	100
Total	Count	19	25	33	31	15	38	161
	% within	11.8	15.5	20.5	19.3	9.3	23.6	100

Table 8 Cross tabulation of Gender Industry categorized

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.248[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	13.185	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	14.813	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.192	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	254				
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 30.14.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Chi-square tests were also used to examine the relationship between nationality and the ability to make hiring/firing decisions. Nationality was not significantly related to the ability to make hiring/firing decisions ($\chi^2(8) = 7.34$, $p>.05$)., or to relative supervisory status ($\chi^2(4) = 5.34$, $p>.05$).

Multinomial regression was conducted using gender, nationality, and immigration status as predictors. Educational level was not included in the analysis because its inclusion resulted in too many cells with 0 participants, and the result was that the model could not be estimated. Thus, education level will be included in a follow-up cross-tabulation analysis. Industry category was the dependent variable. Industry categories were combined so that six categories remained: business and financial, engineering and computer, sales, education and training, food preparation and personal care, and healthcare support/practitioners. The remainder were classified as "other" and were not included because they only had a few people per category. Consequently, participants who did not fit into one of these categories were excluded

from this analysis, because the number of categories would have been too great for meaningful interpretation.

The overall model was significant, as indicated by a significant likelihood ratio test ($\chi 2(20) = 60.70$, $p<.001$). The likelihood ratio test tests whether the overall model is significantly different from the null model (one in which cases are assigned to dependent variables by chance alone). Thus, we can conclude that our predictors do a better job at predicting participants' membership in outcome categories than chance. Ngelkerke's Pseudo R-Squared was .324 for this model, indicating that roughly 32.4% of the variability in the dependent variables can be predicted based on the independent variables.

Parameter estimates and significance tests can be found in Table 3: *Multinomial Regression of Gender, Nationality, and Generational Immigration Status on Industry*. In multinomial regression, it is most intuitive to discuss the Exp(B) term when interpreting results. The Exp(B) term is an odds ratio, which means that it indicates the relative likelihood of falling into the given occupational category, for every unit increase in the predictor. Results are given according to industry category, with healthcare (the most common category) as the reference category.

Significant results were found for Business and Financial, Engineering and Computing, and Sales. For Business and Financial occupations, being male was associated with a significantly higher likelihood (odds ratio = 8.71) of being in business or financial jobs rather than healthcare. Participants not born in the US were less likely to be in business or financial jobs (odds ratio = .256) than in healthcare jobs.

In the field of engineering and computing, Yemeni respondents were significantly less likely to be in engineering/computing than in healthcare (odds ratio = .139). Finally, males were more likely to have a job in sales than in healthcare (odds ratio = 3.412).

Table 9
Multinomial Regression of Gender, Nationality, and Generational Immigration Status on Industry

Industry		B	SE	Wald	Df	Exp(B)
Business and Financial						
Intercept	Intercept	-.847	.834	1.030	1	
Gender[a]	Male	2.164	.667	10.544**	1	**8.710**
Nationality [b]	Lebanese	.465	.788	.348	1	1.592
	Yemeni	-.382	.792	.233	1	.683
Generational immigration status [c]	Not born in US	-1.364	.697	3.828*	1	**.256**
Engineering and Computing						
Intercept	Intercept	-2.448	1.258	3.790	1	
Gender[a]	Male	3.077	.743	17.160***	1	21.700
Nationality [b]	Lebanese	-.851	.692	1.510	1	.427
	Yemeni	-1.972	.765	6.644**	1	**.139**
Generational immigration status [c]	Not born in US	1.060	1.154	.843	1	2.885
Sales						
Intercept	Intercept	.111	.661	.028	1	
Gender[a]	Male	1.227	.520	5.564*	1	**3.412**
Nationality [b]	Lebanese	-.550	.642	.733	1	.577
	Yemeni	-.584	.594	.967	1	.558
Generational immigration status [c]	Not born in US	-.486	.608	.640	1	.615
Education and Training						
Intercept	Intercept	.958	.615	2.426	1	
Gender[a]	Male	.593	.546	1.183	1	1.810

Nationality [b]	Lebanese	-.887	.661	1.801	1	.412
	Yemeni	-.935	.598	2.448	1	.392
Generational immigration status [c]	Not born in US	-1.096	.582	3.548	1	.334
Food preparation and Personal Care						
Intercept	Intercept	-2.372	1.245	3.633	1	
Gender[a]	Male	.399	.658	.367	1	1.490
Nationality [b]	Lebanese	.923	.806	1.312	1	2.517
	Yemeni	-.025	.880	.001	1	.976
Generational immigration status [c]	Not born in US	1.072	1.135	.892	1	2.922

[a] "Female" is reference category
[b] "Other" is reference category
[c] "Born in the US" is reference category
*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001

Research question 2: What explains the occupational motivations among Arab Americans in Dearborn, Michigan? Question 2a. Is there a mismatch between Arab Americans' motivations and their occupations?

To answer these questions, the following hypotheses were tested. In this study occupational motivations were constructed as a multiple variable concept. Occupational motivations consisted of three factors namely, familial motivation, internal motivation and external motivation. To determine the robust of the questions used in the questionnaire to assess motivation exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation was conducted. All of the questions used to measure motivation were entered into SPSS for analysis. Factors with an eigen value above 1 were selected for inclusion in the final model. Consequently, the model produced the most parsimonious set of variables that constituted each type of motivation.

Hypothesis 1: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their culture.

To examine this hypothesis, a linear regression was used and each type of motivation was examined. Cultural expectation explained 5.4% of the observed variance in internal motivation ($F=14.3$, $p<.01$). Cultural expectation also explained 11.6% of the variance in external motivation ($F=32.78$, $P<.01$). However, cultural expectation was not a significant predictor of family motivation ($F=.202$, $p=.654$).

Hypothesis 2: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their country of origin.

To examine this hypothesis differences between individuals based on their country of origin was first assessed. If there were no differences in the levels of motivation it would be reasonable to conclude that county of origin could have not influence on the occupational motivations of individuals. Because of the spread of the data, nationalities were aggregated into Lebanese, Yemeni and others. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was used to examine the differences in occupational motivation between the different groups. There was no difference in any type of motivation among the different groups (see table 10). As suggest earlier, Arab Americans occupational motivations are not influenced by their country of origin.

