SPLIT IDENTITY IMPLICATIONS: PERCEPTION OF IDENTITY AND FUTURE ORIENTATION OF MARONITE CHRISTIAN ADOLESCENTS IN ISRAEL

By

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Abstract

This research examines the identity perception of Maronite adolescents in Israel as part of the Israeli Palestinian Arab Christian community. The research was carried out between the years 2009-2011, involving 25 Maronite adolescents ranging from ages 16 – 18 years. Views on identity were also sought from the parents of this group. The research looks at the implications of their identity perception on their future orientation, career, place of residence, culture and heritage amidst the ongoing unstable social and political situation in the region.

The research is inductive in nature and follows a non-positivist, qualitative, ethnographic approach, seeking depth in capturing and presenting the elusive nature of the “soft data” of the self-identity construct. The data were gathered and triangulated by a variety of methods: adolescents’ in-depth interview, parents' semi–structured ethnographic interview, narrative text tools and a focus group.

Findings revealed that the two leading components in the identity perception of the participants were the “Israeli Arab” national component, and the “Christian” religious component. Findings also indicated that the identity perception influences the choice of the participants’ careers; choosing from what was offered to them, rather than pursuing what they liked, and their place of residence having to deal with the limitations imposed on minorities regarding where they can, or cannot live. The participants expressed their need for leadership, religious or secular, to strengthen their involvement in the social and political agendas, educate the younger generation about their identity and heritage, offer a supportive and empowering framework for their ambitions and future plans and improve their socio-political presence among the other communities. The outcomes of this research contribute to a better understanding of the identity perception among Maronite adolescents and constitute a basis for understanding how they can be better supported as a minority group within a multi-cultural society in an unstable region. Further research is required to gain a deeper understanding of how the unstable periods influence belonging and identity issues among Christians in Israel and the Arab world, and to consider gender, socioeconomic and place of living variables.
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Chapter One:

Historical Context and Background of the Research

Preface

During my work as a social worker and a teacher, I have encountered signs of loss and disorientation within the Israeli-Palestinian Arab youths I came in contact with on issues regarding their own self identities. I too have felt the impact as a Christian Maronite when it comes to the members of my own Christian Maronite congregation; a minority living among a bigger minority of Christian Arabs, Muslim Arabs and Jews. Many children and teenagers lack pride in their past, and present, as their nation's history is presented in a way which focuses on the weak parts and ignores the bright and powerful areas (Qarooni, 2010) such as their personal, social and national achievements and contribution to the wider Arab world and to the world in general in literature and arts (Wehbe, 2001; Haddad, 2002; Hourani & Habchi, 2004; Moussa, 2005).

Having played multiple roles in society in general, and in my community in particular, as a community activist, social worker, writer and educator, I have come to appreciate, rather well, the situation I am living in. My role as an educator who understands the effect academic achievement can have on students' orientations as a whole, let alone minority students; being a social worker who has come in contact and experienced the implications of conducting disoriented lives; being a writer and a poet who has lived the identity confusion myself and expressed it in my writings, I have assumed the responsibility to research this phenomenon among my people and to propose some outcomes that can elevate the status of the community and help its adolescents better perceive their own heritage. Presentation of minority interests is assumed to influence policy outcomes (Banducci & Karp, 2007), those of the local church and the government as well, and that is an ambition of this research.

Very little has been written about the Maronites in the Holy Land and what has dealt mainly with historical review (Wehbe, 2001; Cheslow, 2014). The scarcity
of social research regarding the Israeli Maronite Adolescents’ (IMAs’) identity conflict made me approach the subject through a wider lens, studying it through universal issues of minorities, adolescents and identity conflicts (Erikson, 1968; Rekhes, 1998; Gabizon & Hecker, 2000; Smooha & Ghanem, 2001; Rinawi, 2003; Seginer, 2003a; Amara & Schnell, 2004; Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007; Ghosn, 2009a,b; Rekhes & Rodnitzki 2009). The nature of the interaction among the community members themselves, and that between them and their community in general, can impact their understanding of their own identity, which, in turn, can affect their futuristic professional and academic orientations. Therefore, it is important to work with the younger generations; study their self-perceptions, raise their awareness of who they are and where they come from, and make them realize that they can still salvage themselves from the current chaotic situation by establishing and developing their sense of belonging, involvement in the community, heritage awareness and leadership. Changes do not occur smoothly (Davie, 1994) and for such a change to succeed, they have to be exposed to and understand the origins of the different constituents of their narrative. Such a move might shake the stability under which they live and disturb the relative tranquillity of their lives. Assuming the role of advocacy for the community and becoming the one to represent their voices needs ethical authorization from the adolescents’ parents. When the change maker believes that the community members are not aware of their real situation, the benefit, or harm, to the minority should be judged only after the outcomes of the intervention program have matured. Needless to say, such ethical considerations have accompanied me throughout the study, and measures were taken to address them, as will be seen in the ethical considerations section (chapter 3). If these adolescents from the Maronite minority reach a state of recognizing the reality of their complex identity, even before action is taken, then the mission has been accomplished, and it is up to them to accept the change or reject it. At least, their choices would be built on seeing the whole picture, not just parts of it.

Taking on the decision to carry out this research was liberating for me and made me realize that words alone do not help to change the reality we are living; there is a need for actions as well, and thus I presumed the role of an
educator who could create change in the community. Although practitioner research has its limitations (Robson, 1993; Anderson, Herr & Nihlen, 1994), it has provided me with the possibility of exploring matters from within, a view an external observer would not have been able to behold. Since I was looking to understand the adolescents’ perception of their identity and my intention was to deal with their lives, I chose a non-positivist, inductive approach to the research, seeking depth and richness of the soft nature of the data, aiming to shed light on this unique group, while reflecting on general identity issues that are shared by other minorities.

This is the first research of its kind that deals with the identity perception of the IMAs, in juxtaposition with the other identities and communities in Israel. Previous research (Wehbe, 2001; Cheslow, 2014) dealt with the historical background of the Maronites in Israel. Thus, the main research questions this research will try to answer are:

*How do the IMAs perceive their identity within the Christian Palestinian Arab community in Israel?*

*What effect does the perception of IMAs’ identity have on their future orientation and heritage awareness?*

The outcome of this research is the blueprint for a more thorough intervention programme in the community, such as establishing a community culture centre for heritage-related activities and research, which can enhance the lives of its youths by providing a detailed study of their socio-political conflicts and help to resolve them by understanding their heritage, history and culture; defining their self-identities, and better planning their future. The research can contribute to knowledge in the social and educational fields by discussing the issue of minorities and suggesting ways to deal with identity definition, which is a problem of the whole Arab minority in Israel.

This introductory chapter opens with a brief overview of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel; a discussion of the social and political status of the Palestinian Arab minority in general, and the Christian minority in particular, as
a fluid identity, and a brief review of the history of the Maronites as part of the Christian Arab community in Israel and the Middle East.

1.1 The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel

Prior to the 20th century, the term “Arab” designated the Bedouin, tribal-based society of the Arabian Desert. The ancient Semitic peoples of Assyrians, Aramaic, Canaanites and the Arabs themselves immigrated into the area of the Fertile Crescent, and with the Muslim conquests of the 7th century with the rise of Islam, Muslim Arabs ruled a territory extending from Egypt in the west to Iran in the east (Tamari, n.d.). Before the rise of nationalism, most Arabic-speakers identified themselves as members of a particular family or tribe; as residents of a village, town, or region; as Muslims, Christians, or Jews; or as subjects of large political entities such as the Ottoman empire, until the late 19th century, the period of the Arab Renaissance, and the first stirrings of developing nationalist organizations (O'Mahony, 1999). The First World War put an end to the Ottoman rule of the region, which lasted from 1516 until 1918 (Cragg, 1991), and Britain and France divided up most of the Arab world between themselves (Tamari, n.d.). Palestine was under the British mandate, where all religions and ethnic groups were treated as equals (Sakhnini, 2003).

After the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, more than 80% of the Palestinian Arabs became refugees in the West Bank of Jordan and in other Arab countries. About 150,000 stayed behind and coped with the new reality (Mansour, 2004); having lost their homes, land and freedom, and living under occupation (Mansour, 2011). The Palestinian minority came out of the 1948 War devastated and disorganized, lacking the human and financial resources needed to organize its struggle to face the new political and legal circumstances, and the majority of the Palestinian citizens of Israel were forced to change their patterns of behaviour to accommodate that of the Israeli governing system (Bishara, 1996).

The Palestinian Arabs in Israel, who mainly live in Arab-only villages and towns, with some living in mixed Jewish and Arab towns, were referred to by a myriad of names, a phenomenon which reflected their identity problem:
“Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel”, “The Arab minority in Israel”, “The Palestinian minority in Israel” (Rekhes, 1998), “Palestinian Arabs living in Israel”, “The 48 Arabs (1948)”, “The Arabs of the Inside”, “Arab citizens of Israel” and the “Israeli Arabs” (Bard, 2013). All these definitions attest to the various and confusing ways in which they are perceived, mainly according to territorial and political factors (Rinawi, 2003), which complicates their self-perception of identity and belonging, resulting in most Arabs in Israel feeling attached to a dual identity. The Palestinian identity, which is first and foremost associated with national pride, and the Israeli identity, which is expected to supply them with a sense of citizenship (Amara & Schnell, 2004). Therefore, it is not easy to define what constitutes an 'Arab'; it is not language, since there are Arabic-speaking Jews in Israel as well, but they are not considered Arabs; and it is not religion, as Arabs can belong to more than one religion. Thus, the term ‘Arab’ is a linguistic and cultural term representing those who share a common first language, a culture and a history, and the most common way to define what constitutes an Arab is through identity depending on self-perception regardless of ones’ descent (Alsweel, n.d.).

Two surveys, held in 2002 and presented to the Israeli Parliament, the Knesset, revealed that the dominant perception of identity among the Arab citizens of Israel was that of “Palestinian Arabs”, followed by "Israeli Arabs", and that the Arabs themselves tended to use these double definitions (Brada, 2002). Although the two components of identity, the civic, Israeli, and the national, Palestinian, were mutually independent and the one did not include the components of the other (Smooha, 1992), both were gaining strength as components of the mixed identity (Rosenhek, 1998), living within a cultural context which raises questions of ethnic and religious identification, and causes to constitute components of individuals’ self-concepts (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009).

The Palestinian Arab community in Israel is distinct in that it is a relatively young community, with 41.1% of the population 14 years of age and under. The median age of the Palestinians in Israel is 19 years (Galilee Society & Rikaz, 2004). The Palestinian leadership abroad did nothing to promote a national
Palestinian identity; rather, they served either the goals of their host nations, or a Pan-Arabic worldview (Amara & Schnell, 2004). While the Israeli Arabs were deeply engaged in adapting to their new status as a minority, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), since the 1980s, has decided to strive for a Palestinian state instead of accepting a Pan-Arabic solution, and the Palestinian uprising (Intifada), toward the end of the decade, awakened the Palestinian component in their collective identity. The unstable political situation imposed on the position of Arab citizens in Israel, together with globalization processes and their consequences on Middle Eastern politics, set challenges for their complex identity repertoire (Amara & Schnell, 2004). The Israeli Arabs, as an indigenous Palestinian minority in multi-ethnic Israel, comprise twenty percent of the total population and hold Israeli citizenship (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009). They are currently engaged in a much more delicate struggle, that of gaining equal rights with those of their Jewish counterparts (Johal, 2004).

The Israeli Arabs are characterized as a unique ethnic minority; they belong to the Arab world, which is in conflict with Israel; they enjoy civil rights in Israel at the individual level, but not at the level of the collective. The Arab minority is heterogeneous and includes different religious groups (Muslims - the majority, Christians and Druze), and this minority does not see itself as a minority, but rather as part of the larger Arab and Islamic world (Abu A’sbeh, Jaussi & Zabar – Ben Yehoshoa, 2011).

1.2 The Christians in Israel

Long before the Arab world became known as Muslim, Christians lived in the region and their roots run deep in the East, where Christianity appeared (Farah, 2003; Khoury, 2008). “Christians have lived in the Holy Land ever since the time of Christ” (Mansour, 2011: 13), they include different denominations, such as Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants and Copts. For the last 2000 years, the Christians have played an integral part in the entire history of the many cultures and political forces that have ruled the Holy Land (Mansour, 2004).
Cities, such as Bethlehem and Nazareth, hold major significance for Palestinian Christians and for Christians all around the world (Bendie, 2012).

With the Muslim conquest in the 7th century, the Christian Church adopted Arabic as its language (O'Mahony, 1999). Christians continued to form the majority of the population into the 9th century, but their survival required total submission to Islam, as they became “noncitizens” (Cragg, 1991). Later, this overwhelming majority in the area gradually diminished in numbers due to the conversion of many to Islam (O'Mahony, 1999), and the fleeing of many others from the Ottoman Empire due to discrimination, war, conscription, and even famine during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Ibish, 2013). Throughout the history of Christians in the Holy Land, Christianity has been persecuted, churches were set on fire and laws against missionaries still exist (Iskanderzoda, 2012). The latest developments in the region and the rise of the Islamic State are another stage in the life of hardships that this community has to face.

When the Muslim rule came to an end in 1918 (Gertz, 2008), the British Mandate provided Christians with a welcome respite from Turkish control, and Christian communities in Palestine increased steadily till 1948, the year Israel was established (Mansour, 2004). With the new European influence in the area in the 19th century, the Christian Palestinians became primarily urban and highly educated. They took the lead in forming joint Muslim-Christian organizations to promote a secular Arab nationalism in which Christians would be equal citizens, rather than separated as a religious minority (O'Mahony, 1999). In 1948 the Palestinian Christians were subjected to the same military occupation rules and policies that were imposed on the whole Palestinian Arab population, both Muslims and Christians (Bendie, 2012). While Christians comprised about 18 percent of the Holy Land population at the start of the 1948 War, most of them were no longer in Israel by its end. Less than a quarter of the Christian population remained, and those who stayed settled mainly in Galilee. Some 34,400 (22%) of the original Christian population in Palestine became Israeli citizens, while 50,000 lived in the West Bank and Gaza (Mansour, 2004). In 2013 approximately 160,000 people of the total Israeli population of 8,012,000 were Christian Arabs, and they constituted about 9%
of the Arab population, and less than 2% of the total population of Israel (Munayer & Horenczyk, 2014). This percentage has dwindled steadily since the establishment of Israel, as Jewish and Muslim populations have grown (Kraft, 2009), turning them into a minority within a minority (Tsimhoni, 2002) and creating a new situation where they have had to act within two majority groups, having to negotiate their political, cultural, and social identities (Munayer, 2000; Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007). The Christian Arabs in Israel are considered as an integral part of the Arab population and share the same historical, political and social changes that affect them (Sabella, n.d.), they have suffered discrimination and they live as second-class citizens with fewer educational and employment opportunities, caught between a wary, unfriendly Israeli state and increasingly hostile Muslim neighbours (Gertz, 2008). In terms of education, professional excellence (law and medicine, in particular), affluence, urbanization, politicization and other aspects of modernization, Christian individuals have traditionally served as leaders of the entire Palestinian Arab community (Munayer, 2000). However, in recent years, the status of the Christians, as well as that of their religious and cultural institutions, has deteriorated, although some institutions, such as the “waqf” (endowment), and some schools were re-established (Al Haj, 1997).

Another cause for the depletion of the Palestinian Christian minority has been its lower birth rate of 2.1 children per family, compared to 3.5 among Muslims (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013), which is the lowest birthrate nationally among the three religions (Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007; Kraft, 2009). This gradual decline, also affected by limited work opportunities (Farah, 2003) and extensive immigration has contributed to the decline of the size and visibility of Middle Eastern Christian communities (Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007; Kraft, 2009; Guzansky & Berti, 2012). Identifiably Christian cities, such as Bethlehem and Nazareth, have lost their Christian majority after centuries of maintaining it, and in the city of Jerusalem, Christians comprise less than 2% of the city's population (Pipes, 2001). The number of Arab Christians in the world exceeds that of those in the Middle East (Guzansky & Berti, 2012), and at the present rate, the 12 million Christians will be halved by the year 2020, which will have implications on their social and cultural heritage and presence (Pipes, 2001).
Meanwhile, the situation of the Christian Arabs in Israel remains controversial as discrimination against them continues. They do not describe their situation in glowing terms, although they enjoy greater safety and freedom of action in Israel than most other places in the Middle East (Allen, 2013). Israel might become the last refuge for Christianity in the Middle East due to the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in the Arab countries (Iskanderzoda, 2012) and to the discrimination, bullying and violence against them (Madany, 2013). The arrival of the “Arab Spring” and the subsequent rise of Islamist movements in the region may threaten the Christian minorities, since the political ascent of more radical streams of Islamism might have a negative impact on the region’s capacity to deal with religious minorities (Guzansky & Berti, 2012).

However, when it comes to employment, Christians in Israel face similar discrimination as Muslims (Kraft, 2009). Christians are particularly vulnerable because they tend to occupy more middle-class occupations and have a higher educational achievement than the other communities in the country (Marsh, 2005; Kraft, 2009). However, in spite of their higher education status, Christians lack financial resources and have limited lands and property, thus making their academic path the only alternative for strengthening their status. Since young people face problems too, some choose to continue their academic studies outside the country. Furthermore, the little political stability they have, due to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the feeling of insecurity have increased because Christians feel unwanted and see little respect for their human rights (Farah, 2003). This adds to the list of reasons that might push Christians to consider emigration. It is worthwhile noticing that the culture and education they have has played a facilitative role in their adapting to the western life style in the new countries they move to, especially as many of them are multilingual (Ibish, 2013).

Although, in historical and geographical terms, the Christian religion provides a universal and exclusive faith to create a commonality of values and beliefs (Davie, 1994), another aspect which contributes to the weakness of the Christian minority is their geographical dispersion across the country (Farah, 2003). Living in small pockets does not help to solidify the feeling of cohesion
within this minority, especially in important matters as belonging and identity. It adds to the feeling of alienation towards the Muslim Arab community, which sees them as non-Muslim, and towards the Jewish majority, which treats them as Palestinian Arabs (Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007). Recently, religion has become the organizational frame and uniting factor among the Muslims, and the Christian community is thus excluded (Zemhoni, 1998). Furthermore, Christians have to prove their Arab nationality and loyalty to be accepted by the bigger Muslim minority, although they have lived among them for centuries, and share the same culture and language (Gabizon & Hecker, 2000). Being a Christian Arab in Israel is not a winning combination after all; they face hardships as a minority in a society which is defined by religion and where the suspicion of the "other" is “turbo-charged” by fear (Allen, 2013). Finally, the spiritual leadership has played a marginal role in empowering the Christian identity (Munayer, 2000; Farah, 2003), in spite of the important position it has in teaching the tradition and history of Christians in the land, thus ensuring the community’s survival. Davie (1994) suggests that the Church should adapt to the changes in the world and shake off its image of belonging to the past. It needs to present itself and its message as modern, up to date and relevant. This may contribute to improve the relations between the church and the people, especially the young.

1.3 The Maronites in the Middle East

Of the fifteen million Christians in the Middle East (Mansour, 2011), the Maronite community is one of the many ethnic minorities that form the diversified religious and cultural canvas of the Middle East. These include non-Sunni Muslims, Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Copts, Latin, Protestants (Kumaraswamy, 2003), Sunni Muslims, Jews and others. The Maronites are members of the Syriac Eastern Catholic Church; trace back their history to the Syriac Monk, Maroun, who led a monastic life in the latter part of the 4th century in Syria Secunda. His eremitical way of living attracted disciples who consecrated themselves to worship and austerity, in a life of seclusion and silence (Hourani & Habchi, 2004; Moosa, 2004; Ghosn & Engebretson, 2010).
In the late 5th century, the Maronites broke away from the Byzantine Church over doctrinal issues and, fearing religious persecution, many emigrated from northern Syria to the northern part of the Lebanese mountains where they developed a tradition of local autonomy between the late 7th and 11th century (Haddad, 2002; Moosa, 2004). The Maronite Church began to grow in the valleys of Lebanon, (Elfghali, 2004), where the community led a daily eremitical life in work, prayer, obedience to the Church and devotion to spiritual authorities. The Maronites became known as a monastic people as it was around the monasteries that the Maronite community continually re-formed (Hourani & Habchi, 2004; Moosa, 2004; Al Madany, 2014). During the Crusade Wars, the Maronite Church renewed its connections with Rome (Beggiani, 2004), and since then, they have become loyal to the Pope and the Catholic Church (Al Madany, 2014; Dailey, n.d.).

The history of the Maronites has been a ceaseless struggle to preserve their church and faith and to maintain the greatest possible freedom within the political and religious circumstances of the times (Beggiani, 2000; Moosa, 2004; Cedarland, 2009). Over the many years that were to follow the Arab invasion, Muslims and Maronites kept their separate ways of living due to mostly religious and cultural differences. Historically, when the Arabs arrived at Lebanon, it had already been inhabited by the Maronites, who are the descendants of the “Mardaites”, the original people who lived in Lebanon (Moosa, 2004) and who were of Canaanite origin (Al Madany, 2014). The Canaanites had lived in Lebanon for many thousands of years before the arrival of the Arab, and Lebanon was touched by Christianity some 600 years before being touched by the Arab and Islam (Cedarland, 2009). During the Ottoman Empire, the Maronite Patriarch was the only Christian religious leader who did not require a decree from the Sultan to validate his election as head of the church (Beggiani, 2000; Moosa, 2004), due to the special relation with France that considered the Maronites as part of the French nation and provided protection to them, thus it was a sensitive political issue to the Ottoman empire who avoided confrontation with France (Moosa, 2004).
The relationship between the Maronites and Lebanon and their affinity to it, has always been strong; "Lebanon equals Maronites equals Phoenicians" (Joseph, 2004: 200). This affinity has been expressed by the resemblance between the Maronite cross and the cedar tree, at the centre of the Lebanese flag. Cedar has been used as a symbol for the Maronite Christians of Lebanon since the 18th century. This strong connection between the Maronites and the Lebanese nationality might cause alienation to non-Lebanese Maronites, although, the contribution of the Maronites has not been limited to Lebanon, and they played a decisive role in the Arab cultural renaissance and in linking the Arab world to modernity, a fact which led to consolidating the relationship between the Maronite Church and the Arab culture on the one hand, and between Islam and Christianity on the other (Haddad, 2002; Al Madany, 2014). Within the Maronite identity, the ‘other’ was political and/or religious, and among all the ‘others’, the Muslim was the central one (Hage, 2005).

With the recent decades of civil violence in Lebanon, many Maronites opted to leave in search of a better life. With the independence of Lebanon in 1943, the Christian-Muslim relationship turned from one of tension and inequality into a partnership of harmony and equality, mostly due to the efforts of the Maronite Church (Haddad, 2002). However, at the end of the civil war, between 1975 and 1990, the Maronites lost their autonomy and hundreds of thousands left the mountains of Lebanon and emigrated (Elfghali, 2004). Being dispersed in the world, the Maronite Church has served as the link to the past of all Maronites and has become an inseparable part of their personal and group identity. Maronite spirituality has distinguished itself from other Eastern Syriac Churches through its attachment to the land of Lebanon and its ecumenical character, stemming from its belonging to the universal Catholic Church (Ghosn & Engebretson, 2010). Its universalism has also been manifested through a dialogue with the Arab-Muslim world, a result of Lebanon’s situation as the only Middle Eastern country where Christians hold some degree of political power (Ghosn, 2009a).

The strict adherence of the Maronite Church to its traditions has only helped to clarify its role as a unifying factor, which takes its members back almost to the
origins of Christianity itself, and helps them to stand firm against adversity (Al Madany, 2014; Dailey, n.d.). This role is reflected in the religious ceremonies, where, although Arabic is used in part of the religious services, the original Syriac-Aramaic, the language which Jesus spoke, remains the liturgical language that priests use, and believers repeat, without always understanding what the prayers mean. Retaining the mother tongue, even in part, reflects one of many ways in which the lifeline to the past is kept alive in Eastern Christian worship (Ghosn, 2009a; Al Madany, 2014). The mixing of Arabic and Syriac-Aramaic can be seen as a representation of the congregation which uses the language of the bigger community, Arabic, but at the same time retains its heritage by keeping the well-guarded Syriac-Aramaic.

### 1.4 The Maronites in Israel

The Israeli society is described as multi-cultural (Smooha, 2000), however, this situation has led to confrontations between the different groups, with the national rift between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority as being the most problematic (Totry, 2013). These two parties differ by religion, culture, language, history and national belonging (Baumel, Zeevi & Totry, 2009). After the failed idea of the "melting pot" policy to create a new Zionist, Hebrew, Jewish, Western-oriented state by the Ashkenazi (Jews who immigrated from western countries) elite, the emphasis shifted to a policy of "multiculturalism" (Calderon, 2000) with the willingness to allow the cultural differences of the others without discrimination, and with recognition of the right of every culture to keep its characteristics (Totry, 2013). The struggle for multiculturalism has evolved in response to claims of minorities to equality and to maintain their cultural uniqueness (Al Haj, 2002).

Social research has mostly ignored the fact that Israeli Arabs are treated as second-class citizens and therefore are not considered as an integral part of the Israeli society (Abu-Nimer, 2001; Hertz-Lazarowitz, et al., 2004). The Israeli Maronite Christians, being part of the Arab population, have faced the same approach (Manaa‘, 2008; Rekhes & Rodnitzki 2009), which can explain the scarcity of research about them. Most research carried out on the Maronites focused on the history (Wehbe, 2001; Cheslow, 2014) and characteristics of
the Maronite Church (Munayer, 2000; Farah, 2003; New Catholic Encyclopedia, 2003; Mansour, 2004; Moosa, 2004), Ghosn (2009a,b) took a different approach and looked into the religious identity and cultural conflicts of a group of young Australian-Lebanese Maronite adults who attended the Maronite Catholic Church in Sydney, Australia. The research revealed that the Maronite Catholic faith of these young adults was tightly interwoven within their national identity and Lebanese culture, where they saw the church as a representative of their heritage and homeland. Ghosn and Engebretson (2010) examined how young Australian-Lebanese Maronite adults assimilated new experiences into an already existing framework of their Maronite and Lebanese backgrounds. This socio-cultural research provides a basis for the IMAs to adopt a similar approach where their perception of the role of the church could go beyond its religious services, especially with the lack of leadership, awareness and influence, and serve as a bonding factor for their heritage and culture, without affecting their assimilation process into the Israeli society. The latest figures of the Central Bureau of Statistics (2013), and the Maronite parish registry, put the number of Maronites living in Israel to be around 7000 in the year 2012, excluding around 2000 members who live in Israel as part of the late South Lebanon Army, who cooperated with the Israeli army during the occupation of south Lebanon and fled their country when the Israeli army retreated in 1996. In that same year, 1996, the new Maronite Archbishop of Haifa and the Holy Land received his orders as Patriarchal Vicar, stationed in Haifa. This marked a turning point in the history of the Maronite presence in the Holy Land, since prior to that date, the Maronites of the Holy Land were subject to the Maronite Archbishop of Tyre, whose rarity of visits, mostly due to the political problems in the region, had negative and often serious consequences over the church (Wehbe, 2001).

The Maronite community, being part of the Christian minority, was impacted by the same factors which led to its instability and weakness. Being dispersed in the Arab cities and villages did not help in strengthening the ties among its members, and emigration played a role in a dwindling an already small community (Beggiani, 2004; Cedarland, 2009). The Maronites in Israel have faced several challenges shaping their identity and, at the same time,
maintaining their own heritage, taking into account the influence of the other cultures and minorities in the country (Wehbe, 2001). Furthermore, this small congregation, with a unique and rich heritage and history, lacks the educational and social leadership needed to strengthen the ties among its members by showing them their honourable past, and guiding them to a better future.

It is the case, despite their centuries-long presence in the Middle East (Wehbe, 2001; Haddad, 2002; Farah, 2003), that the Maronites in Israel have little knowledge about their culture and roots. Separated from Lebanon by geographical and political borders, the Israeli Maronite community also lacks the support of its Lebanese mother community, a factor which has increased the loss of their collective memory, especially that they live in a multi-national society and are subjected to the continuous stress the Israeli-Arab conflict is creating among the Palestinian population living in Israel. This condition is also felt by other Christian minorities, as expressed by Mansour (2011: 36-37) “Living as an Arab Israeli Palestinian Evangelical Christian in Nazareth, brings its complications, especially since I was part of a tiny minority with conflicting affiliations in a broiling country, where I am part of a minority within a minority”.

The Maronites in Israel are in the midst of a debate regarding the space the Palestinian identity should occupy in the perception of their collective identity. They are living the same confusion of the bigger Arab minority where 40 per cent perceive their Palestinian identity to be highly important, while at the same time, 30 per cent perceive it to be irrelevant. The split is due to the rise of political Islam as an additional factor among the Palestinians living in Israel (Smooha & Ghanem, 2001). When one considers the complex socio-political situation under which the general Arab identity was formed in the region (Smooha, 1992), the addition of national and religious factors to the identity crisis of the Palestinian minority can only make the situation more chaotic (Amara & Schnell, 2004).

Living in such a society can be rewarding, as it helps its participants to gain a wealth of insight and become tolerant of diversity. However, this is difficult for children and teenagers who may not feel they have a home and thus might struggle with their own identification (Alsweel, n.d.), especially when the
community becomes the source for feelings of alienation and social pressure which can harm the autonomy of both individuals and minorities (Levin, 1980). The IMAs have to maintain their identity as one small congregation within the larger Christian community; as Christians among Muslims and as Palestinian Arabs among Jews. As Rossing (1999, p. 28) described the Christian minority in Israel “a double minority: Arabs in the midst of the majority Jewish population of Israel, Christians within Israel’s dominantly Muslim Arab society”.

It is within the context of these components, which shape the Maronite community in Israel, that I study the impact of the perception of the national identity upon the adolescents’ professional and cultural orientation, while, simultaneously, studying the minority-majority cultural relationships and their effect on their academic future and their integration into the Israeli society (Munayer, 2000).
Chapter Two:  
Literature Review  

Introduction  

This research examines the main factors of the IMAs’ identity perception and its implication on their future orientation, as a minority within the Israeli Palestinian Arab community. This chapter focuses on three main identity themes that encompass the theoretical background which underpins this research: identity development, the perception of identity among teenagers, and the identity of the Maronite adolescents as a minority within the Christian minority, which is part of the bigger Arab minority in Israel. The themes outlined in the conceptual framework diagram (p. 42) comprise several theories which shed light on the development and conflicts adolescents face constructing their own identities, both as belonging to a certain age group and as members of a minority; In addition to major theories that deal with identity (Erikson, 1968; Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Bandura, 2005). The chapter also discusses theories that reflect minority-majority relationships (Sen, 1999; Hertz-Lazarowitz, et al., 2004), to understand the changes which take place in the identity perceptions of the IMAs’ throughout, shaping their ethnic, national and religious identities (Smooha, 1992; Munayer, 2000; Smooha & Ghanem, 2001; Amara & Schnell, 2004; Abu-Ryya & Abu-Ryya, 2009; Ghosn, 2009a,b) leading to creating a multi-dimensional identity.  

