

AN INVESTIGATION INTO FACTORS THAT MAY CONTRIBUTE TO SCHOOL
VIOLENCE IN MALE HIGH SCHOOLS IN KUWAIT

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the relationship between social affiliation and school violence among male public high school students in Kuwait. Specifically, this study investigated the violent behavior characteristics of tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait and the relationship between family structure, family type, and student age of those students and school violence. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the first null hypothesis: there are no significant differences in mean subscale scores between the four characteristics of violent behavior and the social affiliation of male public high school students in Kuwait. Multiple linear regression was used to develop a predictive linear model for the relationship between violence and household size, family structure, and student age among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait.

Six hundred male public high school students were given the Aggression Questionnaire which consisted of four subscales: physical aggression, verbal aggression, anger, and hostility. Tribal participants reported more violent behavior characteristics than non-tribal participants. These results supported previous research regarding a relationship between culture and school violence. The results supported those studies that had previously found a significant relationship between student age and the prediction of school violence as indicated by the Aggression Questionnaire (Al Dokhy's;2003). However, the findings indicated that family structure and family size were not significant predictors of violent behavior for the study sample.

A linear regression model for predicting scores for violent behaviors of male public high school students in Kuwait was proposed.

DEDICATION

To the soul of my father in his grave

To my mother

To my wife and children

To people who seek peace

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Schooling plays an important role in the community, because it provides students with the skills they need to be productive citizens. Therefore, school should be a place where children feel safe so that they can concentrate on learning. It should also be a place where teachers and other staff members feel safe so that they can devote themselves to teaching and other school activities without fear of any harm coming to themselves or their students. However, increasing school violence is undermining both the perception and reality of school as a safe place for students and staff.

Because administrators and specialists around the world have recognized school violence as a major educational problem, they have offered many psychological, social, and educational explanations for it, including community violence, ethnicity, family problems, and student age (Akiba, 2001; Lawrence, 1998; Lee A, 2002; Sheley, McGee, & Wright, 1992). Since these reasons tend to vary from one community to another, or even from one school to another in the same community, further research focused on these communities is needed to identify the problems and to provide plans to reduce them. The focus on specific communities and their culture, as it relates to violence, is especially important, because the violence continues to escalate among students worldwide.

Even Kuwait, a country that can be considered a homogenous community because of the major homogeneity of its people, is suffering from an epidemic of school violence, especially in its all male public high schools. As shown in Table 1, the 1994 Third International Mathematics and Science (TIMMS) study of 32 countries ranked Kuwait fourth in verbal abuse against teachers and second in physical violence (Akiba, LeTendre, & Baker, 2002). This ranking has not, however, produced numerous studies assessing the problem, as

Table 1

Violence Against Teachers in 32 Nations 1994

Intimidation/ Verbal abuse	(%)	Physical Injury	(%)
Australia	45.7	Thailand	25.0
Denmark	40.5	Kuwait	22.2
USA	36.2	Colombia	16.7
Kuwait	32.1	Korea	10.9
New Zealand	31.7	Israel	9.1
Thailand	30.5	Romania	6.3
Sweden	25.8	Cyprus	4.8
Israel	25.0	Hong Kong	4.5
Colombia	20.5	USA	4.2
Canada	19.8	Portugal	2.9
Slovenia	16.7	Australia	2.3
Ireland	16.1	Iran	2.3
Belgium (Flemish)	14.7	Ireland	1.9
Iran	14.7	Russian Federation	1.8
Greece	14.4	Canada	1.6
Belgium (French)	14.1	Slovenia	1.5
Korea	13.6	Switzerland	1.2

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Intimidation/ Verbal abuse	(%)	Physical Injury	(%)
Netherlands	12.7	Belgium (Flemish)	0.8
Portugal	11.4	New Zealand	0.8
Austria	10.2	Austria	0.0
France	9.6	Belgium (French)	0.0
Switzerland	8.6	Czech Republic	0.0
Lithuania	7.9	Denmark	0.0
Singapore	7.6	Germany	0.0
Iceland	7.5	Greece	0.0
Cyprus	6.3	Latvia	0.0
Romania	6.2	Lithuania	0.0
Spain	4.1	Netherlands	0.0
Slovak Republic	4.0	Singapore	0.0
Czech Republic	2.0	Slovak Republic	0.0
Latvia	2.0	Spain	0.0
Russian Federation	1.9	Sweden	0.0

Note. Adapted from “Student Victimization: The Impact of Educational Systems on School Violence in 32 Nations” by M. Akiba, G. K LeTendre, and D. P. Baker, 2002, *American Educational Research Journal*, 39(4), p. 82.

it might in the United States. In fact, there are only two recent studies (Al-Husaini, 2001; Watfa, 2002), and both have suggested that a partial explanation for the violence in Kuwaiti schools is the practice of tribal traditions, which include resorting to violence as payback for real and perceived offenses and as a way to discipline children. The following sections address this suggestion in more detail.

Statement of the Problem

The problem this study has focused on is the phenomenon of school violence in Kuwait, especially as it occurs among adolescent males. Because tribal customs still exist in Kuwait, it is important to examine this problem in terms of these customs. Researchers who have looked at this problem in Kuwait have argued that many of these customs encourage violent behavior in males (Al-Husaini, 2001; Watfa, 2002). A more extensive identification and assessment of the sources will help to find ways to reduce violence in schools.

Context of the Problem

Violence in schools usually originates outside the school (Sheley, et al., 1992). Therefore it is possible to infer that something in the culture of Kuwait causes and encourages violence in schools among male students. This study has identified and examined the violent characteristics of tribal and non-tribal male students in Kuwait's public high schools to see whether tribal culture has an influence on school violence. Tribalism has a well documented history of violence that is believed to reflect pride and honor (Bruce, 1986; Gebrael, 1988), but these principles of violence can not be seen as a positive force for the modern Kuwaiti community. Identifying and examining the characteristics of violence and demonstrating their relationship to tribal culture are the first steps toward developing a comprehensive and long term solution to school violence.

However, real change can and will occur only when the community recognizes that the customs sustaining violence are a negative cultural value (Al-Husaini, 2001).

Tribalism

In order to understand the impact of tribal culture on the behavior of the male Arab and his social life, it is essential to understand the early beginnings of Arab nomadic life. Even though today there are many Arabs without tribal affiliations, most of the values and traditions found throughout the Arab world can be traced back to the Arabian tribes in the peninsula (Donald, 1975). These values and traditions include cohesion, paternal authority, pride of origin, bravery, and marriage within the family.

The foundation of the Arab Bedouin tribes rests on the family, which makes up the core of the tribe. Therefore, most members of any specific tribe have always tried to have as many children as possible, a practice that supports polygamy, which still exists today. The size of the family reflects the strength of the family, which, in turn, makes the tribe stronger (Gebrael, 1988). In addition, tribe members have always married within the tribe, a practice that, since most are related to one another, increases the loyalty within the tribe. This situation has created a high level of fanaticism within the tribe. In other words, the tribe members maintain high levels of loyalty, devotion, and respect for their tribe. Gebrael has pointed out that the concept of this tribal fanaticism has influenced the structural, political, behavioral, and social components of the tribe. For example, one tribe might be obligated either to pay large sums of wergild, i.e. blood money, or start a war in order to defend one of its members. Another indication of the importance of understanding this tribal fanaticism and its influence on the country's overall structure and behaviors is that all of the leaders of the Gulf Region countries have advisors who specialize in tribal and Bedouin affairs.

Characteristics of the Bedouin

On the one hand, violence is a way of life for the Bedouin. As Ibn Khaldoun (1989), a well-known Arabic sociologist, has pointed out, “Bedouins are braver and more heroic than non-nomadic people” (p.95) because of the hard life in the desert, which is characterized by ongoing wars and raids on other tribes. Bedouins, therefore, view violence as a desirable way of life (Michael, 1979).

On the other hand, Bedouins are known for their extreme generosity, their great respect for neighbors, and the protection they give to all those who seek it, except those who have committed crimes of honor, such as rape or adultery (John, 1943). Bedouin males are very strict about their sexual relationships, because they see their sexual behavior as a part of a man’s honor and reputation. They also hold women, even those of the enemy, in high regard and feel they must be respected by all (Gebrael, 1988).

Other phenomena that persist in most Arab Bedouin tribes include a mentality that argues for resolving conflicts by violence and an attitude that values stubbornness and condones revenge. Killing a person or exhibiting violent behavior was a common and an unabashed practice among the Bedouin tribes in the past. For instance, a tribe member was considered a hero when he attacked another tribe, killing several of its members and stealing their cattle. These “heroic” acts have been embraced and immortalized in Bedouin tribal poetry and literature (Al Mehaini, 1986). Although such behavior was necessary to individual and tribal survival in the desert, it continues to be thought of as admirable behavior today, even among Kuwait’s largely urban population.

Saber and Maleekah (1986) have pointed out that any behavioral mistake someone makes that impacts negatively on the dignity and ego of a Bedouin can lead to the elimination of the

offending person. For example, if a teacher insults a Bedouin student by calling him stupid or physically abusing him in front of other students, this Bedouin might be so offended that he would kill the teacher. However, Saber's study has not determined whether this response is passed down through the generations or whether it simply comes from the surrounding environment in which these Bedouins live.

Social Composition of the Tribal Community

Arabian tribes are largely Muslim. According to Islam, offspring follow their father, which, in the end, means following the tribe. The tribe is divided into sub-groups called Fikhd, which are composed of extended families. The extended families are divided into closer families composed of close relatives (Gebrael, 1988). The loyalty in any tribe starts with the immediate family, then widens to the sub-group, and finally extends to the tribe. Since this structure ensures that the offspring obey the father of the family, the Bedouin father has full authority over his children (Michael, 1979). Furthermore, fatherhood is highly respected in the Bedouin community (Gebrael).

Since Bedouins are very conservative and homogeneous with respect to religion, values, language, and traditions, they are a highly cohesive people (Elbedour & Bouchard, 1997). In talking about semi-nomadic Arab Bedouin tribes residing in the Negev Desert in Israel, Julia (1991) has noted:

In this community, a high value appeared to be placed on the welfare of the group as opposed to the individuals, as evidenced by the Bedouin's emphasis on hospitality and the presence of large extended families, which constituted a highly supportive social system. (p. 474)

This observation, which has identified collective welfare as an important tribal value, calls to mind an old tribal saying, “My brother and I are against my cousin, and my cousin and I are against foreigners.” Here cousin means any member of any Fikhd (sub-group) of the tribe; it does not necessarily mean a biological cousin. If the problem arises inside the Fikhd, cousin means any member of the family, but if the problem occurs outside the Fikhd, the meaning of the cousin is any member of the Fikhd. Finally, the meaning of the cousin includes the whole tribe when an outside problem is the issue. In other words, revenge, supporting each other in fights, and adopting biases based on the ideology of one’s cousin are clearly customs among Bedouin tribe members. The most recent problems, especially among Bedouin juveniles, arise from this tribal point of view that supports and even encourages violence (Gebrael, 1988).

Bedouin Sheikhs

Bedouin sheikhs (tribal leaders) are highly respected by tribe members and also by other tribes because of the ways in which they acquire their position. In the past, they gained respect for many reasons, such as their bravery in wars or their generosity when they encounter destitution (Gebrael, 1988). Therefore, because of the respect people have for them, Bedouin sheikhs are usually asked to solve major problems, including killings, fights, and other incidents that cause serious injuries. Many people abandon their claims against perceived and actual offenders just because one sheikh visits them in their house and asks them to appreciate his dignity. These days, sheikhs’ sons, who have inherited their positions and attendant responsibilities, are expected to act as their fathers before them did.

Formation of Kuwait and its Tribes

An historical perspective of the political, economic, and social development of Kuwait and its citizens is another important factor in understanding the tendency to resort to violence in

schools. Most historians agree that Kuwait, located on the northwestern shore of the Persian Gulf, became an emirate—the equivalent to a state—before the eighteenth century (Al Ebraheem, 1980). Due to its strategic location as an important port on the Persian Gulf, the emirate experienced rapid development. It grew to become a trade center for Bedouin tribes, who acquired their goods from trading boats coming from India, Iran, and China. This active trading attracted more Bedouins from Najid, the center of the Arabian Peninsula. From these beginnings, Kuwait has grown into a modern nation.

The first Amir of Kuwait, Sabah the First, was chosen through a tribal election after the arrival of a number of Bedouin tribes that had left Najid due to conflicts among their own tribes. During subsequent years, various factions, including the powerful tribe of Bani Khalid, the Wahabi movement (an Islamic group of many tribes), and the governor of Basra (the southern part of Iraq), tried to gain control over the small emirate of Kuwait. Because of the danger these three groups presented, the Kuwaitis had no choice but to seek the assistance of the British to maintain their independence. As a result, the emirate attracted tribes that were roaming in the Arabian Peninsula desert.

Although most Kuwaiti tribe members are now city dwellers, many belong to the tribes that in the not-too-distant past roamed the whole Arabian Peninsula desert searching for pastures for their animals (Bruce, 1986). These tribes lived as a unit under what now are called “primitive conditions.” The families lived in tents without running water or electricity. Their behavior was dictated by loyalty to the tribe and focused mainly on family ties within the tribe. The main model for resolving conflicts within the tribe, as well as between tribes, was violence. For the most part, the children, as well as the adults, were not educated in schools. They focused more

on survival as nomads, raising their cattle, caring for their families, and trading objects among the different tribes (Gebrael, 1988).

However, after the discovery of oil and with the encouragement of the Arabian Gulf Governments, tribes gradually shifted from a nomadic to an urban life in which they maintain much of their tribal culture. As a result, with the discovery of oil in Kuwait and the attainment of independence, Kuwaiti tribes became civilized. Although many tribe members have become wealthy and traded their tents for mansions, nevertheless, the mentality of the tribes has remained and been passed on to most of the current generation. In particular, the practice of using violence to resolve conflicts continues, and stubbornness and the need for revenge still characterize male behavior. Al Krenawi and Graham (1999) have explained that blood vengeance is a culturally specific phenomenon that is specific to Arab Bedouins.

Since the family is the most important unit in Kuwait, if the tribal family uses violence in a direct or indirect way as the means of dealing with conflict, then when the males resort to the use of violence in schools, they are imitating their elders and have the support of the tribe. Just as a child will internalize positive family values and express them in school, so too will they express a negative family value (Woolfolk, 1997) While the educational community does not approve of violence and views it as a negative response to conflict, to these young tribal boys it is an accepted and expected mode of behavior.

Student Violence

The severity of student violence in Kuwaiti high schools has not gone unnoticed. Two newspapers have carried articles highlighting the violence and the types of weapons students bring to school (“Student Violence,” 1999; “Violence in Schools,” 1993). Statistics published by Kuwait’s Ministry of Planning in 2000 gave the total Kuwaiti population as 2,228,363 and the

total number of violent crimes as 14,322 (see Table 2). The violent behavioral incidents registered in the record of Social Service Offices in public schools during the 2000-2001 academic year were 15,123 single student cases, with some students having more than one case, out of a total student population of 264,408 (see Tables 3 and 4). As shown in Table 5, only 1,224 of these cases were reported to the police. In other words, violent crimes in Kuwait are nine times more likely to occur within the public schools' boundaries than in the outside community. Although violence has been common to Kuwait throughout its history, the question is why does violence happen more often within public school boundaries?

In addition, the new types of violence, including using guns in fights and seeking immediate relatives' support in fights, raise many questions as to the causes for such violence ("Student Violence," 1999). Many students and teachers are now physically and verbally abused. According to Naser A. Ammar, the manager of The Juvenile Care Center Administration (a place where juveniles under 18 years old are sent when they have committed crimes), most juvenile cases begin in schools (personal communication, Naser A. Ammar, 21, November, 2001). In other words, schools have become the breeding ground for most juvenile problems, and these often reach beyond the school borders. The extent of the violence is a major concern, because it is supposed to be out of character for Kuwaitis, whose religion motivates them to be peaceful and helpful to others.