Table 10 ANOVA for country of origin and motivation

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Internal motivation	Between Groups	2.745	2	1.373	.159	.853
	Within Groups	2165.349	251	8.627		
	Total	2168.094	253			
external motivation	Between Groups	4.276	2	2.138	.117	.890
	Within Groups	4546.688	249	18.260		
	Total	4550.964	251			
Family Motivation	Between Groups	48.520	2	24.260	1.811	.166
	Within Groups	3361.464	251	13.392		
	Total	3409.984	253			

Hypothesis 3: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their gender expectation.

To examine the influence of gender expectation on Arab Americans a series of correlations were produced to examine whether any relationship existed between gender expectations and any type of occupational motivation. Gender expectation had a weak positive relationship with both internal motivation (r=.131, p=.037) and external motivation (r=.188, p=.003). However, there was no significant relationship with family motivation (r=-.023, p=.714).

Additional linear regression analysis with the two significant types of motivation suggested that gender expectation explained 1.7% of the variance in internal motivation (F=4.361, p=.037). Additionally, 3.5% of the variance in external motivation (F=9.17, p=.003), is explained by gender expectation.

Hypothesis 4: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their generational status.

To test this hypothesis a T test was conducted to determine if there were significant differences in occupational motivation between Arab Americans based on generational status.

Persons who were second generation tended to have higher levels of motivation in all categories (see table 10). However, there was only a significant difference between generational statuses for family motivation (t=2.25, p=.025) (see table 11&12).

Table 11 Generational status and occupational motivation

Motivation Classification	Generation status	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Internal	First Generation	194	7.8454	3.07704	.22092
	Second Generation	60	8.1333	2.38971	.30851
External	First Generation	192	12.7813	4.39586	.31724
	Second Generation	60	12.9500	3.81533	.49256
Family	First Generation	194	9.7062	3.61793	.25975
	Second Generation	60	10.9167	3.72027	.48028

Table 12

Motivation Classification	t-test for Equality of Means		
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Internal motivation	-.665	252	.507
External motivation	-.267	250	.789
Family Motivation	-2.250	252	.025

The answer to question 2a is there a mismatch between Arab Americans' motivations and their occupations. This question was examined by comparing the mean motivation scores for each cluster in and each type of motivation. The mean values suggest that persons with the lowest levels of motivation tend to be employed in jobs within the health care cluster, while persons with the highest levels of motivation are employed in the transport sector.

Table 13 Employment Clusters and Motivations

Cluster	Internal (M,SD)	External (M,SD)	Family (M,SD)	Mean Motivation
Business and Financial	7.93 (2.95)	12.85(4.59)	9.59 (3.86)	10.12
Hospitality	8.22 (2.75)	12.62 (3.71)	9.34 (3.00)	10.09
Education	8.09 (2.92)	13.47 (4.38)	11.23 (3.42)	10.93
Transport	10.57 (4.5)	14.43 (4.99)	9.14 (3.38)	11.38
Healthcare	7.59 (2.97)	11.92 (4.29)	10.02 (3.97)	9.84

To examine occupational motivation further, logistic regression was conducted on all of the employment clusters to determine if any of the occupational motivations could significantly predict participation in an employment cluster. Motivation was not a significant predictor of employment in the business and financial cluster, health cluster or hospitality cluster. However, internal motivation was a significant predictor of non-participation in the transport cluster (OR =1.328, 95% C.I. =1.026-1.719, p=.031). Restating the OR as a percentage person with strong internal motivation have a 57% chance of not having a job in the transport cluster. Additionally, family motivation was a significant predictor of non-participation in the education sector (OR = 1.129, 95% C.I. = 1.033-1.233, p=.007). Similarly, persons with high family motivation have a 53% chance of not having a job in the education sector.

Summary

The results of this quantitative study has shown that Arab Americans in Dearborn, Michigan, as a cultural and racial minority group within the United States of America, experience diversification within the workforce. Arab Americans academics strongly correlates with both occupational choice and income. Insofar as motivation is a factor that is affected by cultural expectation, education, and generational immigration status, occupational choices will fall on the higher end of the socio-economic spectrum. Additionally, second generation Arab Americans tend to have higher levels of motivation when compared to their first generation counterparts. Internal and familial motivation were significant predictors of occupational choices in the education and transportation sectors.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

This discussion represents a presentation of the major findings from this study and an examination of the implications of the findings. The descriptive and inferential analyses are discussed in light of existing literature and theory. The existing research literature is employed to support and challenge the findings of the present study. It is important to note that the study attempts to explain both occupational choices and occupational motivation; thus, the discussion includes information on both dependent variables.

Demographic Characteristics

The majority of the sample were males (54.3%). While males outnumbered females in this present study, this proportional division, had little effect on the variability of the dependent variable. Amin and Sherkat (2014) suggest that Arab Americans have a strong patriarchal system that influences multiple areas of the lives of individuals and in particular, their educational choices. This strong patriarchal system influences both foreign-born males and females.

The participants were largely from either Lebanon (N=57) or Yemen (N=53). Participants lived in the United States a little over 12 years and had a mean age of 17.34 years (SD=10.03 years) when they entered the United States. This demographic profile is consistent with the work of Bleakley and Chin (2010) who, using the U.S. census data, suggested that a significant proportion of immigrants come to the United States as teens. The young age of the emigration suggests that the respondents had adequate time from when they emigrated until the time of the study to assimilate the culture of the United States. Therefore, it is very likely that the respondents would demonstrate cultural cohesion consistent with the majority population of the United States. The concept of cultural cohesion provides a useful explanation for some of the differences that were observed between first and second generation Arab Americans.

Additionally, Guven and Islam (2015) posit that the age at immigration is correlated to the economic success of persons who emigrate from their home country. Consequently, because of the young age of migration the individuals sampled may have significant economic and educational integration into the society.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents was Muslim (90.9%), and married with children. Additionally, 37.8% of the respondents had at least a bachelor's degree or higher. The proportion of Arab Americans with bachelor's degrees or higher is higher than that of the general population of the United States. According to Ryan and Bauman (2016), 33% of the United States population have bachelor's degrees or higher. This suggests that, as a group, Arab Americans have slightly higher than average education. Ryan and Bauman (2016), also suggest that foreign-born individuals tend to have lower levels of education than native-born Americans do. This difference is redressed at the highest levels of education (advanced degrees).