Determining one’s identity helps the adolescents to deal with their identity crisis (Erikson, 1968; Erikson,1970; Frideres, 2002; McLeod, 2013) and serves as a stabilizing factor for the whole minority. However, since identity definition in minorities is not a simple process, there is a need to take all the factors that create the identity repertoires of the adolescents into consideration. The IMAs, as adolescents living in Israel, are subjected to the same pressures other minorities living under similar circumstance face. By understanding the different constituents of the IMAs’ identities and analysing them according to the literature written on minorities’ identity conflicts (Rekhes, 1998; Gabizon & Hecker, 2000; Smooha & Ghanem, 2001; Rinawi, 2003; Seginer, 2003a;
Amara & Schnell, 2004; Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007; Ghosn, 2009a,b; Rekhes & Rodnitzki 2009; Munayer, & Horenczyk, 2014), it will become possible to understand how these adolescents conceptualize their own identities and prepare for their future.

The Maronites in Israel, being part of the Arab minority in Israel, have had to maintain their identity and heritage as one small congregation within the larger Christian community, on the one hand, and also as Christians among Muslims and as Palestinian Arabs among Jews, on the other. The identity repertoire of the Arabs in Israel is a complex phenomenon because they are caught in the midst of a national and religious conflict (Amara & Schnell, 2004). A balanced view of the interrelationships between patterns of religiosity and the surrounding society may enable a better and more positive understanding of religious life (Davie, 1994). Living in such a complex situation of ethnic minorities, religions and unstable socio-political situation, has implications for the way the IMAs are researched, necessitating their understanding as individuals on one level, and as a minority within minorities, on another. Different social groups feel the need to redefine their repertoire of identities in a way that social identities will become more congruent with their personal feeling of uniqueness, belonging and worth. In some cases they struggle for recognition of new social categories, empathy toward their needs, and legitimization of their set of meanings in society; in other cases they may struggle to constitute an alternative identity, which negates the legitimized one (Amara & Schnell, 2004).

‘Identity’ in this research is approached as a construct, and it discusses elusive, ‘soft data’ that reside deep inside the participants and are hard to define and confine within clear borders, especially that the perception of identity is highly subjective and keeps developing and changing. The term ‘identity’ has been used to refer to many different phenomena, including people’s goals, values, beliefs, group memberships and roles played in the larger society (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011), a range of concepts that does not lead to a clear definition of the term. Brubaker & Cooper (2000) and Rattansi & Phoenix (2005) claim that the state of the term ‘identity’, is that it swings on a continuum.
of meanings, where it is either given too much meaning, when understood in the strong sense of the term; too little, when understood in the weak sense; or nothing at all, due to its ambiguity. However, it is this ambiguity that necessitates further research into its entity. Using alternative terms might clarify the term ‘identity’ in general, but in the case of the IMAs, where the perception of their identity is mediated by the dialogical discourses they encounter on a daily basis (Urbanski, 2011), identity is not easy to define and will always remain elusive, thus the need to dig deeper into it. Indeed, the great interest in the concept of identity has only increased as the years went by (Bauman, 2009).

Another case that exemplifies the ambiguity and complexity of the term is when identity-related concepts, such as exile, are used. Regardless if the exile is voluntary, or imposed, its general definition of living away from one’s homeland does not necessarily clarify the issue of identity. Said (2001) provides a different perspective to the term “diaspora”, when viewed by a Palestinian who lives in exile, as being the “Palestinian Diaspora”. The identity conflicts of a person who lives away from home and homeland are expected to be harsh and ongoing, since, as Blunt (2003) argues that the term ‘diaspora’ is inherently geographical, implying a scattering of people over space and transnational connections between people and places. However, such an argument does not cover the case when “exile” and “diaspora” are experienced in the homeland itself, as is the case of the IMAs as part of the Palestinian Arabs in general who live in Israel. However, the ambiguity in which the term is situated and the confusion in which it resides make it more challenging and important to discuss, where the confusion of identity among IMAs concerns the different circles they belong to, as Maronite community among the Christian Palestinian Arab minority in Israel.
2.1 Identity and Identity Development

The shaping of identity does not occur in a vacuum and necessitated a process of negotiation between the individuals and the society in which they live. This process resides and develops at the core of both identities; the individual and the communal (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1970), which are not independent of each other, but have an intangible link between them (Alsweel, n.d.). The “socio” part of identity, must be accounted for in that communality within which an individual finds himself. The establishment and maintenance of that strength depends on the support of parental as well as communal models (Erikson, 1970). By establishing our identity, we define our sense of who we are as individuals and as members of social groups, but the identity we shape is not permanent and keeps changing over time (Frideres, 2002). “To reach the stage of having a rather stable identity involves long, ongoing, tough negotiations with others who ask to be part of this forming identity” (Elliott & Feldman, 1990:152).

Along with the individual identity, there is recognition of a group, and a collective identity that represents people’s collective knowledge, enabling their affiliation to a certain social group of society (Amara, 2005). Forming one’s identity is a process that requires a deep exploration of options and firm commitments to ideologies (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004), which strives for consistency, coherence, and harmony between values, beliefs, and commitment, and enables the recognition of potential through a sense of future possibilities and alternative choices (Sandhu, et al., 2012). A successful outcome of such negotiations should be the belonging of the individual identity to the communal, with the former getting the support of the latter. In societies that live in conflict, where individual, or communal identities, are not stable, the process of shaping identities is much more complicated, and knowing one’s heritage can play a role in forming mature interpersonal relationships which helps adolescents successfully assume adult roles (Beyers & Seiffge-Krenke, 2010), or in destructive behaviour that prevents maintaining healthy relationships with others (Schwartz, et al., 2011).
Throughout human development, the person is exposed to several environmental factors that influence his development. Bronfenbrenner's (1994) Ecological Systems Theory explains the complexity of the interaction among four levels that influence children's development: the Micro-System, which comprises any immediate relationships or organizations children interact with, such as family and school; the Meso-System, which describes how the different parts of a child's micro-system work together; the Exo-System, which comprises the other people and places that the child may not interact with, but that still have a large influence on them, such as parents' workplaces, extended family members, the neighbourhood, etc., and finally the Macro-System, which comprises elements such as the relative freedoms permitted by the national government, cultural values, the economy, wars, etc. These levels can be considered as socialization agents through school, the political situation, the media, educational attitudes, family and parents and can shape how identities grow in response to these external factors, together with the person's internal factors (Frideres, 2002). The institutions of the community have important roles that enable children to socialize outside the family, to establish independence from adults, to develop their future adult identities, to express their own interests, and to build their own cultures with their peer groups (Amon, Shamai & Ilatov, 2008). However, while many of these items can be passed on and taught, others, especially those dealing with the general policy of the state are hard to control. Understanding them, however, remains beneficial to the IMAs.

As individuals, we need to present ourselves in a set of social arrangements, and get into an interaction order in order to shape the organization of the self. However, identifying the players in the identity-shaping process is not sufficient for truly understanding the specificities of individuals and societies. There is no singularity of an individual, or a group, as Pearson (2007) explains, demonstrating the problems that make understanding the nature of the individual and social identities challenging. Individuals and groups, he claims, have multi-layered identities, they identify with cultures, languages and religions, as well as with professional, recreational and other groups. This echoes with Sen’s (1999) theory of Layered Identities, which claims that in the modern world, there is a tendency to categorize people according to a system
of singular, exclusive identities which create the illusion of a singular identity. Therefore, any theory that tries to explain the interaction between the individual and the communal identity at “universal” levels, and does not relate to the specific characteristics that define each individual and community and which can influence the shaping of these identities drastically will fail to provide a thorough picture of what makes us different from each other.

One of the approaches that explains the complexity of identity is when we consider the interaction between the two major domains under which the content of identity tends to fall: the ideological domain consisting of choices regarding career, occupation and religion (Grotevant, Thorbecke & Meyer, 1982), and the interpersonal domain comprising family, relationships, friendships, and sex roles (Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel & Geisinger, 1995). The relative importance of identity options within these domains for an adolescent depends on what is accepted and valued in their respective culture (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). Achieving a positive ethnic identity is associated with higher self-esteem and better relations with family and friends. The most positive outcome appears to be achievement of a bicultural identity that allows the adolescent to function effectively in either setting (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997). In the case of the IMAs, labelling themselves, and being labelled by the wider communities as ‘Arabs’ only, ignores the complexity of the other individual and group identities which compete to define the role an individual plays in his community, specifically when such a definition affects the future of that individual.

Culturally speaking, there should be a growing list of shared values, traditions, and practices of the cultural group, such as identifying with their holidays, media, music, rituals, clothing, history, and heroic figures (Gentry & Campbell, 2002). However, to cherish a strong identity, certain sociological and psychological understandings have to take place. Sociologically, there should be coordination between the individuals and the group regarding certain developmental transitions, where individuals should not be left, on their own, in terms of negotiating their life courses, particularly with regard to setting and achieving goals. Psychologically, the community should provide the individuals
with those psychological resources that can facilitate the movement through, and negotiation with, various social structures and developmental contexts (Cote’ & Schwartz, 2000). However, when the support is not provided, the confusion of shaping one’s identity only increases.

The development process individuals and communities pass through in the shaping of their identities does seem to follow specific patterns. However, these patterns provide only a general frame within which the interaction between the two forces takes place. There is a tendency to describe the process as being complex and complicated. Still, the levels and characteristics of these complexities and complications are specific to the circumstances under which individuals and communities live. Dealing with an ongoing process that does not end only complicates things further, and when the individual is at a critical stage of development, such as adolescence, and the community is having trouble defining itself as a community, then theories alone do not do justice to understanding a simple term as “identity development”, since each of the two words of the term assume a different meaning and connotation when applied to specific individuals and communities, such as the IMAs.

2.2 Minority identity development

The development of the minority’s identity is interdependent on the development of its individuals. However, for a minority to form a strong social identity, it too has to pass a developmental pattern which involves the categorization of its individuals according to their religion, nationality, or profession. “The main aim of this process is to create a minority with an identity which is both distinct from and positively compared with other groups” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979: 95). However, being different from and singled out from the others can also lead to being unequally treated by the majority, thus creating a feeling of becoming objects of collective discrimination (Wirth, 1945). To limit the effects of such a negative situation, the minority individuals have to continuously define and redefine their cultural identities within the complex tapestry of in-group and out-group cultures (Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007). Sometimes, this is achieved by accommodating more than the majority society,
other times by negotiating their identification with more than one minority group to which they belong (Ferdman & Horenczyk, 2000).

Although these pacts with new groups are easier to accomplish with acquired identity constituents, such as choosing a career, they are more complex when part of the identity is primordial, thus inherited and hard to change, such as belonging to a certain religion, class, or culture (Engineer, 2006). This ongoing process of defining and redefining the minority’s identity, also through its members, reflects the complexity of the process and how culturally, socially and psychologically dependent it is, stressing again the importance of understanding the uniqueness of the specific minority and its individuals. These theories can explain what happens, when and why, but they cannot provide a theory for all individuals and minorities; minorities have their own specificities and characteristics which can be understood only when they are dealt with individually.

Managing to define a clear identity has implications for the attitude the individuals assume toward the minority and the majority among which they live. This attitude can be expressed in one of four acculturation attitudes (Berry, 1997): assimilation- a positive attitude toward the majority and a negative one toward the minority; separation- a negative attitude toward the majority and positive toward the minority; integration- a positive attitude toward both the majority and minority, and marginalization- a negative attitude toward both the majority and minority. While these acculturation attitudes are easier to understand when talking about a minority that is formed in a foreign country, due to immigration for instance, they are harder to comprehend in the case of a ruling majority, such as in cases of occupation, or establishing a country on another nation’s history and heritage, as in the case of the Palestinians in Israel. Acculturation is not decided by the minority, but rather by the invading majority, if it sees important to embrace that minority. The act which led to forming the Palestinian minority does not leave much affinity to the majority, after all, this minority was created from those who, for different circumstances, stayed behind and were not part of the refugees who formed the Palestinian Diaspora.
For the IMAs, as members of a small Christian minority within other Christian minorities, and forming part of the Palestinian Arab minority, the shaping of a strong minority identity is doubly important, and complex, at the same time. They have to manoeuvre their way and get the recognition of their special status as Maronites from other Christian minorities, as Arabs from the Arab community, and as citizens by the state. Reaching a clear definition of that community identity can play a major role in forming its present and future. The choices the IMAs make, both as individuals and as a minority, are therefore critical and should be made out of clarity of state, not confusion; knowledge and not ignorance. For instance, knowing who the minority is and where it comes from can lead to a positive definition of the national identity, stating who the individuals are, what common past and shared future they have, while, ignoring these facts, can lead to a negative definition, stating who one is not, both in the sense of values, practices, characteristics and whatever feels ‘strange’ to them (Yadgar, 2003).

While the national identity deals with issues of belonging, the cultural background of a certain minority can also be at odds with the main culture of the society in which it lives, and may experience a certain conflict between the need of preserving that culture, of which it is proud, and the necessity to accept the main culture and coordinate its development with it. Here too, providing the individuals of the minority with a sound knowledge base of the ethnic identity at an early age, and with political awareness at maturity, as Kim, Lee and Kim (1981) suggest, can make the minority realize the differences that exist between them and the majority, leading to resenting the foreign culture and appreciating the characteristics of the minority. As in the case of forming the ethnic identity among blacks in the United States, Helms (1990) argued that it went in stages: the first stage of creating the cultural identity was characterized by the idealization of the culture of the majority and the will to be similar to it. However, by the second stage, when the minority members realized that they would not be able to assimilate with the majority, they reacted by criticizing it, which lead them to reconnect to their roots. The same goes for the IMAs, who seem to be in the midst of the second stage, where they do criticize the majority, but are not yet reconnecting to their heritage and culture, although
Ghosn and Engebretson (2010) showed that assimilation and reconnecting to the roots went side by side among the Australian Maronite community, which is another example of why these theoretical models do not always work, especially when specific characteristics of the minority are ignored. Ghosn and Engebretson, stress that the Australian Maronites’ connection to the church and to the Maronite rite means connection to culture, heritage and homeland – Lebanon, which is not the case for the IMAs.

Regardless of the developmental path a minority follows in structuring its identity, a certain degree of awareness and the need to understand one’s own heritage are an essential stage toward appreciating the merits of one’s own cultural identity. Important to say, culture is no longer a national and fixed issue that is defined by heritage, history or even common issues and values among people of close social relationships. It is difficult to find people with similar definitions of their culture, especially among children and teenagers, echoing the environmental factors at the Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1994), globalization in all its forms, including the media, is reshaping young people’s definition of culture and even challenging its meaning at the deepest level (Qarooni, 2010). This trend has had implications for the IMAs, they too have drifted away from their culture, language and heritage and have adjusted themselves to the culture of the majority as a survival technique (Beggiani, 2000), or because they identify better with the majority as adolescents.

The process of developing the identity of minorities is complex enough for the minority members, who face a myriad of challenges trying to identify with the bigger group. However, when it comes to the adolescents among them, the process is doubly hard. These adolescents experience oppression as they struggle to understand themselves, their culture, the oppressive culture of the majority, and the dynamics between the two cultures (Sue & Sue, 2003).
2.3 Adolescents’ identity development

Adolescence is characterized by development, it is rather a rapid growth between childhood and adulthood, where biological, cognitive and social changes take place (Mwale, 2010). These changes are accompanied by increased responsibilities, as well as expectations, that adolescents are able to make more responsible decisions, thus creating autonomy-granting milestones which help them feel more in control of their lives (Elliott & Feldman, 1990). As adequately summarized by Kaplan (2004), there is no one scientific definition of adolescence; there are key development changes that nearly all adolescents experience during their transition from childhood to adulthood.

Still, from the biological viewpoint, adolescence is defined as the period when a person is no longer a child and not yet an adult (Heaven & Tubridy, 2004). When we look at this period from a time-line point of view, we can perceive adolescents as the representatives of the future, although planning the future does not get accomplished without problems (Guanipa-ho & Guanipa, 1998). Adolescents have a willingness to explore new things, and for them almost everything is possible. However, one of the characteristics of this period is that it is a period of “storm and stress” (Hlpfl, Bister & Strohmaier, 2003) where teenagers know who they are not, much more than who they are.

While biological change is easy to spot and follow, issues of ego definition and identity formation are not that easy to track, especially that self-identity is a construct that is highly subjective and thus, elusive. Adolescent identity formation is a complex process and can be associated with different psycho-social outcomes depending upon the socio-cultural milieu (Sandhu, et al., 2012). Identity diffusion is generally considered the least mature and least complex status, reflecting apathy and lack of concern about directing one’s present and future life (Jones, 1994; White, 2000). It is a period when adolescents may become socially isolated (Marcia, 1991). This is the first time that individuals begin to think about how their identity may affect their lives (Steinberg, 2008), in some cases, the identity crisis will be contained within the rituals of passage marking a second birth, while in other cases, the crisis will be
clearly marked off as a critical period intensified by collective strife or epidemic tension (Erikson, 1970). Identity achievement during this period serves as a basis for the adults’ expectations and goals (Whitbourne, 1987) as well. As individuals enter early adulthood they use their current understanding of who they are to develop a lifespan construct which serves as the link between the identity developed in adolescence and the adult self (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2000).

When teenagers live as a minority, such as the case of the IMAs in Israel, and they face a problem of understanding the culture of the majority, which they might despise, the pressure of identification goes beyond the personal, into the social, and the act of integrating into societal norms, such as establishment, assimilation, and integration into its values, beliefs and standards as part of the identity outcomes (Guanipa-ho & Guanipa, 1998) become even more demanding. Therefore, teenagers need more time to reach the stage of “integrative awareness” which enables them to be more flexible to accept their culture and also the culture of the “other” (Sue & Sue, 2003). This process structures the person’s inner world and the way of self-understanding “in both a descriptive and prescriptive sense” (Heaven & Tubridy, 2004: 152) and therefore it requires sufficient “physical growth, mental maturation and social responsibility to experience and pass through the crisis of identity” (Erikson, 1968: 92).

What makes the maturation process more challenging are those socio-cultural changes that make life different, such as technological innovations, economic depressions, military conflicts, cultural upheavals, and political changes (Bandura, 2005), especially when adolescents live under circumstances like those in Israel, since life trajectories differ depending on where people are in their lives at the time of such changes (Elder, 1981). The youth culture in this multimedia electronic generation is immersed in new forms of social interactions (Oksman & Turtiainen, 2004). Teenagers are filling empty periods of their everyday lives using mobile communication, but while doing this, they can control their self-presentation and shape their personal identities, since these private forms of communication permit independence from parental supervision of the virtual world of teenagers (Bandura, 2005).
In order to carry out such demanding steps in the understanding and the reshaping of personal and national identities, one has to have, among other things, the courage to act. Youth are the part of the community who are the most receptive or susceptible to foreign cultural practices, “If childhood means acceptance, and adulthood means conservatism, youth means rebelliousness” (Heaven & Tubridy, 2004: 149). As is the case among the IMAs, they got more detached from their culture and community, become more open to people from other cultures and to different social and religious values. Their religious believing seems to have become detached from religious belonging (Davie, 1990). They abandoned their Aramaic-Syriac heritage and integrated into the Arab culture (Moosa, 2004).

For the IMAs, and for teenagers at large, the outcome of such a challenging period is rewarding since, as it passes by, individuals will be able to integrate all the images about oneself into a personal identity and consolidate the various roles one has to play; they form their ego definition of who they are, what their capabilities and weak sides are, how they fit into society (Erikson, 1968), what their roles are in it (Bar El & Noymeier, 1996), looking forwards into becoming an integral part of it.

### 2.4 Israeli Arab Identity

One of the constituents of identity is the ethnic/ national identity. Here too the definition of this component is far from being clear and depends much on the geopolitics of the people in conflict. In today’s globalization markets, for instance, where many people live away from their homelands, borders between nations overlap and the pressure of the identity crisis individuals face only increases. Due to migration, new ethnic minorities are formed and new conflicts arise among the individuals themselves and between the minority and the new environment in which they live. Depending on how we approach this new identity crisis in people’s lives, we can see that there is a trend of renewed nationalism, where nations and nationalism are not just political bodies and ideology, but cultural phenomena as well, as Smith (1993) argues that nations and nationalism have become multidimensional and encompass language,
sentiments and symbolism. When national identities are formed without a state, like in the case of the Kurds, turmoil and conflict increase. When these same identities are formed in a state that was established on the people’s own land, heritage and culture, like in the case of the Palestinians, these conflicts erupt. Moreover, when a minority within that Palestinian minority gets entangled with its own identity conflicts, its individuals withdraw into their own familiar ethnicity, giving new meanings to “otherness” and “strangeness”. Nationalism might then become a form of “defensive hatred” as Kristeva (1993) cautions. For the IMAs to build their social identity and change their habitus (Bourdieu, 1980) they need to identify “others” and get identified by them in order to construct a basis for their own self-identification, especially that the country in which they live is not making the required efforts to ensure that the “national allegiance takes precedence over all other claims which may be made upon them when they are confronted by alternative choices of allegiance …” (Emerson, 1959: 97). When ethnic group membership determines access to social, psychological, cultural, political, and economic privileges (Phinney, 1990), ethnicity becomes an important component of minority individuals’ lives. Internalization of strong and secure ethnic identities contributes positively to the psychological adjustment and well-being of the minority (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009). In his memoir, Said (2000) wrote “You don’t dare to answer, kid! Get out of this place immediately: Arabs are not allowed to be here... Even without contemplating much about calling me ‘an Arab’ instead of my own name, I quickly realized then that with this ‘nickname’ I am not enabled to have an identity... “(p. 72).

To talk about the Christian community in Israel, there is a need to understand its relation to the general Arab community in Israel. Most Arabs in Israel feel attached to more than one identity in their identity repertoire. As indicated before, the Palestinian identity is associated with national pride, not with citizenship, while the Israeli identity supplies the Israeli Arabs with a sense of citizenship (Amara & Schnell, 2004). The state of Israel has treated the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel as foster citizens; it is willing to accept them, on condition that they renounce their national and cultural identity as Palestinians, and agree to assimilate into the wider Jewish Israeli society, that is, as national-less and cultural-less citizens (Dwaity, 2004). Israel provides its
Arab citizens with citizenship documents which are supposed to create a sense of belonging by their bearers, while, at the same time, it keeps reminding them that it is a Jewish and a democratic country. This double message of considering the Arabs as second class citizens makes the Arabs look for a sense of pride beyond the borders of a country that does not want them within its borders. Still, while the older generation may have created a stronger sense of what it means to be a Palestinian, the younger generation has no immediate historical ties with Palestine and has only heard about it, second-hand, from their parents. This leads to a conflict of identities between the emotional and the official belonging of the person, especially when the holder of the citizenship is a minority within a minority.

The close observation of the maturation process experienced by the Arab adolescents in Israel reveals three sub-identities in their main identity: religious, national (Arab/ Palestinian) and civic, that of the Israeli citizenship (Soan, 2003). All the sub-identities are influenced by the social, political and cultural forces that drive the life of the Israeli society and create challenging conditions for shaping a confident and coherent Arab identity in a society experiencing a clash of identities. In order to complement the understanding of the identity conflicts in this part of the world, these sub-identities have to be dealt with from their social and socio-political aspects as well. Identity confusion affects who we are and how we see, or do not see ourselves, and this image of what we can, or cannot do affects our future considerations, then the issue of identity becomes doubly significant. Our national, religious and non-existing citizenship identity plays an important role in how we see ourselves and who we become.

The shaping of the identity of the Arab citizens in Israel involves different mechanisms that work together to mould its constituents into the final form. Rinawi (2003) discusses four mechanisms of that identity: first, the Israeli mechanism - this identity is expressed by the feeling of being an integral part of the Israeli society, on the legal instrumental level, by participating in its civil rights and obligations. Second, the Palestinian mechanism - this identity is expressed by a linkage to the land, the Palestinian culture and symbols, where “Palestinianism” is a sub category in the general category of “Arabs”. In this
respect, it is necessary to notice the strengthening process of the Palestinian component, or the "Palestinization" of the generations born after the 1967 War (Johal, 2004). The unstable political situation imposed on the position of Arab citizens in the state of Israel, together with globalization processes and their consequences on Middle Eastern politics, set challenges for their complex identity repertoire (Amara & Schnell, 2004). However, the self-identification of these two groups of the Arab Palestinian population has distinctive differences: the Palestinian–Israeli Arabs, in the course of time, have developed the strategy of the adaptation to the Israel society, while the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza maintained the strategy of surviving dictated by their uncertain jurisdiction conditions and dire political and economic situation (Johal, 2004). The third constituent, according to Rinawi (2003), is the Arab mechanism - this identity is expressed by belonging to the history, culture and Arabic heritage. It is the widest mechanism of identity of the Arab citizens in Israel. And the fourth is the Islamic mechanism; it points to the religious identity as having a set of behaviour codes that guide their way of life.

While this approach of analysing the Arab identity succeeds in revealing the different layers that form it, it overlooks the main theme of minorities within the Arab society, thus ignoring the Christians. Not all the Arabs in Israel, and as a matter of fact in the Middle East and the rest of the world are Muslims, the same as not all Muslims are Arabs. Therefore, when it comes to Christian Arabs, this Islamic mechanism becomes irrelevant and even counter-productive. Many Christians think their identity is in crisis and feel increasingly alienated; they are not only part of an Arab minority in a Jewish state, but as Christians, they form another minority within this predominantly Muslim bigger minority, and hence get bound up in the tense and complex relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority (Hänzel, 2010).

The idea that with the advance of modernization, “the familial, regional and religious sub-identities are receding and the national sub-identity is taking precedence ...” was discussed after the 1967 War (Smooha & Cibulski, 1978). Referring to the research of that time, they asserted that the national identity among the Arab intellectuals was more attractive than the Israeli citizenship,
and alienation from the state was even greater among the more intellectually oriented elite. More than a decade later, a new research showed that the situation had changed: two components – an Arab-Palestinian and an Israeli citizen – had been integrating in the Israeli-Arab identity. In such a way, they were strengthening each other and shaping the collective identity of the Israeli-Arabs (Smooha, 1992; Rosenhek, 1998). The influencing factors Smooha refers to are a continuing democratization of the Israeli society, erosion of the Palestinian identity and Palestinians’ frustration by the lack of leadership that can raise their agenda, as well as Israel’s persistent strategy to confirm the Jewish character of the country (Smooha, 1998).

The Palestinian Arabs living in Israel feel that they were not being treated fairly by the state, and they feel increasingly isolated and alienated (Bubis, 2002). Today, during the security and border clearance procedures in the Israeli airports, for instance, Israeli Arab citizens have to be prepared for a different screening than that of the other parts of the population, in spite of the fact that 99.9% of the Israeli Arabs caused no problems to the national security of Israel (Hareven, 1995), and Israeli Arab citizens represent the most harmless national minority in the 20th century (Bishara, 1996). Arab youths, with the different subgroups, have a feeling that they are “pushed aside” by the Jewish majority, along with constant questioning of their national identity, factors that only reduce the loyalty of the young Israeli Arabs (Paltak & Mahamid, 1989).

Considered as dangerous by the major part of the Jewish population and Israeli authorities since the establishment of the state, the Israeli Arabs have actually been a weak, frightened and suppressed part of the Israeli population (Mansour & Benjamin, 1991).

To understand the complicated identity of the Arabs in Israel (including Christian minorities), we should consider different historical periods that affected them since the establishment of the State of Israel. Individuals’ self-concepts are affected by a history of ethnic and religious tension between Arabs and Jews (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009). The Or Committee, which was appointed to look into the events of the October 2000 violent uprising which resulted in the killing of 13 Arab youths, pointed to some factors that
influenced the Arab community and caused this reaction, such as the continuous discrimination and frustration they encounter, which made them question their identification with their civil identity as Israelis (Amara & Schnell, 2004). Their perception of suffering from systematic deficiency in Israel, encouraged them to construct a sense of their own ethnic and religious identity (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009), and led them to a stronger identification with the Palestinian struggle (Sheferman-Tamar, 2008). Furthermore, the political discourse is dominated today by two polarized forces: the Islamic movement and the secular-national parties. While the former aspires to transform Israeli Arabs into a fundamentalist minority with Islamic ideology (Amara & Schnell, 2004), leading to a counter action by the Christians to raise their own agenda (Rekhes, 1998), the latter looks for transferring the Arabs into an ethnic minority, living in a state for its citizens, with full ethnic and civic rights. Both movements are in defiance of Israel’s definition of a Jewish state.

However, these same alienating factors can have positive outcomes had the Arab community’s ethnic identity been nourished instead of being neglected. Villa’s (2000) research assessed different components of ethnic identity (ethnic self-identification, ethnic constancy, ethnic knowledge, ethnic feelings and preferences, and use of ethnic role behaviours) and reached the conclusion that a stronger ethnic identity leads to better social skills and less behavioural problems. When a minority feels alienated, neglected, suppressed and marginalized, moving towards slow radicalization becomes expected (Braham, 2007).

Another cause for the adolescents’ confusion lies in the influence of the Arab culture on the one hand, and the Israeli and Western ways of life on the other (Rinawi, 2003). The west is seen to be providing an opportunity for a better future, rejecting the binding traditions of the Arab society. Ironically, part of these attractions may have influenced their attitudes toward the Israeli establishment favourably, based on the principles of western democracy and that Israel is, as a whole, a western culture. However, the study of Munayer and Horenczyk (2014), also highlights the tendency to a positive attitude
towards the western culture among the minority, preserving their traditions along with the adoption of the majority’s culture.

Moreover, the young Arab generation considers Israel as a country which does not promote their national interests, it provides only for essential things like citizenship, physical and organizational infrastructure, medical services and a poorly resourced education system (Rinawi, 2003).

2.4.1 Christians’ Identity Conflicts

In order to understand the conflicts that the IMAs and the Christian minority in general face in Israel, a look at the identity repertoire of the whole Arab community, categorized according to religion, clarifies the picture.