The Ministry of Education (2000) surveyed 20 male and female high school students (100 students total) from each of the five school districts in Kuwait to collect information about the amount and types of violence occurring in the public high schools. (Currently, there are six school districts in Kuwait, but the sixth, Mubarak Al Kabeer educational district, was just established in 2001). The study indicated that 40% of male students were physically or verbally

Table 2

Violent Felony and Misdemeanor Crimes in Kuwait 2000

	Defamation & Insults	Assault	Crimes Harmful to Public	Total
Felonies	1,946	1,955	615	4,516
Misdemeanors	2,175	6,503	1,128	9,806
Total	4,121	8,458	1,743	14,322

Note. Crimes Harmful to Public include private and public property damage. Adapted from “Social Services & Security” by Ministry of Planning, 2000, *Annual Statistical Abstract*, 37, p. 308.

Table 3

Violent Incidents Registered in the Record of Social Services Offices in Public Schools at the Ministry of Education in Kuwait for the Academic Year 2000

School Level		Verbal Violence Students to Teachers	Physical Violence Students to Teachers	Verbal Violence Student to Student	Physical Violence Student to Student	Sexual Harassment	Property Damage	Stealing	Total
Elementary Schools	M	49	1	1,093	1,546	137	336	219	3,381
	F	13	0	707	659	14	81	154	1,628
Elementary & Middle Schools	M	19	1	238	222	5	40	9	534
	F	25	1	392	198	8	61	74	759
Middle Schools	M	183	19	1,107	817	65	402	52	2,644
	F	335	10	1,087	472	96	123	91	2,214

(table continues)

Table 3 (continued)

		Verbal Violence Students to Teachers	Physical Violence Students to Teachers	Verbal Violence Student to Student	Physical Violence Student to Student	Sexual Harassment	Property Damage	Stealing	Total
Mixed Middle & High Schools	M	15	0	110	130	8	13	0	276
	F	37	0	65	10	10	9	4	135
Mixed Elementary, Middle & High Schools	M	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	4
	F	5	0	4	5	0	0	1	15
High Schools	M	354	6	851	561	10	201	27	2,010
	F	391	4	625	171	207	80	45	1,523
Subtotal	M	620	27	3,401	3,276	225	994	306	8,849
	F	806	15	2,880	1,515	335	354	369	6,274
Total		1,426	42	6,281	4,791	560	1,348	675	15,123

Note. Adapted from “Social Service Offices” by the Administration of Psychological and Social Services, 2001, *Annual Report*, p. 166.

Table 4

Number of Students, Teachers, Classrooms, and Schools of Public Education in Kuwait for the Academic Year 2000

School Level		Students	Teachers	Classrooms	Schools
Elementary	M	48,270	3,838	1,634	91
	F	48,317	3,979	1,63	91
	T	96,587	7,817	3,257	182
Intermediate	M	47,456	3,628	1,533	78
	F	46,602	5,078	1,506	86
	T	94,058	8,706	3,039	164
High Schools	M	34,071	4,033	508	60
	F	39,692	4,777	641	58
	T	73,763	8,810	1,149	118
Subtotal	M	129,797	11,499	3,675	229
	F	134,611	13,834	3,770	235
Total	T	264,408	25,333	7,445	464

Note. Adapted from “Educational Services” by Ministry of Planning, 2000, *Annual Statistical Abstract*, 37, p. 231.

Table 5

Behavioral Cases Reported to Police by School District for the Academic Year 2000

District	Sex	Hitting	Rape	Stealing	Forming Gangs	Weapon	Injury	Kidnap	Property Damage	Homicide	Escaping	Others	Total
Al Asemah	M	23	2	19	15	0	8	3	11	0	0	20	101
	F	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
Hawalli	M	81	13	57	26	0	42	1	20	2	1	30	273
	F	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	10
Al Farwania	M	71	13	91	11	4	26	8	21	0	1	42	288
	F	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	6	11
Al Jahra	M	125	14	56	26	0	70	8	40	0	0	44	383
	F	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
Al Ahmadi	M	46	7	28	6	0	24	5	6	0	3	22	147
	F	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Subtotal	M	346	49	251	84	4	170	25	98	2	5	157	1,192
	F	10	0	5	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	13	32
Total		356	49	256	84	4	170	26	101	2	5	170	1,224

Note. Adapted from “Ministry of Interior Report” by the Administration of Psychological and Social Services at Ministry of Education, 2001, *Annual Report*, p. 111.

abused by other male students while 34% of female students were verbally or physically abused by other female students. In addition, the study indicated that violence in the general system of education, in which students stay in the same classroom and take the same courses with the same teachers for the entire academic year (two semesters), is higher than it is in the credit-related system, which is relatively new in that it was established in 1979 in one school. In the credit-related system, which was extended to all school districts after the 1991 liberation of Kuwait from the Iraqi invasion, students change classes, classrooms, and teachers each semester, which means they are not stuck for the academic year with a class and teacher they might not like or in a class where they have no friends. Students have the option to choose either system.

Although the difference between male and female school violence is expected due to the social and traditional behaviors that limit females' actions, what is important to note is that the study found school violence to be higher in schools with a large population of Bedouins. In Al Jahra and Al Ahmadi, the two school districts where the majority of residents consider themselves members of tribes, 45% of the participants noted that they were physically or verbally abused by other students. However, the responses of participants were in the average in Al Farwania, another district where the majority of the residents consider themselves members of tribes, and in Hawalli school district, while only 15% of the responses in Al Asemah school districts noted such problems. The *Al Taleeah* article, "Violence in Schools" (1993), reported that dangerous instruments such as guns, hand grenades, knives, iron hand boxes, iron bars, and screwdrivers were used in violent incidents in schools, and the delinquent behavior of Kuwaiti students had become worse. The *Al Qabas* article, "Student Violence" (1999), for which 150 intermediate and high school students were interviewed without regard for the system or district

they are in, reported that 60% of them mentioned that they always carried sharp instruments in their pockets to use when needed.

Purpose of the Study

The relationship between social affiliation and school violence is an important issue in Kuwait. The researcher believes that tribal and non-tribal students differ in the degree to which they exhibit characteristics of violent behavior. Sheley et al. (1992) have argued that violence which occurs around inner city schools is, for the most part, imported from outside the actual school community. Hawkins et al. (2000) have stated, “the larger the number of risk factors to which the individual is exposed, the greater the probability that the individual will engage in violent behavior” (p. 7). Most of the research has pointed to some kind of relationship between school violence and community factors (Hawkins et al.; Lawrence, 1998; Sheley et al.).

Moreover, in Kuwait, tribal people in the tribal districts (Al Jahra, Al Ahmadi, and Al Farwania) maintain a tribal culture that is formalized by a strong loyalty and adherence to the tribe (Watfa, 2002). In addition, more people in these districts than in the other districts (Al Asemah, Hawalli) still hold strongly to the superstitious beliefs, including the evil eye, medicine women’s powers, and ideas found in heroic poetry and stories that they inherited from their ancestors (Watfa, 2002). Therefore, because many of the violent incidents occur in school districts known for their large numbers of tribal members, as shown in Table 6, it is tempting to blame the violence on tribal culture.

Hence, the purpose of this study is to identify and examine the violent behavior characteristics of tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait to see whether tribal culture is one of the outside factors that contribute to violence in schools. This is a first

Table 6

Comparison of Behavioral Cases Reported to Police with Student Population in Each School

District	Gender	Student Population	Total	Gender	Incidents	Total	%
Al Asemah	M	7,941	15,495	M	101	106	.013
	F	7,554		F	5		
Hawalli	M	11,916	23,702	M	273	283	.023
	F	11,786		F	10		
Al Farwania	M	4,845	12,090	M	288	299	.060
	F	7,245		F	11		
Al Jahra	M	4,081	10,044	M	383	387	.094
	F	5,963		F	4		
Al Ahmadi	M	5,288	12,432	M	147	149	.024
	F	7,144		F	2		
Total	M	34,071	73,763	M	1,192	1,224	
	F	39,692		F	32		

Note. Percentage of incidents is based on male student population only. In Al Asemah and Hawalli the majority is non-tribal people. In Al Farwania, Al Jahra, and Al Ahmadi the majority is tribal people. Adapted from “Social Service Offices” by the Administration of Psychological and Social Services, 2001, *Annual Report*, p 111. Student data adapted from “Educational Services” by Ministry of Planning, 2000, *Annual Statistical Abstract*, 37, p. 235.

step in the direction of developing a comprehensive and long term solution to the problem of school violence in Kuwait.

Research Questions

Characteristics of violent behavior of male public high school students in Kuwait needed to be identified and examined to determine whether tribal culture has an impact on school violence in Kuwait. Therefore, the following research questions, which were designed to gather the relevant information, guided this study:

1. To what degree do male public high school students in Kuwait exhibit each of the four characteristics of violent behavior (physical violence, verbal violence, hostility, and anger)?
2. Are there any differences between the social affiliation (tribal and non-tribal) of male public high school students in Kuwait that affect the degree to which they exhibit each of the four characteristics of violent behavior (physical violence, verbal violence, hostility, and anger)?
3. Are there relationships between the following demographic variables (household size, family structure, and student age) and violent behavior among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait?

Research Hypotheses

This study was based upon the following major null hypotheses:

1. There are no significant differences in mean subscale scores between the four characteristics of violent behavior and social affiliation of male public high school students in Kuwait.

2. There are no significant correlations between the demographic variables of household size, family structure, and student age and violent behavior among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait.

Theoretical Framework

Each group of people has its own set of basic beliefs and attitudes that provide the foundations of its culture. These beliefs and attitudes are transferred from one generation to the next through interactive personal experiences with members of the group or tribe (Schwartz, 1992).

Although Kuwaitis are largely a homogenous people, they consist of two main groups, tribal and non-tribal. Each group has its own culture, which includes such elements as ways of speaking, dressing, and behaving, as well as poetry, music, arts, and crafts. However, non-tribal Kuwaitis are usually more educated and more modern in their thinking (Wafsa, 2003). As Wafsa has pointed out, Kuwait City began to attract tribal people seeking a better life and education in the 1950s and 1960s. Because of the increased tribal presence, the predominant culture is the tribal culture. Therefore, the city today gravitates to tribal culture and thinking, which influences even the internal and external politics of Kuwait. The merger of religious fundamentalism and tribalism served to strengthen the influence of tribal culture.

The tribal and non-tribal social structure makes the problem of violence among male high school students complex. As Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, and Quiroz (2001) have pointed out, if the predominant culture does not give enough attention and respect to minority cultures, conflicts and rejections arise. As provided in Table 6, because violent incidents are four times more likely to occur in tribal districts than in non-tribal districts, it is tempting to attribute the origin of the violence to tribal culture, because it supports and condones violent behavior.

However, it is important to exercise caution, because the extent to which the predominant tribal culture is considerate of non-tribal culture is not clear. Tribalism might prove to be only one factor, because, as Akers (1985) has argued, violence is usually a development of learned behavior, which can be learned from family members or peers or others outside the family or tribe. Therefore, because of the complexity of the problem of violence, the present study has drawn on relevant aspects of cross cultural theory, social leaning theory, learning theory, and labeling theory to assess the issues motivating the violent behavior in Kuwait's male public high schools.

Cross Cultural Theory

This section provides a discussion of several studies that help place the present study in the context of cross cultural theory. The difficulty of defining cross cultural theory necessitates this approach. According to Evans, Hau, and Scuh (1991), in very general terms, cross cultural studies are concerned with differences in cultural factors, including educational background, beliefs, art, morals, customs, laws, economic and political frameworks, and so forth. What makes cross cultural theory complicated are the many definitions that have emerged from the different research fields (Evans, et al.). For the purposes of understanding the import of this study, a definition of culture is useful, because it helped identify cultural differences in a culture that is as homogeneous as Kuwait's. The definition that seemed most suitable is Fetterman's (1989), who has described culture in terms of patterns of behavior and material objects in a cultural setting, as well as the beliefs, values, attitudes, and knowledge of a cultural group.

Because cultural differences make up the most crucial basis for assessing behaviors among different groups, cross cultural understanding regarding the sensitivity and awareness of ethnicity, race, cultures, and other diversity issues needs to be further developed among students,

teachers, educators, and policy makers to avoid misunderstandings, whether perceived or real, of others' cultures that give rise to conflicts and social behavior problems. The presence of a consultant of tribal affairs in Kuwait suggests Kuwait's leaders recognize that understanding cultural differences is important to the wellbeing of Kuwaiti society.

To demonstrate the consequences of cultural differences in the workplace, Hofstede (1980) conducted a survey of international differences in work-related values using a sample of 116,000 participants from 40 different countries who worked for a multinational corporation. His data identified the dimension of individualism/collectivism for classifying cultural differences, which were proposed by Hall (1977). In an individualistic culture, which includes many European American populations in the United States and which encourages individual independence and achievement, the self is seen as relatively independent (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). However, in collectivist cultures, members are primarily concerned with the needs of the group and tend to view the self as entrenched in group relationships. Arab Bedouin culture, as Julia's (1991) observation quoted previously indicated, is a collectivist culture.

Since children who come from immigrant minority families are often overlooked and do not get the special attention that they deserve, there was a project in Los Angeles called Bridging Cultures to solve some of these problems. It started in 1996 when four Latino teachers learned defining culture using a framework designed to assess collectivism and individualism. Their goal was to help teachers appreciate, respect, honor and understand other cultures in order to better serve minority children in the classroom. The initial teachers worked together by meeting twice a month to discuss what they had learned in their own schools. This produced a foundation of information for collection on the differences between collectivist and individualistic attitudes (Trumbull et al., 2001).

Many teachers already understand the core values of American culture and use this knowledge in their teaching methods. Therefore, another major goal of the Bridging Cultures project was to have teachers attempt to uncover the core values of other countries that the majority of the US immigrants come from, such as Mexico, South Korea, Thailand, and West African countries. This goal was made because in the initial teacher training classes it was discovered that little attention had been paid to minority cultures (Trumbull et al., 2001).

Moreover, their findings indicated that teachers really often did not understand the cultures of minority students and the minority students did not understand the American culture. Therefore, a lot of signals were crossed and misunderstandings occurred. Hence, the quality of the educational experience deteriorated to an unacceptable level. As a result, several of these children might resort to aggressive behavior and/or even drop out of school altogether (Trumbull et al., 2001).

Samuel and Zinaida's (2001) investigation of the attitudes of Israeli students toward Jewish immigrants from Russian showed the reaction of the dominant culture toward a large influx of a single group representing another culture. The 630,000 Soviet immigrants who settled in Israel from 1990 to 1995 made up 13% of the Jewish population. Samuel and Zinaida (2001) started their study as a pilot study in 1991 and continued it in 1992, 1993, and 1994. Their sample, which consisted of Israeli-born elementary and secondary school students, included 153 participants in grades 4 through 8 in 1991, 54.3% of whom were males and 45.7% females and 389 participants in grades 4 through 9 in 1992, 49.2% of whom were males and 50.8% females. In 1993 there were 563 participants in grades 4 through 10, 49.4% of whom were males and 50.6% females, and in 1994 there were 583 participants in grades 4 through 11, 46.6% of whom were males and 53.1% females. The questionnaire developed by the researchers focused on

cognitive, emotional, and behavioral aspects of Israeli students' attitudes toward their immigrant peers. Their findings indicated that the majority of Israelis thought that the immigrants should imitate them. Moreover, in the second year (1992), the attitudes of the Israeli students toward the immigrants became more negative. More Israelis indicated that they did not want to learn anything from the Russian immigrants, and fewer Israelis were ready to invite the immigrants into their homes or help them with homework. The authors pointed out that Israeli students' attitudes toward these immigrants demonstrated the pressure of the dominant culture. These student members of the dominant culture also emphasized the differences between themselves and the immigrants by labeling the immigrants "Russians."

Finally, although there is a need to identify empirically the orientation of Kuwait society with regard to their culture, based on the review of the tribal social composition and life in the tribalism section of the present study, Kuwaiti culture is a collectivist culture when compared to the cultures of other nations. However, if the comparison is narrowed to Kuwaiti society itself, tribal culture is a collectivist culture and non-tribal culture is an individualist culture. Therefore, because, violence is usually a development of learned behavior (Akers, 1985), social learning theory also applies to the present study and is explained in the following section.