The increased levels of education demonstrated by respondents in this study suggest that the participants should have greater opportunities to access higher paying occupations, as they have the necessary qualifications. Bachelor's degrees are required for most higher paying occupations. Thus, participants' higher levels of education may assist in ameliorating some of the challenges associated with occupational pursuit that accompanies migration to the United States. It should be noted, however, that the study did not consider whether the education was acquired in the United States or prior to arrival. Because the average age of entry into the United States is 17.4 years, however, it is highly probable that the respondents received their education within the United States. Additionally, it is probable that these respondents would have high levels of cultural integration because of their young age and entry and the length of time they have spent in the United States before the study.

The theory of habitus assists in understanding these descriptive findings because the theory posits that occupational choice is a function of "field." This means that specific occupations require that the individual have previous training. They must be aware of the discourse and specialized language within the field and possesses the required knowledge. Entrance into the field is therefore a function of the education and training possessed by the individual. The occupational choice is the outcome of these structural a priori and individual training and ability. If an individual wants to go into an occupation in the science field, they must first have training in that field. The absence of that training means that despite personal desire they cannot enter the occupation. The 37.8% of respondents with bachelor's degrees should have the required education to enter the field of their choice, once the education is congruent with the requirements of the field.

Additionally, the process of acquiring an education within the United States ensures that individuals would experience significant levels of cultural acculturation. Thus, the education process becomes a vehicle for socialization of new immigrants. The American education system also advocates greater cultural parity between men and women, and projects stronger individualization. The descriptive data demonstrates that the sample is highly consistent with the expected proportions within the Arab American communities based on previous literature. The next section moves beyond the descriptive elements of the study and engages a discussion of the specific questions and hypotheses tested in the study.

Research Questions

Research Question # 1: Are there differences in occupational choices by gender, educational level, country of origin, and generational status among Arab American workers in Dearborn, MI?

This first research question examined a complex interaction of multiple variables and sought to explain occupational choices as a function of three dominant variables. The model included gender, country of origin and generational status. The model excluded educational level because educational level violated the necessary assumptions for the statistical test. While educational level was not tested within the model, it was later examined independently. The significant model suggests that these variables significantly predict a respondent's occupational choice. The model determined that approximately one-third of the variance in the dependent variable could be predicted by the three independent variables. This finding suggests that the gender of the respondent, their country of origin and their generational status significantly explicate occupational choices.

Habitus provides a useful mechanism for explaining this finding. Consistent with habitus, an effective explanation of occupational choice requires an appreciation of the complex interplay of variables for its explanation. Accordingly, the existing individualized thought structures of the Arab American living in the United States are a consequence of the influence of the wider societal structures. These wider societal influences have two sources, the first is the country of origin and the second the host county (United States). According to habitus, the country of origin would have a stronger influence on thought and consequently, occupational choice than the United States. This difference in influence occurs because the formation and concretization of norms and values occurs early in the life of the individual. Therefore, before the individual left their country of origin they already held specific views on occupations which become manifest in the United States. The institutional framework in the United States therefore provides a mechanism for the individual to work out previously accepted norms and values.

Additionally, how the individual understands gender is a product of the accepted gender norms and stereotypes in the country of origin. When the individual comes to the United States, their ideas related to gender are also very rigid. Consequently, the generational status of the individual comes into play because individuals who were born in foreign countries have experienced greater exposure to patriarchal norms and values. Individuals born in the United States have greater exposure to the norms and values of the United States. Second generation Arab Americans are therefore more likely to make decisions consistent with the norms and values of the United States. These norms suggest greater egalitarian choice system, and reduced gender stereotyping, as it relates to occupational choice. In this way generational status, when pooled with gender has increased explanatory power.

Furthermore, foreign-born Arab Americans may demonstrate the influential nature of early exposure to rigid patriarchal structures. Their choices remain gendered even after the individual has left their country of origin. The enduring influence of foreign patriarchal structures on the individual captured in this work is a demonstration of habitus. Where external structural components of society become part of the individual and the individual carries those norms and values with them into the new country. Persons are then likely to choose occupations that are in harmony with their perceptions of what women and men should be doing.

Consequently, the interaction of the three variables, gender, country of origin and generational status demonstrate enduring strength. These variables are linked directly to the manner in which individuals construct values and norms. Furthermore, the county of origin and generational status demonstrates variability because norms and values vary based on these variables. Individuals coming from countries where there are strong patriarchal norms tend to view some positions as "women's work." Additionally, because values erode and change over

time these values weaken across intergenerational boundaries. In combination these three variables provide clear support for the theory of habitus and explains why even though persons have left their initial country they may still express the dominant social norms and values of their country of origin. These social structures (norms and values) are now part of the individual. The individual makes occupational choices that are influenced by these enduring structural retentions.

The model presented in Table 9? suggests that these variables in combination would have significant predictive ability. The underlying framework that links these variables together is the cultural expectations of the respondents. Cultural expectations work to shape the values of the individuals, and the roles they believe that are ascribed to men and women. Additionally, individuals who are newer to the United States would have experienced reduced cultural diffusion. The Arab Americans born in the United States hold more egalitarian views with respect to the occupational choices of men and women. Additionally, the reduced cultural diffusion is observed in the expectation differences between first and second generation Arab Americans.

Gender, country of origin and generational status significantly predict occupational choices (Frehill, Abreu, and Zippel 2015). As noted earlier, independently gender has limited explicatory power. However, because gender is a product of the cultural setting within the country of origin, and that setting shapes the options available to the individual, the interplay of these variables becomes an important consideration. This is interplay particularly true of Arab American communities (Cainkar and Read 2014) as in these communities some occupations may be considered more acceptable for some genders and not for others.

This conceptualization is consistent with both habitus and social learning theory. Habitus suggests that the gendered social structures remain with the individual beyond the

physical borders of their country of origin. So that, even though the individual is physically in a new country they are still functioning and making decisions in harmony with the norms and values of their country of origin. Additionally, according to social learning theory individuals draw from the social setting ideas of acceptability. These ideas of acceptability later shape decisions in a covert manner. This suggests that it is possible for the individual to observe new norms and values but those new norms and values may have limited effect on the decision making process of the individual. The combined effect of habitus and social learning means that the initial socialization, concerning gender, in the country of origin forms a rigid set or values and norms. These learnt structures become the basis for making gendered decisions in the new country. Arab Americans remain intimately tied to the norms and values from their home country.