Christians in Israel are considered as part of the Arab minority who share culture, language and heritage, but practice the Christian religion and live according to Christian laws as they consider themselves the first and original Christians. Still, being Christians and belonging to a specific denomination adds yet another layer to the difficulties which the representatives of minority groups face in the process of identification of their identities. With regard to the relations with the church, denominational allegiance, church attendance, and attitudes toward the church may show commendable awareness of the complexity of religious phenomena and the need to bear in mind more than one dimension in an individual’s religious life (Davie, 1994). The IMAs, being part of the Christian Arab minority, were thus exposed to the same factors that affected their perception regarding their identity, usually after a political/ military events that occurred, the October 2000 events, the uprisings in the Palestinian occupied territories (Amara & Schnel, 2004) and the latest war on Gaza, in addition to other factors such as, the kind of relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority, the “Israelization” process of the collective identity and political orientation of the Palestinian citizens of Israel (Smooha, 1993; 2001).

A Study conducted by Amara and Schnell (2004) reveal that different groups of the Arab population have different understandings of the national identity. They found that most Arabs in Israel feel strongly attached to several identities, none
of them dominating the others, Arab, Palestinian, Israeli, and religious (Muslim, Christian, Druze). According to Table 1, Muslims and Christians emphasize high salience of their Arab identity and their religious identities. Although most Druze members assign high priority to their religious identity, as well as their citizenship in Israel, they are united in their rejection of the Palestinian identity, but are divided concerning the relevance of their Arab identity.

Table 1: Identity Repertoire – Palestinian Arab Community in Israel*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity repertoire</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Not relevant</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palestinian</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Druze</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Druze</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israeli</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Druze</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Druze</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Amara and Schnell (2004: 183)

The Palestinian and the Israeli identities are more controversial among Muslims and Christians. About half of them assign their Israeli identity a moderate level of salience with the rest being distributed between those who consider it irrelevant and those tending to highly relevant. The salience of the Palestinian identity is highly emphasised by about 40 percent of the Muslims and the Christians, but is irrelevant, or only marginally relevant, to 17 per cent of the Muslims and 36 per cent of the Christians.

Christian Palestinian Arabs in Israel are a religious minority within a national minority (Sa’ar, 1998), they face a debate concerning their belonging to the Palestinian identity. While 40 per cent of them perceive their Palestinian identity to be highly important, almost 30 per cent perceive the Palestinian identity to be
irrelevant. It seems that both attitudes may be understood in the context of the rise of political Islam (Smooha & Ghanem, 2001), when Christians also began to raise their agenda, increasing the Christian component in the Israeli Arab identity (Rekhes, 1998). This reflects Davie’s (1994) view that when patterns of religious behaviour change, they do not necessarily coincide with national boundaries.

While the most prominent finding according to Amara and Schnell (2004) is that most Arabs in Israel feel attached to at least three identities, Abu-Rayya and Abu-Rayya (2009) explain that religious identity may equal or exceed ethnic identity in importance as a feature of minority individuals’ self-concept informing their well-being. Muslims and Christians who participated socially in the traditions and activities of their Palestinian ethnicity were aware of or reflected upon their Palestinian ethnic membership. Religious identity can also be conceptualized as an aspect of a minority person’s social identity (Tajfel, 1981), and may provide a way of reviving their religion and working to maintain it (Abu-Rayya, 2006).

The state of the Christian Palestinian Arabs in Israel reflects the major picture of Christians in the Arab world as a whole. There too, the state of the Christian Arabs is one that combines three elements in a transnational triangle (Sabra, 2006): a local, marginalized Christian minority; a politically central, local Muslim majority; and an external, Western/Christian cultural and political power. Sabra suggests that these Christians can be defined as either Arab Christians, or Eastern Christians, and emphasize their Middle Eastern Christianity, while the “Arab Christian” dislikes the West and Israel more than it fears the Muslims, the “Eastern Christian” feels more threatened by radical Islam than by the West or Israel. This definition rejects identification with Islamic and Arab culture (Schneidleder, 2013). However, Sabra’s model cannot be applied to the situation experienced by Christian Palestinian Arabs in Israel because local Christians are marginalized twice: once in relationship to the Muslim majority within the Palestinian national group, and another as Palestinian citizens within the Jewish state. This situation has been accompanied by considerable tension in their relationships with both Israeli Jews and Muslim Arabs (Munayer &
Horenczyk, 2014). They face complex questions of identity because they are exposed to increasing socio-economic and religious pressure from the Muslim majority (Hänsel, 2010). During the last decades when the conflict between Christians and Muslims has become more hostile (Munayer & Horenczyk, 2014), Christians found themselves suffering on both fronts: as Arabs, like their Muslim neighbours, and as members of a small, dwindling community who faces daily hardships in a hostile and violent atmosphere (Mansour, 2004). Christian Arabs in Israel felt increased pressure from Muslim Arabs as well as from the Israeli political institution (Ramon, 2012).

Supposedly, Christian adolescents in Israel wish to maintain their in-group identity, however, they express willingness to adopt elements of the Jewish society more than Muslim Arabs do. They also feel stronger assimilation pressures coming from Israeli Jews and the Integration attitudes vis-à-vis the Jewish majority were stronger than those towards Muslim Arabs (Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007).

When taking all the above identity components of the IMAs and adolescents in general into consideration, the complexity of their identity formation becomes even more apparent. They have to confront psychological, social, socio-political, socio-economic and religious issues.

2.5 Future Orientation of Adolescents

Future orientation is a person's 'model of the future'. As such, it provides the grounds for setting goals, planning, exploring options and making commitments, and consequently guides the person's developmental course (Bandura, 2001; Seginer, 2003a). Bearing these properties, future orientation has a special importance for individuals going through developmental and transitional periods in which they are normatively expected to prepare themselves for what lies ahead (Seginer, 2003b). Therefore, the study of future orientation is especially relevant to adolescent development. The IMAs' future orientation might be impacted by their perception of identity at the specific developmental period they are going through, and by social, psychological and political reasons. There is a visible lack of research on how the Maronite
community is developing in Israel and worldwide, and how it is keeping the balance between preserving traditional values and adaptation to the culture of the host country particularly in the era of globalization.

Future orientation is the image individuals have regarding their future, as consciously represented and self-reported. Like autobiography, it tells a personal subjective life history consisting of those life domains individuals deem important, and gives meaning to one’s life (Bandura, 2001). Subjective understanding of future orientations is normally influenced by various objective factors, including norms of socio-political and cultural life, as well as by internal subjective factors, and is constructed according to expectations shaped by the combination of all the effective factors (Abrams, et al., 1990). In addition, adolescents’ goals and expectations regarding their future are shaped by family and significant others (Honora, 2002). This research suggests that the way IMAs perceive their identity influences their future orientation, life planning, decision making, and behaviour. Future orientation develops in relation to other personal variables in early childhood, partly determined by processes of cognitive development and partly influenced by external social learning conditions, which produce a future orientation with more or less stable characteristics (Trommsdorff, 1986). Several factors have been shown to influence adolescents’ attitudes concerning their future plans, some are external (i.e. economic status, family support, peer pressure, etc.), while others are internal (i.e. their beliefs, desire to further their education). It is important to look at both the external and internal factors in order to understand what drives adolescents toward a better future (Mirza & Somers, 2004).

Adolescents’ orientation toward their future is an important concept to study because it has been linked to academic success (Mirza & Somers, 2004). They start to develop their future orientation concerning education and profession, although they lack the life experience and their views on future are usually idealistic (Bar El & Noymeier, 1996). The cognitive development among youth allows adolescents to engage in the kind of introspection and mature decision making that was previously beyond their cognitive capacity (Gentry & Campbell, 2002). Thinking about the future is of great importance to maturing
people in completing tasks considered to be normative for their age and important for their future development, so that developing future orientation is a normative expression of the subject's mental activity (Seginer, 1995).

Arab adolescents in Israel, compared to their Jewish peers, scored lower on the prospective life course domains (higher education, work and career, as well as marriage and family) and higher on existential domains “pertaining to non-specific, non-behaviour directing narratives related to self-concerns, others, and the collective” (Seginer, 2003a: 202). But in recent years, these differences have become smaller on the account of changes in future orientations of Arab adolescents who now score higher on the prospective life course domains (Seginer, 2009). Research on the aspirations of Israeli Arab high school students, show that in comparison with the low educational and occupational attainments of their predecessors and irrespective of their social origins, Israeli Arab high school students hold highly optimistic, even unrealistic views concerning their future educational and occupational destinations (Yair, Khattab & Benavot, 2003).
Conclusion

The literature review developed a wide range of ideas in relation to the concept of identity, minority and future orientation. To conclude this chapter, I will present the conceptual framework (p. 42) which stemmed from adopting a non-positivist paradigm into understanding the IMAs’ identity conflict as a minority within other minorities (Munayer, 2000; Smooha & Ghanem, 2001; Amara & Schnell, 2004) and its effect on their future orientation, career choices and place of residence (Berzonsky & Ferrari, 1995; McCabe & Barnet, 2000). My conceptual framework was developed in stages, mainly through reading the relevant literature and combining it with my own experience.

The research approach I followed guided me to choose specific theories to be included in my conceptual framework; theories that reflect minority-majority relationships (Sen, 1999; Hertz-Lazarowitz, et al., 2004) in order to understand the changes that took place in the identity perceptions of the participants on the social, political and religious levels. Since previous studies (Smooha, 1992; Smooha & Ghanem, 2001; Amara & Schnell, 2004) showed the changes that took place in the Palestinians’ identities throughout the different stages in their lives, since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, and the prevalent idea in the contemporary Israeli social research is that the Israeli Arab identity is multi-dimensional (Amara & Schnell, 2004). The conceptual framework helped me choose those events that affected such change. The history of the Maronites clarifies the unifying role of the church in their lives and its implication on their identity and heritage (Ghosn, 2009a,b).

When researchers hold a specific paradigm, and when they set the boundaries of their conceptual framework to include and exclude certain theories, and then set out to design their research under those guidelines, the cohesion of the research as a whole becomes more apparent since all the parts in the research are interconnected and stem from and serve each other. The interaction between the different constituents of the conceptual framework should also help me report the factual findings of the research, analyse the interpretative
findings and discuss the conceptual findings. The following diagram illustrates the interaction between the above mentioned factors:

**Figure 1: Conceptual Framework Model**

The diagram displays the three circles that shape the IMAs’ identity perception. Minorities are subjected to social, political and cultural pressures that affect their formation and maintaining of their own identity, fighting against assimilation, or simply becoming part of the majority and facing the various cultural impacts of living within a multi-cultural society. Adolescents face huge tensions and confusion forming and comprehending their social identity, among the other identities they have to deal with. What characterizes the IMAs is that they are an adolescent minority, within a minority, a fact which subjects them to an additional layer of identity conflicts. This combination creates additional pressures affecting their identity perception process and making it even more challenging. For the IMAs to reach a clear identity perception, they have to deal with socio-political; socio-psychological and socio-cultural factors, as appears in the diagram above.

The first research question ‘How do the IMAs perceive their identity?’ is exploratory in nature and aims at understanding the self-definition of the IMAs within the larger communities in Israel, while the other ‘What impact does their
identity perception have on their future orientation and heritage awareness? implies understanding its effect on the shaping of their future orientation, looking into the extent of how understanding one’s heritage can affect one’s choices. The investigation of both questions should shed light on the complex reality in which such a minority lives, facing other minorities, who have problems of their own, and at the same time dealing with the majority who has completely opposing issues regarding the future aspirations of the IMAs, being part of the Palestinian Arab community, which is rejected by the state in which it lives.

The literature observed outlined some important issues regarding critical aspects in the lives of minorities and the lives of adolescents within these minorities. Determining one’s identity helps the adolescent “settle down” from this respect and is a stabilizing factor for the whole minority. However, since identity definition in minorities is not a simple process, there is a need to take all the factors that create the identity repertoires of the adolescents into consideration as well. The IMAs, as adolescents living in Israel, are subjected to the same pressures other minorities living under similar circumstance face. By understanding the different constituents of the IMAs’ identities and analysing them according to the literature written on minorities identity conflicts, it will become possible to understand how these adolescents conceptualize their own identities and prepare for their futures.

Researching the IMAs’ self-identity perceptions necessitated an approach of mixing the general (of being teenagers) with the particular (being a minority); while social theories provided the background for the conflicts of minorities and adolescents in general, the history of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel provided the context under which these conflicts formulated themselves adding further concept within the different levels suggested by Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems theory (1994). When adolescents fail to create a clear perception of their self-identities, maybe understanding their past, and better planning of their future can contribute to calming the confusion through which they live.

Some adolescents are able to see themselves as multicultural and feel very proud of it, whereas for others this may be a way leading to self-contradiction.
For adolescents, it is a matter of shaping their personality and behaviour, and knowing who they are and what they want to be. However, this issue is not important only for adolescents, but for educators, parents, and other people who play a role in the educating process of the adolescents, especially within a minority lacking formal activities that answer the adolescents’ specific needs. Educators are expected to preserve the cultural aspects of a minority out of understanding, respect and pride, so the next generation will be more prepared and empowered to face the challenges in this unstable region by preserving its identity and preventing assimilation and by learning how to survive, adjust and integrate within the larger society.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the methodology I have adopted in this research, show why I have found it to be the most relevant to the nature of my research. I will explain the considerations which I had to take prior to selecting data collection methods. I will discuss the choice of the sample, the piloting stage and data collection of the main sample. Ethical considerations for choosing each method and reliability and validity issues will be discussed as well.
Chapter Three:
Research Methodology

3.1 Research Considerations

This research examines the identity perception and future orientation of the IMAs as part of a minority in the Israeli Palestinian Christian Arab community. The research was carried out between the years 2009-2011, involving 25 Maronite adolescents ranging from ages 16 – 18 years (adolescents start their Bagrut (Matriculation) exams at these ages and they start preparing for their future outside the school). All of the participants were recruited from the local Maronite Church registry according to their year of birth (born between 1990-1992). Fifteen females / Ten males were interested and agreed to participate and signed a consent form, as did their parents. This study did not examine variables such as gender, socio-economic situation of the family, birth order of the participant etc., which might influence the data. The focus was on the identity perception of the IMAs, according to the conceptual framework and the boundaries of this research.

The identity perception of the IMAs is a complex social phenomenon. As such, it should be studied in a way which can provide a deep insight of its nature. It has been assumed that qualitative inquiry could be an effective way to understand people’s perceptions of the phenomenon in the form of personal narratives, as “the qualitative researcher talks with people about their experiences and perceptions; themes, patterns, understandings and insights” (Patton, 2002: 5). There were “increasing calls for a much greater utilization of qualitative methods in order to understand more fully the nature of the problems that social policies have to address...” (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003: 26). A main feature of qualitative methods is “their facility to describe and display phenomena as experienced by the study population, in fine-tune detail and in the study participants’ own terms” (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003: 27). Qualitative research, in a variety of forms, from its bases in anthropology and sociology, has become prominent in many disciplinary contexts, such as cultural studies,
educational research, organisational research and nursing studies (Atkinson, 2005). Qualitative research draws upon the data obtained from a natural stream of events and relies on cognitive perception of the researcher who is considered to be the main instrument of investigation (Yosiphun, 2001). This research does not claim objectivity, nor does it intend to formulate hypotheses; the main aim is to focus on the meaning of what is happening and understand it.

3.1.1 Paradigms
The paradigm we hold when we carry out research has great implications for how we approach it and how we design and execute its major components. As Creswell (2007: 20) states, in this worldview, “Individuals seek understanding of the world. Meanings are varied, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views”. It is from this worldview that the researcher approaches the complex reality behind the IMAs’ perception of their own identities, which, in turn, affects their future orientation.

Research paradigms are usually categorized as positivist and non-positivist. The main difference between the two paradigms is in the way each perceives reality. To the positivist there is a reality “out there” that exists independently of people, while the non-positivist interpretive paradigm sees reality as a construct in the human mind. “People perceive and so construe the world in ways which are often similar but not necessarily the same” (Bassey, 1990: 38). Adopting a non-positivist paradigm relates to the researcher’s personal view about the nature of knowledge while carrying out this research. The basic belief that characterises the non-positivist paradigm (Trafford, 2000) is that the world is socially constructed and subjective, and that the observer is part of what is observed. In the attempt to understand the reality of how the IMAs perceive their own identity, the researcher will be aware that each one of the participants holds his / her own subjective view of what that reality is, and that being a practitioner researcher and one of the community members under study, the researcher will be subjected to the same influences they are facing. In this paradigm, the focus will be on meaning and on understanding what is happening by looking at the whole situation, while developing ideas through
induction from data. This research will be dealing with “soft data” that cannot be defined with specificity, since it is subjective and generally requires interpretation and may include values, experience, knowledge and beliefs of a community or an individual (Trauth, 2001), but can be explained (Shah & Corley, 2006). Therefore, the researcher will try to establish the participants’ views regarding the phenomena perceived by using multiple methods and triangulation.

The philosophical and methodological approaches selected for this research depended on the specificity of the domain under research, the understanding of the nature of reality (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology) that impact the research design, and the nature of the specific data conveyed by the group of research participants to the researcher. The ontological beliefs deal with the nature of reality. Different individuals hold different beliefs and these beliefs differ with respect to their explicitness and sophistication (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002; Hofer, 2004). Hofer (2002: 4) defines epistemology as being “concerned with the origin, nature, limits, methods, and justification of human knowledge.” In very general terms, it is a branch of philosophy concerned with that which exists; that is, a description of the things in the world. The goal is to try to achieve a complete and true account of reality (Stevens, Rector & Hull, 2010). The nature of knowledge can either be hard, real and capable of being transmitted in a tangible form, or of a softer, more subjective, spiritual or even transcendental kind, based on experience and insight of a unique and essentially personal nature (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). However, such personal knowledge is difficult to extract from the heads of individuals (Polanyi, 1967; Sanchez, 2004). Such knowledge is also tacit and people differ by exploring their own perceptions and experiences. Tacit knowledge comprises a range of conceptual and sensory information and images that can be brought to bear in an attempt to make sense of something (Hodgkin, 1991), such as the IMAs’ identity components and their feelings of belonging or alienation. The soft and subjective nature of the data sought and how they get communicated from the participants, being based on their personal experiences and insights, makes researcher assume a certain position of how to acquire the data, by getting involved with the participants and
looking for an internal, deep understanding of their social behaviour, while at the same time holding the belief that they can affect and control their environment. In order to understand the IMAs' perception, there is a need to look beyond the details of everyday life and concentrate on the essences underlying them, and free the researcher from the usual ways of perceiving the world (Cohen, et al., 2000). The ontological assumptions of a paradigm give rise to epistemological assumptions, which, in turn, affect the methodological considerations adopted in carrying out research, including issues of instrumentation and data collection (Hitchcock & Hughes 1995).

3.1.2 Choice of Research Approach
Both ontological and epistemological considerations made the researcher opt for a research approach which would help him, rather than explain universal laws, understand the subjective experience of the individuals when they create their own social reality, and focus on the different ways they live, modify and interpret it. While researching appropriate approaches for the research, a case study approach was considered. However, a case study is a preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed, with the investigator having little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 2003). Case study employs inductive thinking in the examination of characteristics and meaning of certain processes intended to make a difference. It refers to observation of the human activity in a certain place and time, and collection of data which the researcher uses to construct a case study in order to examine the organization behaviour pertained to its processes (Stake, 2000). But what the researcher needed was more an understanding of their reality and their perception of identity and future orientation as a minority among other communities, a mission which could be accomplished by using other appropriate research approaches.

Phenomenology, the study of phenomena, was also considered for the research. This approach could have served as the methodology for this research, especially that it advocates the study of direct experience taken at face value, and one which sees behaviour as determined by the phenomena of experience rather than by external, objective and physically described reality.
(English & English, 1958), and it makes a distinction between appearance and essence, by asking about the nature of meaning of something (Merleau-Ponty, 2002). Yet, one of the differences between phenomenology and ethnography is that while the former focuses on dealing with the lived phenomenon, or experience of a group of individuals, the latter uses a more holistic approach to describing the constituents of the cultural and social scene of that group. While one originates from philosophy, the other is from anthropology, and therefore, it is a choice between understanding the lived experience of a group versus understanding the context of its cultural scenes, which is the focus of this study. Phenomenology would not have helped me collect reliable and valid data, for instance, because the focus on the group under study is too wide and would not have allowed the understanding of the different specific constituents that take part in the formation of the intricate perception of the IMAs’ identities; a researcher needs to understand how these adolescents live inside each of the different circles which constitute the components of identity, be it social, religious, socio-economic, political, etc., and these are aspects that phenomenology does not look into.

In the search for the appropriate methodology and methods to capture the perception of the IMAs and their identity, the researcher was faced by the need of an in-depth approach in order to deal with the ‘soft’ nature of the data in such an issue as perceptions. The researcher will be studying the IMAs perception of their identities as it develops in their daily and social lives. Not being restricted to one place provides the researcher, with a range of angles from which to perceive an understanding, thus leading to having a holistic view of the issue under study. Ethnography answers the specificities of the IMAs in that it describes a particular culture, it describes the behaviours, values, beliefs and practices of the participants in a given cultural setting and captures the everyday unwritten laws, conventions and customs that govern the behaviour of persons and sub-groups within a culture (Wolcott, 1985).

An ethnographic approach was found to serve the purpose of this study because it is the appropriate approach that can put together the different aspects needed to answer the research questions, specifically gathering the
needed data, analysing them and arriving at evidence-based conclusions. Ethnography is a qualitative research approach that is used to describe a culture, which usually consists of origins, values, roles, and material items associated with a particular group of people. Ethnography represents diverse research approaches (Atkinson, et al., 2001) and it involves the researcher in people’s lives for a period of time, asking questions, watching what happens, and listening to what is said and collecting data concerning the focus of the research (O’Reilly, 2005). Ethnographic research, therefore, attempts to describe a variety of aspects and norms of a cultural group to enhance understanding of the people being studied (Byrne, 2001).

While Harris and Johnson (2000) focus on bringing out the common in defining ethnography as being a portrait of a people, and a written description of a particular culture, its customs, beliefs, and behaviour, Spradley (1979) advocates the use of this strategy when we need to learn the behaviour of a community that has the same culture, stressing the unity of the whole community, rather than studying its individual cases. Although the IMAs will be studied as individuals, the identity crisis they face might reflect the situation in the community. Genzuk (1999) and Karnieli (2008), who consider ethnography a social science research approach, add the aspects of place and time to studying a certain culture and describing its reality according to its participants’ point of view. In our case, living in Israel at this specific time, when geography and borders of the state and of its minorities can rapidly change, is of utmost significance for the understanding of their perception of identities living in such a volatile situation. The current situation makes it hard even for adults to comprehend, let alone adolescents, who are faced by a myriad of daily problems of their own. Focusing on the ethnicity and geographic location of the entire culture, Trochim (2006) provides these additional aspects that contribute to interpreting and bringing to life the perception of the IMAs of their identity, thus enabling them to make more calculated steps during the process of determining their future plans and aspirations.

Ethnography is a holistic approach to the study of cultural systems, the socio cultural contexts, processes, and meanings within cultural systems from
both emic and etic perspectives. Emic validity is defined as simply understanding the study host from their own system of meanings. It is a process of discovery, making inferences, and continuing inquiries in an attempt to achieve emic validity. It is through repeated conversations, and more interviewing that the ethnographer gets an emically valid understanding of the socio cultural contexts, processes, and meaning systems that are of significance to the study participants (Whitehead, 2004). Validity might be addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached and the extent of triangulation (Cohen, et al., 2000). In terms of this type of research, practitioner research, the term ‘validity’ is perceived as ‘internal’, which is generally defined as “the trustworthiness of inferences drawn from data” (Anderson, Herr & Nihlen, 1994: 27).

In this research, and in order to counterbalance the researcher’s subjectivity, which has been addressed as being a characteristic of this type of research, triangulation was used to check that the data collected meant what they were supposed to mean. The multiplicity of tools used and the availability of contacting the participants, in case of a need for clarifications, helped increase the validity issues. Referring back to the participants to get their approval of the faithfulness of the summary of their viewpoints also solidified the issue of validity and trustworthiness, using interviewing skills and techniques that the researcher had gained from his background as a social worker, including focusing on listening without distractions, paraphrasing, watching body language, clarifying vague issues and getting feedback, reframing, reconceptualising and attempting to understand the behaviour and emotional messages from an additional perspective to the one the researcher holds (Barak - Stein, 2007).
3.1. 3 Choice of Methods

Ethnographic research design is flexible, open to the happening of significant events and leads of key informants (O’Reilly, 2005), as the researcher it is expected to provide an interpretation of the IMAs’ realities, describing and explaining what is meant by these realities, drawing a concrete picture of a perception otherwise elusive. It is not easy to shape the data and display them in a numeric form, for instance, therefore, and because of the quality of such data, it is important that the data be collected by more than one method, and perceived from different sources, compared and contrasted and triangulated (Hammersley, 1990).

Constructing a reality which lies deep inside the respondent, needs to be approached from different directions. As a rule of thumb, the appropriate method is that which best serves the nature of the data, helping in collecting reliable data, then allowing for analysis which builds on those data, leading the research to answer the research questions depending on evidence-based analysis of the data. In the case of this elusive ‘perception’, it is important to continually check the appropriateness of the chosen methods to the nature of the data collected, making sure that the data ‘ring true’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to the participants. Qualitative researchers need to be creative in their approach how to deploy the multiple methods of data collection in order to produce new knowledge. There is no single prescription for which data collection method to use, rather, the issue here is of ‘fitness for purpose’ (Padgett, 1998).

In this research, it was apparent that the participants might not be aware of identity issues, or how to bring it to surface and discuss it. Even when faced with a set of elements from which they were asked to form their identity, it still remained a challenge for them. Therefore, faced with this reality, it was discovered that an in-depth interview would be the best available method that should explain these perceptions, as will be discussed in the piloting section. However, dealing with ‘soft data’ needs several methods to reach the depth and ensure its validity, therefore, other supporting methods are used in order to help accessing the data from different angles, methods whose aim is to
triangulate the data and enhance their validity and reliability, focus group, Narrative text tools and semi–structured ethnographic interview for parents, as is presented in Figure 2.

**Figure 2: Research Methods and Flow of Data Gathering and Analysis**

Figure 2 displays the order according to which the data will be analysed. A primary grouping and categorization of concepts will take place after the first stage of data collection and analysis, and any unclear concepts can be later verified and analysed through the focus group, the last sieve through which the data pass, allowing for filling up any missing or unclear aspects and categories.

The original Figure 2 was modified due to the exclusion of two methods after the piloting stage: “life history”, which was substituted by “narrative text tools”, and “observation”, which was excluded. Life history constructs the story of one’s own past, present, one’s own perspective for the future and may focus on a few key events or a few key themes which concentrate on important material which says something significant about you and how you have come to be who you are (McAdams, 1995). The “life history” itself was appropriate for eliciting that type of data, except that the age factor played a negative role, the adolescents did not have much to relate, and their comments were irrelevant to
the main issues of the research focus. When it was discovered that they could not contribute to the data collection process, at the pilot stage, the method was eliminated, and substituted with another narrative text tools method, since it did not represent the abstract construct it was supposed to be measuring, thus failing the test of construct validity (Brown, 2000; Altermatt, 2007; Embretson, 2007). Another modification was that of the “direct non-participant observation”, which was used as a complementary quantitative measure employed to substantiate the qualitative data. The purpose was to confirm the frequency of the involvement of the participants in the community activities, such as attending services, scouts, Sunday school and the choir, in order to validate their degree of involvement and their heritage awareness. But these variables might not be an indicator of their belonging, or level of religiosity, or their heritage awareness. On the basis of such factors as denominational allegiance, reported church attendance, and attitudes toward the church, these variables can be correlated with each other and with a wide range of socio-demographic data. This process can indicate commendable awareness of the complexity of religious phenomena and the need to bear in mind more than one dimension in an individual’s religious life (Davie, 1994). However, Covert observation was ethically problematic, and it did not answer the “depth of knowledge” criterion during the different stages of data collection. This method, similar to the life history, did not help to probe those inner corners of the identity perception to get back with a clear set of data.

3.1.4 Ethical Considerations
The issue of ethical considerations has accompanied the researcher since the onset of the research and throughout its different stages. All educational research follows general guidelines that it “should be conducted within an ethic of respect for the person, knowledge, democratic values, the quality of research and academic freedom” (BERA, 2004: 5). However, the nature of this research requires a deeper investigation of the issue. Although the intention as a researcher is to maintain the heritage, identity and belonging among the community members, conducting the research might stir its tranquillity by bringing up such a sensitive topic with all its complex religious, social and
political implications. On the one hand, the research claims to “do positive good” and “do no harm” (Declaration of Helsinki, 1964). On the other, creating change, any change, is always harmful to some (Finch, 1985). However, when facing adversity, the researcher believes that the community is stronger than its members, and when the researcher is ethically aware, as Cohen, et al. (2000) remark, ethical considerations will pervade much of their work especially at the stage of access and acceptance, where appropriateness of topic, design, methods, and guarantees of confidentiality, analysis and dissemination of findings are negotiated with relative openness, sensitivity, honesty and accuracy. In ethnographic research, the researcher should always be ready to deal with ethical issues that might arise during the research, since not everything can be set a priori: “Ethnography is always on a very thin red line to be in trouble itself” (Cropley, 2005: 84). Ethics review panels ask researchers to predict what it is they are looking for (Clark & Sharf, 2007).

Being part of the community being researched, it felt that the ethical issues, when properly addressed, should strengthen the position of researcher and give value to the subject being researched and the community as well. On the contrary, maintaining proper ethical issues should give respect both to the researcher, participants and the community at large. Still, the borders where ethics starts and ends are not always clearly marked, and one can easily stray into the hazy area of how ethical an issue is (Jubran, 2005). Research on ethical considerations helped to clarify those relevant issues which we came across during the early stages of the research, and later, at choosing the appropriate methods of the way data should be collected, analysed, and of course, published.

Obtaining informed consent is the first of several steps to be followed in order to have an ethically valid research design. While Genzuk (1999) stresses the importance of including these ethical concerns before beginning the research itself, since ethnography is carried out among human beings, Lankshear and Knobel (2004) are more specific concerning the essential principles that should be followed during the design stage, such as avoiding deception, minimizing intrusion, ensuring confidentiality, minimizing risk of harm, demonstrating
respect, avoiding coercion or manipulating and reciprocating. Following these ethical guidelines provided the participants (IMAs) with a degree of trust and confidence, which allowed them to share their inner experiences in a relaxed atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding.