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory has developed from the work of psychologists and sociologists. As set forth by psychologists, it argues that children naturally imitate the behavior of other children or adults without needing or receiving a direct reward for the new behavior (Bandura & Walters, 1963). Hence, tribal children who live in and around a culture that views violence not only as unabashed behavior, but often as "heroic" acts, because they are embraced and immortalized in tribal poetry and literature (Al Mehaini, 1986), imitate the behavior of their models, including

parents, other children, adults, and even teachers, as well as the behavior of their “mythical” heroes. Therefore, social learning theory, defined even more specifically by Bandura (1986) as the observer's behavior changing after viewing the behavior of a model, formed the core of this study.

Rotter (1975) stated that social learning theory combines stimulus-response or reinforcement theories and cognitive theories: “The potential for a behavior to occur in any specific psychological situation is a function of expectancy that the behavior will lead to a particular reinforcement in that situation and the value of that reinforcement” (p. 57). This convergence has produced four classes of variables for testable hypotheses—behaviors, expectancies, reinforcements, and psychological situations. From his central proposition, Rotter also developed the concept of a “vicious cycle.” According to Bandura (1977), who further explained how operant conditioning principles such as reinforcement and punishment exist in the social or observable environment, social learning theory explains human behavior in terms of continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental influences. Basically, it is composed of three major principles: (a) the highest level of observational learning is achieved by first organizing and rehearsing the modeled behavior symbolically and then enacting it overtly; (b) individuals are then more likely to adopt a modeled behavior if it results in outcomes they value; and (c) individuals are more likely to adopt a modeled behavior if it is similar to the observer’s values or interests and has an admired status and functional value. In other words, the individual uses the social environment in order to apply the basic principles of operant conditioning through modeling and imitation.

The individual will see someone whom he (or she) admires, such as a parent, teacher, and/or authority figure modeling a particular behavior. If that behavior seems to have a certain

outcome or result that will benefit him (or her) then, he (or she) is more likely to permanently adopt the newly learned behavior. Conversely, authority figures such as parents or teachers model behaviors that they want their children or students to adopt and will use rewards and punishments to reinforce the desired imitation.

According to Bandura and Walters (1963), social learning theory at that point still needed further expansion and research, because they saw that it could be effectively broadened to account for the social phenomena of group processes and empirically verified. Since that time Bandura (1990) has done extensive work on the concept of self efficacy. Up to this point, the discussion of social learning theory has focused on psychologists' perspectives of learned behavior. However, sociologists have also contributed to these studies.

The contributions of sociologists have broadened the social learning and labeling theories in interesting ways. For example, Burgess and Akers (1966) revised the theory of differential association into a theory of deviance and coined the actual name social learning theory. The social learning theory of Burgess and Akers is more closely related to those of Bandura and Walters (1963) and Rotter (1975). However, Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, and Radosevich (1979) have expanded the initial work of these psychologists to include group processes with their statement that "the principal behavioral effects come from interaction in or under the influence of those groups which control individuals' major sources of reinforcement and punishment and expose them to behavioral models and normative definitions" (p. 638).

The principles of social learning theory promulgated by Akers et al. (1979) included further information concerning the present study's focus on deviant behavior. For example, instead of just focusing on Bandura's (1977) modeling effect, Akers et al. stated that deviant behavior is learned according to the principles of operant conditioning. As noted earlier,

Bandura's work was also based on these principles but he did not state it explicitly and show the relationship, as Akers et al. did. In addition, they explained that deviant behavior is learned both in nonsocial and social interaction in which the behavior of other persons is reinforcing or discriminative. This is a much broader position on social learning theory than that of Bandura and Walters (1963) or Rotter (1975).

Akers (1985) believed that the principal part of learning deviant behavior occurs in those groups that comprise or control the individual's major source of reinforcements. This coincides with the perspective of this study that the tribal culture of Kuwait contributes to violence in male public high schools. Akers et al. (1979) have also argued that the learning of deviant behavior, including specific techniques, attitudes and avoidance procedures, is a function of the effective and available reinforcers and the existing reinforcement contingencies.

Akers's et al. (1979) principles of social learning theory agreed with those of Bandura and Walters (1963) in that they propose that the probability that a person will behave in an unacceptable way increases in the presence of normative statements, definitions, and verbalizations that have acquired discriminative value for that behavior. However, Bandura (1977) did not mention much about the frequency of repeated deviant behavior, whereas Akers (1985) has pointed out that the strength of deviant behavior is a direct function of the amount, frequency, and probability of its positive reinforcement. Looking at social learning theory through schedules of reinforcement and, thus, operant conditioning makes visible the relationship of social learning theory to the principles of conditioning or learning theory. In other words, social learning theory has its roots in learning theory.

Learning Theory

Learning theory is defined as a permanent change in behavioral potentiality as a result of experience (Woolfolk, 1998). Specifically, according to Woolfolk, the change resulting from learning is in the individual's knowledge or behavior. Learning theory applied principles of classical (stimulus-occurrence) and operant (response-occurrence) conditioning. One of the most well-known contributors to learning theory was Pavlov, whose experiments and conclusions have been summarized by Klein and Mowrer (1989).

Pavlov originally conducted his research on the physiological processes in dogs. One of the chief principles of learning theory is that a human or an animal, as in this case, will respond to a stimulus, when one is provided. Pavlov used food, which he put on the dog's tongue, as a stimulus and tested to see what physiological responses occurred. Pavlov called this concept stimulus substitution or reflex activity, which means that if one stimulus elicits a response, the pairing of the stimulus with a neutral stimulus will also elicit the same response (Klein & Mowrer, 1989). He also discovered that there are two types of reflexes—unconditioned and conditioned. The concept of conditioning and its effects on behavior inspired the psychologist Skinner.

Skinner (1988), who applied Pavlov's theories to humans, disagreed with the use of psychoanalysis and the concentration on the conscious and subconscious to explain behavior. He questioned this approach because conscious or mental thoughts can not be observed. In addition, as Alexander (1989) has explained, Skinner believed there were two types of learning or conditioning, classical and operant. In classical conditioning, a condition replaced the unconditioned stimulus, and this conditioned stimulus gave the conditioned responses. Baron (2001) has pointed out that acquisition or the course of classical conditioning proceeds quite

rapidly at first, increasing as the number of pairings between conditioned and unconditioned stimulus increases.

In contrast, operant learning occurs when the individual operates on the environment and the environment responds. Whether a behavior is more or less likely to repeat itself is determined by the environment's reaction to the individual (Ross, 1981). Skinner (1988) explained that operant behavior is based not on something that is expected to happen in the future that has a given effect, but on what happened in the past, explicitly a reinforcing event that occurs after a particular behavior.

Operant conditioning uses two different types of reinforcements to encourage a desired behavior. Baron (2001) has described positive reinforcers as stimulus events or consequences that strengthen responses that precede them and negative reinforcers as stimuli that strengthen responses that permit an organism to avoid or escape from their presence. Therefore, negative reinforcement encourages a desirable behavior by taking away something that the individual does not like.

Labeling Theory/ Social Reaction Theory

Since the stigma of labeling adds to the complexity of the problem of violence in Kuwait, labeling theory was also relevant to the purpose of the present study. Labeling theory is the process by which social groups make deviance by making rules whose infractions constitute deviance and by applying these rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders (Leighninger & Popple, 1996). Becker (1963) has highlighted several basic principles of labeling theory.

First, a label is a definition of a person applied to that person by an audience that creates the definition based on its perception of the person (Becker, 1963). Thus, labeling is a social

process. Because people are not born with labels, labeling often causes the labeled person to act aggressively. Many factors, including job, gender, age, background, tribe, family background, social class, and citizenship can play a part in labeling. Power determines labels and teachers or authority figures are identifiable members of a society who have a role in labeling.

An undesirable behavior causes the social reaction that results in the label, and the individual responds to the label by committing more acts that fit the label. A criminal label affects an individual's concept of self, which can result in anger toward labelers and an increase in deviant behavior (this is secondary deviance). Becker (1963) argued that social groups create deviance by instituting rules that when disobeyed lead to deviant behavior. Deviance is not a consequence of the act the person commits, but rather results from the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender.' A deviant is a person to whom that label has successfully been applied.

While Becker's (1963) work has provided an initial understanding of what labeling theory is and how it works, more recent developments have had an even greater relevance to the present study. Adams, Robertson, Gray-Ray, and Ray (2003) have suggested that the true test of labeling theory must focus on identifying and measuring descriptors used by juveniles to label their self concepts. They used a questionnaire to survey 337 juveniles ages 10-18 years with a history of delinquency who were held in Mississippi's two training schools in July, 1992. Their delinquent behaviors ranged from status offenses to serious gang-related activities. Of the 337, 277 completed the questionnaire, which was administered to groups of 25 juveniles. The background variables included gender (249 males and 28 females), race (210 blacks, 55 whites, 7 Hispanics, and 2 native Americans), and age. Their findings indicated that "teachers are

important sources of negative labeling, but that negative labeling by social control agents is also important” (p. 175).

There appear to be two negative aspects to labeling: labeling contributes to undesirable behavior and undesirable behavior contributes to labeling. It is difficult to say with certainty which comes first. Clarke (1999) has suggested that people are constantly calling other people “names” and in this way labeling them. In addition, Clarke observed that most people react to words as though they have some specific meaning, often where no specific meaning exists or where the statement is obviously untrue. The findings of the study of Adams et al. (2003) have underscored the truth of Clarke’s observation on the effect of teacher labeling of perceived delinquent children. Clarke has also warned that once labeled negatively, it is almost impossible for the labeled individual to escape the label.

Integrating the Four Theories

In the larger context, it is easy to conclude that there is a direct cause and effect relationship between tribalism and violence. However, when broken down into smaller components of the big picture, there are several constants and variables. It is a constant that babies are born innocent and free of culture and deviant behaviors. According to Akers (1985), deviance is not genetic. In addition, Pavlov’s (Klein & Mowrer, 1989) discovery that there are stimuli that trigger certain responses in dogs began the process of recognizing variables that can cause deviant behavior. When Skinner (1988) applied Pavlov’s discovery to learning in humans, it became possible to identify a stimulus that triggers violent responses from a child or adult.

In other words, an individual can see or observe violent behavior and perform acts of violence by way of imitation (Bandura, 1977). In this way, parents who attempt to stop the violent behavior of their child with spanking, a form of physical violence, might actually be

teaching the child how to be violent. As Qasem, Mustafa, Kazem, and Shah (1998) have pointed out, in Kuwait parents with tribal backgrounds still adhere to the traditional forms of disciplining a child, including physical punishment. Therefore, students who belong to tribes learn at home that physical punishment or abuse is a way to make someone behave in a certain way, and they bring their lessons to school. Consequently, because in Kuwait, as well as the rest of the Gulf region, violent behavior is automatically associated with the Bedouin culture, when the teacher or other authority figures label a misbehaving student a deviant Bedouin, they are reinforcing the connection to the tribe. Labeling thus contributes to the student's internalization of those tribal customs and expectations that cause him to act out more violently whenever a stimulus is provided, whether intentionally or unintentionally. This situation reflects Rotter's (1975) vicious cycle.

Labeling a student from a tribal background a deviant Bedouin is not the only negative aspect of labeling. The consequences of labeling can also be negative in that it can have a profound and negative effect on the student's concept of himself. As Clarke (1999) has pointed out, it is close to impossible to escape a negative label. Labeling a student who misbehaves a deviant or a deviant Bedouin associates him with a culture that uses violence to punish perceived or real transgressions and might even cause him to act like a Bedouin whether he is a Bedouin or not. In this way, tribal culture plays a significant role in school violence.

Social learning theory, which proposes that parents and other role models encourage the above development, supported the theory that because tribal culture is the predominant culture in Kuwait, its rules are the master guide for children's behaviors. Finally, it should become clear that how the child views violence, responds to violence, gets punished for the violence, repeats the violence, gets labeled as violent or Bedouin and then, sometimes continues the violence until

it becomes habitual criminal behavior proves Rotter's theory of a vicious cycle. Therefore, learning Bedouin culture, reacting to it, being labeled as a Bedouin, and then acting like a Bedouin shows how tribalism can contribute to the problem of school violence in Kuwait.

Significance of the Study

Much research has been done on school violence and its relationship to the community (Hawkins et al. 2000; Lawrence, 1998; Sheley et al. 1992). More can be learned from these studies about the influence of community cultures and values on student behaviors. Despite the sensitivity of this topic for Kuwait, this study will be the first one not limited by political, racial, or cultural restrictions. Therefore, the findings of this study might be the first to spark an educational reform in Kuwait.

In addition, the problem of school violence in Kuwait should be carefully examined and measured in many aspects to determine the major reasons that might contribute to it. In fact, determining these reasons will help educational leaders at all levels in Kuwait, and in other countries of the Arab world, to design specific policies that can decrease school violence.

Limitations of the Study

1. The problem of school violence in male high schools in Kuwait is severe and tough, especially in tribal areas (Ministry of Education, 2000). Statistics of the Ministry of Education in Kuwait indicated that violence incidents are 32 times more likely to occur among male students than female students. Therefore, this study investigates school violence only among male high school students in male public high schools in Kuwait.
2. The study relies on a multiple-choice instrument to measure the tendency for violence among students in male public high schools in Kuwait. Therefore, the honesty of the participants is presumed but not assured.

3. The instrument of this study uses only multiple-choice questions. This procedure prevents students from giving reasons about negative beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes toward violence. Therefore, this study is not going to be a descriptive study.
4. Because the setting and samples for this study are limited to male high schools students in Kuwait, the data and analysis will not generalize to all schools or all students.
5. The researcher's experiences and social observations in Arab countries indicate that it might be possible to generalize the data and analysis of the present study to apply to Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Jordan due to the similarity of the social and family life and structure of these countries with Kuwait's.
6. Because the Aggression Questionnaire of Buss and Perry (1992) used in this study has been translated from English into Arabic (see appendixes A and B), it is possible for readers to understand something differently from what is written in Arabic, because a translation is seldom a perfect rendering of the original document. Therefore, the Arabic version will be the main guide for the explanations.

Definition of Violence in American Literature

In *Violence in American Schools* (Elliot, Hamburg, & Williams, 1998) violence has been defined as “the threat or use of physical force with the intention of causing physical injury, damage, or intimidation of another person” (p. 13). Instead of defining violence, Lawrence (1998) used the words crime, delinquency, and disorder, which describe problems that can lead to violence. Although educators may hesitate to use the word crime where it is related to children, nevertheless, violence often results in criminal action against the person who initiates the abuse, even if that person is a juvenile. Gottfredson and Gottfredson (1985) also did not

define violence per se; they used words such as victimization, disorder, and attacks, as well as the two frequently used words, (juvenile) delinquency and crime.

Kelly and Pink (1982) have defined school violence as disrespect to teachers, theft, and physical assaults. Violence is aggression on an extreme level that includes the use of physical force or a showing of emotional intensity. Bandura (1973) used a broad definition of school violence that included verbal and physical assaults, quarrels with peers, rapes, and homicides. Akiba (2001) included physical abuse and added verbal bullying to the realm of violence. Goldman (1961) called school vandalism a form of deviant conduct, but today, it might be placed within the context of physical abuse to property and, therefore, be included as part of the working definition of violence. The line between crime and violence might appear to be a fine line, but crime is construed as any offense punishable by law. Using a narrow definition of crime related violence in his article on crime in the school and community, McDermott (1983) has defined crime as “a violation of criminal law, whether or not the act is detected, reported, or officially acted upon” (p. 271). Aggression is related to crime and violence.

Writing in terms of social learning, Bandura (1979) has defined aggression as “behavior . . . that . . . results in personal injury and physical destruction” (p. 2) and included physical and psychological in the explanation of personal injury. Substituting the word violence for aggression gives a short but concise working definition of violence. Going from the general to specific, Alexander and Langford (1992) used the schoolyard slang “throwing down” as the title of the article in which they have defined school violence as physical fighting by students.