These values advocate different social fields for men and women. The concept of social fields means that men and women take different educational directions that are in congruence with the initially gendered orientation of the society. The structure limits and shapes the choice of the individual in this additional way. Women and men have different occupational choices available because they enter the employment marketplace fitted with different social capital and are suited to different fields of employment. Therefore, the finding that gender is a significant predictor of occupational choices harmonizes well with social learning theory and habitus. In strong patriarchal societies, women are socialized in different ways to men. The ideas of social acceptability are further reinforced through familial structures that provide a mechanism strengthening and maintaining the socially derived distinctions.

In some industries, Arab American men and women make different occupational choices. This finding should be interpreted cautiously because of the sample design.

Additionally, this finding may be a reflection of the general gendered nature of employment opportunities within the wider United States. This means that while the finding is harmonious with gender theory and the researcher's expectations it would be inappropriate to suggest that Arab American women are worse off than U.S.-born women are as it relates to gendered occupational choices. Moreover, the gendered skew within the population of the United States has been steadily declining (Mandel and Birgier 2016). However, it appears that within the Arab American population the gender difference in occupational choices is limited to some sectors only. This study determined that males were three times more likely to have a job in education than the health care industry. Therefore, gender differences are not manifest across all industries and the effect is limited.

This gendered difference was also observed in the business and financial occupations, as being male was associated with a significantly higher likelihood of being in business or financial jobs than healthcare. Males were eight times as likely as females to be in engaged in professions in finance and business. Males who may be culturally directed toward behaviors that focus more on controlling rather than being controlled, find a harmonious linkage with financial jobs. As noted previously in this study women were significantly over represented in healthcare (Cinamon, Habayib, and Ziv 2016).

Gender was significantly related to having a position involving responsibility for hiring and firing employees. Males were more likely to be in positions with hiring/firing authority than females Gender was not significantly related to one's relative supervisory status (as non-supervisor, team leader, manager, etc.). This finding further supports the role of gender in shaping the occupational choices of the participants.

Participants not born in the United States were less likely to participate in business or financial jobs than in healthcare jobs. Friedberg (2000) noted two difficulties that assist in explaining these observations. Firstly, persons who immigrate to a host country from other countries have challenges getting their education certified. Additionally, education that is acquired outside of the new country may be considered to be less valuable than education acquired within the United States. Given these realities and the requirements to participate in the healthcare sector it is highly probable that persons who are born in the United States would have an educational advantage when attempting to enter these sectors.

The educational level of the respondent was also significantly related to industry. As noted earlier, these findings should be interpreted with caution as some of the cells contained fewer than five members. However, it is quite understandable that education level would be a precursor of access to a particular industry. Entry into different industries have different educational requirements and the most lucrative and industries usually require above average levels of education.

An interesting negative finding was that there was no association between the country of origin of the respondent and the industry in which they had their job. Irrespective of country of origin, Arab Americans were equally represented in the industries considered in this study. This is at odds with the work of Mattoo, Ozden and Neagu (2005), which determined that immigrants from different parts of the world were more likely to be represented in different jobs. Even highly educated immigrants from some countries participated in the unskilled labor force with higher than expected frequencies. Possible explanations for this divergence of findings may be that the sample used for study had reduced variance related to nationality as all the participants would have come from the "same" area of the world. Additionally, the sample design may be a

contributing factor in the inability to produce a significant finding. The sample was a convenience sample and convenience samples have less power than random samples. Consequently, if the population contained an actual difference the sample would not be powerful enough to reject the null hypothesis that there was no difference.

Participants; occupational motivations were considered as well. The initial analysis of the data suggests that occupational choices are related to the gender of the respondent, country of origin, and their generational status. Linked to participants' occupational choices are the motivations behind these choices, and the following questions and hypotheses were examined and are discussed below.

Research question 2: What explains the occupational motivations among Arab Americans in Dearborn, Michigan? And, is there a mismatch between Arab Americans' motivations and their occupations?

It is important to note that occupational motivations were studied via three constructs, namely internal motivation, external motivation and familial motivation. The complexity of motivation required that the constructs, though similar, were kept distinct for the purpose of analysis and discussion. Motivation is examined through the four hypotheses stated below.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their cultural expectations.

The hypothesis was supported by the data as cultural expectation explained internal and external motivation. However, cultural expectation was not a significant predictor of familial motivation. These findings demonstrate the complexity of the interaction of cultural expectations with occupational motivation (Almobaireek and Manolova 2013). A close look at these variables

illustrates the underlying cultural context that precipitates the described interactions. Consistent with habitus, cultural expectations (of the society) become part of the personal thoughts and feelings of the individual. These expectations are therefore predictive of internal and external motivation of the individual. In the situation an expectation would be that, "married women are likely to follow their husband's preferences with respect to working outside the home." Additionally, "there are certain jobs that are not acceptable in my culture for men" or "young men in my culture tend to follow parental wishes when making job choices."

These statements capture the wider cultural expectations as they integrate into the individual's internal understanding of external expectations and beliefs about occupations. Consequently, individuals who hold these cultural expectations are inclined to follow them. They will be motivated to engage in occupations that are in harmony with the described expectations. Men are internally motivated to choose occupations that are "expected of men" and vice versa for women.

The underlying cultural elements as related to by Almobaireek and Manolova (2013) are framed in this study as internal and external motivations. Internal motivations consider personal factors exigent to the individual as discussed earlier in this work. These factors capture the rationale for occupational choice from the perspective of the individual. Examples of this are in statements such as my "skills and abilities matched this job" and "I took my current job out of financial necessity." So that, while there are existing cultural expectations these expectations may be tempered by the skills the individual has as well as the financial necessity of their immediate situation. This means that in instances where a family may desire the female member to not engage in certain types of employment this cultural reality may be overridden by the material economic reality. Living in the United States presents clear elements of necessity and

consequently, despite social orientation, individuals may be motivated to pursue occupations that allow them to meet their immediate needs.