Being a member of a relatively small community makes certain ethical issues more sensitive than others. Community members know each other well, and it is difficult to maintain the reveal of unwanted and intimate information (Kirsch, 1999) and the researcher has to be aware that a principle like ensuring confidentiality and anonymity is sometimes tricky to maintain. Cohen, et al. (2000) suggest that participants be assured, in writing, that their identities will be masked in any report of the project’s outcomes and processes. This is a traditional criterion of ethics which aims at minimizing negative repercussions for participants regarding the outcomes of the study and should guarantee peace of mind for them during and after the project is completed. BERA (2011) echoes the same principle of anonymity that information provided by participants should in no way reveal their identity. This principle will be respected in this research which uses pseudonyms, without providing any details that might reveal the identity of the participants. Confidentiality will be maintained also by sharing the outcomes with the participants and getting their approval before publishing. There was also a direct request from many participants, their parents too, that once the researcher was done with their voice recordings, the voice clips should be erased, which happened after having transcribed the details that were needed. In this case, the decision was whether to use a tape recorder at all during the interviews or to use it temporarily and then delete the recordings. The researcher opted to go for the second choice and benefit from the recording for the accuracy of verbatim notes for further analysis (Berry, 1999). The written transcriptions will be also shredded at the end of the research as was agreed with the participants. This point illustrates the term of respect dealing with the participants, out of which trust was created, which led to maintaining confidentiality. The participants, who had asked to have any “implicating” recordings on the tape erased, knew for sure that their anonymity would be maintained, and at the same time were affirming that they were sharing personal information, which they did not want
others to hear, not in their own voice, at least, in order not to be identified by others and to avoid confrontation and disrespect to the religious community. This show of trust at the early stages of the research, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) advise, helps to set the grounds for a facilitating atmosphere that should help in making initial contact and gaining entry to the site, while negotiating consent, identifying participants and selecting the participants. Such steps should make the march of the research move on solid grounds, since the researcher believes the participants will be checking the honesty of the researcher in every step they make, and the feelings of trust and security will have implications on more than just the ethical aspects, but help opening up to the researcher and sharing more personal information. Being a community member as insider, allows the participants to be more accepting to the process, leading to a greater sharing of deep data (Kanuha, 2000; Corbin & Buckle, 2009).

After all, what the participants are after, as Genzuk (1999) concludes, is that they do not get harmed or exploited by the researcher. People have the right to know what is being asked of them and how the study will affect them, therefore, the researcher has to inform the participants all about the research and then obtain their consent (Clark, 1995). This part was obtained by gathering the candidates in the church hall, where the researcher explained to them the process of the research (BERA, 2011), what they were needed for, that they could withdraw (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1992) at any stage of the research, that their anonymity would be maintained (Cohen et al., 2000). Their participation was an important step in the advancement of their community, thus encouraging them to stick to the research and take it seriously. Considering all the above, the researcher was able to gather the required data.

A further principle which was maintained was that of minimizing intrusion. Even though the time needed for gathering data from the participants might not be long, still, this is an intrusion in their daily routine, be it the time, or place, of the interview with the participants and their parents, therefore, as stated above, meeting with the parents and the participants, was arranged at their homes, thus minimizing intrusion and being efficient regarding the time spent on the
research. The parents were called in order to set a meeting at their own convenience at their homes, to get their written consent, and for a further means of breaking the ice and giving them the opportunity to inquire further about the research. Although seeking the collaboration and approval of those who act in guardianship of the young is an essential step, both ethically and legally, as BERA (2011) points out, it does not guarantee smoothness of action in the research itself, problems can still arise even when parents give their consent, yet the child prefers non-participation, or when parents withhold consent contrary to the child’s desire to participate (Clark, 1995). Nonetheless, consent protects and respects the right of self-determination and places some of the responsibility on the participant should anything go wrong in the research.

Finally, to avoid possible problems and inner political complications, which are evident in cases of inequality of power, as Clark (1995) cautions, it was highly important for the researcher to receive support from the Maronite Archbishop and priests serving the community in order to involve the community policy makers in the aims of the research. The priests and the bishop were informed about the research in separate personal meetings and gave their blessing, especially that they knew that the outcomes of the research should benefit the community from the social and cultural aspects, and the findings would be disseminated through appropriate channels for the benefit of the community in future projects.

This is the time and place to confront what the researcher refers to as ethical courage and responsibility. If the call for empowering the community will cross the paths of other parties in the bigger society, will it be worth the controversy? The position of the researcher is that one has to have the ethical commitment and responsibility to play a more effective role. The experience of the researcher as a leader of the youth organization in the church, prior to the research, and the contact with the young regarding their daily concerns have taught the researcher that they are tired of several social and political issues that they face in their daily lives, and that they think there is a need for leadership, if non-existent, it weakens the position of the whole Maronite
minority, especially at a time when they all complain about the lack of many basic social and cultural services for the community.

To sum up this section, the ethical considerations issue is of utmost importance in this research, since its implications go beyond ethics and touch the social and political lives of this minority as a whole. Maronites, and Christian Arabs in general, have a clear tendency to accept western culture and lifestyle (Haddad, 2002; Joseph, 2004; Ibish, 2013), moreover, as was shown in the first chapter, some Maronites did not see themselves as belonging to the Arab ethnicity and there were calls to stress their Phoenician origins (Joseph, 2004). The ramifications of such an attitude might stigmatize the local IMAs as belonging to this separatist community, and any attempt to put them under the spotlight might lead to the revival of such allegations, which might lead to alienation, rather than assimilation (Maa’loof, 1999; Ghosn & Engebretson, 2010), when it becomes clear that this research aimed to empower the marginalized Maronite community.

3.2 Issues of Researcher Bias

Two issues will be discussed in this regard: dealing with researcher bias in qualitative studies and bias inherent in insider research. In the paradigm of qualitative research, a researcher’s personal beliefs and values are reflected not only by the choice of methodology and interpretation of findings, but also by the choice of a research topic. Researchers cannot separate themselves from the topic or the people they are studying since it is through the interaction between them that knowledge is created. Qualitative researchers are not separate from the study and cannot remain outsiders to it; still, their roles do not qualify them to be complete insiders (Corbin & Buckle, 2009). Krieger (1991) argues that the outer world, or our “external reality”, is inseparable from what we already know based on our lives and experiences – our inner reality, and that the knowledge of the external world is only a small part of what our total knowledge can be; what we ever really know is, in essence, the self. Thus, the reality we all see is based on our understanding of the world, which in turn is based on our knowledge of the self. The researcher is engaged in a direct
social interaction with his participants and has to face two subjectivities: his own and that of his narrators (Gluck, 1994). Such a perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others and at the same time to be aware of how one’s own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994).

Conducting investigation in one’s home locale raises a number of issues relating to insider research, including the possible effect on the research validity. There exist many cited advantages of insider research, such as having a good knowledge of environment and participants and the possibility of accessing the field more quickly and intimately than in an outsider research (Green, 2014; Chavez, 2008). In the current study, the researcher is a Maronite Christian who shares the same home town with the research participants, shares the same language, culture, church and heritage. Because the researcher is familiar with the population and culture under study, he knows how to approach his respondents and make interaction natural. On the other hand, prior knowledge, underlying personal bias and preconceived ideas can render disadvantages to this intimate type of ‘insider research’ (Rabbitt, 2003) since, within the same community and family, the ‘insider’ relationship can cause particular pockets of information not to be elaborated upon, or conversely, make them over-emphasized. Furthermore, although the researcher might be part of the culture under study, they might not necessarily understand the subculture, which points to the need for bracketing assumptions (Asselin, 2003). The question also arises as to whether the researcher’s moral, cultural and political standpoints lead them to subconscious distortion of data (Green, 2014). Therefore, concern is frequently expressed about the extent to which the status of ‘insider researcher’ adversely affects the research undertaken (Green, 2014; Walsh, 2007).

In this case, an ‘outsider anonymous’, for instance, can come with a different ‘pair of eyes’ and approach the research field holding a ‘tabula rasa’ approach, free of expectations and preconceived ideas (Smith, 1999). Such an approach might have implications on this research in two different ways: if the research is
to be replicated, an outsider would not be able to gain the participants trust and gather the ‘soft data’ gathered as an insider. The Maronite community feels too proud to share personal details when it comes to the relation with the church. An outsider, therefore, might have a different approach to the research, probably focusing on more general and ‘visible’ topics concerning cultural influences and heritage. By taking such an approach, an outsider might reveal certain layers in the relation between the community and other communities and it would not be as easy to study the community as individuals and touch such sensitive issues as identities, within a limited period of time.

The researcher has to be aware of the delimitations one puts self into regarding the advantages, or disadvantages, of being a privileged, but biased insider, or a researcher with ‘normal’ rights in terms of accessibility to knowledge, but a more objective outsider. The subjectivity in which the insider researcher lives makes it difficult for them to “step back” and take a dispassionate look at the setting (Jubran, 2005). Bias can creep into our research in more than one way and can reside, for instance, on the outskirts of an interview’s subject matter and quality of questions. Lee (1993) and Scheunrich (1994; 1995) number race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, status, social class and age in certain context as potential sources of bias. Whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristics, role, or experience under study with the participants, or an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, the personhood of the researcher, including her or his membership status in relation to those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation (Corbin & Buckle, 2009).

In order to minimize bias inherent in qualitative studies, particularly in an insider research, several actions have to be followed through the different stages of the research work. There is no guarantee that the research is bias-free since, in a way, we are all biased to something. Yet, one can limit the bias by first being aware of its existence and later by providing bias-limiting effects. There is the need of building on what was said, not what the researcher wants to hear, in collecting and analyzing the research data and the necessity of being constantly reflective regarding the whole research process (Green, 2014; Guion, 2001). In the current study, the researcher provided a secure, relaxed
atmosphere, ensuring that a conversation, rather than investigation, took place. This allowed the researcher to pay attention to the details of what was being said, by recording the responses, for example, and referring back to them when in doubt of bias.

The data were gathered through more than one method and their interpretation was achieved by referring to their oral and written comments in the different methods and getting confirmation from them to what they meant, not to what the researcher wanted to hear (Watson, 1999). In the adolescents’ in-depth interview, some questions were modified after the piloting stage since some were biased by guiding to a certain view. In the narrative text tools, the poems were selected, though all relating to the identity issue, from a wide variety of poets, thus reducing one’s own preferences, and consequently bias for a specific definition of identity. In the ethnographic parents’ interview, there were general topics rather than direct questions, which allowed them to express themselves freely with no guiding from the researcher. The focus group was an important factor in limiting bias because it was held after the initial analysis of the other methods and the participants confirmed their attitudes by discussing them in general terms, and then channeling them into more specific issues, without any leading questions, thus allowing them to discuss any aspect of their experience, without taking the researcher’s personal attitude into consideration (Armstrong, 2001).

Being an insider might raise issues of undue influence of the researcher's perspective, although being an outsider does not create immunity to that same influence either. The positive and negative elements of each must therefore be carefully assessed (Corbin & Buckle, 2009). In the following section, the sampling process will be discussed and the way the participants were selected will be justified, a process which can also be affected by bias, since in practitioner research, the researcher might tend to look for purposive sampling which, though it can help in enhancing understanding, it might also lead to bias by who is being selected and how.
3.3 Sampling

The sample size is determined to some extent by the approach of the research. While Cohen, et al. (2000) indicate that in ethnography or qualitative research in general, it is more likely that the sample size will be small. Patton (2002) explains that the small size is due to the nature of the in-depth inquiry, and that the sample is purposefully chosen. As for the optimum sample size, Marshall (1996) defines it as being determined by the optimum number necessary to enable valid inferences to be made about the population. In this research, this stage was reached by the 20th interviewee, however, it was decided to proceed and go over the complete list of names of those who had consented to participate in the research in case some of them decide to withdraw from the research. Normally, qualitative research is inappropriate for estimating quantities, and therefore, we do not need to use large sample sizes (DePaulo, 2000). Qualitative research most often uses “purposive” sampling strategies, which are designed to enhance understandings of selected individuals or groups’ experience(s) or for developing theories and concepts. The age criterion for the participants was set to be that of the final three years of their high school (ages 16-18), since, at this stage, they start doing their Bagrut (Matriculation) exams, which expose them to cognitive challenges and prepare them for higher academic studies and their future plans.

In order to locate potential participants from the Maronite community, contact was made with the parish priest for a permission to access the local Maronite church registry to point all adolescents aged 16-18 at the time when the research started (were born between the years 1990 - 1992). The parents were contacted by phone and explained about the research, and had an appointment with them to get their written consent (Appendix 1) regarding involving their children in the research. It was explained that there was a need to meet with them, at a later stage, to interview them if their child also agreed to participate in the research. After having received the consent of the parents, they were invited as candidate participants to a meeting at the church hall, a neutral and comfortable place, far from their home and school environments, which minimizes the authority of both places and allows for a more relaxed
atmosphere for expressing their experiences without being monitored by others. At the meeting, the research was explained to the 37 adolescents who had attended, and mention was made for the piloting stage being part of the whole research. Five adolescents, three females and two males volunteered to participate in the pilot (they were included in the research findings), and out of the 32 remaining attendants, 20 adolescents agreed to participate in the research, altogether, 25 adolescents participated in this research, and signed their consent and commitment forms (Appendix 2) to participate in the interview, narrative text tools and the focus group.

Being a member of the community has helped the researcher access the parents themselves to gather data about their own perspectives of the identity issue. One of the practical benefits of choosing a sample from the researcher's own community was the ability to get in touch with the participants in order to clarify ambiguities or facilitate a meeting or an interview. Furthermore, it became apparent that being an insider researcher gave the added benefit of conducting the interview in a relaxed atmosphere, with people mostly that were known to the researcher, which allowed the opportunity to touch deeper personal issues. However, on the other hand, being an insider might create several problems, such as bias, or leading the participants to what the researcher would like to hear, creating a selective data gathering process, or even having the opposite effect, such as some of them not sharing their experience because the researcher was their former teacher. All of these distracters were taken into consideration at the stage of preparing the interview questions, as was explained in the previous chapter.


3.4 Data Collection Methods

In the following section, the researcher will justify the choice of each method depending on the relevant research literature, its reliability and validity issues, then piloting and conducting the method. A plan for data gathering – meeting schedule, was designed (Appendix 3) and carried out with each participant to ensure consistency between the methods and to improve the reliability of the methods. The interviews at the pilot stage started by a short socializing where both parents and participants understood the procedure to be followed, starting with the participant, conducting the Adolescents’ in-depth interview, followed by the life history, then doing the parents’ semi-structured ethnographic interview. As culturally accepted and expected, coffee was served at the end of the visit. The interviews were held during the months of February and March, 2009, as described in the outline plan of work (Appendix 4).

Time allocated for certain activities was taken into consideration in this research, balancing the need of collecting the data with the duration of the interview. On average, the time spent with the parents lasted about one hour, and one hour and a half with the adolescents. The location of the interviews, being at their homes, provided a relaxing atmosphere, where nobody would feel intimidated by the unfamiliarity of the place, or the formal setting of the interview (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Most of the parents’ interviews were at the comfort of sitting on a couch in the sitting room, and those of the adolescents were either in their own rooms, sitting on chairs, or in the kitchen, usually a warm corner in the house. Using a tape recorder in the interviews, with the permission of the interviewees, allowed for observing and taking notes when necessary (Boyce & Neale, 2006), while maintaining eye contact with the interviewee, which had its benefits concerning staying focused, or sometimes getting body language clues indicating the need for more explanation.

The participants answered the Arabic version of the different tools that were used for collecting data in this research. The study employed translation and back translation (Brislin, 1986) to assure a precise match between the Arabic and the English versions (Abu-Rayya, 2006). Native Arabic speaker proficient
in English translated the English version of the methods in to Arabic and then it was discussed with the researcher to assure the maximum match with the main idea. Then it was back translated by another bilingual expert from the Arabic version into English. After that, both experts, together with the researcher, quality assured the translation and modified the Arabic version to match the English precisely. In addition, a pilot study was conducted to assure the clarity of the translated versions for each method and certain modifications were required, as it will be explained further on this chapter.

3.4.1 Adolescents’ In-depth Interview

The fundamental principle of qualitative interviewing is to provide a framework within which the researcher enables the participants to express their own understanding in their own terms where the focus is on subjective human experience (Fox, 2009). The in-depth interview method was chosen primarily to reach the depths of the IMAs, probing the ‘soft data’ regarding their inner beliefs about the reality they live (Cohen et al., 2000) and the thoughts they hold about their identities (Boyce & Neale, 2006; Taylor, Kermode & Roberts, 2006). It permits flexibility rather than fixity of sequence of discussions, and it enables participants to raise and pursue issues and matters that might not have been included in a pre-devised schedule (Denzin, 1970; Silverman, 1993) and enables researchers to probe aspects of what participants say, in order to get a fuller picture and extended data from them (Fox, 2009).

Using this method with the 25 adolescents - participants was challenging since there is not one right way of interviewing, or a single correct format that is appropriate for all situations (Riemer, 2008). The interview was held as a conversation rather than a traditional interview in order to reduce formality, providing much more detailed information, in a relaxed atmosphere, than what is available through other data collection methods (Boyce & Neale, 2006), taking the situational responsiveness and sensitivity to get the clearest data possible into consideration, while keeping the conversation going, motivating the participants to discuss their thoughts, feelings and experiences (Kvale, 1996; Genzuk, 1999; Guion, Diehl & McDonald, 2011).
There are advantages and disadvantages for using this method: it enables the interviewer to ask open ended questions, which give respondents the possibility of answering using their own words, while listening actively to reflect upon what the speaker is saying, thus seeking clarity and understanding (Guion, et al., 2011). On the other hand, the method is time consuming and may be subject to bias since participants may sometimes hide aspects of their experiences (Fox, 2009), thus it is important to address the subject of the method’s reliability and validity.

3.4.1.1. Reliability and Validity of In-depth Interviews

In planning research and identifying its parameters, the issues of reliability and validity are to be considered at the very outset (Lankshear & Knobel, 2004). The claim is made (Agar, 1993) that, in qualitative data collection in general, and in the in-depth interview in particular, the intensive personal involvement and in-depth responses of individuals secure a sufficient level of reliability and validity. The nature of this inductive research makes it low on reliability, and high on validity. One way of controlling reliability is to have a highly structured interview, with the same format and sequence of words and questions for each respondent (Silverman, 1993), while making sure that the interviewees understand the questions the same way. The focus of this research was on the adolescents’ perception of their identity in a specific time and place, repeating this research might bring different results due to the rapid changes on the personal, social and political levels, which, in turn, might affect a person’s attitudes and perceptions.

In qualitative research, reliability can be regarded as a fit between what researchers record as data and what actually occurs in the natural setting that is being researched, i.e. a degree of accuracy and comprehensiveness of coverage (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992: 48). In general, reliability indicates whether behaviour is being measured consistently, however, it does not ensure that the behaviour reflects broader notions of how the behaviour operates in the environment or constructs the observed behaviours are meant to represent (Hintze, 2005). Therefore, there is no guarantee that replicating the research will lead to the same results.
In terms of this type of research, practitioner research, the term ‘validity’ is perceived as ‘internal’, which is generally defined as “the trustworthiness of inferences drawn from data” (Anderson, Herr & Nihlen, 1994: 27). A study’s trustworthiness involves the demonstration that the researcher’s interpretations of the data are credible or “ring true” to those who provided the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this research, where the subjectivity of participants, their opinions, attitudes and perspectives together contribute to a degree of bias, validity should be seen as a matter of degree rather than as an absolute state (Gronlund, 1981).

A clear understanding of the data is established by the quality of measures, such as content validity (Hinkin & Tracey, 1999), which is the extent to which a measure’s items reflect a particular theoretical content domain (Kerlinger, 1986). Assessing evidence of content validity does not necessarily require complicated, cumbersome analytical analyses or huge samples. Rather, the process can be quite straightforward and provides an efficient means for establishing and interpreting the utility of any measure (Hinkin & Tracey, 1999).

In order to counterbalance the researcher’s subjectivity, which has been addressed as being a characteristic of this type of research, triangulation was used to check that the data collected meant what they were supposed to mean. The in-depth interview provided the researcher with an opportunity to ensure that his interpretation of the gathered data corresponded with the participant’s intention in order to understand the socio cultural contexts, processes, and meaning systems that are of significance to the participants (Whitehead, 2004), since it allows them to ‘speak for themselves’ and thus increase the validity of the data (Fox, 2009).

Referring back to the participants to get their approval of the faithfulness of the summary of their viewpoints also solidified the issue of validity and trustworthiness, using interviewing skills and techniques, including focusing on listening without distractions, paraphrasing, watching body language, clarifying vague issues and getting feedback, reframing, reconceptualising and attempting to understand the behaviour and emotional messages from an additional perspective to the one held by the researcher (Barak - Stein, 2007).
3.4.1.2 Piloting Adolescents’ In-depth Interview

The pilot stage of the Adolescents’ in-depth interview went through several stages, based on Kvale’s (1996) seven stages of: thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying, and reporting (Appendix 5). Furthermore, where necessary, the participants were contacted to verify the data of certain points (Berry, 1999).

The questions used in the Adolescents’ in-depth interview were designed to collect data of the respondents’ tacit knowledge, trying at the same time to target those parts that created the constituents of their identity: social, religious, political and individual (Smooha, 1993; 2001). The questions were guided by the conceptual framework (Figure 1, p. 42), which sought data stemming from the theoretical frame of identity conflicts among adolescents and minority-majority relations. The number of questions was also taken into consideration to be small and the main points to be discussed were also stated, as suggested by Lankshear and Knobel (2004). Open-ended questions were used, but the interview was semi-structured, since allowing too much leeway in the format would make it difficult to focus on an already elusive data due to its soft nature. The questions were divided the questions into several groups that examine the IMAs’ identity components, ensuring the eliciting of all the required data, while allowing a flexible order. The initial questions of the interview in the pilot stage (Appendix 6), originated from several pieces of research which dealt with the identity of the Palestinian Arabs and Christian Arabs in Israel and religious identity among adolescents. Smooha’s (1993; 2001) research is distinguished as being a longitudinal study in which the same identity items were studied over time, concerning the concept of a split identity and its social and political implication among minorities. Usually after a political/military event that happened, leading to changes in the identity perceptions of the Palestinians living in Israel, and in the relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority, and the “Israelization” process of the collective identity and political orientation of the Palestinian citizens of Israel. Smooha’s research was also duplicated by other researchers (Amara & Schnel, 2004), who studied changes in the Palestinian identities after the October 2000 events, the uprisings in the Palestinian occupied territories and the latest war on Gaza. Further research
was also consulted (Munayer, 2000; Wehbe, 2001; Farah, 2003; Mansour, 2004; Moosa, 2004) which stressed the Christian component in the Israeli Palestinian Arab identity.

Questions dealing with the religious identity were modified as to ask more specifically about the state of the Maronites in Israel, rather than the Christian minority as a whole, since no studies were specifically made on the IMAs, and this is one aspect where this research contributes to knowledge. Research undertaken about the Maronite minority in Sydney, Australia (Ghosn, 2009a) was consulted to shape certain questions of this research, since the study focused on the religious aspect of the Australian Maronite adults and how it influenced their lives as a group of Australian – Lebanese adults who attended the Maronite church in Sydney, and how salient the Maronite ethnic religion remained for the second generation under certain situational contexts.

Research consulted on these issues, and from which part of the questions were adapted, included Brada (2002) who discussed the alliance among the various identities residing in the Arabs in Israel as Israel is, Arabs and Palestinians. The questions were adapted from a study by Sheferman-Tamar (2008) about the Arab identity in a democratic Jewish state and the main causes which influenced the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel. These questions were also based on a study of Smooha (2001) which points to six elements that influence Jewish-Arab relation on forming their identity. The parameters for developing the questions used by Nadi and Platt (2009), in their study about developing ethnic identity, included questions that measured the different components of identity and defined ethnic identity within the broader domains of identity, such as gender identity, occupational identity etc. Another study for Villa (2000) dealing with ethnic identity development and social competence of Mexican-American children was also used as a source for adapting the relevant parts of the interview questions. Certain aspects in minority-majority relations are universal and could be transferred from one minority to another. Questions that asked about the identity were based on statements taken from Hofman (1982), in Attallah (2004) (Appendix 7), where the social identity of Arabs and Jews in Israel was defined in terms of national, ethnic and religious sub
identities. Another source for the same category of questions was the “Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status Questionnaire” (EOM-EIS-2), by Bennion and Adams (1986) in Attallah (2004) The statements of the adolescents’ in-depth interview were based on the questions of this questionnaire (Appendix 8), which discussed the extended objective measure of ego identity status, and from which the statements on the worksheet regarding religious community belonging, and political issues were derived. Each questionnaire consisted of statements with 5-point Likert scale. Based on these statements, open ended questions were formed for the interview.

Certain modifications were made to the questions leading to the final form of the in–depth interview in (Appendix 9). Some interview questions were modified; for example, question number 5, which asked about the degree of religiosity, was irrelevant since the term itself did not exist in their definition of being a Christian. For them, being a Christian was a constituent of their identity definition, relating more to them not being Jews, or Muslim, than stating their degree of faith as Christians. Therefore, the question was changed into a more suitable form and additional data concerning this issue were gathered by the focus group. Another question was found to repeat eliciting the same data, such as the one which asked about the meaning of being a Maronite, where other questions had similar context. Some questions were edited to make them clearer and more direct, such as in questions number 1, 9, 10, 11 and 18, where extra explanation for each was provided to be clarified. In addition, the structure of certain questions was changed, such as questions 3 and 5, where the former was split into two questions, being too long and vague. As for question 5, the identities in it were divided, which gave the interviewee more space and time to answer for each identity separately.

In order to faithfully transfer the account of the participants’ realities, the researcher sought understanding and correct interpretation during the interview itself, being aware that if something was not understood, later, the researcher would be trying to fill it in with the researcher own data, not theirs, thus leading to data skewing. Being an effective interviewer requires more than just knowledge about the subject matter, as the required characteristics take shape.
While Kvale (1996) mentions expertise in interaction and communication as being one, Patton (1980) stresses the importance of clarity in questions, finding out what terms the interviewees use about the matter in hand, what terms they use amongst themselves, and avoiding the use of academic jargon. However, interviewers and interviewees alike bring their own, often unconscious experiential and biographical baggage with them into the interview situation, and it is specifically because interviews are interpersonal, humans interacting with humans, it is inevitable that the researcher will have some influence on the interviewee and, thereby, on the data, as Hitchcock and Hughes (1989) conclude, non-verbal communication can sometimes give more information than verbal communication. As an interviewer, the researcher came to be aware of the fact that the characteristics of the interviewer, and those of the respondent, and the substantive content of the questions, all play a role in making the interview more efficient. Another important factor was avoiding leading questions, both implicitly and explicitly (Boyce & Neale, 2006). The researcher was also aware to be flexible, open minded and willing to release power and control (Guion, 2001) with the participants who look at the researcher as a figure who represents authority, being their former teacher for some of them, an issue that can create bias. Other issues include attitudes, opinions, and expectations of the interviewer, a tendency for the interviewer to see the respondent in his / her own image, a tendency to seek answers that support preconceived notions, misperceptions on the part of the interviewer of what the respondent is saying, misunderstandings on the part of the respondent of what is being asked (Oppenheim, 1992).

To summarize this theoretical discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of in-depth interviews as a data collection method as a whole, this is an appropriate method that can serve the scope of the research, and can deal with data of such a soft nature, since it provides access to what is “inside a person’s head”, making it possible to measure what a person knows (knowledge or information), what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences), and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs) (Tuckman, 1972).
3.4.1.3 Conducting the Adolescents’ In-depth Interview

Following the piloting stage and making the required changes in the form and format of the questions, the researcher followed a systematic procedure based on stage three of conducting the interview suggested by Kvale (1996) which went as follows: after the short socializing period with the parents and participant, the researcher asked to sit with the participant separately, usually in the sitting room, or kitchen, according to the convenience of the participant and the parents. As the in-depth interview provides a more relaxed atmosphere in which to collect information, people may feel comfortable having a conversation about the issues under discussion (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

The interview would start by restating the aim of the research and informing the participant that the researcher would be asking questions to which they were expecting to relate how they felt and what they thought and add any comments they wished. Participants were informed that they could ask for explanation had they not understood the question as a whole, or the meaning of a certain word in it. The interview was tape recorded, and the participants were told that the tape recorder would be used in order to refer to it later at the stage of data analysis. Promises of anonymity, through the use of pseudonyms, and that they would be contacted again to authorize the authenticity of their input were restated at the beginning of the interview. This reassurance usually resulted in a relaxed atmosphere and most participants did not seem to mind the tape recorder during the interview. In contrast, as mentioned earlier in the ethical considerations sections, parents did mind the use of the tape recorder, but the promise to erase the tapes once the data have been analysed made them accept it.

The questions were read to the participant, and the researcher made sure to ask if everything was clear before hearing the participant’s input. This was done with the first 2-3 questions, and then it was left up to the participant to ask about any ambiguity. During recording the interview, the researcher maintained eye contact with the participant, which enabled the researcher to use their body language as an indication to their understanding and their degree of relaxation during the interview. When in doubt, the researcher asked for more clarification.
on certain points, making sure that what was the researcher hearing at the moment was what the participant wanted to say, keeping in mind Boyce and Neale’s (2006) words of caution about the weaknesses of the method, since participants were sharing their own definitions and understandings of concepts, processes, opinions, beliefs and values, and the researcher had to be careful regarding bias and data skewing. It was important to make sure to let the participants express themselves freely, making sure the interference of the researcher in their speech, if it happened, was only for the sake of understanding, and was not leading them. Listening more than once to the interview later, and being able to listen again, made the researcher pay attention not only to the content of what had been said, but also to the speed of talk, emotions involved and tone of speech, which played a similar to body language had played watching the participant. On average, the in–depth interview lasted less than an hour. A notes sheet (Appendix 10) was used based on the three basic parts of the interview suggested by Kvale (1996): the face sheet, to record the time, date and place of the interview, special conditions that might affect the interview, the interview questions, which are placed on the left side of the page, along with a blank space on the right side of the page for written observations; the post-interview comment sheet, which is a place to write notes after the interview, such as feelings and interpretations.