As the literature review suggests, there are several definitions for school violence, all of which include a physical component. The present study used an expanded version of Bandura’s (1979) concept of aggression and defined violence as aggressive behavior that results in physical

or psychological injury to a person or to a person's property or results in physical destruction or damage to school property. This definition encompasses verbal abuse such as threats, name-calling, and any other form of harassment meant to intimidate or bully the victim, as well as stalking, physical attacks, and damage to a person or property on school grounds. A person can be a student, a teacher, or another staff person and the violence can be directed by a teacher at another teacher or at a student, or it can be directed by a student at a teacher (or staff member) or at another student.

Perhaps because its impact is more visible, physical violence appears to be more significant and more prevalent than nonphysical violence. However, the research indicated that the more subtle nonphysical violence, including name-calling, threats, and harassment, has as much, or sometimes more, impact on the victim than physical violence in that it damages the victim's self esteem, which results in feelings of powerlessness (Sonkin, 2003). Both types have negative effects on the school community that can spill over into the larger community of family and friends. For example, Volokh and Snell (2003) have stated that "the cost of violence in society at large (i.e. purchase of security systems, carrying of guns, enrollment in self defense classes, and avoidance of certain streets at certain times) is measured by expenditures to avoid harm, and by the general disruption of people's lives" (§ 21). Steps should, therefore, be taken to decrease or prevent the occurrence of any form of violence.

Defining School Violence in the Kuwait Community: Focus Groups

Although this study used the composite definition of violence given above, it is important to acknowledge that, according to the observations of Felson, Liska, South, and McNulty (1994), there are some groups that are more violent than others, because they adhere to a different or distinctive value set that may support or tolerate violence. Therefore, the definition of violence

might differ from group to group. Or, as Akiba (2001) has pointed out, “defining school violence in cross-cultural settings needs special cautions,” because “what is considered as violence in general differs across nations and communities” (p. 4). Therefore, what is considered violence in the United States, where most of the studies have been conducted, can differ from what is considered violence in Kuwait.

Because the working definition of violence for the present study includes several kinds of violence and because each person, family, school, and community can have a unique definition of conflict and violence, it is important to provide a more specific context to validate the definition and its relevancy to the situation in Kuwait. Therefore, to obtain a clear idea of what Kuwaitis think of as school violence and see whether their definitions were comparable to the American definitions, focus group interviews were conducted in Kuwait with four different groups: a group of 4 high school principals who served in several areas in Kuwait, a group of 8 teachers, a group of 8 parents, and a group of 8 students. The interviews were conducted and tape-recorded in several *Diwaniyas* (male gatherings) in Kuwait. The interviewees were asked one question only: How do you define school violence? The interviews were transcribed, coded in different categories, and analyzed to understand these groups’ definitions of violence.

Often, it is the authority figures who are able to clearly articulate what the definition of school violence should encompass because of their experience and broad perspective of the psychology involved in defining violence. Students and some parents in Kuwait will often only refer to physical violence as school violence because of cultural practice and expression. Using verbal statements is a way of defending one’s honor and appears to be acceptable in their eyes. However, some parents did report that verbal violence does occur among students. The interpretation of student definitions of school violence includes speculation as to why they accept

behaviors otherwise considered undesirable. The next paragraphs explain the definition of school violence for each group based on the interviews.

Principal and Teacher Groups: Broad Perspective on Violence

The group of 8 teachers and the group of 4 principals were the most professional groups interviewed, and their professional experiences, which reflected careers ranging from 2 to 15 years, clearly affected their definitions. They said that school violence can be defined as aggressive behavior that causes physical or psychological injury to people or to their property in schools and surrounding areas. Principals stated that violence falls into several patterns, including student initiated violence directed at another student, a teacher or other staff member and teacher or other staff member initiated violence directed at another teacher or staff member or a student. Teachers stated that a student or school staff member behaves violently against another student or staff member. In addition, both groups identified two different types of violence: verbal and physical. Physical violence included fights, pushing somebody with hands or shoulders, shoving someone, and throwing items, including stones, chalk, pens, shoes, and chairs, as well as touching someone sexually. They also identified destroying school or staff property as physical violence. Both groups noted that verbal violence takes different forms like cursing, name calling, or spitting (considered verbal abuse, because it comes from the mouth) at someone, even from distance.

Student and Parent Groups: Narrow Perspective on Violence

The group of 8 parents and the group of 8 students defined school violence more narrowly than the principals and teachers. Parent and student comments usually focused on physical violence among students. Although the parents included physical violence between students and teachers in their definition, both groups defined school violence as aggressive

behavior among students themselves. Although both groups recognized that verbal abuse occurs among students, nevertheless, they thought of violence mainly in terms of physical fights. In fact, the parents insisted that physical violence among students is the clear definition of school violence in Kuwait

Summary of Focus Groups

The results of the interviews of the focus groups have made it clear that the principal and teacher groups were using the same definition of school violence. Their definition agreed with definitions found in American literature, which were used to create the composite working definition for the present study: Violence is aggressive behavior that results in physical or psychological injury to a person or to a person's property or results in physical destruction or damage to school property and includes all forms of both physical and verbal abuse. Both the teacher group and the principal group included verbal and physical assaults as well as intense emotions and harmful acts toward others in school and toward school property in their explanations of school violence.

Although the Kuwaiti parent and student groups recognized many of the same problems as the teacher and principal groups, their definition of violence as physical fights was more restricted, because it was based their personal experiences, beliefs, and value systems. Due to cultural rules, many parents tended to consider violent acts of teachers against students as a way to discipline their children. Furthermore, students and parents did not know what usually happens between teachers or between teachers and other staff. Therefore, they did not have as broad a perception of violence as did the teachers and principals, who are the ones who usually deal directly with school violence and based their definitions on their professional experiences and their education in such fields as psychology. In other words, all the groups surveyed defined

violence in terms of physical assaults, but the teacher and principal groups' responses indicated this definition did not encompass the full extent of school violence. It is possible that the lack of a standardized and inclusive definition is one reason that school violence persists, even though all constituencies recognized it as a problem.

Definition of Other Terms

Arab Bedouin Tribes: Most Arab Bedouin tribe members belong to the tribes that in past years roamed the whole Arabian Peninsula desert searching for pastures for their animals (Bruce, 1986).

Kuwaiti Tribe Members: These are people who are connected to each other through their more distant ancestors, not through their living areas, whether urban or rural or desert. These family groups are loyal to each other. In addition, they are expected to support their tribes through good and bad times (Al Haddad, Al Khalifah, Al Khosoosy, Al Refae, & Al Mousa, 1986).

Kuttab: Designated in the past as special places to teach students in Kuwait, Katabeeb (plural form) were established in the houses of scholars to teach students. There were two kinds, one to teach reading and writing and the other to teach religious principles (Al Abdulghafoor, 1978).

Diwaniya: This is a place where men usually gather to talk and enjoy time together. This practice descends from an old tribal custom when, in the evening, the men gathered to discuss tribal issues and make social or political decisions ("The Diwaniya," 2002).

Summary

Although specific characteristics of violent behavior of male public high schools in Kuwait were still unclear, the researcher hypothesized that there are major differences between

tribal and non-tribal male high school students in regard to their inclination to respond with violence in either negative or sometimes even positive social contexts. Other predictive variables may or may not have a significant relationship with violent behaviors among these students. The researcher expected not only to gain insight into such behaviors, but also to identify the sources of the violence, the first steps necessary to devising strategies for handling such characteristics.

Therefore, in addition to focusing on the research principles and definitions, providing a definition of violence for the present study, and validating the relevancy of American studies for identifying and examining the violent characteristics of tribal and non-tribal cultures, this chapter has provided tribal information in order to help readers gain a better understanding of the Kuwaiti culture. Chapter 2 focuses on a comparison of the different factors that influence school violence, particularly in the context of American culture. The use of studies of school violence in American culture was necessary because of the lack of any related studies in the Kuwaiti context that fully explained the problem. Chapter 3 focuses on the Kuwaiti educational system and the results of the methodology used to conduct this study. Chapter 4 provides the results of the research. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the results, draws some conclusions and makes some recommendation for future studies.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a review of the literature relevant to the purpose of the present study. Some reports on research conducted in Middle East countries and the rest on research conducted in the United States. The literature review includes different types of violence found among school children, theories about school violence, and factors that contribute to deviant behavior in early and middle adolescence. The sources used include text books, articles, journals, and dissertations, as well as different government and organization websites. Finally, the key search areas include school violence, community influence, ethnicity, family structure, people in the household, and student age.

In spite of the escalating violence in schools in the Middle East, there are few studies that examine the problem and no studies that look at tribalism as a cause of violence, even though students are fighting with dangerous instruments and receiving support from their family or community to do it. Researchers disagree about the causes and have attributed school violence to the Gulf War, conservative parents, negligent parents, and the methods of discipline in the classroom (Al Omar, 1993; Hirschi, 1969; Ministry of Education, 1994; Osterman, 2003). Because of the lack of definitive studies of the problem, this chapter examines studies of similar phenomena in the United States to identify possible causes of school violence in Kuwait.

School Violence in Kuwait and Middle Eastern Countries

Two Kuwaiti studies (Al Omar, 1993; Ministry of Education, 1994) have indicated that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 had a negative impact on student behavior. Al Omar was in Kuwait during the invasion and his study depended on his personal experiences, as well as his “educational experience in understanding and interpreting the phenomenon” (p. 7). He concluded that the Iraqi invasion had a psychological and emotional effect on the behaviors of students,

which might lead to the increased violence among youths. The Ministry of Education study (1994) used a sample of 209 delinquent male students in the five school districts in Kuwait. Participants were asked to respond to three questionnaires designed to measure the impact of three factors on their behavior: (a) the effect of the Iraqi invasion on the student's emotions (i.e. death of a relative because of the actions of Iraqi soldiers or having a relative prisoner in Iraqi jails); (b) the medical problems that might affect a student's behavior; and (c) the student's family circumstances that might cause him to behave violently, including treatment by his parents. The findings indicated that the Iraqi invasion had an impact on delinquent behavior, because students witnessed violent incidents, including executions in the streets.

However, as shown in Table 7, the number of juvenile cases from 1987-1999 in Kuwait does not reflect a large difference in the number of the cases before and after the Iraqi invasion. Furthermore, as shown in Table 1, TIMSS countries that ranked higher in school violence than Kuwait (i.e. Austria, Denmark, USA) have not experienced recent wars in their homelands (Akiba et al., 2002). It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that although the Iraqi invasion can be cited as having a negative impact on male students, it is not the entire explanation for the increase in school violence.

Although Watfa's (2002) study of traditional and modern trends (prevailing ways of thinking about superstitions) focused on superstitions, some of his findings were useful to the present study. In his survey of a sample composed of 1,025 students, teachers, and employees at Kuwait University, he found that tribal people in the tribal districts (Al Jahra, Al Ahmadi, and Al Farwania) have maintained a tribal culture that is formalized by a strong loyalty and adherence to the tribe. In addition, the tribal people in these districts have remained more dedicated than those in the other districts (Al Asemah, Hawalli) to superstitious beliefs and ideas

Table 7

Number of Juvenile Cases in Kuwait from 1987-1999

Year	Cases
1987	2540
1988	2323
1989	2484
1990	1164
1991	986
1992	2861
1993	3488
1994	2795
1995	3445
1996	3146
1997	2962
1998	2980
1999	2850

Note. The 1990 statistics were until June 1990 due to the Iraqi invasion. The Center of Social Work began its work in June 1991, a few months after Kuwait's liberation on February 26, 1991. Adapted from "Annual Statistical Report of Juveniles Administration," by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor, 1999, *Annual Report*, p. 23.

found in heroic poems and stories that they inherited from their ancestors (Watfa, 2002).

Therefore, conservative traditional thinking and beliefs related to the Bedouin social life are more prevalent and dominant in these districts than in the other districts. The highest percentage of school violence is in two of the tribal districts, Al Jahra and Al Ahmadi (Ministry of Education, 2000).

Al-Husaini (2001) conducted in-depth interviews with 10 high school teachers in several male high schools in Kuwait to find out about the types and causes of school violence and any solutions proposed to prevent or bring a decrease in the violence. Of these teachers, 2 were not Bedouin, 2 were foreigners, and 6 were Bedouin. Their experience ranged from 4 to 15 years, with 1 Bedouin and 1 non-Bedouin Kuwaiti having the least experience and 5 Bedouins having the most experience. These teachers identified tribal influence as one of the main driving factors in the ways students behave. They attributed the development of aggressive traits to the nature of the Bedouin community and the environment in which their ancestors lived, which, they also noted, contributed to a natural tendency to be hot tempered. In addition, they pointed out that highly cohesive tribal relationships were a very important element of school violence in Kuwait.

For the same study, Al-Husaini interviewed Faisal Al Abduljader the head of the Department of Social and Psychological Services at the Ministry of Education in Kuwait (personal communication, January 3, 2001). The purpose of the interview was to ask about the main causes of violence in Kuwaiti male high schools. Like the teachers, he emphasized that tribal influence is an important reason for students' aggressive behavior in Kuwaiti high schools (Al-Husaini, 2001).

Although many studies and sources indicated that there is an unusual amount of school violence in Kuwait, they do not give convincing reasons for it (Al Omar, 1993; Ministry of

Education, 1994; Ministry of Education, 2000). Some studies have indirectly indicated that the tribal areas are a problem (Ministry of Education, 2000; "Student Violence," 1999; "Violence in Schools," 1993; Watfa, 2002). The lack of research that focuses squarely on this problem probably reflects the sensitivity of the issue of tribal culture in the Arabian Gulf countries and in Kuwait, in particular. That all the leaders of Gulf Region countries have advisors who specialize in tribal and Bedouin affairs emphasizes how difficult it is to discuss problems rooted in tribal traditions and customs. This is especially true if by discussing these problems criticism is directed toward tribal customs. The situation is made even worse if the criticism comes from a person who is not a tribe member.

Alghamdi (1977) has investigated the most important reasons for juvenile delinquency among 120 high school students, ages 15-18 years, in Jeddah (a large city in Saudi Arabia) in terms of family structure, socio-economic status, and level of parental education. For the present study, his identification of a significant relationship between student delinquency and family structure is of interest. His findings indicated that the intact nuclear family was the most essential factor in protecting juveniles from joining gangs or associating with deviant peers. He, therefore, concluded that the family was the most important predictor of deviant behavior.

In a comparative study between delinquent and non-delinquent youths in Saudi Arabia to determine the differences among them regarding their attachment to parents, Amry (1979) surveyed 34 delinquents, ages 14 to 16 years, and 31 non-delinquents, ages 14 to 16 years. He indicated that the family structure was the most important and immediate factor when predicting delinquency. He found that a juvenile who lived with a stepparent or a single parent was more likely to be delinquent than those who lived with nuclear families.

In his study of how family impacts juvenile delinquency in Riyadh City (the capital of Saudi Arabia), Aljibrin (1994) surveyed 100 juvenile delinquent boys 13-18 years in age, who were in a correctional institution (a governmental institution where children under 18 are sent for committing crimes), and 100 boys 13-18 years in age with no known records of delinquency. He found that significant differences between the delinquent and non-delinquent participants were directly related to the polygamous family structure that is characteristic of many Arab households. In fact, he has indicated that juvenile boys tend to come from polygamous families.

Al Dokhy (2003) conducted a highly controversial study on the differences between depression and aggression in normal, delinquent, and abandoned juveniles in Kuwait. She used the Aggression Questionnaire of Buss and Perry (1992), which she translated into Arabic, to survey a sample of 482 (282 male and 200 female) high school students chosen from several Kuwaiti high schools. Her study focused on two separate categories, depression and aggression, to identify the differences among the three groups of children who were categorized as normal, delinquent, and abandoned children.