This predicted relationship between cultural expectations and internal and external motivation is also consistent with the extrapolations of social learning theory. Social learning theory advances the position that prior environmental feedback through parents and other significant individuals to the individual will provide the necessary conditions for the individual to choose certain types of employment. Folbre (2013) noted that cultural expectations are frequently internalized by individuals and are later manifested in their decision-making processes. These expectations are transmitted through the process of social learning. The individual may not always be able to articulate the link between expectations and personal choice, yet the two are associated. Consequently, internal motivations are actually the outward expression of long held cultural expectations.

In this present study, this particular association provided partial explanatory power. This reduced power may be as a result of the confounding influence of U.S. culture. Other studies found stronger predictive associations, this study did not attempt to control for the influence of the U.S. culture on the participants. This is of particular interest since, on average, the participants were in the United States since they were teenagers. This would mean that there would be competing cultural influences. The initial influence of the participants' Arab heritage and their more recent U.S. cultural interactions compete for dominance. Because of how long participants lived in the U.S., it is highly probable that these contending influences limit the ability to look at the effects of cultural expectations and intrinsic motivations.

Nonetheless, cultural expectations were a more powerful predictor of external motivations, as it explained a greater proportion of the variance in external motivation than in

internal motivation. This finding can be explained by an examination of key items in the instrument that captures external motivations such as, "this job is considered important in my community." In settings where individuals are attracted to jobs with high status, the motivation for the individual to participate in those jobs should have a significant relationship to the associated cultural expectations. This suggests that the community's views would dominate individual choices as it relates to employment. Again, this finding shows the value concept of habitus. Habitus suggests that the structure codified as cultural expectations would become part of the individual's personal understanding of the world. Consequently, there would be consistency and harmony between the external and internal motivations. Internal motivations are essentially external motivators integrated into the individual's personal schema of understanding. The motivators within the individual mirror those external to the person. Consequently, if the society finds a specific job important and having high status the individual is also likely to interpret that job in the same manner. The Arab American community considers medical professions to be high status. There is strong external motivation to be in those professions, this external pressure is present internally as the individual also views these positions as desirable and are motivated to seek these positions.

One of the most interesting findings is the absence of a relationship between cultural expectations and familial motivation ($F=.202$, $p=.654$). This finding was inconsistent with the literature and the theory. Social learning theory posits that the family should have a more pronounced influence over the motivations of individuals. This was not observed in this present study. Another consideration that should be born in mind is that the questions related to cultural expectations possessed an underlying assumption of an existence of a strong Arab culture. As noted earlier in the discussion, it is possible that the influence of the wider U.S. society will

reduce the influence of the more localized Arab cultural components. The Arab cultural elements function at a familial level and are potentially isolated from the more distal American culture. However, the individual experiences both simultaneously and decides which set of values they will adopt as it relates to occupational choices.

A possible understanding of these findings may be derived from the work of Shin and Kelly (2013), this finding alludes to the complex nature of the interaction between cultural expectations and familial motivation. It partly explains why in this instance there was no significant predictive effect for cultural expectations and familial motivations. This effect may be moderated by other variables, so that, where these variables are absent, the hypothesized effect does not occur. This suggests that there may have been additional variables not addressed in this study that would produce a predictive outcome if they were included.

Hypothesis 2: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their country of origin.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data. There was no difference in any of the occupational motivations based on the country of origin of the respondent. This finding presents two explanatory possibilities. Firstly, the effect of the wider U.S. culture is such that all groups experience acculturation once they have come to America. Another equally probable option lies in the process of immigration. The process of immigration is not a naturally occurring event. The persons who are successfully at migrating to America are selected based on predefined categories. These categories are established through law and executed through government agencies. The legislative and bureaucratic framework produces homogeneity among immigrants. Consequently, irrespective of the area from which an individual emigrates they would have similar characteristics. This general similarity would subsequently remove any differences that

may have been associated with their country of origin. Viruell-Fuentesa, Mirandab and Abdulrahimc (2012) reflect this particular issue in their examination of health outcomes among immigrant populations, as organized immigration policies reduces variability among immigrant populations.

Hypothesis 3: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their gender expectation.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, gender was a key variable for understanding occupational choices. This longstanding relationship has rich support throughout the literature. Gendered motivation draws much of its conceptual usefulness from the construction of gender within the Arab American community. Therefore, it was not surprising that gender expectation had a weak positive relationship with both internal motivation and external motivation. Polavieja and Platt (2014) support this finding. The authors identified gender expectations, "sex type occupational aspirations," as having a significant effect on job choices as adults. Children who possessed sex-typical aspirations were more likely to have stereotypical jobs as adults. However, there was no significant relationship with family motivation. Again, it is observed that familial motivation is not expressed in the predicted patterns. The previously stated rationale is again identified as operating in this case.

The weak relationships between gender expectation and different aspects of motivation suggest that, as gendered expectations increase, both internal and external motivation increase.

Hypothesis 4: Arab American workers' occupational motivations are influenced by their generational status.

This fourth hypothesis was partially supported by the findings. There was no significant difference in internal and external motivation based on the generational status of the

respondent respectively. However, there was a significant difference for familial motivation. The differential outcomes for the components of motivation further support the view that occupational motivations are complex and need further examination.

Both generations had similar levels of internal and external motivation. The anticipated or predicted difference would have been due to the effect of social learning differences between both generations. First generation individuals would have spent at least 17 years in another country and their exposure to the values, norms and expectations expressed in the foreign country should be a significant influence on their levels of motivation. Second generation Arab Americans were born in the United States. These Americans have reduced contact with the wider distal social experiences extant within an Arab country. Consequently, at the level of internal and external motivations, which are expressions of the wider cultural expectations through social interactions and personal internalization, there should have been a difference. There was no significant difference in this study.

The familial motivation of both groups was also predicted to be different as second generation Arab Americans would have experienced a family that was more subsumed into the American culture than first generation Arab Americans. Consequently, a possible explanation for the higher levels of familial motivation among second generation Arab Americans could be that second generation Arab Americans experience more intact families, while first generation experience some initial family fracturing. Siriwardhana et al. (2015) posits that migration has immediate negative effects on the family of migrants. Additionally, post migration periods can be times of severe stress for many families. It is possible that the post migration stressors will be significant enough to diminish the effect of familial motivation within first generation individuals. Second generation individuals are largely spared this post migration stress and

consequently experience higher levels of familial motivation. Expressed differently, this means that first generation Arab Americans may be more concerned about their immediate survivalthan with other motivations. On the other hand, second-generation individuals who were spared the stresses of the migratory experience are more inclined to consider the views of their family members.