At the end of the interview, the researcher would thank the participant and give them the forms of the narrative text tools, and then the researcher would leave them alone and move to do the semi-structured ethnographic interview with the parents, following the check list to make sure that the researcher had covered all relevant topics (Berry, 1999).

3.4.2 Parents’ Semi-Structured Ethnographic Interview

The researcher used this type of interview to obtain additional information about identity issues from the IMAs’ parents. While the in-depth interview was selected to meet the adolescents’ developing perceptions, the parents, who supposedly had more life experience, would handle a more open form of interviewing and provide a larger space for interaction. While designing the
parents’ semi-structured ethnographic interviews, the researcher kept in mind certain considerations regarding the risks of losing focus (Spradley, 1979; Zabar – Ben Yehoshua, 2001), as the researcher experienced in the piloting stage how easily these conversations could shift to other topics. However, this same space provided the researcher with an opportunity to share the parents’ attitudes regarding sensitive issues (Whitehead, 2005) related to the community, such as the relation with the church. Although semi-structured interviews are much more time-consuming than structured interviews, because of the requirement to draw up coding frames and carry out content analysis on a large number of interviews (Fox, 2009), this type of interviews is a “series of friendly conversations into which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to assist participants to respond as participants” (Spradley, 1979: 158).

45 parents were interviewed. In each time the interview began with a general idea of the topic to be discussed, that of identities, but then let the interviewees determine the direction of the interview (Berry, 1999; Fontana & Frey, 2000) discussing other related issues, such as the relation with the Maronite church, and their influence on their children’s perspectives. Being a member of this community, the researcher was aware of the significant role parents play in moulding their children’s attitudes.

Depending on the person, and the researcher relation with them, the language of discourse shifted from the formal to the less formal, and more classical language and terminology were used during these interviews than with those with the adolescents, and with most parents, it was easier to be direct since they expressed their feelings and way of thinking out of experience and understanding and reflected clear independent attitudes.

The interviews did not always go smoothly though; there were difficulties obtaining some information, specifically that related to the local church, due to the adolescents’ and parents’ fear of the negative reaction of the community to what they might say. In such cases, the researcher reassured the participant and stressed the relevant ethical issues, such as anonymity and preventing any harm to them.
3.4.2.1 Reliability and Validity of the Semi-structured Ethnographic Interview

Since reliability concerns measurements and it has no relevance in qualitative research and the judgement of its quality, the examination of trustworthiness to ensure it is crucial (Stenbacka, 2001). In this method, internal reliability, which guarantees an acceptable degree of replicability, was achieved by a careful description of the data and the participants who provided them. Such characterization includes personal dimensions relevant to the researcher, as well as other dimensions significant to the participant and others in the group. Seale (1999) endorses the concepts of dependability and consistency for reliability in qualitative research. The consistency of data will be achieved when the steps of the research are verified through examination of such items as raw data, data reduction products, and process notes (Campbell, 1996), steps that were followed in this research.

Although the problems of reliability threaten the credibility of much ethnographic work, validity may be its major strength (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). As for the validity of the method, the use of the note sheet should assure that the discussion will focus on those same notes and would not deviate to other issues. Having recorded the interview should also add to the validity, since it will allow for a deeper understanding of what the participant said and meant to say.

3.4.2.2 Piloting Parents' Semi-structured Ethnographic Interview

After having finished the data gathering stage of the pilot participants, the researcher interviewed their parents using the semi-structured ethnographic interview (Appendix 11). Semi-structured interviews are useful when collecting attitudinal information on a large scale, or when it is not possible to draw up a list of possible pre-codes because little is known about the subject area. A semi-structured interview involves open-ended questions that define the topic under investigation and provide opportunities for the interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail (Fox, 2009). The interviews, which were based on guidelines by Barak – Stein (2007), Haynie (2003) and Spradley (1979), sought to elicit parents’ attitudes towards specific issues
which were found (for the researcher) important to identify, such as their belonging to the community, and being model figures for their children in this regards.

In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer and the interviewee are equal partners. Basically, the interviewer knows what areas of interest to cover, but allows the interviewee the options to take different paths and explore different thoughts, feelings, etc. The interviewer, however, can then bring the interviewee back to the subject under discussion by prompting questions. Or ask the interviewee to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by them (Fox, 2009). Piloting the parents’ interview made the researcher make a major change to the approach of conducting the interview with the main sample and assume a more controlling role in assigning turns since the researcher wanted both parents to give their input on the issues raised, since, during the interviews, wives made most of the talking, while husbands interfered only to stress a point, or add a comment. The researcher also followed Spradley’s (1979) recommendations to intersperse some informal conversation within the interview to avoid the nature of an interrogation and maintain good rapport. If the respondents seemed to get tired or started to lose attention, a break was suggested or interjected some comment which led to a brief diversion into small talk before proceeding. The main concern was to keep their privacy as an important consideration of building trust in the interview process, it was therefore guaranteed that names would not be used in the research, and consent was taken for the use of tape recorder and taking field notes by hand, which provided a record and interpretation of the data expressed during the interview (Ortiz, 2003).

In the interviews with the rest of the parents, the small talk phase helped the researcher as much as it was intended to relax the parents, and it was comfortable for both sides to share creating that relaxed atmosphere. The researcher learned how to become more time-efficient in conducting the interviews, how to be more specific toward certain issues, and when to interfere and clarify ambiguities. The researcher also learned to hold this interview immediately following that of the participants’ life history (which was later
replaced by narrative text tools) in order to minimize any contact between them so that they would all feel comfortable to express themselves without being affected by what the other family members had said.

### 3.4.2.3 Conducting Parents' Semi-structured Ethnographic Interview

The researcher called the parents to set a date to hold the interviews together with the adolescents to save time and keep his intrusion in their lives to a minimum. The researcher started with the parents of the five participants of the pilot group. After having analysed the pilot, he proceeded to the rest of the participants. The researcher managed to meet with most of the parents, except for four who could not participate for different reasons. After getting their agreement to record the interview for documentation purposes only, and committing to erase the tapes after the research has been completed, the researcher started by “officially” opening the interview by clicking the record button on the tape recorder, then he moved to the list of the questions. The interviews were taped and written notes were taken when necessary. The average time of an interview was between 30-45 minutes, corresponding with Fox’s (2009) typical time frame an interview should last. The researcher always ended the interview, also officially, by thanking the parents and turning the tape recorder off. With most parents, this was the point when the researcher would wish them a good night and leave. The build-up of having almost an interview every night, or every other night, left its impact, and there were those nights when the researcher felt that the interview at the parents’ houses lasted too long.

While some parents were more willing to open up than others, the general outcome was satisfying and the ideas and comments collected helped to clarify and solidify some of the aspects that had been expressed during the interviews with the IMAs. The interviews were recorded, and when the data was transcribed, the researcher summarized the interviews and got back to the parents where he got their approval of the accuracy of the discussed issues during a short meeting that was done at their convenience, even at a short notice. Again, such a step was used as a validation tool and it made the data collected more reliable. The verification process also gave me the opportunity
to assure to those who had asked for the tapes to be erased after the interview that they indeed were.

3.4.3 Narrative-Text Tools

In addition to the parents' semi-structured ethnographic interview, the researcher used the narrative text tools, according to the work plan, to gather data from the IMAs to triangulate those gathered at the adolescents’ in-depth interview.

The term narrative carries many meanings and is used in a variety of ways by different disciplines, often synonymously with story (Trahar, 2009). Narrative inquiry does not privilege one method of gathering data, because the research is life as it is lived on the landscape (Phillion, 2002). Polkinghorne (1988) noticed that practitioners could in fact provide some knowledge towards epistemology or methodology to the academics, thus opening up a research paradigm which has now been adopted by the many people embracing text methods. In comparison with the previous excluded “life story” method, narrative text tools helped the participants to better focus on their specific ideas, experiences and the perception of their future. Using this tool in the research enabled the researcher to use visual stimuli to help the participants express their inner feelings about complex topics, such as identity, as an alternative format from other descriptions (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003).

As a form of qualitative research that involves the gathering of narratives focusing on the meanings that people ascribe to their experiences, seeking to provide “insight that (befits) the complexity of human lives” (Josselson, 2006: 4). The use of narrative text tools was in order to gather additional data and clarify some aspects in the data collected via the adolescents’ in-depth interview. Narrative tools have evolved a greater sensitivity to social and cultural aspects. In the research, it was important to access and understand participants’ different social constructions of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967), examining issues in depth through exploratory, open-ended conversations, prioritising holistic understanding situated in the lived experience (Trahar,
2009). Narratives are part of the subject-matter of ethnographic research (Czarniawska, 1998); they are a collection of types or forms through which various kinds of social activities are accomplished. The forms of analysis should reflect the forms of social life and their diversity should mirror the diversity of cultural forms and their significance should be in accordance with their social and cultural functions (Atkinson, 2005).

Polkinghorne (1988) points out that while acknowledging that the term “narrative” can generally refer to any spoken or written presentation, he confines his usage to the kind of organizational scheme that is expressed in story form. Instead of listening to stories about the IMA’s identities, the researcher used targeted text activities whose aim was to help the participants express their perceptions about their identities through poems and story completion tasks. Being semi-structured, this narrative tool may bear resemblance to broader definitions of semi-structured and unstructured interviews, or it may be viewed as a collaborative activity (Chase, 2005; Greenhalgh, Russell & Swinglehurst, 2005). While the excluded “life-history” method was open, these tools were more guided and focused on the meanings they ascribed to their experiences (Giovannoli, 2000; Josselson, 2006) and understanding of abstract concepts related to their identity, making claims about how they understand certain situations and themselves (Polkinghorne, 2007), since the most "personal" stories display generic properties that reflect collective, shared cultural conventions (Plummer, 1995).

Elliott (2005) defines two types of narratives: first-order narratives, defined as the stories that individuals tell about themselves and their own experiences, and second-order narratives, the accounts we may construct as researchers to make sense of the social world and of people’s experience, within sensitivity to different worldviews (Trahar, 2009). As is the case in this research, participants were asked to relate to their own perceptions of their identities through structured and targeted narrative activities and express the abstract ideas they found difficult in the life history method, keeping in mind that there are differences in people’s experienced meaning and the stories they tell about this
meaning, and the connections between storied texts and the interpretations of those texts (Polkinghorne, 1995).

3.4.3.1 Reliability and Validity of Narrative-Text Tools

Similar to other qualitative methods, narrative text tools have their reliability issues. However, since the use of the tools was targeted and structured, and the participants managed to express themselves through a set of specific and identity-related poems and a defined narrative frame of story completion, it made its reliability more manageable. The form used was not that of an open story which the participants had to tell, but consisted of narrative activities, which the researcher had developed according to his experience as a community social worker using texts in juvenile leadership circles, and they were much easier to control. Giovannoli (2000) argues that reliability in narrative studies usually refers to the dependability of the data, and careful, systematic procedures to ensure the closest possible representation from the raw data stage through that of analysis and the written report are indeed necessary criteria for judging narrative work.

The method has its bias issues since the researcher may bring his own agenda to the interview. By positioning as a narrative inquirer, the researcher privileged certain perspectives and selected specific texts that corresponded with them, which puts certain limitations to the method (Winkler, 2003). The texts selected for the research represented a sample of a common issue that many Arab poets have dealt with. Another aspect is that participants will often find ways to tell the stories they want and sometimes tell what they think the listener wants to hear. This bias issue probably exists in any research interview, thus, here too the researcher should bring these elements to the surface and deal with them (Trahar, 2009).

As for validity issues, Polkinghorne (2007) relates to language issues regarding the style of telling a story since language descriptions given by participants of their experienced meaning are not a mirrored reflection of this meaning. Participants’ stories may leave out, or obscure, aspects of the meaning of experiences they are telling about. Therefore, the validity issue about the evidence of assembled texts is about how well they are understood to express
the actual meaning experienced by the participants and how believable their statements are.

3.4.3.2 Piloting Narrative-Text Tools

These tools were based on literary works of art and story completion based on the premise that, as human beings, we give meaning to our lives through story (Andrews, Squire & Tambokou, 2008). The participants were familiar with these techniques from their school environment, and they turned out to be less confusing and more efficient than a life history. The participants were asked to read excerpts of poems the researcher selected, by known Arab poets, both local and international, which talk about identity issues (See translated sample - Appendix 12) original texts in Arabic (Appendix 12a). The participants were asked to relate to them according to the poem text activities (Appendix 13). Another activity was story completion (Appendix 14), which deals with their identity and future orientation. The activities focused on familiar topics and the questions targeted identity and future orientation related issues. The participants seemed relaxed and focused. The piloting stage led almost to no changes at all between the initial format of the activities and the one used later with the rest of the participants.

This tool enabled capturing the rich data since by using the story metaphor people create order and construct texts within particular contexts (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003). Thus the focus was on how individuals or groups make sense of events and actions in their lives through examining the story, and its linguistic and structural properties (Riessman, 1993). The story is a very helpful means to discuss emotions and express different meanings about past experiences (Sunderland, 2000) which can reflect on future considerations. The method is well suited to study subjectivity and identity largely because of the importance given to imagination and the human involvement in constructing a story. For sociologists narratives also reveal much about social life or culture, as culture speaks through a story (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003).

Piloting the tool has immediately shown its merits when it opened a channel for the participants to reach out and tell about their experiences in a much more efficient way. While the environment of the substituted method of life history
failed to engage the participants in extended monologues, the present tool yielded the required effects simply because it put them back into a familiar setting, similar to that of school, where they were asked to involve in familiar scholastic-like activities. Yet, it is often only retrospectively that we come to understand and give meaning to events (Polkinhorne, 1995). The participants seemed relaxed and focused. The piloting stage led almost to no changes at all between the initial format of the activities and the one used later with the rest of the participants.

3.4.3.3 Conducting Narrative-Text Tools
Conducting the narrative text tools took about 30 minutes to complete both tasks of the poems and the story. The Participants were given a piece of literature, parts of poems dealing with identity issues, and were asked to identify sentences or ideas that corresponded to and reflected their own situation as IMAs, both in the present and the future. The participants selected the sentences that represented their identity, or their future expectations and commented on them in writing. They were asked to choose a sentence which represented their present attitude towards their identity, another representing their future attitude of their perception, and a third to which they felt indifference, being irrelevant. The participants were asked to comment on each sentence. The poems were of Arab poets who wrote about identity issues, with their names omitted in order to avoid any possible influence of their names, status, or political views especially that one of the poems was by the researcher.

Another tool was the completion of a story that took them in time travel, moving between their present and their future, where the participants were asked to describe themselves in both the present and the future. The first part of the task, prior to the travel, was intended to provide information on the participants’ personal identity, place of residence and occupation, whereas the second dealt with their future orientations. The text mentions a gate that opens to a tunnel that takes them into the future. Before the participants could embark in the time travel trip, they were asked to introduce themselves, say who they were, what they were, etc. and write all of that on board number one, actually a blank A4
paper. When done, the gate opened to the next stage, onto a screen, where they found themselves five years into the future, and they were asked to write about what they saw on the screen, how they saw themselves, who they were, what they were, where they were, what they did for a living, etc. This was a powerful technique that helped them get really into the story with their emotions, instead of “just talk about it” (Sunderland, 2000).

The tools used are based on intervention biblio-therapy techniques and activities that are used with teenagers in schools and at the hospital, both individually or in groups. In general, writing is driven by a desire to communicate and the need to express one’s self, personal experience and inner truth (Muskovitz, 1998). The narrative text tools provided the participants with a simple and an interesting way of expressing such serious issues as identity.

3.4.4 Focus Group

The focus group is a form of qualitative research that allows a researcher to guide an informal discussion around one or more topics, allowing interaction with the group members (Morgan, 1997; 1998). In ethnography, the details achieved through a focus group can provide an added significance to the interpretation of data, and add depth to an understanding of what actually occurred in a particular focus group session (Agar & MacDonald, 1995). Suter (2000) urges ethnography scholars to step outside their traditional methodological practices, when necessary, and integrate the focus group method into their research protocols.

The researcher in a focus group encourages conversation between participants to provide relevant information about the setting, where there may be a range of views, and the extent to which participants agree or disagree about something is of interest to the researcher, and to come to a consensus between participants about different issues (Fox, 2009). Although the method has some weaknesses (e.g., domination of one group member, difficulty of interpretation and summarization, limited generalization), it provides a relaxed setting for data collection and the interaction contributes to combining several
opinions together (Gaskell, 2000; Stewart, Shamdasani & Rook, 2007), due to the interaction among all group members. The participants primarily answer questions guided by a moderator, while at other times they are asked to comment on a specific point (Nielsen, 1993).

The use of this method provided access to each participant’s own topic and allowed group interaction within a discussion forum (Suter, 2000). The participants were asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes. This method was used as a means to provide the final batch of data and triangulate the outcomes of the previous tools (Cohen, et al., 2000) thus improving their validity. It allowed observing a large amount of interaction on different issues in a limited amount of time and widened the range of responses (Suter, 2000).

A well prepared administration of a focus group should guarantee that the evidence reached at the conclusion stage would have stemmed from the data, thus increasing the validity of the research. The purpose is to get high quality data in a social context where people can consider their own views in the context of the views of others (Flick, 1998; Patton, 2002). Whether the data were drawn from focus groups or individual interviews, they are equally significant in the analysis (Suter, 2000).

3.4.4.1 Reliability and Validity of the Focus Group

Being a qualitative research method, the focus group has problematic issues regarding the traditional testing of reliability and validity. As the goal of focus group research is to ask “why” rather than “how many,” to generate hypotheses rather than assert their representativeness, the question of reliability becomes less important (Wilcox & Byers, 1991). Plummer-D’Amato (2008) suggests using “dependability” instead of reliability, referring to the consistency of interpreting the data collected, and “credibility” as being analogous to internal validity. It is primarily the consistency of the procedures in following a clear protocol in running the group and analysing the data that leads to a certain degree of reliability (Belgrave, Zablotsky & Guadagno, 2002).
Focus groups tend to be strong on validity (Flom, n.d.), when validity is defined as the extent to which a measure measures what it purports to measure, and if people are talking about what you think they are talking about. Validity can be increased by using a clear set of topics to be discussed, maintaining an environment for free expression and sharing. Kidd and Parshall (2000) suggest that content validity is more achievable when the data accurately reflect the participants’ views. Listening to each participant express their own perception, it was possible to authenticate the faithfulness of data compared to the original meaning expressed in the other methods.

3.4.4.2 Piloting Focus Group

The focus group method was used to collect data from the participants as a group, depending on the same points discussed in the adolescents’ in-depth interview. Questions used for this task were combined according to the two questionnaires used by Hofman (1982) and Bennion and Adams (1986) (Appendix 15). The pilot group was formed by the same five participants who took part piloting the other methods. The group was invited to the church hall for discussion around the outcome of the primary results and to discuss the points that were mentioned through the adolescents’ in-depth interview and the text tools. During the interview itself the participants were cooperative and showed interest to discuss the issues that were mentioned in the questionnaire. No changes were made to the questions in the interview itself, but the researcher was more focused according to the findings from other methods during the research period and conducted the interview in a better way that allowed everyone to express themselves and take part in an active and productive way. At the end of the pilot, the researcher added more questions as a result, also depending on the parameters for developing focus group questions used by Nadi and Platt (2009) in their study about developing ethnic identity (Appendix 16).
3.4.4.3 Conducting the Focus Group

The focus group was held after the primary analysis of the data collected by the other methods and it served for triangulation. The timing of the focus group, being the last among the other methods, and its nature, allowed the researcher to observe personal interaction within the participants, and helped organize and clarify what had been iterated before (Morgan, 1988).

The meeting of the focus group was held in the church, 17 participants arrived; three did not attend without any former notice. Although it was a big number for a group, it was held in a way which enabled every participant sufficient time and space to express themselves regarding points that needed further clarification. It was important to get the opinion of each group member and encourage speaking among the more passive interviewees (Shkedi, 2003), since, unlike the personal interviews, this was the time to see the participants’ individual contribution in the shaping of their identities. The focus group was held according to a list of topics about identity, such as: Involvement in the community; Belonging; Ethnic, National and Religious identity; citizenship; Career and future orientation (See Appendix 16). These topics were resulted from the primary findings of the data collected from the previous methods. A discussion was held around each point and the taped meeting lasted two hours.

The main contribution of the focus group to the data collection stage was in its ability to clarify any concepts that needed further investigation due to the soft nature of the data. It was important to validate the data collected and understand what the participants meant when they used a certain expression in the definition of their identity. The focus group concluded the data collection stage which started with the Adolescents’ in-depth interviews, through the parents’ semi-structured ethnographic interviews, and on to the narrative tools. The data were then analysed per method and then between methods.
3.5 Data Analysis

The stage of data analysis in ethnographic research involves interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions and mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations (Genzuk, 1999). It also includes the highlighting of “significant statements, sentences, or quotes that provide an understanding of how the participant experiences the phenomenon” (Creswell, 2007: 61). Research literature stresses the fact that analysing qualitative data involves noticing, collecting, and thinking, and that the process is iterative and progressive (Seidel, 1998). The methods used in this research to gather the ‘soft data’, and the place where these data were residing deep inside the participants, made me prepare for analysis at the outcome of the research. The design of both the conceptual framework (Figure 1, p. 42) and the data gathering and analysis flow chart (Figure 2, p. 53) took the nature of the data into consideration and allowed for analysis per and between methods.

At first, the data appeared to be a mass of confusing, unrelated accounts, but by following systematic methods of studying the data (Charmaz, 1983), they began to create some order. The process started by segmenting the data and breaking them into manageable pieces, then sorting and sifting, developing concepts, searching for types, classes, sequences, processes, patterns or wholes as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Seidel (1998).

Data were analysed according to Shkedi (2003), as shown in (Figure 3, p. 89). The primary analysis aimed at addressing items and sentences, where all details were gathered with no clear relation between them for each method; the adolescents’ in-depth interview table (Appendix 17), the parents’ semi-structured interview table (Appendix 18), the narrative text tools table (Appendix 19/ Appendix 20), the focus group table (Appendix 21). In the next stage, categories and sub-categories were mapped, classified, and coherent relation was established between them. In the focus analysis stage, the categories were arranged into more specific ones according to Elliot’s (2005) categorical approach, which focused on dividing the categories for further analysis.
The pilot stage findings were presented according to two main categories, “identity” and “future orientation” which were set a priori to the research, stemming from the literature and the conceptual framework. The research question dealt with the identity perception of the IMAs, and the conceptual framework considered identity conflicts within adolescents and minorities in general, and the Arab minority in particular. The “identity” category consisted of: “national”, “religious”, “personal identification” and “involvement in the community – heritage awareness”. A list of the categories and subcategories is found in (Appendix 22).

The piloting stage caused some modifications to the ways data should be analysed, and the process took several rounds of fine-tuning and re-categorizing, especially at the initial stages of analysis. Concepts were formulated, organized and categorized, only to go through more formulation, organization and categorization, for all methods in the research (Appendix 23). Researchers are continuously interacting with the respondents and the research tools and each interview they hold produces more knowledge, not
only about the phenomenon studied, but also about the data gathering techniques as well, thus they gain more experience and know which “buttons to push” in order to get the information they need (Folkestad, 2008). Therefore, the analysis phase is a continuous process, where the different stages overlap and it becomes difficult to separate the collection, reduction and analysis phases from each other, “…data analysis does not occur in a vacuum” (Erlandson, *et al.*, 1993: 113).

Generally speaking, in order to understand and shape the IMAs’ perceptions, there was a need to delay judgment regarding certain expressions and wait for further clarification from other methods ~ mainly the focus group. Connecting this to the conceptual framework, analysing the data of each item separately, adolescence, identity, minorities... would reveal only partial knowledge about the complexity of the issue under study. The same way there was a need to synthesise the different theories in order to understand the entity of the IMAs, there was also a similar need to analyse the data as pieces of a puzzle in order to conceptualize the whole picture. Using the participants' most common quotes from the in-depth interview, for instance, can help define the boundaries of a certain perception, and it is a good technique for illustrating or confirming certain perceptions.

However, while this method can help describe the data, it cannot be the only method used to interpret them (Folkestad, 2008). Therefore, once a concept has been defined, it had to be analysed at three different levels: first at the factual level, simply stating how the participants define themselves under a specific concept, such as religious or national identity. At the interpretative level, the same data should be analysed under the lens of a minority; how could the IMAs' definition of their identity be better understood when compared to what the literature said about minorities' identity conflicts? How does their definition reflect universal issues, and when does it shape a specific, localized form of that identity? For instance, if a participant expressed his or her religious identity as Christian only, without stressing the Maronite part, it might be better understood in the light that a member of a minority within a minority might feel safer when they see themselves as belonging to the bigger minority that
surrounds them. Moving to the conceptual interpretation, the IMAs data have to be analysed by combining all lenses together. Every piece of data referring to identity perception has to be analysed through the lens of an adolescent with identity issues, when this person is a member of a minority that, by itself, has its own identity issues, being a minority within a minority, living in the specificity of the region and its history. Analysing any piece of data has to be looked into as being produced by an adolescent, a Maronite, a Christian, a Palestinian, an Arab, and an Israeli who is living in today’s Israel. With evidence-based analysis, the constituents of the IMAs’ identity should be then shaped and understood so that the dissemination of the research would also yield appropriate results.

3.6 Generalizability and Replicability Issues

Although the choice of ethnography as an approach to investigate, analyse and draw evidence from the data collected had its benefits regarding the aim of the research, that of understanding the IMAs’ perception of reality, it also imposed certain limitations in terms of generalizability. The results obtained from qualitative research cannot be generalized to other contexts (Long, 1983; Seliger & Shohamy, 1989; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991); reliability does not guarantee complete replicability, and validity is at most internal. However, being truthful to what the participants say, triangulating the data, piloting the methods and limiting issues of bias, following a clear research protocol during the different stages of data collecting and analysis should all guarantee an acceptable degree of validity and reliability in qualitative research. Further, the issues of generalizability take the form of representability, although the quality of research is related to generalizability of the result and thereby to the testing and increasing the validity, or trustworthiness, of the research (Golafshani, 2003). It is clear that this research cannot be generalized to any minority living under any different circumstances, culture and political situation. While it would have been more desirable to generalize to wider circles, it is important to keep in mind that understanding the phenomenon under investigation in depth in such a situation is probably more important than generalizing it, since the whole research is also limited by the circumstances dictated by time and place.
Although generalizability and replicability issues limit qualitative research, triangulation enhances it by deepening the understanding of the issues under study and strengthening its reliability and validity.

3.7 Triangulation

Triangulation may be defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour (Cohen, et al., 2000). Triangulation deepens understanding of phenomena and situations through the access of multiple perspectives; it is a strategy for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings (Golafshani, 2003). For Maxwell (1996: 75), “Triangulation is the collecting of information from a diverse range of individuals and settings, using a variety of methods”, while Barbour (1998: 353) argues that mixing methods within one paradigm is problematic, since each method within the qualitative paradigm has its own assumption in “terms of theoretical frameworks we bring to bear on our research”. Triangulation may include multiple methods of data collection and data analysis, but does not suggest a fix method for all research. The methods chosen in triangulation to test the validity and reliability of a study depend on the criterion of the research (Golafshani, 2003).

What is important here is that triangulation gives the researcher the possibility to reduce bias or distortion due to a narrow focus, and strengthens research design by cross checking, triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods (Patton, 2001). In this way, it widens the base from which data are drawn and it increases the researcher’s confidence in the data due to the ‘spread’ of its resources. This confidence can only be achieved as far as normative research is concerned when different methods of data collection yield substantially the same results. The more the methods contrast with each other, the greater the researcher’s confidence (Cohen, et al., 2000). Through triangulation, the researcher can overcome the limitations of a single specific method. Moreover, the data to be analysed are richer, so that the chances that consistency of findings, due to similarities of method are reduced. In the research design section, it was decided that triangulation would be used so that
more reliable information could be obtained in a variety of methods. Shkedi (2003) points out that the use of triangulation increases the validity of the outcome. It is a process which enables the use of different sources to make sure that a specific phenomenon is happening and to clarify its meaning (Stake, 2000). This makes the data collection more accurate and qualitative.

Some argue the claim that triangulation has no effect whatsoever on the increase of validity, or on reducing bias or bringing objectivity to research (Fielding & Fielding, 1986). But, by now, we are used to the idea that using positivist methods and terminology in a non-positivist realm will always lead to counter arguments; here too, reality lies somewhere in between. What we are after is to check if there is convergence of independent measures of the same objective, as Campbell and Fiske (1959) suggest, especially that through triangulation, we can demonstrate concurrent validity, since relying on one method can increase bias or distort what the researcher think is seen.

To improve the analysis and understanding of construction of others, triangulation is a step taken by researchers to involve several investigators, or peer-researchers’ interpretation of the data at a different time or location. In a related way, a qualitative researcher can “use investigator triangulation and consider the ideas and explanations generated by additional researchers studying the research participants” (Johnson, 1997: 284). Therefore, to acquire valid and reliable multiple and diverse realities, multiple methods of searching or gathering data are in order (Golafshani, 2003).

In this research, the researcher have also relied on the information collected from the parents and the literature when researching the multiple circles of the IMAs’ identity. The nature of the ‘soft data’ collected, its source, being adolescents who are at a critical age of their lives, trying to find their own identity at more than one level, and the complexity of the issue itself of identity components, made triangulation necessary in order to guarantee reliable data. For instance, the dominance of the Christian aspect over the Maronite in their religious identity repertoire was apparent in the adolescents’ in-depth interview when categorization of the concepts was carried out. The same issue appeared
in the analysis of the parents' semi-structured ethnographic interview; in the
text tools; and surfaced noticeably in the focus group analysis. Another
example where triangulation was used in the categorization carried out in data
analysis was the Israeli-Arab component, which was emphasized directly in the
adolescents' in-depth interview, reiterated in the parents' semi-structured
ethnographic interview, and appeared again in the narrative text tools and
focus group.

Summary

In the previous chapters, the researcher set out ontological and epistemological
foundations that underlie the qualitative methodology employed for this study. It
was also discussed the choice of methods used in data collection: the
adolescents' in-depth interview, the parents' semi-structured ethnographic
interview, text tools and the focus group, stemming from the conceptual
framework, which set the ground for the way data was gathered and analysed,
taking into account the soft nature of the data and the different data-analysis
theories through which the data was processed.