For the purpose of the present study, Al Dokhy's findings on aggression were of interest. They included: (a) abandoned children were more violent than any other group; (b) violence was higher among male students; and (c) anger was higher among females. Moreover, her study indicated that Al Asemahand Mubarak Al Kabeer school districts have higher rates of violence. In fact, most, if not all, the children with unknown parents lived in Al Asemahschool district. At this point, Al Dokhy's data about Al Asemah contradicted the researcher's data on Al Asemah, which showed this district to have a relatively low number of behavioral incidents reported to the police (see Table 6). However, Al Dokhy's work did support the theory that a relationship between age and aggression caused violent behavior to increase during the adolescent period of

12-16 years of age. The numbers of aggressive behaviors were significantly lower before and after this period.

School Violence and Crime in the United States

Research on school violence in the United States has highlighted the influence of community and neighborhood as an important factor contributing to school violence, even though this influence takes different forms from one community to the next. Citing several sources about the relationship between crimes committed in the schools and the crime rates in neighborhoods, Akiba (2001) concluded, “none of these studies empirically tested the relationship between school violence rates and crime rates” (p. 5). However, Sheley et al. (1992) have argued that the gun violence occurring around inner city schools is, for the most part, imported from outside the actual school community. Based on a cross-sectional survey of 1,653 male and female students from ten inner-city high schools in five cities in four states, Sheley et al. have concluded that problems of violence in inner city schools cannot be isolated from the problem of violence in the larger society. Violent neighborhoods and violent communities will always produce violent schools regardless of what preventive measures the schools adopt.

Hawkins et al. (2000) have pointed to several factors useful in predicting violence, including individual medical and physical factors, psychological factors, school factors, peer-related factors, situational factors, and community and neighborhood factors. However, they argued that no one factor can be the sole cause of delinquency. On the basis of their research, the authors concluded that “the larger the number of risk factors to which the individual is exposed, the greater the probability that the individual will engage in violent behavior” (p. 7).

Additionally, the research of Hawkins et al. (2000) has also pointed to some kind of relationship between school crime and many community factors, including the extent of racial

prejudice. Hawkins et al. based their conclusions on 66 studies drawn from Lipsey and Derzon's bibliography (1998), research reports provided by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Preventions (OJJDP) study group members, and analyses of the Seattle Social Department Project longitudinal data set. These studies included subjects who were juveniles living in their community (i.e., they were not incarcerated) when they were first assessed.

Hawkins et al. (2000) have discussed each of these factors briefly, because their conclusions reflected much of the other available research. They reported that robberies and assaults were twice as common in schools when the students lived in poverty. Hawkins' et al. study indicated that being raised in poverty, with all its possible related factors, including unemployed parent(s), single heads of households, and poor levels of education, makes it more likely that children will become involved in violence and criminal activities. What the authors did not say, but can be inferred, is that when these youths brought up in poverty attend school, they are often placed in slower tracks because of their inability to keep pace with the rest of their classmates. This kind of labeling leads to frustration and hostility that can turn into violence, especially if other students in their slower track are also being raised poverty. These children may form gangs and turn to deviant behavior.

Just as there are many theories of delinquency, there are also many of school violence and societal violence. They are interrelated, but each community and each school has its own personality, and the problems of crime, violence, and victimization may or may not reflect society (Bowen & Van Dorn, 2002). The basic causes of violence among youths, which range from how the parents view themselves as child-care providers to how a community can rid itself of ethnic and racial prejudice and drugs have to be explored (Kandakai, Price, Telljohann, & Wilson, 1999; Verdugo, 2002).

Patterson and Yoerger (1999) have further illustrated the seriousness of the issue in their study concerning covert antisocial behavior and increases in juvenile and, later, adult arrests. They found that there were three stages that led to chronic adult arrests: overt antisocial child, early arrest, and chronic juvenile arrest. They stated that disrupted parenting practices, social disadvantages, and family transitions characterized further movement through the stages. Aggression is often bred by the social environment; it differs only in the major factors each culture contributes to its formation. Bandura's (1977) social learning theory has explained this phenomenon indicating that individuals are more likely to adopt a modeled behavior if it results in outcomes they value; and, finally, individuals are more likely to adopt a modeled behavior if it is similar to the interests and values of the observer and has an admired status and functional value.

Hence, in order to say that school violence can be addressed effectively; there is a major need to understand what children are learning from their parents and the community. The Vermont-National Education Association (2003) indicated that "lack of cohesiveness, lack of services for children and families, and a hostile environment toward minorities are all problems that can reduce a child's resiliency to violence" (p. 23). Widespread community prejudices based on gender, religion, origin, race, and ethnicity make schools less safe.

Ethnicity, Belonging, and Culture

Ethnicity created by the differences among cultures often results in bias that creates discrimination and prejudice, harming people psychologically and economically and damaging self-esteem and self confidence as well (Bernard, 2001). Discrimination and prejudice, as the American Psychological Association (1993) has stated, "lay a foundation for anger, discontent, and violence" (p. 25). Using the results of mental health service programs providing an

integrated continuum of prevention and early intervention for school and community violence, Bernard (2001) has indicated that the values of communalism, family, and group harmony in many minority groups are major protective factors, because they deter violent behavior by increasing the youth's social support systems both inside and outside the family. Moreover, he argued that when ethnic minority youths have to negotiate difficult pathways to participation in mainstream American culture, the stage is set for violence.

Bernard (2001) added that any intervention must be consistent with the values, norms, and life circumstances of the targeted ethnic group to enhance resilience and prevent violence. The Bridging Cultures Project in the Los Angeles area, explained in detail in the *Cross-Cultural Theory* section of chapter 1, represented an attempt at intervention consistent with the cultural values of collectivism which characterizes many minority cultures. Their findings indicated that if the dominant culture was insensitive to the original culture of the children, the assimilation process for the minority children included rejection of their families and cultural values (Trumbull et al., 2001). This process left these children exposed to the unsavory influences of the dominant culture, including gangs and deviant behaviors, as they tried to win acceptance.

Bernard (2001) also indicated that many conflicts between values in the dominant American culture and those of ethnic minority cultures have occurred because the dominant American culture places value on individualism, which conflicts with the Hispanic, Asian, and Pacific Island American emphasis on family harmony, with the African American emphasis on communalism, and with the Native American emphasis on group cooperation. Bernard concluded that “assuring that interventions are based on appropriate cultural values will help promote healthy development and resilience, protect against harsh and stressful life conditions, and prevent violence among ethnic minority youth” (p. 6).

In his social learning theory, Bandura (1977) has noted that children learn many skills in the absence of direct reinforcement simply by watching others around them. Hence, social learning theory proposes that observational learning is responsible for a wide variety of a child's behaviors. Therefore, there is a direct correlation between school violence and community openness to ethnicity, diversity, and cultural values and differences. Prejudices born in the home can be reinforced by a community or a parental attitude hostile toward people perceived as different because of religion, ethnicity, race, gender, and disability (Bernard, 2001). Both latent and open hostility toward people based on such differences has all too often found expression in the words and actions of school children (Vermont-National Education Association, 2003). Discrimination and harassment of all sorts, including labeling and stereotyping, often escalate to violence among people or even among children.

The concept of stereotypes describes the human tendency to resort to a simplified image of a given social group in the face of a complex social reality (Mackie & Hamilton, 1993). Stereotypes frequently contain negative evaluative overtones caused by the underlying motivational need to evaluate one's in-group positively and to devalue the out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Slone, Tarrasch, and Hallis (2000) used a questionnaire based on a modified version of Dinner's (1993) scale to measure ethnic stereotypical attitudes of 209 Jewish Israeli students who, like most Israeli children, had never had any real contact with Arab children. They found that approximately 40% of the children considered the Arab children to be extremely unreliable, dirty, not law abiding, frightening, stupid, and unsociable. In contrast, the most extreme attributions given the Jewish children were that they were unreliable and timid.

Samuel and Zinaida (2001), whose investigation of the attitudes of Israeli students toward Jews who emigrated from Russian to Israel between 1990 and 1995 is explained in detail in the

Cross Cultural Theory section of chapter 1, also were interested in student responses to a large minority group (630,000 immigrants). They developed a questionnaire to measure the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses of the Israeli students toward their immigrant peers. They found that the participants stereotyped the immigrants by labeling them “Russians.” This kind of insensitive labeling emphasizes the cultural differences between the dominant majority and the newcomers and puts pressure on the minority to reject their cultural heritage in order to be assimilated or become part of the in- group.

Slone’s et al. (2000) findings supported the concept of the social distance proposed by Yuchtman-Yaar and Inbar (1986), who hypothesized a correlation between in-group and out-group distance and increased negative attributions toward out-group members. In addition, they also indicated that ethnicity was a primary factor in determining social distance between groups, which might lead to hate. Many intergroup perceptions that are divisive and damaging were not based on group information, but rather were dependent on stereotype bias that was created by hate or negative attitudes (Slone et al., 2000). The attribution of negative traits to a group can escalate into strong antipathies and impede attempts at conflict resolution between groups (Slone et al.).

Weller, Tortolero, and Keller (1999) used the Youth Risk Behavior Survey in an anonymous self-administered format to determine health risk behaviors of 562 ninth through twelfth grade students in 16 dropout prevention/recovery schools in Texas. Of the 470 who completed the survey, 64% were Hispanics, 24% were non-Hispanic Whites, 5.5% were Blacks and 6.6% were all other racial/ethnic groups (Asian, Pacific Islander, American Indian, Alaskan Native, mixed race). The ages of the participants ranged from 14 to 20 years, with 63% being 17 years or older. Behaviors measured included frequency of weapon-carrying and fighting, suicide-

related behaviors, substance use, and sexual behaviors. Their findings indicated that about twice as many “all other” students as Hispanic, Black, or White students reported weapon-carrying in the past month. The findings also revealed that 52% of the participants had parents whose educational levels did not extend beyond high school. It is tempting to infer from these findings that there is a relationship between culture and violent behavior and between the level of parental education and violent behavior of students.

In his study “Environmental Exposure to Violence and School Violence,” Lee A (2002) surveyed 313 students (131 males and 182 females) in grades 9-12 in a small urban school district in southern Texas. The ages ranged from 14-18 years, and 80% of the respondents indicated that they were African American, 2.9% White American, 11.5% Hispanic American, 1.6% Asian American, and 3.2% as other American. Of the 18 hypotheses measured to determine these students’ relationships with involvement in school violence, the most relevant ones to the present study were those based on ethnicity, family structure, student age and socio-economic status associated with the number of people in a household. All these were found to have a significant relationship with the involvement in school violence. Although it was tested several times with other variables such as age and gender, ethnicity was always found to have a significant relationship with a student’s involvement in school violence.

It is important to remember, however, that all of the studies discussed in this section were conducted in communities that are very different from the community that is the focus of this study. Kuwait is a homogenous community, and Kuwaitis practice the same religion and speak the same language. Therefore, ethnicity in Kuwait differs from ethnicity in other communities. It is more appropriate to define ethnicity in Kuwait as a social or tribal affiliation, because the

usual ethnicity principles (language, religion, origin, community nature) do not distinguish one group of Kuwaitis from another or one individual from another.

Family Structure and Size

Perhaps, the quality of family life is the largest single influence on any child (Campbell, 1991; Edelman, 1997). The family is considered the primary unit in which motivation for education and achievement is established and encouraged (Mathews, 1996). Some parents might not be as involved in their children's educational experience as others, because they had some bad experiences in school as children, or perhaps because they did not know how to make a difference in the educational experience of their child. Sometimes parents feel alienated by school officials, who, in turn, make no effort to reach out to them or to make them a part of the school life of their child (Charles, 1981). Children who are not given adequate emotional and social support at home that encourages them to work at being successful in school often seek attention in inappropriate ways in the school (Ciminillo, 1980). Therefore, the parents' presence in their children's life is very important to keep children under proper parental control and discourage inappropriate behavior at school. In fact, many of the studies that have examined how different levels of parental presence affect adolescents' involvement in delinquent behaviors have reported that the more parents monitored their adolescents' activities, the less likely the adolescents were to be involved in delinquent behavior (Carlo, Raffaelli, Laible, & Meyer, 1999; Flannery, Williams, & Vazsonyi, 1999; Kim, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999; Rodgers, 1999).

As mentioned earlier in the discussion of ethnicity, Lee A's (2002) study surveying 313 high school students indicated that both family structure (single parent and two parents) and number of people in the household had a significant relationship to a child's involvement in school violence. What is interesting in Lee A's study is that he tested the family variables

(family structure and number of people in household) in association with other variables such as ethnicity, age, socio-economic status compared with people in the household, and gender to see whether there was any influence of these variables on family size and structure. In fact, family variables in his study were always found to have a significant relationship with the involvement in school violence.

Because polygamy, which is a deeply rooted factor of Arab culture, is not a prevalent factor in the culture of the United States and other western countries, and because the size of the family in western culture is quite small, it was not possible to find studies that deal with the influence of people (father, mother, other wives, siblings, half siblings) in the household on school violence. All the studies reviewed tested the influence of the household income in terms of the number of people in the household on school violence. This lack of material on the effects of polygamy on school violence has created an unfortunate gap in the literature review. However, there was information on the student's age as it relates to violent behavior.

Student Age

As most of us can relate, the adolescent years are among the toughest in the human life cycle. A lot of changes and pressures are taking place. According to Pollack (1998), although puberty can begin as early as 8 years of age, usually this stage of human development begins when the child undergoes the biological changes of puberty and continues until adulthood, normally between the ages of 11 and 20 years. Immediately, it is important for teachers to note the reference to the biological changes occurring during adolescence which, in turn, can have a huge effect on a student's behavior.

A lot of children suffer from confusion during this time, especially when trying to figure out where they fit in and belong. It is a difficult time which needs a lot of patience and guidance

from teachers, parents and the community. However, more children during this time become extremely focused on themselves and egocentric which means personal uniqueness and intensity of feeling that are different from other individuals (Wood & Wood, 1999). Once again, it is important for authority figures to attempt to guide the adolescent through this time in order to avoid the self destructive behaviors that can occur and have long term consequences. For example, although this stage is considered normal, the attack of emotions and physical growth can be associated with insatiability and anger (Berton & Stabb, 1996).

According to the American Psychological Association (1993), teenagers are twice more likely to be involved in violent crimes than people over 20 years of age. Weller et al. (1999) have reported significant differences in the number of physical fights occurring in the year previous to their study and carrying weapons, all of which was based on age. Moreover, 14-15 year old students also reported a higher prevalence of weapon-carrying in the month before the study and physical fighting during the year before the study than older students did. In fact, based on their sample, Weller et al. (1999) have indicated that the younger students were more likely to engage in violent problems in schools. Lee A (2002) found student age to have a significant relationship with the student's involvement in school violence. Again, Lee A tested student age in association with other variables, including ethnicity, family structure, number of people in the household, socio-economic status, and gender, to see whether there was any influence on the variable of student age and involvement in school violence. The variable of student age in his study was always found to have a significant relationship with involvement in school violence.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to review studies that discussed the phenomenon of school violence. Although these studies have provided several explanations for the phenomenon,

nevertheless, the researcher has not found any American and Middle Eastern studies that have discussed the problem from the tribal aspect. Some American studies reviewed racism and ethnicity problems, but the tribal and non-tribal issue differs from racial or ethnic issues highlighted in American literature.

Furthermore, despite the large number of studies addressing the negative affect of the variables of ethnicity, family structure, student age, and so forth, it was not clear what the relationship between these variables and the characteristics of violent behavior in male public high school students in Kuwait is? The researcher hypothesized that applying cross-cultural theory and social learning theory, as proposed by Bandura (1977), Rotter (1975), and Patterson and Yoerger (1999), will help to draw out some of the sources of the problem and arrive at the necessary conclusions as to why the issue of violence in Kuwait's tribal districts appears higher than in other districts whose residents do not claim strong tribal affiliations (see Table 6).