The final aspect of the analysis used logistic regression to link occupational motivation to participants' participation in specific occupation types. The results of the analysis again reinforced the complexity of occupational motivations. Firstly, no type of motivation could significantly predict employment in the business and financial cluster, health cluster or hospitality sector. However, internal motivation was a significant predictor of non-participation in the transportation cluster. This odds ratio means that persons with strong internal motivation have a 57% chance of not having a job in the transportation sector. Additionally, familial motivation was a significant predictor of non-participation in the education sector.

These findings compare favorably with the work of Galvaan (2012) who employed a qualitative design and discovered that occupational choices are often contextually driven. This means that the social setting provides much of the impetus for shaping the occupational choices of the individual. Motivation alone may not provide adequate explanatory power for occupational choices. This occurs because the social environment is diverse and comprised of a multiplicity of complex and often competing elements that cannot be adequately replicated in a study of this nature.

The role played by internal motivation and familial motivation can be successfully explained using the social learning theory and habitus. The habitus and social learning postulate that certain occupational choices are structural derived and that the individual internalizes these

values and norms (Lawson, Crouter and McHale 2015). The individual in making a choice does so within the limitations of the structurally available options, as well as, their social capital. If the individual lacks the requisite training for a position, they cannot "choose' that position even if they are motivated to do so. The interplay between values, norms and capital provides limits on the effectiveness of motivation.

Consequently, internal motivation may direct individuals away from transportation type occupations, because internal motivations as stated earlier are internalizations of childhood socialization. As a part of Arab culture, transportation type occupations have limited status. Internal motivation pushes individuals to select occupations that are high status and high income. Employment in the transportation sector does not support this desire. Additionally, transport jobs may require licensing that the individual may not possess, so that they are unable to access that potential choice.

Similarly, familial motivations in the United States, which are often driven by the necessity of the immediate circumstances, may push individuals away from occupations in the education sector. In this instance, it is not the lack of status or the income that drives the behavior. Rather it is the need to provide income for the family. Occupations in the education sector often require many years of preparation. This preparatory period may be extended and costly. Many immigrants are not in a position to suspend income earning to achieve the required qualifications (often beyond a bachelor's degree). The individual is then more likely to differ to the expectations of their family (Chlosta et al. 2012).

The findings of this study provide adequate support for the theories examined in the study, namely habitus, gender construction and social learning. The study determined that occupational choices are influenced by a complex interaction of the gender, country of origin,

generational status and selected motivational elements of the individual. This suggests that individuals who migrate from foreign countries have limited choice because their initial social setting is a dominant structural determinant of personal occupational choice. Consequently, even when there are more widely available occupational choices the individual may not possess the social capital to take advantage of these options.

Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

The study is limited in that, while the sample size 254 individuals is substantial, the Arab American population of Dearborn, Michigan, is itself not a homogeneous population. Thus, it is quite likely that there are useful differences in the attitudes of different Arab American ethnic or national groups that may not be fully captured in the study. Secondly, the study is restricted in that it does not control (methodologically) for any potentially intervening variables such as age, socioeconomic status, length of time in the U.S., etc.

Additionally, the study lacks the capacity to generalize to the population of Arab Americans. The absence of a known sampling frame and the consequent lack of randomization limits the ability of to generalize these findings.

Another limitation of the present study is that these findings are unlikely to give insights into the importance of psychological and/or cultural sentiments and motivations of Arab Americans as they influence occupational choice. These factors can only be studied superficially in the present study. A qualitative study that utilizes in-depth interviews as a data collection method, for example, may shed light on these factors in the future, and may help to explain how cultural and religious expectations affect occupational choices on both the macro- and micro-level.

This study has produced some interesting findings upon which future researchers can build. While the study examined occupational choices it did not consider the relationship between those choices and participants' degree of assimilation within the U.S. society. It is possible that individuals who demonstrate higher degrees of social assimilation have better occupational choices available to them. Additionally, occupational motivation requires a more robust measure so that researchers can meld the divergent components together. The three elements of occupational motivation produced variant outcomes, none of which were that explanatory of occupational choice or occupational type. Familial motivation had a reduced effect on occupational choices. The findings about familial motivation differed from the other two types of motivation on several occasions, however, and this should be explored further by other researchers.

Implications and contributions

This present study provides a unique vista into the lives of Arab Americans. Methodologically the study demonstrated that useful information could be produced from a challenging population. The sampling of respondents at multiple locations improved the sample representativeness and may have assisted in producing more robust findings. The study contributes to the understanding of occupational choices among Arab Americans by demonstrating the gendered nature of those choices, as well as, the role of internal and external motivation.

The study points to the need to provide guidance for Arab Americans on occupational choices upon immigration. Additionally, female members of the community may benefit from a clearer articulation of their occupational options. They should also be informed about the mechanisms to employ to engage those options. It is also necessary to understand the diverse

experiences of persons emigrating from different parts of the Arab world. While the motivations of the individuals were not affected, their occupational choices were. Consequently, attention should be given to identifying persons and areas where occupational choices are significantly limited with a view to improving the opportunity for those individuals.

Conclusions

An examination of study findings underscores the complex nature of occupational choices and motivation. Occupational choices are influenced by multiple demographic variables, with gender and generational status being dominant explicators. Additionally, occupational motivations produced counterintuitive outcomes. Attempts to find significant explanations for familial motivations remain elusive. Overall, the data are a moderate fit for the model presented.

The examination of occupational choices and motivations produced results that illuminate areas of life within the Arab American community. A powerful conclusion of the study is that within Arab American communities' gender, generational status and country of origin are strong predictors of occupational choices. This finding points to the strong cultural nature of occupational choices. Consequently, many of the challenges Arab Americans experience with occupational choice and motivation cannot be eliminated overnight.

APPENDIX A: SURVEY

Occupational Choices among Arab Americans

Please read each statement and fill in the information below	Subject Number:

Q1) What year were you born? ( )

Q2) What is your gender?