Having been aware of the nature of the qualitative inductive research, and
having addressed the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach, this
chapter can be summarized by stating that both methodology and methods
were directed by the nature of the type of the research, being practitioner
research, and should therefore guarantee a sufficient degree of rigor, as much
as qualitative research can offer it. After all, it is the depth and richness of the
identity perception of the IMAs' and its effect on their future considerations that
the researcher researching, and it is in this specificity of time and place and
participants that this research will be contributing to knowledge, by filling the
gap in the field of social studies, specifically that of minorities.
Chapter Four: Research Findings

The results of the data analysis fall under two broad categories: one describes the components of the IMAs identities, and the other their future orientations. In the pilot stage, each broad category is divided into a number of sub-categories, for each method in the research, reflecting the various aspects of identity-related issues: religious, national, personal identification and Involvement in the community and heritage awareness as an indicator of their belonging. With regard to the participants’ future orientations, the data analysis has produced three categories: place of residence, academic studies and professional careers.

Table 2: Findings – Pilot Stage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Identity Perception</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-political</td>
<td>Participants’ expressions / reactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Nothing to me, me, great pride, nationality, unclear, belonging”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Israeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“My country, nothing, civil rights, just a place to live, belonging, forced to live in it, pride”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palestinian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Internal belonging, roots, not relevant to me, roots but it does not mean anything to me, do not care, solidarity”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religious Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-psychological</td>
<td>Participants’ expressions/ reactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Maronite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“My belonging, my community, just a name, nothing, my church, pride, not relevant, not clear belonging”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christian</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“My religion, my identity, belonging, everything to me, great pride, very important, my people”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-psychological</td>
<td>“Arab, Palestinian Christian and Israeli; Arab, Palestinian roots; Arab in Israel; Israeli Arab; Israeli Christian Arab”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Socio-political</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socio-</td>
<td>Involvement in the</td>
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<tr>
<td>psychological</td>
<td>community</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Socio-political</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Future orientation</th>
<th>Participants’ expressions/ reactions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>“Israel near my family, the United States, Europe, any place but not in Israel nor in the Arab countries, Israel with my people, where I was born”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Academic study and career</td>
<td>“Success in university and career, to study medical subjects, to study social subjects, I have no plans, to study arts abroad”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The factual findings presentation opens the Findings Chapter with the results of the IMAs’ identity components and their future orientations. Samples of the participants’ input provide a view into the concepts that reside inside their realities. The data were analysed according to the principles of Shkedi’s (2003) thematic analysis. The findings of the identity perception and future orientation concepts are presented according to the conceptual framework, based upon the three circles of adolescence identity conflicts, minority identity conflicts, and the Arab minority identity conflicts. The findings, also presented per method at Table 3 (p. 110), reflect the conflicts of the IMAs identity perception, being adolescents, as part of a Christian minority within the Arab minority in Israel. The categories identified through the analysis were supported by quotes from the interviewees (See Appendices 17, 18, 19, 20, 21), which were literally translated from Arabic as it was mentioned earlier.
4.1 Findings per Method

4.1.1 Adolescents’ In-depth interview:

Identity Perception

quotes from the adolescents in-depth interview:

Arab Ethnic Identity
Although each of the participants identified themselves as Arab, their comprehension of belonging to the Arab ethnicity varied. The participants’ responses fall under the following sub-categories:
Attitude: “I am proud to belong to the Arab nation” (Maria); “The Arab culture appeals to me more than any other thing in the world” (Maroun).
Significance: “I am an Arab because my parents are Arabs and we speak Arabic” (Lana); “I belong to the Arab nation because I was born to an Arab family” (Deeb); “Being an Arab is of no significance to me” (Natalie).
Clarity: “I feel I have two different attitudes regarding this issue; I am an Arab among Jews and a Christian among Muslims” (Georgette); “I do not know how to identify myself – a Palestinian Arab or an Israeli” (Nadeen); “I am not certain of any identity definition: an Israeli, an Arab, an Israeli Arab, an Israeli Palestinian… I have no idea” (Rola).

National Identity
Below are quotations that illustrate the variations in the sub-categories regarding the participants’ attitudes towards issues of identity and belonging to Israel, Palestine and Lebanon.

The Israeli Component:
Recognition: “Israel is my country” (Sami); “I am a citizen of Israel and I have rights” (Elias).
Detachment: “I am not clear about my Israeli identity and I do not believe that I belong to Israel” (Nagham); “I belong here because I have an Israeli identity card” (Nairouz); “I just live in Israel” (Maria).
Rejection: “There is discrimination and racism toward us” (Maria); “There is lack of everything” (Firas); “Israel is a state for Jews, who hate us” (Sharbel); “It is a
The Palestinian Component:
Recognition: “I belong to Palestine” (Maria); “I am rooted in Palestine” (Simaan); “Palestine is a lost dream” (Katy).
Uncertainty: “I can’t articulate my connection to Palestine” (Majd); “It means something outdated and belonging to the past” (Sami).
Rejection: “I hate talking about Palestine” (Elias); “Such thing like ‘Palestine’ is of no significance to me” (Sami).

The Lebanese Component:
Belonging: “It is a connection with family and loved ones” (Nagham); “Our family roots are in Lebanon” (Hanna); “I love the people who live there” (Natalie); “I am connected to it because Maronites live there” (Maroun).
Rejection: “I do not like Lebanon because there is much hypocrisy there” (Nairouz); “Lebanon is a hostile country” (Georgette); “I do not feel I belong to Lebanon” (Majd).

Religious Identity
The sub-categories which refer to the Maronite component in the religious identity are as follows:
Attitude: “I love being a Maronite”; “It is a great pride to be a Maronite Christian” (Sami); “It is my religion, my faith” (Doreen); “It is everything to me” (Rawan).
Indifference: “To me it is just a name of a community” (Lana); “It is a minority of which I am part” (Georgette); “I am part of a small and weak community” (Sami).
Lack of knowledge: “I am not aware of the difference between being a Maronite or something else” (Sharbel); “Maronites! I suppose they are those who follow St. (Mar) Maroon” (Rania); “Maronites are a group from Lebanon, that is all what I know” (Jomana); “I know nothing except that it is a church originating from Lebanon” (Lareen).
Rejection: “I do not believe I have a Maronite identity” (Shaden); “I am an Arab, a Christian and that’s it” (Lana); “I know that I am a Maronite, but I feel nothing
about that” (Sharbel); “I do not know what it is to be a Maronite, nor do I care about that” (Suzan).

Involvement in the Community and heritage awareness

Community activities: “I can’t really say much about my involvement in the community” (Sharbel); “I do not know about any community activities” (Shaden); “To my knowledge, there is no such a thing as community activities” (Natalie).

Religious activities: “It is just attending the church on holidays” (Waseem); “It is only on religious holidays that I feel the connection to my community” (Maria); “It is only on Sundays that I go to church to pray” (Georgette).

Attitude: “Nobody really cares about the Maronite minority” (Maria); “We are a minority and nobody is concerned about us” (Hanna); “We have everything except the knowledge about our heritage” (Nairouz); “You are the first who is concerned about our situation and wants to research it” (Wasim).

Leadership: “Our clergymen are not involved in the community” (Elias); “I am not sure whether our clergymen have any task in our community” (Samer); “I believe that our clergymen are rather indifferent to the community” (Mira).

Social activities: “We are a minority and we do not have any activity which is specific for us, activities that we feel we need a lot” (Saheer); “We need to investigate what the Maronite community needs and act accordingly” (Wasim); “There is a need for a community centre where the activities could be organized to improve the relations with our church” (Maria).

General Christian activities: “As a matter of fact, we are all Christians. The activities should be organized for all Arab Christians” (Mira); “We are merely a Christian minority. The activities shouldn’t be focused only on Maronites, but rather for all Christians, similar to the activities of other Christian communities which are open to everybody” (Narmeen); “We are all Christians, aren’t we? Therefore, the activities should be organized for all Christians” (Deeb).
Future Orientation

quotes from the adolescents in-depth interview:

Preferred Place of Residence

The preferred places of residence as expressed by the participants were as follows:

Israel:
“I have no problems regarding living in Israel” (Sami); “I do not see myself living in any Arab country” (Natalie); “I am staying here because I was born here, although I do not enjoy full rights” (Shaden); “Although Israel is mostly a religious and racist country, there is some level of democracy here” (Nagham); “I will not stay abroad after my studies, I’ll return home” (Lana); “I will return home after my studies” (Elias).

Other countries:
“I prefer the USA because they enjoy full social rights there” (Mira); “In France, you have political, social and personal stability” (Lana); “I would live in Lebanon because it is a country with a big Christian population and there are Maronites in the government” (Sahe)

Proximity to family:
“It is because of relations with people and family that I want to stay here” (Jomana); “I will never leave my parents after they have done so much for me. I will live close to them” (Shaden); “I will not live far from my parents” (Deeb).

Academic Studies

The sub-categories developed are:

Tertiary education: “I would like to become a man of position and influence. The university degree will facilitate pursue of my career” (Samer); “Studying in the university is of most importance” (Hanna); “I will continue studying after high school. There is no future without it” (Maria); “First of all, I will go to university. Then, I’ll take care of other things” (Lareen).

Academic institutions demands: “I will study medicine, but not here; it is difficult to get accepted to university in Israel” (Wasim); “I am not sure about passing the psychometric test here” (Elias); “I am not sure I will be able to advance
Field: social sciences; medicine, veterinary and medicine-related subjects; pharmacology, laboratory assistants, computer sciences; art and fashion; sports; undecided: “I have no idea about my future”; “I haven’t decided yet what I want to study or do, I still have no plans for my future”.

4.1.2 Parents’ Semi-structured Ethnographic Interview

Identity Perception

quotes from the parents’ semi-structured interview:

Arab Ethnic Identity
Recognition:
“I am an Arab, a Maronite Christian and an Israeli” (Yousef); “We do not attach much significance to religion. We are Arabs, and religion is a personal issue” (Hanaa’); “I think of myself as a Maronite Christian and as an Israeli Arab” (Waffa).

National Identity

The Israeli Component
Recognition:
“My identity is Israeli, and I live in Israel” (Nahla); “I can use only one definition: I’m an Israeli Arab; it’s a fact” (Henry).

The Palestinian Component
Recognition:
“We are Palestinian Christians who live in Israel. We belong neither to Lebanon nor to Maronite Christians” (Hanaa’); “I am a Palestinian Arab and that’s it” (Ni’man); “I am a Palestinian and an Israeli” (Yousef).

The Lebanese Component
Recognition:
“First of all, I am a Maronite Christian, then an Arab, but a Lebanese, neither Israeli nor Palestinian” (Nader).
Religious Identity

The Maronite Component:
Attitude:
“I am proud to be a Maronite. I think of myself as a Maronite Christian and as an Israeli Arab” (Henry); “It is a unique feeling to be a Maronite” (Waffa); “I am proud to be a Maronite although I have no connection neither to the church, nor to the clergy” (Luies); “We enjoy the holiday ceremonies, but because of the scandals associated with the Maronite clergy we have little connection to the church” (Inaám).

Knowledge:
“We know that Maronites follow Mar Maroon’s doctrine, but this is the only thing we know” (Reena); “We know that our roots are in Lebanon and our saints came from there, but we do not know much about our history” (Edmond); “We know nothing about Maronites. They are people from Lebanon. We didn’t even know that there was a bishop in Israel” (Elias).

The Christian Component
Recognition:
“My religious identity is certainly Christian, not particularly Maronite” (Hanaa’); “We are Christians, the Arab ones. We were merely born to this community” (Eman); “We do not think of ourselves as Maronites. It is of no significance to us” (Silvia).

Involvement in the Community and Heritage Awareness
Church activities:
“We have lost our Israeli or Arab identity. The activity within the Maronite church is the only way for the community to survive” (Yousef); “Our church should concentrate on the community activities” (Waffa); “The church can take care of leisure and spiritual activities” (Inaám).

Leadership:
“The church and priest are hardly involved in the community life” (Yousef); “We do not know much about the Maronite identity or community because our church does not educate us” (Henry); “We have little expectations from our church” (Elias); “There are many secular people here and they are prepared to
act” (Nuhad); “The church does not have to initiate activities, it must promote them” (Sonia).

Social activities:

“It is important to establish a family club. It will promote socializing and strengthen family relationships” (Henry); “It would be good to have a club and organize good leisure activities and pilgrimage inside the country” (Elias); “We need activities for all the family to learn more about our Maronite heritage” (Luies).

Passive:

“It is unlikely we would take any responsibility in the community” (Yousef); “I prefer not to be involved. I do not want to be at odds with the priest and community council” (Farah).

Future Orientation

quotes from the parents’ semi-structured interview:

Education

Significance:

“We understand the importance of education in a Christian home” (Waffa); “Education in our home is not religious” (Nuhad); “We appreciate human values in education; the future is uncertain to us, therefore, we have to know how to survive” (Hanaa’).

Academic Education

Significance - The importance of post-secondary education for children:

“The community should take care of the future of gifted children” (Elias); “Life here is hard. Our child has to study in the university and have a good career” (Nuhad); “It is very important for us that our son continue to study” (Yousef).
4.1.3 Narrative Text Tools

A. Poetry Verses

Identity Perception

quotes from the narrative text tools:

The main verses selected by the participants to express their identity attitudes:

“I am an Arab, my hair is brown and my eyes are black”;
“My identity is scattered like a white light”;
“Our East is chewing slowly on its history and its idle dreams”;
“No doubt I am an Arab and a father of eight”;
“Oh my homeland, my tiny home!”;
“I can carry my home in a suitcase”;
“All these identity ideas are delusive”;
“It’s my reality, though it’s unpleasant to some people”;
“I am a man with no identity; the document which bears my identity details might rather be a surrealistic picture”;
“I am a refugee here, and there I am a stranger”;
“I am from here; they call me “an Arab from the inside”, but no one invites me inside”.

The Arab component

“I am proud to be an Arab”; “My roots are Arab, in the Arab traditions and culture” (Maria); “Being an Arab means being part of a big nation” (Hanna).

The Israeli-Arab component

“We live in Israel and we are part of the Israeli society” (Mira), “I am realistic, I am an Israeli” (Sami), “It’s like an Arab who lives in the U.S.: he won’t say I’m not from the U.S., so I say that I’m from Israel” (Saher); “I am an Arab who lives within his traditions and heritage like in a suitcase, but I am an Israeli, in everything I do every day” (Nairouz).
Attitude:
“I am an Arab, a citizen of Israel, but I do not believe I belong to this country, I just reside in it” (Rola); “I live here, but I do not feel that this country is for me” (Wasim), “They do not want me to be an equal citizen in this country” (Sharbel).

The religious component: “First of all, I am a Christian; this is my main identity” (Sami), “I identify myself mainly as a Christian” (Jomana), “Being a Christian means being a Maronite” (Elias).

Confusion:
“I am uncertain about my identity, however, I am a Christian, a Maronite, but I do not think it makes me different from others” (Mira); “I do not know who I am; I have no clear identity”; “It is difficult to determine my identity” (Narmeen).

B. Text Completion

Identity Perception

quotes from the narrative text tools:

The Arab Ethnic Component
Recognition:
“I am an Arab, a Christian, a Palestinian, a citizen of Israel, and a Maronite” (Hanna); “I am an Arab, a Palestinian, from ‘the Palestinians of 1948’. I live in Israel” (Maria); “I am not a hundred per cent Arab, but an Israeli Arab” (Rania).

The Israeli National Component
Recognition:
“I am an Israeli and a Christian” (Shaden); “My identity is an Israeli one” (Natalie); “I am an Arab, a citizen of Israel. I live in Israel” (Wasim); “I am a citizen of Israel” (Suzan); “I am an Arab, and I live in Israel” (Samer).

The family factor: “I am an Arab, a Christian, I live in Israel, but I identify myself with the family, not with the country” (Samer); “I belong to my family, I am part of it” (Nairouz).
Religious Identity

The Maronite Component

Recognition: “I am a Maronite Christian” (Sami); “I am proud to be a Maronite Christian” (Sharbel).

Rejection: “I don’t feel like being a Maronite at all” (Lana); “it does not mean to me more than a congregation that I was born into” (Natalie).

The Christian Component

Recognition: “I am a Christian Arab. I am a religious person. I live in Israel” (Samer); “I am an Arab Christian with Palestinian roots” (Maria); “I am an Arab, a Palestinian, and a Christian” (Nairouz); “I am a dedicated Christian, but I do not manifest it for I do not want to be called “racist” (Wasim).

Uncertainty: “I am uncertain about my identity, however, I am a Christian, a Maronite, but I do not think it makes me different from the others” (Jomana), “I’m not sure of myself as a Christian and what it is like be a Maronite” (Suzan).

Future Orientation

quotes from the narrative text tools:

Priorities: “I will study medicine in the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology) and only after that I will get married” (Wasim); “I plan to study pharmacology, live with parents and not get married soon” (Nagham); “I want to complete my studies and then find a respectable husband, so that my parents will be proud of me” (Rania); “I will study social sciences, and then get married” (Georgette).

Future residence: “There are few chances to build good careers in Israel. I plan to go to the USA, to get training there and raise a family” (Elias); “I would like to study, to be employed and maintain an independent life in the USA” (Lana); “I want to stay in my home town and help as many people as I can” (Deeb).

Professional career plans: Making for bringing social changes into society (3): “I want to become an important person, a university graduate” (Wasim); “I want to live only in my current home town, and want this country to be less radical and not racist, with Jews and Arabs having equal rights …” (Nairouz); “I want to study social sciences to help my community” (Georgette).
Uncertainty: “I have neither expectations nor inspirations so far” (Elias); “I have no clear expectations in our cruel reality” (Saheer); “I want to be educated and married, but who knows what will actually happen in the future” (Rola).

4.1.4 Focus Group

Identity Perception

quotes from the focus group:

**Arab Ethnic Identity**
Recognition: “I am an Israeli Arab”; “I am an Arab who lives in Israel”; I am an Arab, a Christian and an Israeli”.

**National Identity**
Confusion: “I feel that my identity is split between being a Palestinian Arab and an Israeli”; “When asked by someone from abroad about my nationality, I’m confused about what to say – Israeli or Palestinian”; “I have more than one identity: an Israeli, a Palestinian…. I can’t really say it depends who I deal with…”

**The Israeli Component**
Recognition: “As a matter of fact, I am an Israeli”; “I do not belong to any other place but the one where I was born, and this place is Israel”; “I do not feel like being an Israeli in a full sense, but, as a matter of fact, I live in this country and I will not leave it”.
Detachment: “I would like to belong to this country, but it does not let me”;
“…as an Israeli I am not wanted in this society, neither by the Jews nor by Muslims”.

**The Palestinian Component**
Recognition: “I am an Israeli Arab with Palestinian roots”; “I am Palestinian who lives in Israel”, “I am part of the Palestinian people, but I live in Israel”.
Indifference:”…as to being a Palestinian – I think it’s irrelevant and not clear to anybody”; “As to my identity, I have a problem. I believe it would be much easier to have no identity”; “I would rather not define my identity. Actually, I use
several identities, depending on the circumstances. I do not feel like being part of this ‘identity definition dispute’.

**Religious Identity**

**The Maronite Component**
Recognition: “I am proud of being a Maronite. I pray only in the Maronite church”; “There is something special in the Maronite church…It is different from other churches”.
Detachment: “We do not feel that we belong to this church”, “There is nothing for me and for the youth at all in this community”; “The church is too far from my needs”, “I do not know much about the Maronite church or Maronites”.

**The Christian Component**
Recognition: “I am happy to be part of the Christian community”; “I do not feel anything special in being a Maronite. For me, it is just sufficient to be a Christian”; “It is difficult to be part of some subgroup of Christianity. I prefer to be just a Christian, with no division between different groups and ethnicities”; “We have to defend ourselves as Christians. It’s a shame to be divided into all kinds of subgroups”.

**Involvement in the Community and heritage awareness**
Church activities: “It is more appropriate to have activities organized by the church. It is safer to meet new people this way”; “It would be better to have activities through the church. It suits me both spiritually and socially”; Hanna: “We should be more aware about our small community and work on developing activities in the church”.
Social activities: “For me, it would be better to be more involved and to help strengthen the community rather than the society in whole. Nobody will take care of our youth particularly”; “We need a kind of a club with activities for the whole family”; “The activities should be organized for the youth and for the whole family”.
Frustration: “Nobody has ever been interested in our lives. It is the first time that someone wants to research this matter”; “There is no one who will take care of us”.

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Future Orientation

quotes from the focus group:

**Place of Residence**
Israel: “I will stay here; it is better than any other place. At least, I’ll be close to my parents”; “I do not think to leave for any other place ...”; “I’ll stay in my homeland. We must not give up, we have to be here “I do not see any other place for myself. If they have a problem with my being here, they may leave”.
Other countries: “I think I’ll move to the USA”; “I would like to live somewhere in Europe. I always dreamed about that”; “I see my future in Germany or France”; “I believe that in the USA I will achieve more as an American Arab than as an Israeli Arab in Israel”.
Proximity to family: “I’ll get married after my studies and live close to my parents”; “I want to study, get married and live next to my parents”.
Uncertainty: “I have no expectations regarding the future here”; “I do not see myself staying here because here I have no future”; “I have no plans to stay here. They won’t let us advance in our lives”; “This place is not for us. No one cares for jobs for us or for improving our conditions as a Christian minority”.

**Academic Studies**
Tertiary Education: “I will go to the university after having completed school”; “For me, it is of utmost importance to study in the university”; “For me, the most important matter is academic studies”; “I do not believe I’ll be able to get accepted to university here”.
Priority: “First, I’ll get my degree, then I’ll get married”; “For me, it is most important to study at university. After that, I will take care of my family life”, “I have big plans for my study and career; raising a family will come later”.

**Professional Career**
Priorities: “I would like to be a lawyer”; “I’ll be probably a social worker or a teacher”; “I want to study pharmacology”.
Uncertainty: “I have no specific plans”; “We can’t be sure about our future so why think about it. I do not know what to plan so far”.
After having collected the data according to the main *a priori* concepts of the identity and future orientation, it was categorized according to each concept for all the relevant methods and the number of similar expressions for each category was put together. New concepts were given to each group of expressions according to their general trend, being positive or negative; clear or confused, etc.

**Table 3: Findings presentation – concepts of identity perception and future orientation per method – general summary**

(Numbers in brackets = number of the participants who expressed the same statements)

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| Focus Group Identity Perception (22 participants) |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Arab Ethnic Identity | Recognition (22) |
| National Identity | Confusion (7) |
| The Israeli Component | Recognition (17) | Detachment (7) |
| The Palestinian Component | Recognition (4) | Indifference (16) |
| Religious Identity | The Maronite component | The Christian component |
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<td>Uncertainty (3)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2 Findings Between Methods

The IMAs have to deal with socio-political, socio-psychological and socio-cultural factors as expressed in the conceptual framework. The implications of these factors on Identity perception and future orientation were examined, and the findings were presented at Table 4 (p. 113).

Identity perception
While the majority of participants adopt the Israeli Arab identity as the clearest identity in terms of belonging, the Palestinian component as Arabs is apparent in the cultural aspect in their repertoire. Concerning the religious factor, the Christian element was dominant in their definition. However, the impact of the Maronite component was minor, limited, and, in some cases, non-existent. Their limited knowledge about their heritage and culture as Maronites was evident in their unawareness of significant milestones in their history and its key figures. Their involvement in the community was limited to religious ceremonies on major holidays, if at all.

Future orientation
The future orientation, focused on the IMAs’ individual success in their careers and their academic studies, without any commitment to the collective community. As Maronite Christians, being part of the Arab minority living in the Jewish State, they mentioned the obstacle they face which prevent them from planning their future. In spite of the difficulties, they were very clear regarding their intention not to leave the country, although they didn’t feel any belonging to it. They expressed their preference to live close to their families in the future.

The following table concludes the main findings according to the identity concepts, the factors that affect them and range within which each concept exists.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Concept</th>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnic and National identity</strong></td>
<td>Socio-political</td>
<td>Between clarity and confusion:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clarity: Being an Israeli Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Confusion: Trying to make sense of being an Arab (not a Muslim), a Palestinian (Living in Israel) and an Israeli (not Jewish).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religious Identity</strong></td>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Between belonging and alienation:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Belonging: Clear belonging to the wider Christian community, and proud to be Maronite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Alienation: The Maronite component is insignificant and irrelevant in their Christian identity definition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Involvement in the Maronite community</strong></td>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Between awareness and commitment:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Awareness: There is a dire need for activities within the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Commitment: Unwillingness to commit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future Orientation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Factors</strong></td>
<td><strong>Range</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of Residence</strong></td>
<td>Socio-psychological</td>
<td>Between living in Israel and immigration:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socio-political</td>
<td>Living in Israel: Preference to live in Israel for family reasons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration: Limited housing opportunities and residential areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academic Studies Professional Career</strong></td>
<td>Socio-political</td>
<td>Between significance and career opportunities:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socio-psychological</td>
<td>Significance: The importance of academic studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Career opportunities: lack of career opportunities for minorities in Israel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future involvement in the Maronite community</strong></td>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Between need and indifference:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Need: Continuous empowerment and development of the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indifference: Passiveness and unwillingness to act.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary

The participants’ identity comprised several components, some of which were contradictory. Most of the participants’ statements concerning perception of identity contained several characteristics or values, which appeared sequentially in one sentence. While defining themselves as Arabs, some emphasized the Israeli Arab factor within that definition, mixing it with being Palestinians. The order according to which the components were organized was not consistent. While some put the Israeli component prior to the Arab, others did the opposite. Some aspects in the definition of the ethnic and national identities overlapped. However, most participants identified themselves as Israeli Arabs. There was also confusion about the sense of belonging to their country, as it was reflected in the relative question about their homeland, being Israel, Palestine or Lebanon, and also showed a different level of loyalty to the state of Israel. However, almost all participants indicated that they were Arabs first, by stating their Israeli citizenship.

The religious identity is characterized by a clear tendency of identification with Christianity as a whole, while stressing their pride of being Maronite, although the Maronite factor was insignificant in their religious definition, the participants defined their connection to Maronite Christianity as the community tradition to participate in the Maronite liturgies on Sundays and Holidays. Those who took pride in being Maronite Christians, acknowledging that they are religious, did not connect their perception of religion to the attributes of the Maronite theological and spiritual heritage.

The place of residence in the future orientation stressed the preference of living in Israel, in the vicinity of their parents, although the country has not been regarded as a place where minorities are fully respected. The Arab countries were undesirable places of residence. As for their academic studies and professional careers, the participants expressed a feeling of uncertainty and detachment from Israel, mostly due to socio-political reasons and limited employment opportunities. Regarding the significance of higher education,
almost all participants, including parents, expressed their willingness to proceed with academic studies, either in Israeli universities or abroad.

Most of those who preferred to study in foreign universities related to the difficulties associated with university admittance terms, like a minimum age policy, or the psychometric tests which are considered as a major obstacle for Arab students in getting to universities. However, in spite of the hurdles, most of them expressed the intention to stay in Israel. Only few had plans to settle down abroad. The majority of the parents argued that the academic studies of their children were of great importance to them, realizing that this was the only way to get into the Israeli life and market.

For the professional career, most of the participants preferred developing careers that involved direct contact with, or taking care of people: social sciences, medicine and medicine-related disciplines. Few wanted arts, sports and fashion as areas of future occupation. It was obvious that almost all the participants had already decided about their future areas of occupation, with very few of them having no clear idea about their future professional plans. Nobody expressed the wish to build their professional future in Arab countries, not even in Lebanon, as they had noted, where Christians play a role in the government.

Involvement in the Maronite community ranged between the awareness of the need of active change, but with a certain degree of indifference and unwillingness to self-commit. The sub-categories identified reflected a lack of organized activities intended to enrich the life of the Maronite community. Most of the participants’ views on the involvement into the community life reflected the frustration with the current situation in the community life and insufficient role of the Maronite clergy. Most of them wished to promote the community activities within the framework of the church and with the purpose of strengthening the family relationships through community activities. Many participants acknowledged that it might be good to organize a range of activities within the church, albeit nobody mentioned the church as the only institution that connected the members of community to their historical and
cultural heritage. Some participants voiced the need to have a secular leadership along with the religious one.

The following table concludes the findings according to the main concepts of the research; identity and future orientation. The main perception as expressed by most participants for each concept:

**Table 5: Adolescents' perception of identity and future orientation from all methods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Main perception</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identity</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic and national identity</td>
<td>Israeli Arabs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious identity</td>
<td>Christians Maronite pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage</td>
<td>Lack of knowledge and frustration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future orientation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic study</td>
<td>Academic study in the Israeli universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional career</td>
<td>Direct contact with people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in the Maronite community</td>
<td>awareness of the need of active change but unwillingness to self-commit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Five: Analysis and Discussion

This research concerns the investigation of the Maronite Christian adolescents’ identity perception, by being part of the Israeli Palestinian Arab community, reflecting on their future orientation and heritage awareness. It examines the main factors which could influence the conceptualization of their own identity and attempts to outline the ways to cope with the problems that might interact with the shaping of their identity, stressing the implications of the socio-psychological, socio-political and socio-cultural factors.

The research questions that led the research were:

*How do the IMAs perceive their identity within the Christian Palestinian Arab community in Israel?*

*What effect does the perception of IMAs’ identity have on their future orientation and heritage awareness?*

The identity perception, which was targeted in the different data collection methods and expressed in the findings, included religious, ethnic and national identities, involvement in the community and heritage awareness. Future orientation included place of residence and academic studies. The procedure of data analysis was carried out by dividing the data into sections and reorganizing them into categories (See Appendix 23), which enabled organizing the data according to relevant characteristics (Shkedi, 2003).

Triangulation was used among the different tools in this research, including the focus group, which was carried out almost a year after data had been collected through the other methods. Triangulation revealed that there was a clear similarity in the participants’ attitudes as expressed by the different data collection methods. Integrating the data findings from the different methods (Table 3, p. 110 & Table 4, p. 113) helped verify that the same phenomenon occurred in various sources, enabling a better explanation (Stake, 2000) and allowing an examination of it from several points of views (Alexander, 2001).
5.1 Identity Perception

Adolescence is the time of life characterized by “storm and stress” (Hlpl, et al., 2003). It is known as being a chaotic period and a time of pressure, changes and decisions (Bar El & Noymeier, 1996). For the IMAs, as adolescents, the effect of this period is apparent on the socio-psychological and socio-political levels, where, in addition to the stress that adolescents face in general, the participants face additional problems in their identity definition being part of the Arab – Palestinian minority in Israel, which is placed in a multi-identification frame (Gabizon & Hecker, 2000; Amara & Schnell, 2004). “I feel that my identity is split between being a Palestinian Arab and an Israeli”; “I have more than one identity: an Israeli, a Palestinian, a Christian, a Maronite” ; “It is difficult to determine my identity”. This attitude became clear through the adolescents’ in-depth interview, focus group and also in the text testing tools. The participants’ identity understanding and perception ranged from confusion to stability in the following identities: Israeli, Arab, Palestinian and Christian, corresponding to Soan’s (2003) suggestion that the Arab adolescents in Israel reveal three sub-identities in their main identity: religious, national (Arab/Palestinian) and that of the Israeli citizenship. This was also apparent through the adolescents’ in-depth interview, when most of the participants identified themselves in different ways and introduced more than one identity. A similar trend was revealed in the texts they chose to identify with their identity, and in the parents’ semi-structured ethnographic interview. There too, there was more than one level at which they identified themselves.