PROLOGUE TO CHAPTER 3

Formal Education in Kuwait

What is considered formal education in Kuwait has changed over the years. In the past, Kuwaitis raised under Islamic and Arabic traditions, which insist on practicing religious rites like prayer, were required to read the Holy Qu'ran (Al Abdulghafoor, 1978). Therefore, people began to send their male children to mosques to learn these religious principles and how to read and write as well. As the number of students increased, the scholars designated special places in their own houses to teach students; these places were called Katateeb (singular Kuttab). After a while, the Katateeb were divided into two parts: one to teach reading and writing and the other to teach religious principles. Males went to these Katateeb starting in early childhood (Al Kandari, 1995). In 1916, a Kuwaiti woman began to teach girls religious principles. Ten years later, a Turkish woman opened the first female Kuttab where she taught the girls math, religion, and sewing (Al Abdulghafoor, 1978). In 1911, the first organized government male school was established. By 1924, the number had increased to three schools.

The discovery of oil initiated a gradual increase in the population of Kuwait, as shown in Table 8. As a result, education came under the control of the Kuwaiti government in 1936 (Al Abdulghafoor, 1978). When Kuwait became an independent country in 1961, this dramatic adjustment and ever-increasing oil prices forced the government to face the need for important social and economic changes (Al Kandari, 1995). Therefore, education became a major priority for the government. Hence, it is not surprising that the social and economic changes were not consistent with human development in Kuwait.

Table 8

Historical Kuwaiti Population

Year	1946	1956	1966	1976	1986	1996	2000
Population	10,000	208,000	516,000	1,066,400	1,775,000	1,590,000	2,228,363

Note. The data prior to 1950 are estimates. The decrease in 1996 reflects the expulsion of about 200,000 Palestinians and others the Kuwaiti government considered undesirable or threats to the country. Adapted from “Historical Demographical Data of Kuwait” by Jan Lahmeyer, 2001, *Population Statistics*.

The Educational System in Kuwait

Education in Kuwait is free for all stages from elementary school through university. However, it is compulsory only for children ages 6-14 years (elementary and intermediate levels). Currently, there are about 500,000 students enrolled in Kuwaiti schools, which constitutes approximately 30% of the population. The educational system is centralized in the Ministry of Education (see Figure 1), which supervises private and public education in Kuwait (see Figure 2). This means that the Ministry of Education designs the policies and curricula for the public schools and supervises the private schools as well. Although the Department of Private Education directly supervises private education, the Ministry of Education supervises public education in the six educational districts, Al Asemah, Hawalli, Al Farwania, Al Ahmadi, Al Jahra, and Mubark Al Kabeer, which was established in 2001, and, therefore, the only clear data available is the population of students. Each district has separate public schools for males and females (see Table 9). Although coeducational kindergartens are an option for children ages 4-6 years, all kindergarten teachers and personnel must be female. The educational stages in Kuwait are: 4 years of elementary school, 4 years of middle school, and 4 years of high school (see Table 10). University is available to those who qualify.

There are two types of public high school educational systems. One is the general education system, which consists of a year-long schedule for students. In other words, students stay in the same classroom and take the same courses with the same teachers throughout the two academic semesters of the school year. The second educational system, which started in 1979 in one school, is similar to the credit-related courses of the American high school system and is an option now available to all high school students. In this system, students take semester-long courses.

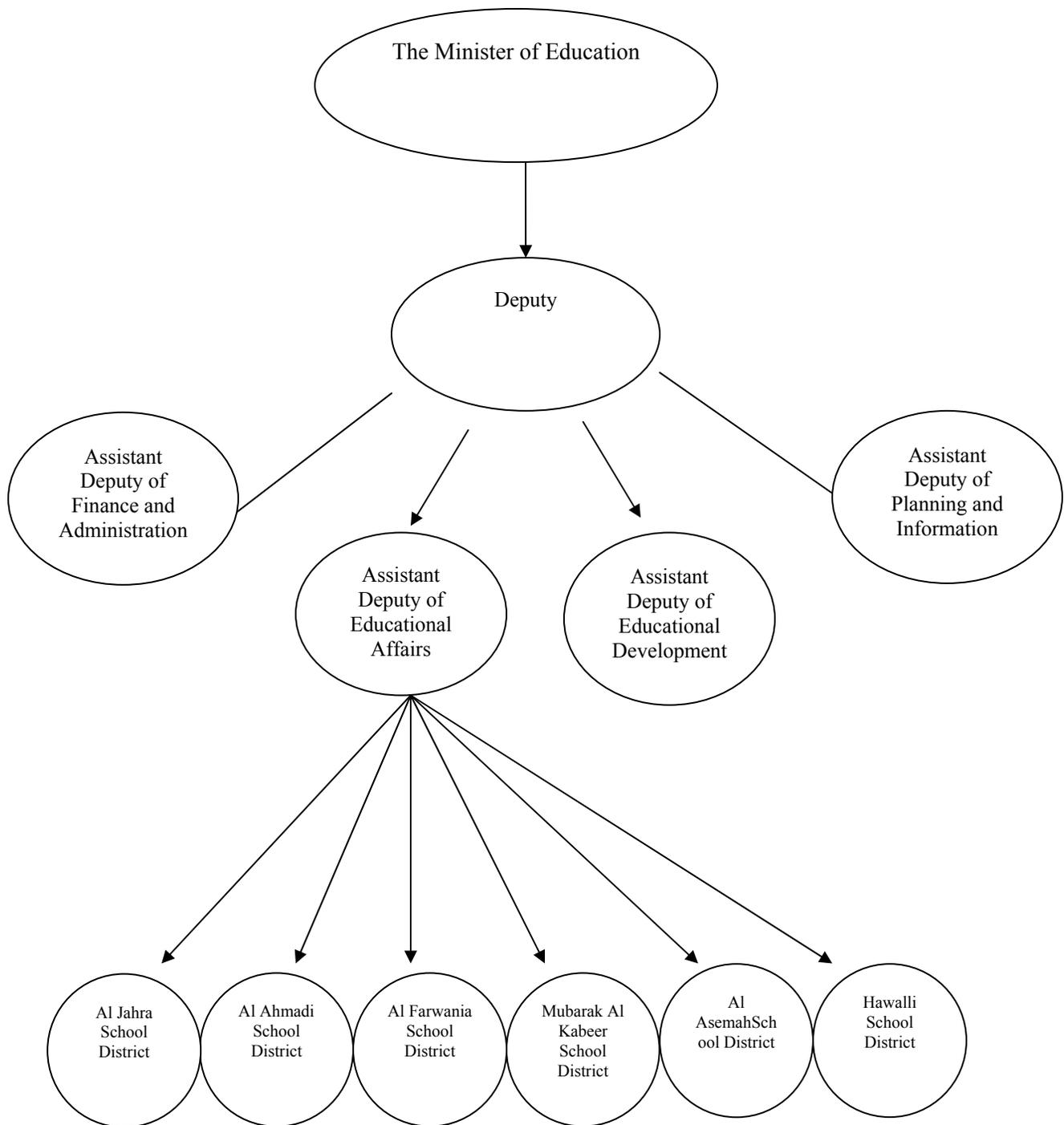


Figure 1. Centralized Decision Making Structure in the Educational System in Kuwait

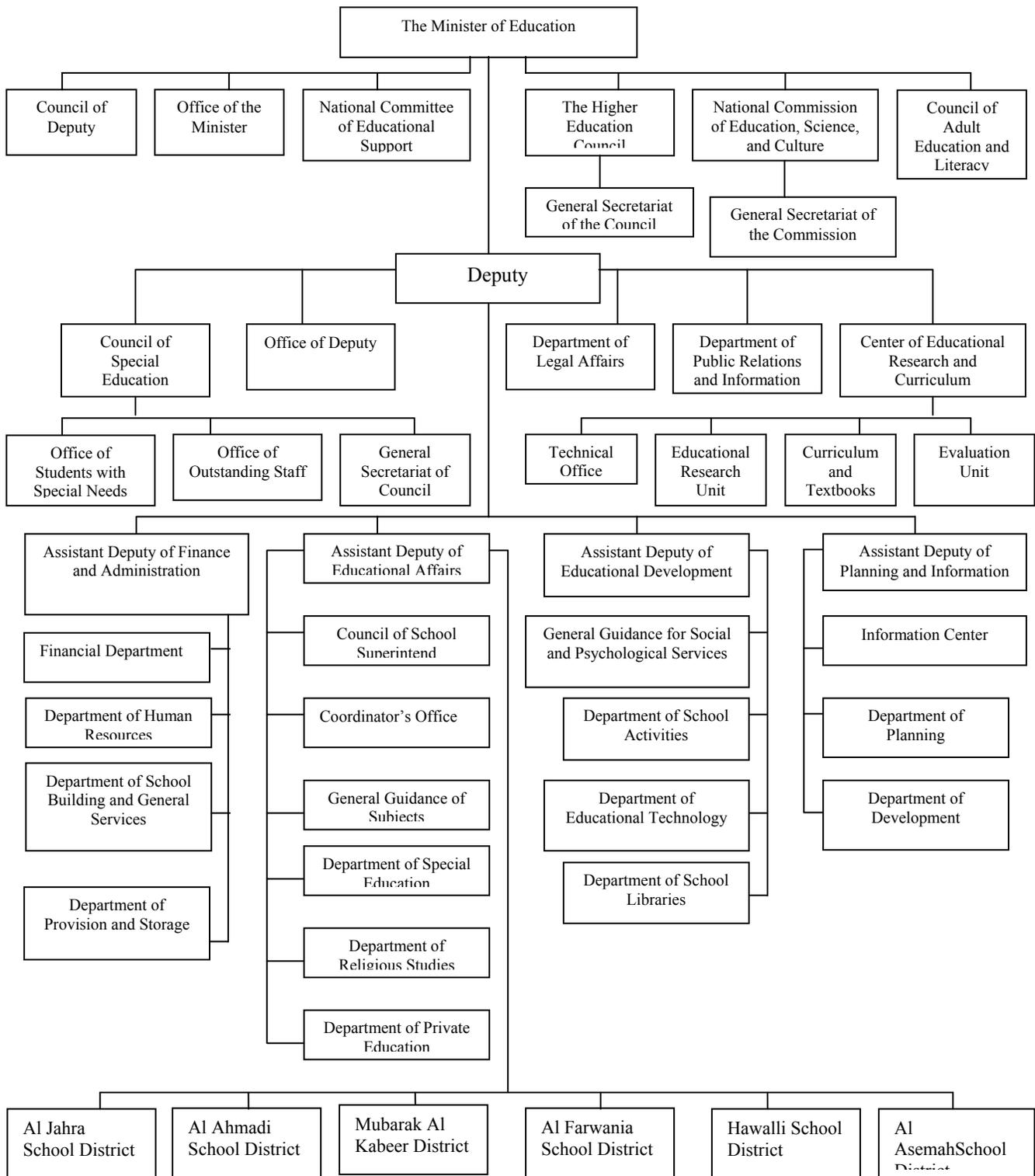


Figure 2. Organizational Structure of the Ministry of Education in Kuwait

Table 9

Data of Public Education by School District for the Academic Year 2001

School District		Schools	Classrooms	Students			Teachers		
				Kuwaiti	None-Kuwaiti	Total	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Total
Al Asemah	M	45	624	27,530	1,846	29,376	764	1,237	2,001
	F	81	894	26,250	2,002	28,252	3,429	400	3,829
Hawalli	M	33	533	21,732	2,517	24,249	612	977	1,589
	F	56	706	19,656	2,157	21,813	2,417	309	2,726
M. Al Kabeer	M	27	456	20,034	457	20,491	411	822	1,233
	F	58	750	23,072	543	23,615	2,190	471	2,661
Al Farwania	M	37	666	23,101	2,939	26,040	604	1,035	1,639
	F	66	984	26,574	3,059	29,633	3,333	432	3,765
Al Ahmadi	M	51	769	26,690	2,568	29,258	765	1,134	1,899
	F	75	1,047	28,688	2,542	31,230	3,367	578	3,946
Al Jahra	M	36	701	15,195	9,152	24,347	646	994	1,640
	F	54	903	16,142	9,627	25,769	2,336	573	2,909
Subtotal	M	229	3,749	134,282	19,479	153,761	3,802	6,199	10,001
	F	390	5,284	140,382	19,930	160,312	17,072	2,764	19,836
Total		619	9,033	274,664	39,409	314,073	20,874	8963	29,837

Note. Adapted from “Statistics of Ministry of Education,” by Ministry of Education, 2002, *Data of Governmental Education in Kuwait*.

Table 10

Data of Public Education by Educational Stage for the Academic Year 2001

Educational Stage	Schools	Classrooms	Students			Teachers				
			M	F	Total	Kuwaiti		Non-Kuwaiti		Total
						M	F	M	F	
Kindergarten	153	1,452	22,142	22,128	44,270	0	3,253	0	126	3429
Boy Elementary: Male Teachers	46	825	24,472	0	24,472	1,749	0	319	0	2,068
Boy Elementary: Female Teachers	46	834	24,324	0	24,324	0	1,823	0	140	1,963
Girl Elementary	92	1,644	0	49,322	49,322	0	3,900	0	220	4,120
Total elementary Schools	184	3,303	48,796	49,322	98,118	1,749	5,723	319	360	8,151
Male Middle Schools	78	1,554	47,955	0	47,955	1,135	0	2,260	0	3,395
Female Middle Schools	87	1,527	0	47,509	47,509	0	4,602	0	676	5,278
Total Middle Schools	165	2,081	47,955	47,509	95,464	1,135	4,602	2,260	676	8,673

(table continues)

Table 10 (continued)

	Schools	Classrooms	Students			Teachers				
			M	F	Total	Kuwaiti		Non-Kuwaiti		Total
						M	F	M	F	
General High Schools M	31	536	15,181	0	15,181	276	0	1,287	0	1,563
General High Schools F	30	661	0	19,939	19,939	0	1,3437	0	847	2,284
T	61	1,197	15,181	19,939	35,120	276	1,437	1,287	847	3,847
Credit High Schools M	28	0	19,687	0	19,687	642	0	1,934	0	2,576
Credit High Schools F	28	0	0	21,414	21,414	0	2,057	0	755	2,812
T	56	0	19,687	21,414	41,101	642	2,057	1,934	755	5,388
Total High Schools	117	1,197	34,868	41,353	76,221	981	3,494	3,221	1,602	9298
Total	619	8,033	153,761	160,312	314,073	3,865	17,072	5,800	2,764	29,551

Note. Adapted from “Statistics of Ministry of Education,” by Ministry of Education, 2002, *Data of Governmental Education in Kuwait*.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Purpose of the Study

The relationship between social affiliation and school violence is an important issue in Kuwait. The researcher has hypothesized that tribal and non-tribal students differ in the degree to which they exhibit characteristics of violent behavior. Sheley et al. (1992) have argued that violence that occurs around inner city schools is, for the most part, imported from outside the school community. Hawkins et al. (2000) stated, “the larger the number of risk factors to which the individual is exposed, the greater the probability that the individual will engage in violent behavior” (p. 7). Most of the research has pointed to some kind of relationship between school violence and community factors (Hawkins et al., 2000; Lawrence, 1998; Sheley et al. 1992).

In Kuwait, tribal people in the tribal districts (Al Jahra, Al Ahmadi, Al Farwania) maintain a tribal culture that is formalized by a strong loyalty and adherence to the tribe (Watfa, 2002). In contrast to the predominately non-tribal districts of Al Asemah, Hawalli, the people in these districts believe more strongly in superstitions and maintain beliefs about violence that they inherited from their ancestors (Watfa, 2002). Accordingly, because many of the violent incidents occur in school districts known for their large numbers of tribal members (see Table 6), it is tempting to blame the violence on tribal culture.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to identify and examine the violent behavior characteristics of tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait to see whether tribal traditions and self-reported violence are related.

Research Questions

Violent characteristic behaviors of male students in Kuwaiti public high schools were examined to identify whether a relationship exists between social affiliation and school violence in Kuwait. Therefore, the following research questions guided this study:

1. To what degree do male public high school students in Kuwait exhibit each of the four characteristics of violent behavior (physical violence, verbal violence, hostility, and anger)?
2. Are there any differences between the social affiliation (tribal and non-tribal) of male public high school students in Kuwait that affect the degree to which they exhibit each of the four characteristics of violent behavior (physical violence, verbal violence, hostility, and anger)?
3. Are there relationships between the demographic variables of household size, family structure, and student age with violent behavior among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait?