Male ☐
Female ☐

Q3a) In what country were you born?

Lebanon		Palestine		Jordan	
Iraq		Syria		USA	
Yemen		Egypt		Other (please specify) ……..	

Q3b) If you were not born in the U.S, how long have you lived here? _____

Q3c) How old were you when you came to US? _____

Q4) What is your religion? (Check all that apply)

Muslim Jewish

Christian Other (please specify) _____

Q5) What is your current marital status?

Divorced ☐
Married ☐
Single, Never Married ☐
Separated ☐
Widowed ☐

Q6) Do you have children?

Yes ☐
No ☐

Q7) Where were your father and mother born? (Check all that apply)

	Lebanon	Yemen	Iraq	Syria	Palestine	Egypt	Jordan	USA	Other (specify)
Father									
Mother									

Q8) What is the highest level of education you and your parents have completed? (Check one answer in each column.)

#	Level of Education	You	Father	Mother
1	Less than high school degree			
2	High school degree or equivalent			
3	Some college but no degree			
4	Associate's degree			
5	Bachelor degree			
6	Graduate or professional degree			
7	Other (please specify: _____)			

Q9 a. What is your job title? ……..

b. Are you responsible for making decisions on hiring and firing employees?

Yes ( ) No ( )

c. Please answer the following questions about the status of your occupational position

(Check all that apply)

	Position	Yes	No
1	Non-Supervisor: I do not supervise other employees.		
2	Team Leader: I am not an official supervisor; I provide employees with day-to-day guidance in work projects, but I do not have supervisory responsibilities or conduct performance appraisals.		
3	Supervisor: I am responsible for employees' performance appraisals and approval of their leave, but I do not supervise other supervisors.		
4	Manager: I am in a management position and supervise one or more supervisors.		
5	Executive: I am a member of the Senior Executive Service or equivalent; I supervise one or more managers and/or supervisors.		

Q10 a. What is your current occupation? (Check all that apply)

#	Industry	√	#	Industry	√
1	Business and Financial Operations		13	Sales and Related occupations	
2	Computer and Mathematical Occupations		14	Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance	
3	Architecture and Engineering Occupations		15	Personal Care and Service (e.g., hair stylists)	
4	Life, Physical, and Social Science		16	Military Specific	
5	Community, Human, and Social Service		17	Clerical and Administrative Support (e.g., administrative assistant or secretary)	
6	Legal Occupations		18	Farming, Fishing, and Forestry	
7	Education, Training, and Library		19	Construction and Extraction	
8	Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media		20	Installation, Maintenance, and Repair	
9	Healthcare Practitioners and Technical		21	Production (e.g., factory line worker)	
10	Food Preparation and Service Related occupations		22	Transportation and distribution of products	
11	Protective Service (e.g., police, fire)		23	Other (please specify): _____	
12	Healthcare Support Occupations				

Q10b) How long have you been employed in this position? (……..)

Q10c) How long have you worked for this company? (……)

Q10d) Describe your current job. Check all that apply.

Temporary/Seasonal ☐
Permanent ☐
Full-time ☐
Part-time ☐
Other: _____ ☐

Q10e) Do you have a second job? No ☐ Yes ☐

Q11) Check the type of jobs that your family members currently hold: (Check only one)

	Industry	Father	Mother	Brothers(s) 1	2	3	Sister(s) 1	2	3
1	Business and Financial Operations								
2	Computer and Mathematical Occupations								
3	Architecture and Engineering Occupations								
4	Life, Physical, and Social Science								
5	Community, Human, and Social Service								
6	Legal Occupations								
7	Education, Training, and Library								
8	Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media								
9	Healthcare Practitioners and Technical								
10	Food Preparation and Service Related occupations								
11	Protective Service (e.g., police, fire)								
12	Healthcare Support Occupations								
13	Sales and Related occupations								
14	Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance								
15	Personal Care and Service (e.g., hair stylists)								
16	Military Specific								
17	Clerical and Administrative Support (e.g., administrative assistant or secretary)								
18	Farming, Fishing, and Forestry								
19	Construction and Extraction								
20	Installation, Maintenance, and Repair								
21	Production (e.g., factory line worker)								
22	Transportation and distribution of products								
23	Other (please specify): _____								

Q12) Culture sometimes has an influence on individuals' choices of occupation. Please use 1 to 5 to indicate whether you agree or disagree with the statements below:

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

	Cultural Expectations	1	2	3	4	5
1	My culture tends to focus on the needs of the group rather than the desires of the individual.					
2	My culture emphasizes the advice of family elders regarding work, marriage and education.					
3	In my culture, professional careers are valued.					
4	Different Arab-American groups are attracted to different jobs.					
5	People from my culture are accepted in the field I have chosen.					
6	In my culture, religion shapes individuals' job choices.					
7	People who come from the same country as I do tend to gravitate toward similar jobs.					

Q13) Women and men sometimes have different job experiences. Please use 1 to 5 to indicate whether you agree or disagree with the statements below:

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

	Gender Expectations	1	2	3	4	5
1	Gender is a major determinant of job choice in my culture.					
2	My job allows me to combine work and childcare responsibilities.					
3	There are certain jobs that are not acceptable in my culture for women.					
4	There are certain jobs that are not acceptable in my culture for men					
5	Women in my culture enjoy less freedom than men when making job decisions.					
6	Young women in my culture tend to follow parental wishes when making job choices.					
7	Young men in my culture tend to follow parental wishes when making job choices.					
8	Married women are likely to follow their husbands' preferences with respect to working outside the home.					

Q14) I would like to hear about why you are employed in this job position. Please use 1 to 5 to indicate whether you agree or disagree with the statements below:

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

	Motivations	1	2	3	4	5
	Internal Motivations					
1	I lacked access to other job options.					
2	I knew the owners.					
3	I wanted a job with limited stress.					
4	It is the job I have always wanted.					
5	I sought a job with many challenges.					
6	My skills and abilities matched this job.					
7	My language level affected my job choice.					
8	I took my current job out of financial necessity.					
	External Motivations					
1	My job offers security and permanence.					
2	This job is considered important in my community.					
3	Location of my job					
4	My friends have chosen similar jobs.					
5	I thought the job would provide promotion opportunities / career advancement.					
6	Financial benefits and rewards of this position.					
7	Opportunities for people from my culture are limited.					
	Familial Motivations					
1	The expectations of family and friends impacted my job choice.					
2	My family's work experience/background encouraged me to get this job.					
3	My family's connections helped me to get this job.					
4	My family owns the business.					
5	My family members are employed in similar jobs.					