Furthermore, from the socio-psychological and socio-cultural aspects, the IMAs’ identity perceptions reflected mixed feelings and unclear decisions, especially at the personal, national and religious identity levels, which echoes a side of Erikson’s (1968) definition of identity as knowing what your capabilities and weaknesses are. There was no main stream that unified the participants’ perceptions and identifications of identity, and it became evident that how each participant coped and dealt with this issue was an individual decision, reflecting Qarooni’s (2010) view about the differences that exist regarding adolescents’ way of life, concepts, expectations and dreams. Echoing the implications of the
socio-political factors, the participants expressed split identities, and for those among them who realized that they were unwanted in the place they called their homeland, the experience was frustrating as well, stressing Guanipa-ho’s and Guanipa’s (1988) point that such an experience may cause self-contradiction. “I would like to belong to this country, …but I am not wanted in this society, neither by the Jews nor by Muslims”.

The effect of the socio-cultural factors on the IMAs’ self-identification could be seen in the way they expressed themselves, using different characteristics and values in the same sentence. This trend might demonstrate that each participant has assigned a different degree of significance to a certain identity component, resonating Pearson’s (2007) claim that individuals and groups have multi-layered identities; they identify with cultures, languages and religions. Most of the participants’ definitions fell under the umbrella of “Israeli Arab”, with some relevance to the religious component, which demonstrates that the identity repertoire of the Arabs in Israel is a complex phenomenon because they are caught in the midst of a national and religious conflict, as stated by Amara and Schnell (2004). “I am an Israeli Arab”; “I am an Israeli and a Christian”; “I am a citizen of Israel, but I do not feel like being an Israeli in a full sense”.

In addition, in the absence of other stable circles of belonging, the family provided an alternative frame for the participants when they expressed their willingness to reside close to their families, as was raised in the findings of the focus group. Adolescents benefit from positive role models, explicit discussions of moral values, and a community in which there are activities structured around pro-social values, including religious values (Holder, et al., 2000). Though religious values are prominent among many ethnic minority cultures (Franklin & Franklin, 2000), and the emergence of abstract thought in adolescence also permits the exploration of religious and spiritual beliefs (Clarke & Justice, n.d.). The religious heritage based on Christian values, may be seen as one formative cultural influence (Davie, 1994).

Living under such tensions leads into strengthening the cohesion within threatened minorities by sticking together to form a bigger, safer and a stronger
identity, that of being Christians, especially, at a time where they face attacks from the other minorities; the Muslims and Druze. These attacks result in erasing the inner borders among the different Christian congregations, standing as one against the “enemy”, but at the price of losing parts of their ethnic and religious unique identities. “I prefer to be just a Christian, with no division between different groups and ethnicities”; “We have to defend ourselves as Christians”. Moreover, the fanaticism and the increase of radical Islam in the Arab world and the hostile atmosphere against Christians in the Middle East (Pipes, 2001; Sabra, 2006; Iskanderzoda, 2012) have put the Christian minority in a situation of concern and lack of trust in their own society, thus strengthening the ambivalent nature of identity in general, an attitude that may be understood in the context of the rise of political Islam (Smooha & Ghanem 2001), and when Christians in Israel found themselves suffering and facing daily hardships in a hostile and violent atmosphere (Mansour, 2004; Munayer & Horenczyk, 2014). Thus Christian communities have been gradually shrinking in the Middle East, and if these trends are not reversed and Christians are not openly reassured of their security, there is a danger that within one or two generations, the Christian communities will further contract in size and visibility (Guzansky & Berti, 2012).

In spite of the above, most of the participants, as revealed by the general findings of the research, identified themselves as “Israeli Arabs”, keeping the Arab identity alive, while reflecting the Israeli factor in that identity, relating to the western life style Israel offers. This self-identification adds to the state of confusion that existed in the repertoire of the Arab minority as being “Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel”; “Arab minority in Israel”; “Palestinian minority in Israel”; “The 1948 Arabs”, and the “Arabs of the Inside”, as suggested by Rekhes, (1998) and Rinawi, (2003). When the participants presented the Israeli Arab identity in their repertoire, they did not relate to any other Palestinian identity constituents, except at the emotional level. They did not talk about being Palestinian citizens and showed no sense of belonging to Palestine. The social and economic factors play a role in diminishing the Palestinian factor in their identity, which put the Israeli Arabs at an advantageous position. The wall that was built by Israel around the Palestinian
territories in the West Bank separated areas from others not just politically, but also culturally and socially. The check points and the military existence all along the paths from Israel to Palestinian areas made the separation more concrete, and the respondents did not want to belong to that part of the occupied Palestinian identity. Living on the “right” side of the separation wall between Israel and the Palestinian Authority has its implications, it seems, on the concept of belonging to a community and shaping an identity (Qarooni, 2010), which, in the case of the IMAs, it embodies the factors that interact within the three circles of the conceptual framework: the socio-psychological, socio-political and the socio-cultural factors.

This pattern of distancing themselves from the Arab countries is also expressed in the findings of the future residence orientation. The Arabs living in Israel (Maronite Christians as part of this community), when they compare their situation to the Arabs living in other countries in the Middle East, and that they are exposed to the Israeli-Western life style, which is not always approved in the other Arab countries, Palestine (West bank and Gaza) included. Westernization of their life style has led many of them to start looking favourably at the benefits of being an Israeli, at least at the social level. Echoing Munayer (2000), Christian Arabs believe that the involvement with Israeli Jewish society might increase the adoption of western culture and norms. In addition, they feel that Israel is the most stable and secure country in the region (Allen, 2013), especially lately during the “Arab spring” and the control of fanatic Islam groups over the region, reflecting Sabra (2006), that Christians feel threatened by radical Islam.

The mixing of the Palestinian / Israeli factors reflects similar results to studies carried out by Amara and Schnell (2004), which revealed that most Arabs in Israel feel strongly attached to more than one identity. The Palestinian identity was associated more with feelings of national pride, and not of becoming citizens of Palestine itself, when it is established. The participants opted for the Israeli citizenship which, despite its limitation and the way they are treated as second class citizens, it did provide them with more rights than those Palestinians and Arabs get in their own countries. The civic-Israeli and the
national-Palestinian are mutually independent and the one does not include the components of the other (Smooha, 1992; Rinawi, 2003). By noticing their Israeli citizenship, the participants showed a different level of loyalty to Israel, for practical reasons, while maintaining their heritage as being Palestinian, and keeping their religion. Ethnic identity, as Phinney (2003: 63) defines it, “is a dynamic and multidimensional construct that refers to one’s identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group which an individual claims heritage in”. Such a definition perfectly reflects the state of the IMAs regarding their belonging. “We are part of the Israeli society”, “I am an Arab who lives within his traditions and heritage, but I am an Israeli, in everything I do every day, but I do not feel that this country is for me”. It is a fluid understanding of self and ethnic background, and it may influence one’s thinking, behaviour, feelings and perceptions (Phinney, 2003).

The Arab mechanism in the Israeli-Arab identity supplied the larger “umbrella” for the participants, it made them belong to the Arabic culture and language. The combination between the Arab and the Israeli is less confusing for them than other combinations. They are Arabs and they live in Israel and consume its culture as citizens, so the definition “Israeli Arab” was the most accepted for the participants and also among their parents as evidenced in the data analysis of the semi – structured ethnographic interviews. However, they were aware of their status as being discriminated against in terms of rights and their under- or non-representation in the official Israeli life and symbols, such as the flag, the hymn and the country’s plans for the future. “I am not a hundred per cent Arab, and not a hundred per cent Israeli, but an Israeli Arab”. The state of Israel has treated the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel as foster citizens and it was willing to accept them, only if they renounced their national and cultural identity as Palestinians, and agreed to assimilate in the wider Jewish Israeli society (Dwairy, 2004), accepting the definition of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, and not the state of all its citizens.

The attainment of a strong sense of Palestinian ethnic identity may play an important role in the Israeli context regardless of their religion, pointed out by Abu-Rayya and Abu-Rayya (2009). However, in spite of the IMAs’ confusion in
the ethnic and national identity, the religious constituent in that identity moved only within the circles of Maronites and Christians, never breaking its perimeter into a different religion, or atheism, for instance. Whatever the IMAs had against the church and its clergy was never strong enough to make them break loose of the centrifugal force and cast them away outside that circle. They remained faithful in their belonging to their wider religion of Christianity, with only a few priding themselves of being Maronites first. The lack of a clear ethnic and national identity made some participants stress that they are Israeli Arab Christians, or Christian Israelis, thus fencing themselves from the wider Muslim religious component.

One can expect that some members, unhappy with their religious status, would look for belonging or converting to the majority religion, Judaism within Israel, or Islam within the Arab World in the Middle East (Mansour, 2011), but this was never even hinted at throughout the research, “Arab Christians held fast to the faith of their ancestors” (Mansour, 2011: 39) despite the oppressions they had to face over the ages. The Christians' problematic status in Israel is with the Jews, seeing them as part of the Palestinian Arabs, and with the Muslims, seeing them as non-Arabs (Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007). Mansour (2011: 39) explains this situation further “When I am abroad and someone asks where I’m from, I always answer “Israel” which evokes various responses. Some are excited thinking I am a Jew. Then I explain that actually I am an Arab which usually makes them think I am a Muslim, which means I must clarify even further that I am actually a Christian”. Christians in particular, face a debate concerning their belonging to the Palestinian identity. It was clear in the research conducted by Smooha and Ghanem (2001) when almost 30% perceived their Palestinian identity to be irrelevant and 40% of them perceived it as important. It seems that both attitudes may be understood in the context of the rise of political Islam in Israel and in the Middle East as a whole, where Israeli Christian adolescents were willing to adopt elements of the Jewish society more than those of the Muslim Arab society (Munayer & Horenczyk, 2014).
The minimal impact the Maronite church had on strengthening the belonging within this minority was reflected throughout the different methods used in this research. The participants referred to themselves more as being part of the Christian minority rather than belonging to the Maronite community itself “I do not know much about the Maronite church, we are all Christians”. This tendency of not being categorized as sub groups in Christianity is also a symptom of the bigger minority, the Arab Christians in Israel, who feel that their division into subgroups will only make them weaker (Farah, 2003). The minimal involvement in the community life and in the church, their lack of knowledge about their heritage, the conflicts they face regarding their identities, the lack of identity education and, in particular, the absence of leadership are factors that could provide a convenient atmosphere for assimilation, both for the IMAs and their parents.

The participants’ belonging to the Maronite community was more social than religious though, the participants pointed out, in the different methods, that there was not much attraction to get involved in the church activity, and the parents, in the ethnographic interviews, expressed their distance from the church and its activities due to either lack of interest to take part, the weak relation with the priest, or for the lack of time. The participants’ and the parents’ attitudes reflect the fact that in the relation between the church, the priests and the community, the heritage of the church does not play a factor at all. What decides the strength, or weakness of this relations, which in itself reflects on the feelings of belonging, are the personal relationships between the priest and the community. This is yet, another indication, that the community members are not aware of the significance of the cultural heritage of the church, and therefore they feel alienated.

Although church leaders hold an important position in teaching the tradition and history of the Christians in the land, and can lead this mission in order to ensure the community’s survival, the spiritual leadership plays little role in empowering the Christian identity (Munayer, 2000; Farah, 2003). The participants and their parents showed almost complete ignorance of their own history and heritage, they could not relate, when asked, to the Maronites’
important role during the Arab cultural renaissance and in bringing the Arab world to modernity, a fact which led to consolidating the relationship between the Maronite Church and the Arab culture on the one hand, and between Islam and Christianity on the other (Haddad, 2003). The parents did not worry about passing this kind of education to their children. Moreover, there was no framework that could contribute to passing that knowledge either to the community. In addition, the feeling of belonging to the Maronite community, which could have been a motivation, did not exist either, especially for the lack of support of its Lebanese mother community and its spiritual leadership. This ignorance makes the danger of assimilation and losing one’s unique characteristics even more threatening and can only add to the uncertainty created by the political, social and national struggles in which they live.

When examining the socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-psychological factors that influenced the shaping of the IMAs’ identity perception, evidence has shown that the IMAs, as part of Christian Arabs in Israel, are divided between the will to integrate in the Israeli society, and the intention to be accepted as part of the Arab culture. This situation, as stressed by the participants and their parents, is like living “in between the hammer and the breech block”, where the Jewish state conceives Christians through their nationality, as Arabs, and the Muslims conceive them through their religion, as Christians, leading, in both cases to potential discrimination. Christians have to prove their Arab nationality and loyalty to the Arab majority (Gabizon & Hecker, 2000), and the feeling of insecurity increases because Christians feel unwanted and see little respect for their human rights (Farah, 2003). They have no equal opportunities, being a small minority with no political power, or electoral strength to negotiate rights and gain status. When the Arab youths feel that they are always “pushed aside” by the Jewish majority, along with a constant questioning of their national identity, there is no wonder that these factors only reduce the feelings of loyalty among the young Israeli Arabs (Paltak & Mahamid, 1989) in general, and among its smaller minorities in particular.

Another factor that led to the instability of the community has been the on-going decrease of Maronites in the country, mostly due to immigration, or to joining other congregations. A similar decrease is also noticed in the larger Christian
community, which reflects the tremendous hardships it has to face as a minority (Beggiani, 2004), having their churches and holy sites targeted for attacks (Allen, 2013). However, there were calls, both within the participants and their parents, not to leave the country to radical movements. There is a distance between expressing one’s feelings of dissatisfaction regarding their living conditions, and making the step of actual immigration, when the alternative countries do not necessarily offer better conditions. The number of Christians in the city where the research was conducted is dwindling.

The “no identity” was another level which expressed the uncertainty between the definitions “Israeli Arab” or “Palestinian Arab”. This diminution was brought up amongst very few participants who pointed out their uncertainty, especially of one clear definition and preferred to adopt an approach of “no identity” or a universal identity, such as: “I am human”, as a shelter from the numerous questions raised regarding absence of clear identity base.

5.2 Involvement in the Community Life and Heritage Awareness

The participants and their parents expressed the need for a community centre, which will cater to the needs of, not only the Maronite community, but the Christians at large. The centre could provide familial, social, educational and spiritual activities. “It would be better to have activities through the church. It suits me both spiritually and socially, we should be more aware about our community and about all Christians”. The need for the centre was expressed as a vote of dissatisfaction from the obvious lack of involvement on the part of the church in their daily lives, leading them, in return, to be unwilling to engage in its spiritual activities. The expression of pride of being Maronites in their identity repertoires vanished when it came to the actual embodiment of these feelings in their daily lives. Their actual involvement in the spiritual activities did not reflect the belonging they had talked about. It rather showed distance, lack of pride and no feeling of respect of being Maronites. As Davie (1994) claims, people express their religious sentiments by staying away from, rather than going to their places of worship, they want to believe, but do not want to involve themselves in religious practice. It seems that religious believing have become detached from religious belonging (Davie, 1990; 1994). None of the participants
or their parents expressed the willingness to initiate, or lead these lacking activities, but they all said they were ready to take part when such a centre is launched, thus stressing the importance of the socio-cultural aspect in their identity perception. This fatalistic approach, waiting for things to happen and not being able to control their own destiny, is a characteristic of the Arab society in general (Haj Yehya, 1994). The Maronite community seems to follow a certain pattern when expectations are high from the church leadership to initiate and develop. Still, neither the participants nor their parents were short of ideas of how such a community centre could provide for their families and community members, but those who were expected to organize and initiate such activities were not doing enough.

To sum up this section about the salience of the identity constituents in the IMAs’ repertoires, the findings show that the participants see themselves as: Israeli Arabs in terms of ethnicity and citizenship; Palestinians in terms of heritage and emotional belonging; Christians, much more than Maronites, in terms of their religious belonging, but always missing that sense of pride being any of those identities because each type of belonging lacks stability and is never fully felt in their daily lives. They are still treated as second class citizens in a country which is not theirs for they are still a weak minority within another bigger weak minority that gets mistreated by the Muslim Arabs. In their inner circle, they are not happy being Maronites because of the neglect the clergy treat them with and the lack of knowledge about their heritage. Davie (1994) suggests that churches in Britain have sought the ways to adapt to this shifting world. In the Holy Land, churches have preserved the traditional intervention by maintaining minimal contact with people, showing little adaptation to a modern and changing environment. The church should have a more essential role by shaking off its image of belonging to the past; by presenting itself and its message as modern and relevant, and by being able to communicate and be involved with the community (Davie, 1994). The Maronite community is a marginalized community that becomes invisible at times.
5.3 Future Orientation

From the socio-psychological aspect, adolescents are self-focused in themselves, their future and their dreams. Since future orientation is considered as setting goals, planning, exploring options and making commitments, and consequently guides the person’s developmental course (Bandura, 2001; Seginer, 2003a), they were occupied, like every other adolescent, in their own sexual definition, their wills and ambitions of professional and personal future. This was clear in the findings where success in life and in academy was very central, they were self-centred, ambitious and focused on the realization of their own dreams.

Most of the participants in this study have already planned their future directions. As thinking about future is of great importance to maturing people in completing tasks (Seginer, 1995), and although there was no sufficient profession counselling, and the parents, in general, were not knowledgeable enough regarding professional opportunities, the parents stressed that academic studies are very basic and important for planning the future of their youngsters, since they provide social and economic stability with the lack of other sources of support, such as lands and property. It is essential that the IMAS start preparing for their future in spite of the difficulties they live through, keeping a positive attitude, knowing their heritage, and determining to fulfil their dreams.

5.3.1 Academic Studies

There was a total agreement amongst the participants and their parents that academic studies are essential to their future. “It is of utmost importance to study in the university”, “Education is important, the future is uncertain to us, we have to know how to survive”. Higher education is the means for social development and success at the individual level. Education is regarded by Arab families as the only path for their children to achieve success in the state where other ways of personal advancement and achieving higher economic status are virtually limited (Al Haj, 1991; Azaiza & Ben-Ari, 1997). Parents, as socialization agents, have an impact on forming and shaping the personal and socio–
political consciousness of their children, especially that they do not have a direct influence on shaping the educational policy at school. The Arab education system is controlled by the Ministry of Education reflected in setting the curriculum and in appointing principals and teachers (Jabareen, 2013), although the right to education is not only receiving education, but also being allowed to influence its content (Rabin, 2004) and obliging the government agencies to provide equal education for all (Rabin, 2002).

One of the aspects which exemplify the implication of socio-political factors that affect the IMAS’ academic studies is the minimum-age admittance policy and the psychometric test, which represents a real challenge for Arab students due to the lower level of education they receive in high schools (Manaa’, 2008; Rekhes & Rodnitzki, 2009), and also for the culturally biased constituents in the test itself, which are built on western standards (The Follow-up Committee on Arab Education, 2011), thus preventing the Arab students from getting equal opportunities. The scores of the tests reflect the gap between the two populations, with the Arabs always lagging behind.

Such limitations oblige the Arab students either to wait till they are at the right age to get admitted, and with the limited employment opportunities, many get discouraged and lose interest, while others decide to study abroad, at high expenses, mostly in Jordanian, Palestinian, Romanian and Italian universities. When these students graduate, they are asked to pass additional tests before their degrees are accredited. Those lucky enough to study in Israel will not always find opportunities in their field, especially when their subject, such as in high-tech and electronics, is considered a security threat, or that employment is open only to those who had served in the army (Azaiza & Ben-Ari, 1997; Johal, 2004; Manaa’, 2008; Rekhes & Rodnitzki, 2009). Such hurdles have led some very bright Israeli Arab brains to emigrate to western countries.

5.3.2 Place of Residence

Although the literature lacks research about the Maronites’ and Christians’ perceptions of their own future orientation, studies about the future orientation of the Christian minority in Israel and the Arab World in general indicate that Christians seek quiet and stability and a better quality of life, which the region
does not provide, thus leading to an eventual decrease in their numbers, due to immigration (Farah, 2003; Kraft, 2009). “I was born here, although I do not enjoy full rights I will stay here”; “There is some level of democracy here”; “I’ll stay in my home land”. Despite the unfavourable socio-political environment and the detachment from Israel, mostly due to socio-political reasons and fewer employment possibilities in Israel, most participants expressed their intention to live in Israel, echoing Kraft’s, (2009). The participants perceived their identity as comprising part of their residing in, or originating from, their home town, despite the feeling of estrangement to the place.

The Israeli Arab society holds great significance for the place of residence. Patriarchal authority, although declining, has had significant influence on creating households, and patriarchal-local residence has been widespread among Arab young couples (Smooha, 1998). Most of the participants in this study emphasised proximity to the parents, their orientation is to be in their home town as a safe place which can assure continuity in the relations with the family. “I will stay close to my parents”; “It is because of family that I want to stay here”. The limited housing projects and options for the Arab minority, including the Christian Maronite community, also plays a role in their future residence plans. Most housing projects in Jewish cities are denied for the Arabs, even when these projects are built on lands confiscated from the Arab residents themselves (Makay, 2000; Rekhes & Rodnitzki, 2009). Even in mixed cities, where segregation should not officially occur, there are certain neighbourhoods that have preservations regarding letting non-Jews in.

The limited housing projects for Arabs in Israel have led to overpopulation in certain cities, where youngsters have no choice but to live where their parents do. However, when they decide to look for another option, and are able to afford it, then the preference is usually for a modern city nearby, which is usually Jewish, being well-funded, and offering better life quality. Still, that life quality is periodically disturbed by confrontations between its mixed citizens, with the Jews trying hard to preserve the Jewish character of the city.
Chapter Six: Conclusion

This study adopted a theoretical framework that considers identity as a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon, which evidences relations among its different components: the religious, national and ethnic. It examined the main factors that influenced the conceptualization of the IMAs’ own identity perception and its relevance to their future orientation. Several phenomena were examined regarding the identity issues and they all reflected an identity crisis among the participants who are at a vulnerable age (Erikson, 1968). Added to the problematic adolescence period are the socio-psychological, socio-political and socio-cultural tensions that were reflected in the identity conflicts expressed in the conceptual framework: minorities, adolescents and the Arab minority. The social implications of this study include several aspects which are discussed below. These are concerned with the study’s contributions to knowledge on the Maronite community in Israel and recommendations regarding the future social-cultural and professional orientations of IMA.

In comparison with the historical and social studies examining the Christian minority in Israel (Munayer, 2000; Wehbe, 2001; Haddad, 2003; Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007; Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Munayer & Horenczyk, 2014), this research provides a deeper insight into the identity perceptions of a community of Maronite Israeli Palestinian Arabs. As previously stated, most participants identified themselves as Israeli Arabs, with both parts of the definition rejecting them. For the Israelis, they are not Jews, but Arabs, and for the Arabs, they are not Muslims, but Christians, leading to a sense of alienation from both sides. In general, within the Israeli sociopolitical context Arab minorities are expected to prove their loyalty to Israel and to adopt an Israeli civil identity by abandoning central elements of their own identity (Dwairy, 2004; Tatar, 2004; Horenczyk & Munayer, 2007).

This study draws attention to the fact that the Maronites are part of the Christian minority in Israel and they are exposed to the same tensions that the majority-minority relationship inflicts on the bigger Christian minority which is
part of the Palestinian Arab population in Israel. It should be noted that the unstable political situation imposed on the position of Arab citizens in Israel, together with the globalization processes and their consequences on the politics of the Middle East, set challenges for their complex identity repertoire (Amara & Schnell, 2004; Dwairy, 2004). Findings have revealed that the IMAs' identity repertoire had a similar pattern to that of the Arab minority as a whole. Most Arabs in Israel feel strongly attached to at least three identities of being Arabs, Palestinians, and Israeli Arabs, among others, but none of these identities is static, and their order of priority changes according to the situation in the country. Moreover, each identity relates to a different content of meanings, playing a different role in the identity repertoire (Munayer, 2000; Amara & Schnell, 2004).

The identity perception is very individual and the reasons for this seem to relate to several factors: the ambivalent nature of identity; the lack of a clear collective definition and absence of leadership that could identify a collective action plan and carry it out; and socio-political reasons and feelings of being unwanted in the Israeli society. Identity conflict is more tangible in the maturing Maronite youths, who find themselves in the context of a society eroded by the on-going and intractable Arab-Israeli conflict, and as a religious minority versus the Muslim Israeli Arab community. For the Maronite community, as part of the general Christian community, the identity issue is focused on the national-ethnic definition, as Israeli Arabs, being the safest definition to live under. However, lately we have been aware of the strengthening of the Christian component in that definition, on account of the weaker Maronite component, reflecting the need of belonging to a wider, stronger heritage and culture. With the way the IMAs express their tendency towards the western culture represented in the Israeli factor in their identity, they might simply feel more at ease to use if for more than being a cultural escape. By showing the complexity of the Maronite identity issue, the current study might contribute to the understanding of the identity perception of other ethnic and religious minorities.

In order to ensure the sustainable development of the Maronite community and involvement of IMAs in Israeli society, important measures need to be taken;
Palestinian Arabs in Israel should not be treated as a second class citizens who are not accepted by the state unless they renounced their national and cultural identity as Palestinians, and agreed to assimilate in the wider Jewish Israeli society (Dwairy, 2004). The Israeli part of this mixed identity of Israeli Arab does not stand the daily tests of Israeli life, and the IMAs’ preferred choice for it was for cultural reasons, not wanting to live according to Islamic rules, as those they see in other Arab countries. Hopefully Israel, as a state, would notice and respect other minorities living within its borders, with some expressing the need for true citizenship, with loyalty from both the state and its citizens, accepting the definition of Israel as a state of all its citizens.

With regard to future socio-cultural and professional orientations, the researcher believes that an awareness of their identity should help IMAs identify their future plans in education, career, and the place of residence. When the participants see themselves as Israeli Arabs, they, mistakenly, start to aspire as Israelis, thinking that they can study whatever subject they want, live anywhere in the country, and be treated as other Israelis. However, this national identity definition is shaken when they discover that certain subjects are out-of-range to them because of security reasons, residential areas are only available for those who have served in the army, and that being non-Jews they are treated as all other Arabs, especially when it comes to general policies towards the Arab minority. The realization of the inability to be a true Israeli in term of citizens’ rights leads to frustration which accumulates internally throughout the years, and leads consequently, to a state of indifference. Wherever they look, they cannot get the help they need, neither from the governmental offices, which they feel serve the Jews only, nor from the local political or religious leadership. Although many participants reflected their willingness to work with and for people within their community and hope to empower its members, their future remains unclear in many ways (Azaiza, 2004). It should be also noted that the lack of involvement in community life and low heritage awareness might be due to the insufficient role of the Maronite clergy in organizing community activities. When all of the above factors are taken into consideration, one way out from this state of confusion is to ask the IMAs to look at their future by considering their heritage in the past. The
conclusion arises that the present might not be so rosy for them, but with the proper knowledge about their heritage, and the organized involvement of the community leaders, both clergy and secular, as it was shown on the findings, it is possible to make these youths realize that they can still salvage their identity perceptions from the current chaotic situation under which they live. However, the Maronites need to look inward in order to elaborate a more critical and reflective attitude toward the community, by realizing that they should use the Israeli political democratic system as a powerful tool in defining their rights, instead of being politically indifferent citizens. The adoption of an active approach to political and social issues might help this community better integrate into society and achieve a proper balance of the Israeli civil identity and elements of the Christian Maronite identity.

An important finding of this study is that the participants, and their parents, expressed the need for community activities within the framework of the church in order to try and strengthen the ties among the Maronite community members. This was especially the case with the younger generation, who were seen to be in need of education for them to better understand their identity and heritage, thus offering a bigger supportive frame for their ambitious and future plans. Consequently, the participants, as representatives of the wider community of Maronite youths, are aware of the split between believing and belonging and they expect from the church to present itself and its message as modern, up to date and relevant (Davie, 1994). They are looking for a strong Christian or secular leadership, not Islamic in definition, which will be able to cater to their needs, control their frustration, raise their expectations and lead to creative change in their stagnant community life.

The participants' decision regarding the place of residence is influenced by several factors: the wish to live in a democratic country and in the place with more employment opportunities, the feeling of belonging to the place of origin, and a remarkable devotion to their parents. Despite the unfavourable socio-political environment and fewer employment possibilities in Israel, most of the participants intend to live in their birth place and home town. The findings show that the IMAs are clear regarding their intention not to leave the country,
although they do not feel any belonging to it. They stress the preference of living in Israel, in the vicinity of their parents, although Israel as a Jewish state has not been regarded as a place where minorities are fully respected. Also the Arab countries are believed to be undesirable places of residence. A community centre, as expressed in this research, can provide community social, educational and cultural projects, preserving their heritage and empowering its members to face the hardships of their daily lives. It is the role of the secular leaders of the community to raise the awareness of the priests to the stressing need of using the church not only for religious purposes, but for social and cultural needs as well. Such a step could provide a shelter for the community members, especially in times of neglect and violence, thus strengthening their belonging and awareness of their heritage.

The work on this research project has contributed greatly to the professional and personal development of the researcher as a Maronite community member. It deepened the researcher’s understanding of the political, social and cultural processes taking place in his community. The researcher expects that being empowered by sound knowledge of the Maronite history and culture, in addition to the proficiency using research tools, he will be able to continue his teaching, social and research activities to the good of his community in particular, and the general Christian community in Israel.

6.1 Recommendations for Further Research

Further research is required to gain a deeper understanding of how the unstable period’s influence and shape the belonging and identity issues among Christians in the Arab world and Israel. At this time of change in the Middle East, living through the turbulence of the Arab Spring, and the rise of violence by radical Islamist groups against Christian communities, have raised important questions concerning their identity and belonging to the Arab nationality in the Middle East.