Research Hypotheses

This study was based upon the following major null hypotheses:

1. There are no significant differences in mean subscale scores between the four characteristics of violent behavior and the social affiliation of male public high school students in Kuwait.
2. There are no significant correlations between the demographic variables of household size, family structure, and student age and violent behavior among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait.

Significance of the Study

Existing research on school violence in the U.S. in particular and its relation to community factors has highlighted the importance of continuing to examine the influence of community cultures and values on student behaviors not only in the U.S., but also the rest of the world. Although the tribal culture in Kuwait makes this topic a sensitive issue for Kuwaitis, this study was the first one not limited by political, racial, or cultural restrictions to treat tribal customs and their influence on school violence. Fortunately, this study is synchronous with the global changes after the terrorist events of September 11, 2001 in the United States. Therefore, the findings of this study might be the first spark to an educational reform in Kuwait. In fact, determining the sources of school violence will help educational leaders at all levels in Kuwait, and in the greater Arab world, to design specific policies that can decrease school violence.

Population and Sample Size

The population of this study consisted of the public male high school students of the six educational districts in Kuwait. According to the Kuwaiti Ministry of Education (2002), there were approximately 34,868 students registered in the male public high schools. The sample of this study was 600 male public high school students randomly and proportionally selected from male public high schools in each of the six school districts.

A sample size calculator for surveys (Pearson NCS, 2003) was used to estimate the number of surveys needed to represent a population of 35,000. A 95% confidence level and 5% confidence interval were assumed. The results indicated that a sample of 380 surveys should be sufficient to represent the population. However, a more conservative sample of 600 was chosen to ensure that it is sufficient to represent the male high school population of approximately

35,000. Minimum numbers of Aggression Questionnaires to be distributed in the six educational districts are shown in Table 11.

The Instrument

The instrument used to collect data from the sample of students was the Arabic version of the Aggression Questionnaire by Buss and Perry (1992). For the convenience of the non-Arabic reader, the English version of this questionnaire can be found in Appendix A. Al Dokhy (2003) translated this questionnaire into the Arabic language and validated it in her study, “The Differences in Depression and Aggression between Normal, Delinquent, and Abandoned Juveniles” in Kuwait. The Arabic translation can be found in Appendix B, and Al Dokhy’s permission to use her translation for the present study is provided in Appendix C. The sample size for Al Dokhy’s study was 482 (282 male and 200 female) high school students; these students were chosen from several Kuwaiti high schools. Because the Aggression Questionnaire of Al Dokhy was used in the same community and applied to a sample similar to the sample of this study, it was essential to demonstrate the reliability of her study.

Al Dokhy’s (2003) Aggression Questionnaire consisted of 29 items. The scale was divided into four factors, hereafter referred to as subscales: Factor I—physical violence (items 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 15, 16, 22); Factor II—verbal violence (items 4, 12, 13, 17, 23, 24); Factor III—anger (items 5, 6, 14, 18, 19, 25, 26); and Factor IV—hostility (items 7, 8, 9, 20, 21, 27, 28, 29). A 4-point scale was used to indicate how characteristic or uncharacteristic each of the statements is in describing an individual (the Arabic and English demographic data sheets are provided in Appendices D & E). Appendices F and G provide reliability coefficients and inter-correlations of the factors used in the study.

Table 11

Minimum Number of Aggression Questionnaires to be Distributed in the Six School Districts

District	Number of Students	Proportion Represented %	Number of Questionnaires
Al Asemah	7,819	22.4	135
Hawalli	6,890	19.7	119
Mubarak Al Kabeer	5,356	15.3	92
Al Farwania	4,962	14.2	85
Al Ahmadi	5,424	15.5	93
Al Jahra	4,417	12.6	76
Total	34,868	100	600

Note. The number of questionnaires distributed in each educational district was figured by dividing number of students in each school district by the general total of students (34,868), and then multiplying the results by the total of the sample (600). Student data adapted from “Students’ Distribution by Educational Stages and Districts,” by Educational Statistics Department, Ministry of Education, 2002.

The *alpha* of 0.70 was calculated for the composite score on the Arabic version of the 8 items of physical aggression. The reliability of the verbal aggression, anger, and hostility subscales was 0.52, 0.65, and 0.72, respectively (see Appendix F). In summary, Al Dokhy's Aggression Questionnaire was found to have good reliability and validity with this population.

Furthermore, because the four aggression factors (subscale scores) should be related, a significant positive inter-correlation was found among all the factors (subscale scores). The internal consistency was determined to be acceptable, as shown in Appendix G. Therefore, because the Aggression Questionnaire of Al Dokhy (2003) was piloted and validated, it served as an appropriate instrument for this study.

Procedures for Conducting the Study

The following section addresses the series of steps followed when preparing for and in conducting the study. Included are the procedures for acquiring permissions for conducting the study from both Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and the appropriate Kuwaiti agencies. Following this is the description of the data collection and data analysis procedures.

Gaining Access

The approval of the Institutional Research Board (IRB) at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University was obtained to apply this study in Kuwait (Appendix H). In addition, the approval of the Ministry of Education in Kuwait was obtained to collect data in the male public high schools (Appendix I).

Data Collection

Due to some legal immigration restrictions, the researcher was not able to travel to Kuwait to collect the data. Therefore, the researcher assigned one main assistant representing the

researcher and another five assistants, who have conducted similar research, to assist him with the task of collecting data. Each assistant was assigned to one school district, thereby covering all six school districts in Kuwait.

The sample of 600 students was selected randomly and proportionally from the list of students in each school district by dividing the number of questionnaires that were distributed in a particular district into the total number of male high school students in that district. The result for each district was the base number for the random selection of participants. This sample size was chosen even though when the sample size calculator for surveys (Pearson NCS, 2003) was used to estimate the minimum number of surveys needed to represent a population of 35,000 male public high school students, a sample of 380 surveys was found to be a sufficient number. However, a sample of 600 was used to ensure a more than adequate representation of the male public high school population and to obtain the minimum number of 380 surveys in case of any had to be voided.

Consent forms for agreeing to participate in the study were obtained from each participant, who signed and returned his form to the researcher's assistants (see Appendixes J and K for copies of the English and Arabic consent forms). The time for answering the questionnaire took about 15-20 minutes. During that time, the researcher's assistants were available to answer participants' questions.

One of the participants raised an unexpected question while he was filling out the survey. He asked about the criteria for determining tribal and non-tribal identity, because it is common in Kuwait for tribal people to pronounce the letter "G" as it is, but for non-tribal people to pronounce "G" as "Y." In fact, he explained that even though he was a tribal student, he pronounced the letter "G" as "Y." Literally, he said, "I'm a tribal student, but I say 'Deyay'

(Chicken) instead of 'Dejaj.'" Although he was told to report himself as a tribal, because socially he still adheres to his tribe, his question raises a concern about whether or not more participants had the same thought but kept it hidden.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using the SPSS 11.5 version for Windows. Statistical procedures included a one-way ANOVA, Pearson's and Cramer's V correlations and then linear regression (utilizing dummy variables, where appropriate) to develop a linear model for predicting the score on the Aggression Questionnaire instrument. Internal consistency reliabilities for the scale used in this study were computed..

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter presents results of the statistical analysis for the study of the violent behavior characteristics of male public high school students in Kuwait. The following research questions guided the statistical analysis:

1. To what degree do male public high school students in Kuwait exhibit each of the four characteristics of violent behavior (physical violence, verbal violence, hostility, and anger)?
2. Are there any differences between the social affiliation (tribal and non-tribal) of male public high school students in Kuwait that affect the degree to which they exhibit each of the four characteristics of violent behavior (physical violence, verbal violence, hostility, and anger)?
3. Are there relationships between the demographic variables of household size, family structure, and student age and violent behavior among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait?

The results are presented in five parts: (1) sample demographic statistics; (2) sample descriptive statistics according to educational districts; (3) sample descriptive statistics according to social affiliations; (4) one-way ANOVA results; (5) regression analysis results.

Definitions of Demographic Variables

The demographic variables of this study were defined as follows:

Student Age: the age of the sample of male public high school students in Kuwait (ranged from 14-21 years old of age).

Family Size: number of people in household in which the student lived with excluding the student himself.

Nuclear Family: a family unit consisting of a mother and father and their children.

Multiple Wife Family: a family in which the father has more than one wife.

Single Head Family: a family with only a father or a mother and children.

Orphan: a student with no living parents.

Sample Demographic Statistics

The sample consisted of 600 male public high school students from the six educational districts in Kuwait. Although all 600 participants returned the questionnaires, the final total of the sample was 589 male public high school students. Eleven questionnaires were voided, because the students filled in more than one answer for each question. This number was not large enough to affect the validity of the study. The return rate of usable questionnaires was 98%.

The disaggregation of the sample demographic information is shown in Table 12. There were 268 tribal students (45.5%) and 321 non-tribal students (54.5%). Because the social affiliation findings presented no visible difference between the proportion of tribal and non-tribal participants, it is reasonable to conclude that this result represents the natural identity of the Kuwaiti community previously noted in Table 6.

The breakdown of participants by educational district is also shown in Table 12: Al Asemah 126 (21.4%), Hawalli 113 (19.2%), Mubarak Al Kabeer 93 (15.8%), Al Farwania 84 (14.3%), Al Ahmadi 91 (15.4%), and Al Jahra 82 (13.9%). In the breakdown by family structure, it is shown in Table 12 that 301 participants (51.1%) belonged to nuclear families, 131 (22.2%) to multiple wife families, and 111 (18.8%) to single head families. There were 46 (7.8%) orphans. Finally, as shown in Table 13, the mean age of participants was 16.27 years ($SD = 1.35$). The mean of household size was 6.81 people ($SD = 2.7$), with the number of occupants per household ranging from 2-22 people.

Table 12

Demographic Statistics of Male Public High School Participants in Kuwait by Social Affiliation, Educational District, and Family Structure

Category	Sub-category	Number of Useable Surveys	%
Social affiliation	Tribal	268	45.5
	Non-tribal	321	54.5
	Total	589	100
Educational district	Al Asemah	126	21.4
	Hawalli	113	19.2
	Mubarak Al Kabeer	93	15.8
	Al Farwania	84	14.3
	Al Ahmadi	91	15.4
	Al Jahra	82	13.9
	Total	589	100
Family structure	Nuclear	301	51.1
	Multiple wife	131	22.2
	Single head	111	18.8
	Orphans	46	7.8
	Total	589	100

Table 13

Means and Standard Deviations of Student Age and Household Size of the Sample of Male

Public High School Students in Kuwait

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Student age	14	21	16.27	1.35
Household size	2	22	6.81	2.7

Demographic Statistics of Participants by Educational District

The demographic breakdown of participants by educational district in Table 14 shows the majority of the sample in Al Asemahand Hawalli Educational Districts did not have tribal affiliations. In Al Asemahthere were 122 non-tribal students or 96.8% of the district's sample size and only 4 tribal students or 3.2% of the district's sample size. In Hawalli there were 105 non-tribal students or 92.9% of the district's sample size and only 8 tribal students or 7.1% of the district's sample size. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that these two educational districts are located in non-tribal areas.

However, as shown in Table 14, in Mubarak Al Kabeer and Al Farwania Educational Districts there were almost no difference between the number of tribal and non-tribal participants. The 47 non-tribal students in Mubarak Al Kabeer Educational District represent 50.5% of the district's sample size and the 46 tribal students 49.5% of the sample size. In Al Farwania Educational District the 44 tribal students represent 52.4% of the district's sample size and the 40 non-tribal students 47.6% of the district's sample size. It can be concluded that these two educational districts are located in mixed areas due to the similar proportions of both tribal and non-tribal groups.

As indicated Table 14, in Al Ahmadi and Al Jahra Educational Districts the balance shifts toward a more tribal than non-tribal sample. In Al Ahmadi the sample consisted of 86 tribal students, which represented 94.5% of the district's sample size and 5 non-tribal students or 5.5% of the district's sample size. In Al Jahra Educational District the sample consisted of 80 tribal students which represented 97.6% of the district's sample size and only 2 non-tribal students which represented 2.4% of the district's sample size. In contrast to the Al Asemahand Hawalli Educational Districts, where most of the students did not have tribal affiliations, the majority

Table 14

Social Affiliation by Educational District of the Sample of Male Public High School Students in Kuwait

Educational district	Tribal		Non-tribal		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Al Asemah	4	3.2	122	96.8	126	100
Hawalli	8	7.1	105	92.9	113	100
Mubarak Al Kabeer	46	49.5	47	50.5	93	100
Al Farwania	44	52.4	40	47.6	84	100
Al Ahmadi	86	94.5	5	5.5	91	100
Al Jahra	80	97.6	2	2.4	82	100
Total	268		321		589	

of those in Al Jahra and Al Ahmadi Educational Districts did have tribal affiliations, which indicates these districts are located in tribal areas.

Detailed data on the distribution of the family structure of the participants in all the educational districts is shown in Table 15, in which the simple breakdown of participants by family structure shows the prevalence of the nuclear family structure. The breakdown of family structure by educational district shows that in Alsemah 81 participants (64.3%) reported they were from nuclear families, 15 participants (11.9%) reported they were from multiple wife families, 23 participants (18.3%) reported they were from single head families, and 7 participants (5.6%) reported they were orphans. In Hawalli 53 (46.9%) participants reported they were from nuclear families, 23 participants (20.4%) reported they were from multiple wife families, 23 participants (20.4%) reported they were from single head families, and 14 participants (12.4%) reported they were orphans. In Mubarak Al Kabeer Educational District, 49 participants (52.7%) reported they were from nuclear families, 20 participants (21.5%) reported they were from multiple wife families, 18 (19.4%) reported they were from single head families, and 6 participants (6.5%) reported they were orphans. In Al Farwania Educational District, 45 participants (53.6%) reported they were from nuclear families, 19 participants (22.6%) reported they were from multiple wife families, 15 participants (17.9%) reported they were from single head families, and 5 participants (6.0%) reported they were orphans. Further, in Al Ahmadi Educational District, 39 participants (42.9%) reported they were from nuclear families, 29 participants (31.9%) reported they were from multiple wife families, 16 participants (17.6%) reported they were from single head families, and 7 participants (7.7%) reported they were

Table 15

Family Structure Distribution of Participants by Educational District

Educational district	Nuclear		Multiple wife		Single head		Orphans		Total	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Al Asemah	81	64.3	15	11.9	23	18.3	7	5.6	126	100
Hawalli	53	46.9	23	20.4	23	20.4	14	12.4	113	100
Mubark Al Kabeer	49	52.7	20	21.5	18	19.4	6	6.5	93	100
Al Farwania	45	53.6	19	22.6	15	17.9	5	6.0	84	100
Al Ahmadi	39	42.9	29	31.9	16	17.6	7	7.7	91	100
Al Jahra	34	41.5	25	30.5	16	19.5	7	8.5	82	100
Total	301		131		111		46		589	

orphans. Finally, in Al Jahra Educational District, 34 participants (41.5%) reported they were from nuclear families, 25 participants (30.5%) reported they were from multiple wife families, 16 participants (19.5%) reported they were from single head families, and 7 participants (8.5%) reported they were orphans. Although these numbers highlight the predominance of the nuclear family in Kuwait, it is interesting to look more closely at the numbers of participants from multiple wife households. In the predominantly non-tribal Hawalli Educational District, as well as in the mixed districts of Mubarak Al Kabeer and Al Farwania, there was very little difference between the number of participants belonging to multiple wife and single head families. However, the non-tribal district of Al Asemahhad fewer multiple wife families than single head families. In the tribal districts of Al Ahmadi and Al Jahra, even though the number belonging to single head families remains consistent with the other districts, the number of participants belonging to nuclear families drops dramatically and the number belonging to multiple wife families rises. It is possible to conclude from the number of participants belonging to multiple wife families in Al Ahmadi and Al Jahra Educational Districts that tribal customs and behaviors are still widely observed in these districts. It is also possible to conclude from the low number of participants in multiple wife households in the non-tribal Al Asemah Educational District that maintaining tribal customs and behaviors is less important to families in this district.