Thank you for your time!

APPENDIX B: EDUCATION LEVELS FOR PARTICIPANTS AND PARTICIPANTS' PARENTS

	Participant		Mother		Father	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
less than HS degree	12	4.7	144	58.5	110	44.7
HS degree or equivalent	53	20.9	43	17.5	54	22.0
some college but no degree	53	20.9	12	4.9	15	6.1
associate's degree	39	15.4	15	6.1	14	5.7
bachelor's degree	53	20.9	16	6.5	26	10.6
graduate or professional degree	43	16.9	5	2.0	18	7.3
other (please specify)	1	.4	4	1.6	3	1.2
missing			7	2.8	6	2.4
Total	254	100.0	246	100.0	246	100.0

APPENDIX C: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB) APPROVAL AT WSU

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

IRB Administration Office
87 East Canfield, Second Floor
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 993-7122
http://irb.wayne.edu

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED APPROVAL

To: Saad Alzeer
Sociology

From: for Dr. Deborah Ellis or designee D. Atkins / 22
Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

Date: April 21, 2016

RE: IRB #: 032516B3E
Protocol Title: Occupational Choices Among Arab Americans in Dearborn, MI
Funding Source:
Protocol #: 1603014740

Expiration Date: April 20, 2017

Risk Level / Category: Research not involving greater than minimal risk

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The above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were **APPROVED** following *Expedited Review* Category (#7)* by the Chairperson/designee *for* the Wayne State University Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of 04/21/2016 through 04/20/2017. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

- Protocol Summary Form (received in the IRB office 03/08/16)
- Research Protocol - Dissertation (received in the IRB office 03/08/16)
- Medical records are not being accessed therefore HIPAA does not apply
- A waiver of consent and waiver of written documentation of consent has been granted according to 45CFR 46 116(d) and 45CFR 46 117(c) and justification provided by the Principal Investigator in the Protocol Summary Form. This waiver satisfies: 1) risk is no more than minimal, data are survey responses with minimal risk content, 2) That the research involved no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside the research context, consent would not be required for these procedures outside the research context. 3) The consent process is appropriate, 4) An information sheet disclosing the required and appropriate additional elements of consent disclosure will be provided to participants.
- Research Information Sheet (revision dated 04/21/2016)
- Data Collection Tool: Survey

- Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You *may* receive a *"Continuation Renewal Reminder"* approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval ***before*** the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can never be reported or published as research data.
- All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the IRB **BEFORE** implementation.
- Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the IRB Administration Office Policy (http://www.irb.wayne.edu//policies-human-research.php).

NOTE:

1. Upon notification of an impending regulatory site visit, hold notification, and/or external audit the IRB Administration Office must be contacted immediately.
2. Forms should be downloaded from the IRB website at **each** use.

*Based on the Expedited Review List, revised November 1998

Notify the IRB of any changes to the funding status of the above-referenced protocol.

APPENDIX D: RELIABILITY TEST FOR MOTIVATIONS' ITEMS

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.779	20

APPENDIX E: RELIABILITY TEST FOR CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS' ITEMS

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.763	7

APPENDIX F: RELIABILITY TEST FOR GENDER EXPECTATIONS' ITEMS

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.830	8

APPENDIX G: CORRELATIONS OF EDUCATION AND MOTIVATION

Correlations

		Participant educational level	Internal motivation	external motivation	Family Motivation
Participant educational level	Pearson Correlation	1	-.161*	-.106	.264**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.010	.093	.000
	N	254	254	252	254
Internal motivation	Pearson Correlation	-.161*	1	.398**	.005
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010		.000	.940
	N	254	254	252	254
external motivation	Pearson Correlation	-.106	.398**	1	.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.093	.000		.881
	N	252	252	252	252
Family Motivation	Pearson Correlation	.264**	.005	.010	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.940	.881	
	N	254	254	252	254

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

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ABSTRACT

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES AMONG ARAB AMERICANS IN THE U.S.: AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF GENDER, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, GENERATIONAL STATUS, COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, AND MOTIVATION

by

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Migrating to the United States of American holds both great promises and challenges for prospective immigrants. This is true for Arab Americans who migrated to the United States in increasing numbers over the last several decades. One of the most important, yet simultaneously under-examined areas of research interest is that of Arab Americans' occupational choices and occupational motivations. Occupational choices and motivations are correlated to social status, income earning potential, familial stability, and even health outcomes. This is true for the U.S. population as a whole and even more so for immigrant groups such as Arab Americans.

The present study employs quantitative methodology and a survey design to examine two key questions related to Arab Americans (1) Are there differences in occupational choices by gender, educational level, country of origin, and generational status among Arab American workers in Dearborn, MI? and (2) What explains the occupational motivations among Arab Americans in Dearborn, and is there a mismatch between Arab Americans' motivations and occupations? To answer these questions, 254 Arab American workers were sampled from eight different locations across Dearborn, Michigan using a convenience sample design. All

participants completed a face-to-face survey that included questions about their current and last occupation, occupational motivations, and relevant demographic and cultural characteristics. The researcher asked survey questions orally of participants and recorded their responses.

The study found that gender, generational status and country of origin were significantly associated with the occupational choices of the individual. The study also determined that male respondents were three times more likely to have a job in education than the health care industry. Certain ethnic groups were also more likely to have occupations in business and finance sectors or healthcare sectors. In addition, different types of motivations (intrinsic, extrinsic, personal) produced differential effects on occupational choices. For instance, internal motivations significantly predicted non-participation in the transportation section whereas familial motivation significantly predicted non-participation in the education sector.

These and other findings suggest that the manner within which Arab American culture influences occupational choice and motivation is complex and differentiated, requiring further articulation. Additionally, the nature of the gender skew within the Arab American community may provide incentives for future gender research. Further research is also needed to reveal additional variables that may successfully predict participation in a wider swath of occupations. Future researchers would also benefit from the employment of qualitative methodology, which provides greater depth of understanding.

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