The Maronites live in several cities and villages in Israel, some in Arab-only towns and villages, while others in mixed Jewish-Arab cities. Maronites who live in mixed cities follow a different life pattern from that in Arab-only cities and
villages, where the majority of Maronites live. They are more open to the Jewish life style, language and culture, factors that affect their individual identities, and lead to a gradual cultural assimilation of their collective identity. There is a good case for further research about how assimilation takes place in foreign-western societies, while an opposite phenomenon of "sticking together" occurs when the same minority lives amongst similar societies around the world, be it linguistic, religious or ethnic.

Further research is required to look into gender differences and its impact upon the different components of identity. Such as issues concerning the integration within society, roles related to society’s expectations, orientation to social and community involvement and the possibility for females of belonging to another community due to marriage. Many factors might have an essential role in shaping the individuals perception and identification, which were not the purpose of the current research.

Another issue which should be considered for further research is the mutual relations between the church and the youth in the congregation and the required actions to “bring the church back" to the people. The community centre, mentioned in the previous chapter, is one of the means that can provide a wide range of social and cultural activities for the Maronite community and other Christian communities. This might have a positive influence on their belonging and identity, because maintaining the Christian presence is more important than maintaining the religious sites. This topic will be worth wider research examining the church’s importance in people’s lives in multi-cultural communities.

Furthermore, other Maronite communities in diaspora maintain close relations with the church and practice their religious-social activities as a matter of belonging to Lebanon and their roots reflect their awareness of their heritage. This is not the case for the Maronite community in Israel. It would be interesting to study the reasons for different attitudes, and worth wider research to compare perceptions concerning heritage and identity among members from both communities. In addition research could examine its implications for
minority–majority relationship and the assimilation process in the society in which they live.

Finally, in order to follow the dissemination of the research and enhance the future of the IMAs, a longitudinal study should accompany them, to study the effects of perceiving one’s identity and knowing one’s heritage and planning for a better future to lead a successful life in their own homeland, the Holy Land.
Chapter Seven: 
Dissemination Strategies

In this chapter, the purpose of research publication and dissemination avenues in general will be discussed, and then the focus will be on the outcomes, trying to identify suitable ways of dissemination for this specific study.

This study investigated the identity perception of the Israeli Maronite adolescents. All academic studies examining Maronite communities relate to Lebanese Maronites in Lebanon and in diaspora, thus excluding the Maronite minority in Israel for several reasons. Maronites in Israel are considered Israelis who live in a country still at war with Lebanon, as peace has not been officially established between the two countries, as is the case with Egypt and Jordan. An additional reason might be that the Maronites in Israel, being part of the Palestinian Arab minority, are considered as Palestinians, and thus they are included in the decision made not to forge any relations with Palestinians after the 1982 civil war in Lebanon, and the role the Palestinian troops played in it. A further reason for this neglect could be simply geo-political, since the Maronites, who came to the Holy Land from Lebanon centuries ago, could not maintain any close relations with family and relatives in the mother land. Finally, the Maronite diaspora in other countries is much larger than that in the Holy Land and Lebanon altogether, with 8 million in diaspora, less than a million in Lebanon itself, and around 7000 in Israel (Wehbe, 2001).

Being a member of this community has influenced the researcher’s personal and professional development. The researcher have decided to make his contribution to research from his personal experience, out of scientific learning and data collection around the elements that have formed his personal identity, not only as a minority member of the Israeli Arab Palestinian population, but as a Maronite Christian in Israel. The researcher was hoping to be able to form a program based on the findings that would promote attention to the needs of this community.
7.1 Channels of Publication and Dissemination

The specific chosen avenue for publication depends upon the message that the researchers have to convey, their personal objectives and their intended audience and impact (Rowley & Slack, 2000). There is a need to think about to whom to disseminate the findings and that requires analysis of the various stakeholders, groups or individuals who can affect, or be affected by the achievement of the project (Harmsworth & Turpin, 2001). Thus, the dissemination of this research is based on different circles, as appears in the “Dissemination Model” below. The dissemination will be conducted through the written and electronic media, workshops, conferences and activities.

Figure 4: Dissemination Model

According to this model, there will be several types of dissemination: mailing lists, websites, workshops, conferences, journals and electronic journals, based on the personal contact with all the above circles, while maintaining the right
balance between the conflicting factors in the community, such as the local Maronite church council, the Maronite priests and the Archbishop in order to avoid political or personal obstacles.

Since the research began a few years ago, The researcher started disseminating parts of the findings and knowledge, and organizing activities according to these findings with members of the Maronite community and a priest, also sharing important findings with the Maronite bishop and the archbishop. Additional activities include: family meetings; “The Warm and Safe Home Project” for kids’ safety; summer camp for children; “Leaders Forum” for young social activists from the local Christian community; a “Family Club” providing social and cultural activities; a lecture based on the research findings on the Jubilee of Saint Maroun at the local church. In addition there are other lectures and activities about Maronite heritage in the church and other institutions, presenting the main characteristics of the research on the official Arabic radio station and Arabic channel of the Israeli television. As a member of the local church council, we discussed the role of the church in the future planning of social and educational projects, services and housing projects for young families. The work is still in progress and one must find ways to continue asking questions, to take courses, expand the realm of understanding, being curious and accepting critique (Witt, 1995), while sharing ideas to get feedback and also to ask for help when needed.

As an end note, Gibran (1934: 16-17) wrote: “Pity the nation that is full of beliefs and empty of religion; pity the nation that wears a cloth it does not weave; eats a bread it does not harvest; and drinks a wine that flows not from its own wine-press. Pity the nation divided into fragments; each fragment deeming itself a nation”.

It is time to act towards change in this community, to lead the people to a better sense of belonging, trying to identify and define the collective identity and action, based on vivid understanding of the needs of the minorities. It is important to build a better attitude to their perception and future, and have a leadership that can take this nation out from chaos into a place where they can cope and adjust with their different identities through respect for each identity.
When we accept that we are all different and that each of us has something special to contribute, our differences become a gift which allows us to grow and learn to become healthier (Guanipa-ho & Guanipa, 1998). We can preserve all identities and build a modern world which fits the new generation and the future with a secular approach based on the freedom of belief of each individual’s religious, national or personal attitude with respect and harmony.
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Humanities and Cultural Studies in cooperation with the Sharif University of Technology, Iran, the Iranian National Commission for UNESCO and the Museum of World Religions. Tehran, Iran.


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Appendices

Appendix 1: Parents’ Informed Consent Form
We, the undersigned, parents of ____________________________ (the participant name) authorize the participation of my son/daughter in the study (“Split Identity Implications: Perception of Identity and Future Orientation of Maronite Christion Adolescents in Israel”) aimed to examine the need for social and community intervention intended for this community. This study is to be conducted by Jawdat Eid as a work based project for obtaining the doctoral degree in education in the University of Derby in England. Study purpose and nature, the stages and the research plan are clear and are fully explained by the researcher. We understand that anonymity will be ensured. And that we can withdraw from the study at any time. We express our consent to all the activities required in the course of this study, e.g. interviews, meetings, group or individual activities that serve the purpose of this study.

Name of the parent ___________ I.D Number ________ Signature ________

Name of the parent _________ I.D Number__________ Signature ________

Signature of the researcher _______________ Date __________________
Appendix 2: Participant’s Personal Information and Commitment Form

Fist name and family name _______________________ Year of birth______
Name of mother __________________ Name of father _______________
Address __________________________________
Telephone at home ______________ Mobile Number ________________

After having been acquainted with the subject of the study ("Split Identity Implications: Perception of Identity and Future Orientation of Maronite Christian Adolescents in Israel"), which was explained in details by the researcher, I agree to participate in this study aimed to examine the need for social and community intervention intended for this population. This study is to be conducted by Jawdat Eid as a work based project for obtaining the doctoral degree in education in the University of Derby in England. I acknowledge my commitment to participate in all the activities which are required under this project and serve the purposes thereof.

Signature __________________
## Appendix 3: Meeting Schedule – Checklist

The following check list and schedule is from the step of being in the participant house:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st step</td>
<td>Opening conversation: with parents and participant/s and presenting again the consent forms and explaining about the research and its aim. Presenting the research tools that will be used during the meeting, preparing the tape recorder and papers after having the participant's unwritten permission to tape the interview.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd step</td>
<td>Conducting the adolescents' in-depth interview alone with the participant in a convenient quiet place. The interview last 35 – 40 min.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd step</td>
<td>Explaining and conducting the narrative text tools: A. “story completion” tool which lasts around 20 min. B. Poetry verses: After explaining the task and the participant finish reading the verses, it takes 30 minutes to finish it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th step</td>
<td>A parents' semi-structured ethnographic interview while the participants were doing their text tasks. Asking questions according to the way the interview develops. I had notes of the main questions to be asked. The interview lasts between 45-60 minutes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th step</td>
<td>Having coffee with the parents and the participant for final conclusion and closing (in Arabic local culture the visit begins some times and always ends with coffee – not for children). 20 minutes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th step</td>
<td>Listening to the taped interview usually on the same day, or the day after the interview, each interview was transcribed, coded and categorized.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th step</td>
<td>Participants contacted by phone to approve the final version of the interview.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4: Work schedule

October 2008 – Work on printed and electronic sources, collecting information on the Maronite community including locating the places of inhabitancy, also looking for academic literature on the main topics of the research concerning identity and future orientation amongst minorities, adolescents, Christian Arab minorities in Israel.

Reading about research and comparing between qualitative and quantitative research, reading about the ethnographic research and decide about the different tools and approach and methodology which might suit the nature of my research.

Academic training in Jerusalem on the subject of narrative tools and bibliotherapy, for further knowledge to develop the texts tools.

January 2009 – Meeting the parents of adolescents, members of clerical community for collecting the information for WBP.

January 2009 - February 2009 Completing a list of research participants and preparation of the research consent agreement.
Designing the structure of adolescents’ in-depth interview and advising my supervisor about the use of other research tools.
Designing the tools of the research, parents ethnographic interview, text tools and focus group.

February 2009 – pilot stage: Interviewing 5 participants and analysis of data collected from interviews.
Modifications of the research tools depending on the findings and the first results of the pilot.

February - March 2009 Interviewing the participants of this research and analysis of data collected from interviews

April 2009 – working on the findings and submission of results to the supervisor.
April-October 2009 – Completing the work on the findings and the data collected from the interviews and working on conclusions to outline the further work on WBP.

November 2009-February 2010 – Submission of results to the supervisor and preparation of the first draft of the research including the introduction, literature review, methodology, findings and analysis. Consulting the supervisor and various community members in the necessary steps of research dissemination.

February - June 2010 Updating, re-writings and doing modifications on the different chapters of the research according to the supervisor’s guidance.

July-December 2010 – dissemination of the research results through some relevant various channels; the priests, the bishop and colleagues.

Beginning of 2011 – implementation of the socio-cultural program following the recommendations developed on the basis of the research lectures, family meetings, new families guidance program, family social club.
Consulting the supervisor in the necessary steps to improve research chapters and dissemination.

2012 – 2014 Reading, re-writing, improving and updating literature and methodology and editing.

2014 – 2015 Re-writing the final drafts, updating literature, findings, discussion and conclusion chapters and editing.

September 2015 implementation of the socio-cultural program following the recommendations developed on the basis of the research – Leaders Forum for young people.

October 2015 - submission of the final draft of the thesis, preparing for a wider dissemination according to the dissemination plan, and planning for a wider activity within the community depending on the recommendations of the research.
Appendix 5: Stages of Conducting Adolescents’ In-depth Interview

Based on seven stages of conducting in-depth interviews (Kvale, 1996): thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying, and reporting:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 1: Thematizing</th>
<th>I wrote down the main purposes and clarified the fields that I am interesting in according to the issues that I need information to gather through the in-depth interview process.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2: Designing</td>
<td>I designed an interview guide that includes the questions, and the plan for collecting information. I focused on topics that are important to explore, maintain consistency across interviews with different respondents, and stay on track during the interview process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 3: Interviewing</td>
<td>According to the schedule plan, In the beginning of the interview, it is important to make introductions and explain the purpose of the study. I prepared a note sheet for it is Important to listen and observe the participant through the conversation interview.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 4: Transcribing</td>
<td>After the interview – the same day on day after- I created a verbatim text of each interview by writing out each question and response using the tape recorder. I included the interviewer’s side notes (note sheet) and transcribed, and categorized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 5: Analyzing</td>
<td>I organized the analysis by re-reading the interview transcripts to identify themes emerging from the respondents’ answers and synthesizing them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 6: Verifying</td>
<td>Triangulation by using multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of information, to insure the credibility of the information gathered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 7: Reporting</td>
<td>It was important to me to share results from the interviews with the participants and their parents through the focus group (participants) and non-formal meetings (parents) in the church, also I clarified the next steps for future.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 6: Adolescents’ In-depth Interview Questions - Pilot

1. How would you define yourself?

2. How are you perceived by the society in which you live: from the perspective of nationality or religion? Which reasons would you give for the identification with this perception?

3. Do you perceive your identity clearly, and to what extent do you accept it?

4. In which way do you think your identity (Maronite, Christian, Arab, Israeli and Palestinian) affects your behaviour, social contacts, and way of life?

5. What is the degree of your religiosity?

6. How do you identify your relation with the church?

7. Do you believe that being a Maronite creates some obligation on your part toward your community?

8. Do you feel that someone cares for you as a Maronite?

9. What particular kind of activity are you involved in as a Maronite?

10. To what extent should the leaders of the ethnic group be concerned with social and community needs?

11. What is your opinion on the creation of a communal body which would take care of the Maronite community?

12. What activity is the most important for you?

13. Would you prefer a Maronite association to do so or a general one for the Arab Minority?

14. To what degree do you feel that you are a Maronite?

15. What does it mean for you to be a Maronite?

16. What do you know about Maronites?

17. To what degree do the Maronite youth enjoy services according to their needs?

18. Do you feel some things lacking in the society you live?
19. What is important for you at your age? What do you think will be important for you in 5 years?

20. What is the level of your association with Lebanon, Israel, the Palestinian Authority, or elsewhere (abroad)?

21. In which of these countries would you prefer to live? Why did you choose this country?

22. What are your dreams regarding your future projects, and how are they affected by the fact that you belong to an ethnic minority?
Appendix 7: Identity Questionnaire - Main statements - a

The adolescents’ in-depth interview questions were based on a questionnaire from (Hofman, 1982), Version in Arabic is taken from Attallah (2004).

Worksheet 1

Sample statements which were the basis for the adolescents’ in-depth interview questions:

Religious identity

- My behaviour is influenced from being in a specific religion.
- I am satisfied having my own religion.

National – Ethnic identity

- My behaviour is influenced from being an Arab.
- I am satisfied of being an Israeli citizen.
- It is important for me to be a member of the Palestinian people.
- I am proud being a citizen of this country.
- If I had the choice to be born again, I would choose to be born Palestinian.
- If I had the choice to be born again, I would choose to be born Israeli.
- If I had the choice to be born again, I would choose to be born an Arab.
- I am satisfied of the fact that I am one of the Palestinian people.
**Appendix 8: Identity Questionnaire - Main statements - b**

The adolescents’ in-depth interview questions were based on statements from EOMEIS2 - The Revised Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status questionnaire (Bennion & Adams, 1986), Version in Arabic is taken from Attallah (2004). The questionnaire includes 64 statements concerning aspects of identity on Likert scale. Several validity tests showed a very high content validity for this questionnaire. Also examined and there was no effect of social desirability on the validity of the questionnaire.

Sample of the statements in the questionnaire:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statements</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly dis-agree</td>
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<td>disagree</td>
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<td>undecided</td>
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<td>agree</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>strongly Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>When it comes to religion, just have not found anything that attracts me and I do not really feel the need to look for.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I’m not sure what is the significance of religion for me. I wanted to decide, but I have not finished searching.</td>
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<tr>
<td>It took me a while to realize, but now I really Know what is career that I'm interested.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I went through a period of many questions about faith and now I can understand my self, as an individual.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I go to the same chapel that my family use to go. I never really wondered why.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I was never really involved enough in politics to formulate a clear position or direction.</td>
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<td>I just cannot decide what kind of job to do. There are so many choices.</td>
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<td>I never doubted my religiosity. If this is good for my parents, it's good for me also.</td>
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</table>
Worksheet 2

Sample statements which were taken from the EOMEIS2 and were the basis for the adolescents’ In-depth interview questions:

**Religious and community belonging issues**

I am not worried about religion; I do not think about this matter.
I am confused about religion; I keep changing my opinion of what is right and wrong.
I pray at the same place that my parents do, I never ask why.
I have passed through serious queries about my religious beliefs, now I understand more what I believe in.

**Career issues**

I do not care if I find the suitable job for me; any job would be ok for me.
It took me a while till I understood what I really wanted and choose my career.
It took me a long time to decide, but now I understand exactly what direction I should follow for my career.
I can’t decide what job I can have. There are some options.

**Political issues**

I can’t decide what political party I should choose.
I have been thinking of my political views, and I realize that I could agree or disagree with what my parents think.
Appendix 9: Final - Adolescents' In depth Interview Questions

1. How do you define yourself?
**Sub explanation:** Who are you? What is your nationality, religion, and citizenship?

2. How are you perceived by the society in which you live: from the perspective of nationality or religion? Which reasons would you give for the identification with this perception?
**Sub explanation:** How do you prefer to be called, an Arab, Israeli, Palestinian—or other? A Christian, Maronite - or other? Why?

3. Do you perceive your identity clearly, and to what extent do you accept it?
**Sub explanation:** Is it clear for you what you are?

4. In which way do you think your identities affect your behaviour, social contacts, and way of life?
**Sub explanation:** being Maronite, Christian, Arab, Israeli and Palestinian

5. How would you define yourself: religious, secular, or other?

6. How would you describe your relation to church?
**Sub explanation:** Are you active in the ceremonies, other activities inside the church?

7. Do you believe that being a Maronite creates some obligation on your part toward your community?
**Sub explanation:** Do you feel that you have to do something for your community?

8. Is there someone who believes that it is important that you are a Maronite?
**Sub explanation:** Do you feel that you are special being a Maronite?

9. What kind of activities are you involved in as a Maronite?
**Sub explanation:** What do you do as a Maronite?

10. To what extent should the leaders of the ethnic group be concerned with social and community needs?

11. What is your opinion on the creation of a communal body which would take care of your community?
Sub explanation: Would you prefer to have social activities for the community members only, or for the wider Christian, or Arab minority in general?

12. In case you did not associate yourself with the Maronite church and religious ceremonies and holidays, to which extent would you perceive yourself as a Maronite?
Sub explanation: What makes you part of the Maronite community?

13. How deep is your knowledge about the Maronite community?
Sub explanation: What do you know about your community; its heritage, culture and history?

14. Are you satisfied with the level of the basic social services provided for the Maronite adolescents?

15. Do you feel something is lacking in your society?
Sub explanation: as Christian Maronite and as Arab

16. What is important for you at your age? What do you think will be important for you in 5 years?
Sub explanation: Address your needs now as an adolescent, and your needs in 5 years.

17. What is the level of your association with Lebanon, Israel or the Palestinian Authority?
Sub explanation: What do Lebanon, Palestine and Israel mean for you?

18. In which of these countries would you prefer to live?

19. If you compared the country you selected for residence with some western countries, where would you prefer to live and work?

20. What are your dreams regarding your future projects, and how are they affected by the fact that you belong to an ethnic minority?
Sub explanation: Do you feel that being part of a minority influences your future plans?
Appendix 10: Notes Sheet

Example
Participant name: XXXXXX Place of interview: parents’ house - kitchen
Date and time of the interview: February 15, 2009 starting time: 18:00
Additional notes (special conditions or circumstances):
Nothing particular, the participants very active, the house is very warm.

The In-depth interview questionnaire notes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question no:</th>
<th>Observation and notes</th>
<th>Action</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Face reaction – the question not clear</td>
<td>explaining</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>MMM thinking and hesitating to answer</td>
<td>Waiting – relaxed body language</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Hand signs and face expression – not clear</td>
<td>Clarifying the question</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Face reaction: what do you mean?</td>
<td>Rephrase and explain</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Back on his chair, said not clear</td>
<td>Explain again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>No immediate answer, waiting for a while</td>
<td>Further details to explain</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Uncomfortable body language – question unclear</td>
<td>Clarifying and explaining the question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Uncomfortable body language – question unclear</td>
<td>Clarifying and explaining the question</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>question</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Not willing to answer - repetition</td>
<td>OK – agreement with this position</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Embarrassment, shy</td>
<td>Rephrase and explain</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sat back and said: not clear, what society?</td>
<td>Explain the question again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Uncomfortable body language – moving in his chair</td>
<td>Rephrase and explain. asking – are you tired?</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Enthusiastic expressions like: wow. Serious body language, he moved to front and crossed hands.</td>
<td>Asking for more details, and adding additional questions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General comments:
To work on some questions, rephrase/ change/ exchange. to remove some questions, to make the interview shorter. The participant was a bit tired in the end. The kitchen area was successful, quiet and warm.

Time when finishing the interview: 18:40
Appendix 11: Parents’ Semi Structured Ethnographic Interview – Main Issues

The topics of the interview were based on: Spradley (1979); Haynie (2003) and Barak – Stein (2007)

Name of participant: ____________ Name of parents: ________and ________

The main fields and questions for the conversation:

**The relation with the church**
Can you describe your relation with the church?
Notes: __________________________________________________________

**Services through the community**
What services are needed for the community, in your point of view?
Notes: __________________________________________________________

**The Maronite identity**
How do you identify with the Maronite identity?
Notes: __________________________________________________________

**Personal involvement with in the community**
How active are you in your Maronite community?
Notes: __________________________________________________________

**Knowledge of the Maronite history and heritage**
What do you know about Maronites?
Notes: __________________________________________________________

**Future orientation for the family members**
How do you see your children’s near future?
Notes: __________________________________________________________
Appendix 12: Poems Texts – Translated sample

**Dissonance** – sample (Eid, 2003)
Yet I do not have an identity
For my identity card… unclear symbols
In a surrealistic picture
I am unique and special
I am a dissonance!

I am an existing fact
To some – unwanted
To others –
Still being tested
Or a misunderstood existence
Bitter for some… or lacking aroma
At times I am everything…
Or nothing
Crusader, Phoenician, Arab
Palestinian, Canaanite, terrorist
An “inside” Arab… I’m called

No one invites me in
My identity is a white dispersion
My time is fictional, like this place
My presence is fictional, like my dispersion

My children
The eldest is in the Diaspora
The second is in the Diaspora
The third is in the Diaspora
The fourth and the fifth
As well as the sixth

Personally!! I am not keen for headlines
Nor for photographs,
I am not a soldier in the ruler's palace  
I'm not keen for the generals' medals  
My dreams are ordinary  
In an impossible land

I have nothing of my own  
The street is not mine... no, and neither are the buildings  
I do not have an oil well  
Not even a single barrel  
I have no lands  
Or anything else here  
No night, no dirt  
And no trees  
The day that drifts by is not mine nor are the rivers  
Nor the moon  
I have nothing  
Other than a house in a genie's dream  
Who flips over in order to shatter the prison of his lamp  
I find myself  
Guilty in all situations…  
Who is the criminal? Who is innocent?  
It doesn’t matter  
For all definitions are merely illusions!
سجل أني عربي
ولون الشعر فصيح
ولون العينين
ومزمن: علي رأس عناة فوق كوفية
وقفته صلة كالمصر
ومن أمامها ثلاثمث
ومن مراتبها...
وعواناً: من قري عزلة.. منسية
ومن سيلابها...
كثير رجاءها في الحقل والغجر
وجه نضبة:
سجل أني عربي
ستت كروم أحاديد
وأرضاً كتب ألحها
وأنا وجمع أولادي
في بلادي...
في بلادي...
كِنُبُوبي التواريخ الطويلة...
كِنُبُوبي التاريخ الطويلة...
تاربن.. وأحلاماً كسلمة
وشروادات خوالي...
وقلابها الباجع عن كل بطوله
في (أبي زيد الخالدي)...
لا اسم شبه... لا ولا العادات
تودع لذة
ليس لأحمر سوّاه
تربت لي
ليس لأحمر سواي
تشيدنا
هو وأنا...

جسره جمشد مهجدى
روكاه تجمعت روحي
بديعو الفنون
رسويم رأس ينبع من الوراء
بداية بديال قتله لها صديقي
ما إن بلغ سن الرشد
حتى اشتد فزدي...

ولا أجمل أي هوى
فطَّراني ... معلم غير واضح
في لوحة سرية
أنا خاص جدا... أنا نشا...!

أحبّ لون البحر المكفره... النغّي الألوان في الشاطئ.
الكَلِّيَة في هذا الفصل أجمل... والغناء أهدا... ولا
كُرْمَات بصرية تزعمه، ينسل الشتاء المكان... ويلعبه
ننا... فلا نبتذل جهدا لينظره أشهانا... بالأحر وسط
المدينة.

لا تنسي هذا منه أيّ
واديّ هناك عدد منه
كنت أحن الى他在 بديه
وين هو إليه في ابتداءه
كنت مأوى حين يكاد ينال
وطني بيني حين يبتعد
وبيني أرجع الشوق
أوجني منى ما يشأنا إلى
قال لي:

"كنت الباسين على
فضحة الأمل،
kنت ضفأ الضيقية..."

قال لي:

"لا تغضبوا وراء نجوم
لا تحزنوا على تراجع
لا تستقبلوا لصا،
لا تسألوا عن حكايتي..."
Appendix 13: Text Activities - Identity Issue Poems

The following texts talk about identity and belonging. Please select a sentence which:

A. Expresses your perspective and feelings about identity and belonging: (Please copy the sentence and explain your choice)

The chosen sentence:___________________________________________

Explanation:_____________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________

B. Reflect your future as you see it, or expect it: (Please copy the sentence and explain your choice)

The selected sentence:___________________________________________

Explanation:_____________________________________________________

C. Is the complete contradiction of who you are or what you feel. (Please copy the sentence and explain your choice)

The selected sentence:___________________________________________

Explanation:_____________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________

Name_________________ Date_________________
Appendix 14: Text Tools: Story Completion

You are in front of a magical gate which takes you to the future through a time tunnel. At the entrance of the tunnel, you have a white board –board number one- on which you are asked to write down details about yourself; how you introduce yourself; who you are; what you do; your hobbies etc. When you finish writing, the gate opens to let you into the tunnel where you find yourself facing a giant screen that shows you 5 years from today. Next to the screen you'll find white board number two, where you will be asked to write down what you see; what you do; what kind of job you have; where you live; family... etc.

Arabic version:
أنت أمام بوابة مسحورة تدخلك إلى نفق الزمان. هذه البوابة تنقلك من الحاضر إلى المستقبل. عند مدخل البوابة توجد لوحة بيضاء (رقم 1) عليك تسجيل تفاصيل عن نفسك: من أنت، كيف تعرف نفسك، هوايات، انتماء وغيرها. عند الانتهاء من هذه المهمة سيفتح لك الباب لتدخل النفق فتجد أمامك شاشة كبيرة ترى من خلالها نفسك بعد خمس سنوات. بجانب الشاشة لوحة بيضاء (رقم 2) عليك تسجيل ماذا ترى في الشاشة بعد خمس سنوات، ماذا تعمل، أين تسكن، تعليم، عائلة وغيرها... بالتفصيل.

White board number 1:
_______________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________

White board number 2:
_______________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________

Name: ___________ Date: ___________
Appendix 15: Focus Group Questionnaires - Pilot

**Items and issues - 1.** Based on: Identity Questionnaire (Hofman, 1982) Version in Arabic is taken from Attallah (2004).

**Behaviour and belonging statements**
My behaviour is influenced by belonging to a specific religion.
My behaviour is influenced by being an Arab.

**Belonging and satisfaction statements**
I am satisfied of being an Israeli citizen.
It is important for me to be a member of the Palestinian people.
I am proud being a citizen of this country.

**Career statements**
I do not care if I find the suitable job for me; any job would be ok for me.


**Religious issues statements**
I pray at the same place that my parents do, I never ask why.
I have passed through serious queries about my religion belief, now I understand more what I believe in.

**Career statements**
I can’t decide what job I can do. There are some options.
Appendix 16: Focus Group: Additional Questions - final

Based on Parameters for Developing Questions for Focus Group used by Nadi and Platt (2009) and (Hofman, 1982) and (Bennion & Adams, 1986)

Involvement in the community/ belonging statements
1. Your opinion upon the matter of your belonging and the level of your attendance in church activity.
2. Your opinion on the creation of a communal body which would take care of your community.
3. Services you think that are needed for the community.
4. Your dreams regarding your future projects.

Ethnicity statements
5. The meaning and the importance of the term ‘ethnicity’.
6. The importance of the term ‘ethnicity’ of who you are.
7. The perception of ethnicity and any changing at all in the past few years.
8. The relation between being an Arab and your behaviour.

National and citizenship statements
10. Satisfaction of being an Israeli citizen.
11. The importance for you to be a member of the Palestinian People.
12. Proud being a citizen of this country.

Religious statements
13. The influence of your religion on your behaviour
14. The church you attend the same which your parents attend.
15. Understanding your religious belief.

Career statements
Appendix 17:

Table: Adolescents’ In-depth Interview- quotes/ categories according to the main topics of the research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>1</th>
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<td>Participant 1</td>
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**Adolescents’ In-depth Interview - Main Attitude according to the most used/common quotes**
Appendix 18:

Table: Parents’ semi-structured ethnographic interview - quotes/ categories according to the main topics of the research

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Parents' semi-structured ethnographic interview - Main Attitude according to the most used/ common quotes

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Appendix 19:

Table: Narrative text tools - poems/quotes/categories according to the research main topics

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Narrative text tools - poems -Main Attitude according to the most used/common quotes

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### Appendix 20:

**Table: Narrative text tools - Text completion quotes/ categories according to the research main topics**

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**Narrative text tools - Text completion -Main Attitude according to the most used/ common quotes**

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Appendix 21:

Table: Focus group - quotes/ categories according to the research main topics

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Focus group -Main Attitude according to the most used/ common quotes

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## Appendix 22: Data Analysis Categories - Pilot Stage

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### Appendix 23: Modified Data Analysis Categories

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Group Identity Perception</th>
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<td>Arab Ethnic Identity</td>
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<td>National Identity</td>
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<td>The Israeli Component</td>
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<td>Religious Identity</td>
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<td>The Maronite component</td>
<td>The Christian component</td>
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<td>Involvement in the Community</td>
<td>Church activities</td>
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<td>Future Orientation</td>
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<td>Place of Residence</td>
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<td>Academic Studies</td>
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<td>Professional Career</td>
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