Detailed data on the frequencies of student ages in each of the six educational districts is provided in Table 16, which shows the mean participant age as 16.27 years ($SD = 1.35$) and the ages ranging from 14-21 years. In all six districts, the minimum student age was 14 years, but the maximum age varied from district to district. In Alsemah Educational District, the maximum age was 20 years and the mean 15.66 years ($SD = 1.01$). In the districts of Hawalli and Al Farwania,

Table 16

Participant Ages by Educational District

Educational district	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Al Asemah	14	20	15.66	1.01
Hawalli	14	20	16.63	1.01
Mubark Al Kabeer	14	21	15.95	1.56
Al Farwania	14	20	16.78	1.22
Al Ahmadi	14	21	15.85	1.48
Al Jahra	14	21	16.98	1.25

the maximum ages were the same as those in Alsemah Educational District, but the mean changed to 16.63 years ($SD = 1.01$) and 16.78 years, ($SD = 1.22$), respectively. In Mubarak Al Kabeer, Al Ahmadi, and Al Jahra Educational Districts, the maximum age increased to 21 years and the means equaled 15.95 years ($SD = 1.56$), 15.85 years ($SD = 1.48$), and 16.98 years ($SD = 1.25$), respectively.

Detailed data on the frequencies of household sizes of participants by educational district is provided in Table 17. In all the districts the minimum household consisted of two people, but the maximum size varied from district to district. In Al Asemah Educational District, the maximum household size was 10 people and the mean equaled 6.05 ($SD = 2.02$). In Hawalli Educational District the maximum consisted of 13 people and the mean equaled 6.15 ($SD = 2.11$). In Mubarak Al Kabeer Educational District the maximum household size was 12 people and the mean equaled 6.39 ($SD = 2.56$), and in Al Farwania Educational District, the maximum was 15 people and the mean equaled 6.88 ($SD = 2.49$). In Al Ahmadi Educational District the maximum household consisted of 16 people and the mean equaled 8.04 ($SD = 2.91$), and in Al Jahra Educational District the maximum was 22 people and the mean equaled 7.91 ($SD = 3.53$).

It is important to note that in Hawalli Educational District, the maximum household size of 13 is misleading. Of the 113 participants in this district, only one reported belonging to a household of 13, while 4 reported belonging to a household of 10 people, which is more consistent with the expected maximum for a non-tribal district. In contrast, in the mixed district of Mubarak Al Kabeer, 5 participants reported that they were members of a household of 12 people. Taking the anomaly of a single household of 13 people in Hawalli into account, Table 17 shows an increase in the size of households as the number of tribal participants' increases. This

Table 17

Household Size of Participants by Educational District

Educational district	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Al Asemah	2	10	6.05	2.02
Hawalli	2	13	6.15	2.11
Mubark Al Kabeer	2	12	6.39	2.56
Al Farwania	2	15	6.88	2.49
Al Ahmadi	2	16	8.04	2.91
Al Jahra	2	22	7.91	3.53

includes household sizes of participants in the districts of Mubarak Al Kabeer and Al Farwania where there was little difference in the number of tribal and non-tribal participants and in the predominantly tribal districts of Al Ahmadi and Al Jahra.

Sample Demographic Statistics According to Social Affiliations

Detailed data on the distribution of participants in the six educational districts by social affiliation (tribal and non-tribal) is provided in Table 18. In Al Asemah Educational District there were 4 tribal students or 1.5% of the total tribal sample of 268 and 122 non-tribal students or 38% of the total non-tribal sample of 321. In Hawalli Educational District there were 8 tribal students or 3% of the tribal sample and 105 or 32.7% of the non-tribal sample. In Mubarak Al Kabeer Educational District there were 46 tribal students or 17.2% of the tribal sample and 47 non-tribal students or 14.7% of the non-tribal sample. In Al Farwania Educational District the number of tribal students, 44 or 16.4% of the 268 tribal participants, increased while the number of non-tribal students, 40 or 12.5% of the 321 non-tribal participants, decreased. In contrast to Al Asemah and Hawalli Educational Districts where the non-tribal participants represented a large percentage of the total non-tribal sample, in Al Ahmadi and Al Jahra Educational Districts the majority of those surveyed had tribal affiliations and represented a large percentage of the total tribal sample. In Al Ahmadi Educational District there were 86 tribal students or 32.1% of the 268 tribal participants and 5 non-tribal students or 1.6% of the 321 non-tribal participants, while in Al Jahra Educational District there were 80 tribal students or 29.9% of the tribal sample and 2 non-tribal students or 0.6% of the non-tribal sample. The detailed data in Table 18 supports the conclusion drawn from Table 14 that the survey sample adequately represented the natural identity of the Kuwait community.

Table 18

Distribution of Sample of the Study by Social Affiliation (Tribal and Non-tribal) in Each Educational District

Educational district	Tribal		Non-tribal		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number
Al Asemah	4	1.5	122	38	126
Hawalli	8	3	105	32.7	113
Mubarak Al Kabeer	46	17.2	47	14.6	93
Al Farwania	44	16.4	40	12.5	84
Al Ahmadi	86	32.1	5	1.6	91
Al Jahra	80	29.9	2	0.6	82
Sub-Total	268	100	321	100	589

The distribution of family structures for both tribal and non-tribal participants is shown in Table 19. Of the 268 participants reporting tribal affiliations 118 or 44% indicated that they were from nuclear families. Of the 321 non-tribal students 183 or 57% reported that they were from nuclear families. Seventy-four tribal participants (27.6%) indicated they were from multiple wife families while 57 non-tribal participants (17.8%) reported that they were from multiple wife families. Fifty-four tribal participants (20.1%) indicated that they were from single head families while 57 non-tribal participants (17.8%) reported that they were from single head families. Finally, 22 tribal participants (8.2%) indicated that they were orphans while 24 non-tribal participants (7.5%) reported that they were orphans. Table 21 highlights the similarities of family structure between tribal and non-tribal participants. The most notable difference between the two groups occurs in the percentage of tribal and non-tribal participants who belonged to multiple wife families.

Means and standard deviations of student age and household size of each social group (tribal and non-tribal) are provided in Table 20. Ages of participants in both groups ranged from 14-21 years. The mean age of tribal students equaled 16.40 years ($SD = 1.46$), and the mean age of non-tribal students equaled 16.15 years ($SD = 1.23$). Also, as shown in Table 20, the range of household size varied considerably between tribal and non-tribal participants. Both groups had the same minimum of 2 household members, but the maximum number of household members for tribal participants was 22, while the maximum for non-tribal participants was 13. The mean of the household size of tribal students equaled 7.76 ($SD = 3.03$), and the mean of the household size of non-tribal students equaled 6.01 ($SD = 2.07$). In fact, the data in Table 20 reflect that both the maximum value and mean of household size of tribal students are larger than the maximum value and mean of household size of non-tribal students.

Table 19

Distribution of Family Structure by Social Affiliation (Tribal and Non-tribal)

Social affiliation	Nuclear family		Multiple wife family		Single head family		Orphans	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Tribal	118	44.0	74	27.6	54	20.1	22	8.2
Non-tribal	183	57.0	57	17.8	57	17.8	24	7.5

Table 20

Means and Standard Deviations of Age and Household Size by Social Affiliation (Tribal and Non-tribal)

Category	Social affiliation	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Student ages	Tribal	14	21	16.40	1.46
	Non-tribal	14	21	16.15	1.23
Household sizes	Tribal	2	22	7.76	3.03
	Non-tribal	2	13	6.01	2.07

Reliability of the Scale

The Cronbach's *alpha* reliability coefficients of the Aggression Questionnaire composite score and its subscale scores for the sample used in the study are provided in Table 21. The reliability of 0.743 was calculated for the total scores of the four subscales (physical violence, verbal violence, anger, and hostility) of the Arabic version of the Aggression Questionnaire. The reliability of the physical violence subscale was 0.559, verbal violence subscale was 0.699, anger subscale was 0.649, and hostility subscale was 0.720. In summary, the Arabic version of the Aggression Questionnaire was found to have good reliability with the sample of this study.

Descriptive Statistics

The means and standard deviations of the four characteristics of violent behavior (physical violence, verbal violence, anger, and hostility) subscale scores among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait are provided in Table 22. The composite score for the Aggression Questionnaire is also shown in Table 22. For tribal students, the mean score of physical violence score equaled 17.48 ($SD = 4.92$), the mean score of verbal violence equaled 15.27 ($SD = 3.37$), the mean score of anger equaled 16.58 ($SD = 4.10$), the mean score of hostility equaled 19.15 ($SD = 4.81$), and the mean score of the total violence equaled 68.50 ($SD = 13.28$). However, for non-tribal students, the mean score of physical violence equaled 15.41 ($SD = 4.90$), the mean score of verbal violence equaled 13.64 ($SD = 3.57$), the mean score of anger equaled 14.75 ($SD = 4.25$), the mean score of hostility equaled 17.02 ($SD = 5.10$), and the mean composite score equaled 60.84 ($SD = 14.07$). A comparison of these mean scores reveals that in addition to the mean composite score for the Aggression Questionnaire, each of the means of the four characteristics of violent behavior of tribal students were higher than the same for non-tribal students.

Table 21

Sample Reliability of the Aggression Questionnaire Subscale Scores and the Composite Scores

Subscales	<i>n</i> of items	<i>N</i> of cases	Cronbach's <i>Alpha</i>
Physical violence	8	589	0.559
Verbal violence	6	589	0.699
Anger	7	589	0.649
Hostility	8	589	0.720
Composite	29	589	0.743

Table 22

Sample Means and Standard Deviations of the Aggression Questionnaire Subscale Scores and the Composite Scores between Tribal and Non-Tribal Male Public High School Students in Kuwait

Subscales	Tribal		Non-tribal	
	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Physical violence	17.48	4.92	15.41	4.90
Verbal violence	15.27	3.37	13.64	3.57
Anger	16.58	4.10	14.75	4.25
Hostility	19.15	4.81	17.02	5.10
Composite	68.50	13.28	60.84	14.07

Data Analysis

This section provides a description of the results of the analysis. First, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to investigate the first research hypothesis: there are no significant differences in mean subscale scores between the four characteristics of violent behavior and social affiliation of male public high school students in Kuwait. Secondly, Pearson correlation and then multiple linear regressions with dummy variables to develop multiple linear models for predicting the tendency of participants for violence were conducted to investigate the second research hypothesis: there are no significant correlations between the demographic variables of household size, family structure, and student age and violent behavior among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait.

As indicated in Table 23, one-way ANOVA was conducted to see whether the differences between the means of tribal and non-tribal groups were significantly different or not. The one-way ANOVA found significant differences among all comparisons assessed: Physical violence, $F(1, 587) = 25.85, p = .000$; Verbal violence $F(1, 587) = 32.01, p = .000$; Anger $F(1, 587) = 27.94, p = .000$; Hostility $F(1, 587) = 26.77, p = .000$. Therefore, the null hypotheses that there are no significant differences in mean subscale scores between the four characteristics of violent behavior and social affiliation of male public high school students in Kuwait was rejected.

A multiple linear regression was conducted to determine the plausible predictor variables for violent behavior in male high school students. Dummy variables for family type (dummy nuclear, dummy multiple wife, dummy single head, and dummy orphan) and social affiliations (dummy tribal and dummy non-tribal) were created. As shown in Table 24, there was a significant relationship between composite score of the Aggression Questionnaire and the participant age ($r = .095, p = .01$). In addition, as provided in Table 25, using Cramer's V to

Table 23

One-way ANOVA of the Total Violence and the Four Characteristics of Violent Behavior of Participants

Subscales		<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	Sig.
Physical violence	Between groups	624.410	1	624.410	25.839	.000
	Within groups	14185.003	587	24.165		
	Total	14809.413	588			
Verbal violence	Between groups	388.661	1	388.661	32.011	.000
	Within groups	7127.081	587	12.142		
	Total	7515.742	588			
Anger	Between groups	490.493	1	490.493	27.937	.000
	Within groups	10305.897	587	17.557		
	Total	10796.390	588			
Hostility	Between groups	661.828	1	661.828	26.770	.000
	Within groups	14512.166	587	24.723		
	Total	15173.993	588			
Composite	Between Groups	8570.272	1	8570.272	45.520	.000
	Within Groups	110518.505	587	188.277		
	Total	119088.778	588			

Table 24

Pearson Correlations (r) of the Aggression Questionnaire with Age and Family Size of Male

Public High School Students in Kuwait

	Composite Score	Age	Family size
Age	.095	1.000	.055
Family size	.065	.055	1.000
Composite Score	1.000	.095**	.065

Note. N = 589

** p < .01

Table 25

Cramer's V Associations of Social Affiliation with Family Type

	<i>F</i>	Sig.
Social Affiliations	.446**	.000
Family Type	.310	.436

Note. $N = 589$

** $p < .01$

determine correlation among nominal variables, significant correlation was found between composite score of the questionnaire and social affiliation ($V = .446, p = .000$). However, significant correlation was not found between composite score of the questionnaire and the family type ($V = .319, p = .436$).

In the multiple linear regression analysis the independent variables student age, family size, family type (coded as four dummy variables: nuclear family, multiple wives, single head, and orphans), and type of social affiliation (coded as two dummy variables: tribal and non-tribal) were entered. As shown in Table 26 The ANOVA of Regression, the selected model was found significant at .01 level ($F = 8.524, p = .000$). Therefore, as shown in Table 27, in the model (all models are provided in Appendix L), student age ($B = .077, t = 1.914, p = .056$) and social affiliation (dummy tribal) ($B = .264, t = 6.207, p = .000$) were found to be significant predictors of violent behavior. Overall, as the selected model shows, the regression results indicate that student age and social affiliation (tribal) were found to be significant predictors of violent behavior as determined by the Aggression Questionnaire in male public high school students in Kuwait.

The generic multiple linear regression procedure estimated a linear equation of the form:

$$\hat{Y} = a + bX_1 + bX_2$$

Where:

\hat{Y} is the dependent variable, the predicted composite score on the participant's Aggression Questionnaire

a is the intercept or constant in the coefficients table,

X_1 is the value of the independent variable, the participant's age

X_2 is the value of independent dummy variable,

b is the amount of difference in \hat{Y} associated with a one-unit difference in X

Hence, the “best” multiple regression equation to predict the score on the Aggression Questionnaire instrument was determined to be,

$$\hat{Y} = 52.98 + (\text{Age} * 0.81) + (\text{Tribal} * 7.54)$$

Summary

The study findings indicate that tribal students may tend to exhibit more violent behavior (as indicated by higher composite scores on the Aggression Questionnaire). In other words, the results showed that higher mean scores on the Aggression Questionnaire were more likely to be higher among tribal students than among non-tribal students in Kuwaiti male public high schools. There was no significant relationship between family structure and family size and violent behavior. However, there was a significant relationship between both student age and social affiliation (tribal) with violent behavior. Therefore, student age and social affiliation (tribal) were better predictors of the higher Aggression Questionnaire composite scores of male public high school students in Kuwait to behave violently than the other variables studied.

Table 26

ANOVA of Regression

Model		<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	Sig.
Selected Model	Regression	9619.902	6	1603.317	8.524	.000*
	Residual	109468.876	582	188.091		
Total		119088.778	588			

Note. * $p < .01$

Table 27

Linear Regression Model of Characteristics of Violent Behavior of Male Public High School Students in Kuwait

Model	Unstandardized coefficient		Standardized coefficient	<i>t</i>	Sig.	Correlations			Collinearity statistics	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Beta			Zero	Partial	Part	Tolerant	VIF
Constant	52.985	8.134		6.514	.000					
Student age	.813	.424	.077	1.914	.056	.095	.079	.076	.976	1.025
Family size	-.137	.234	-.026	-.584	.559	.065	-.024	-.023	.801	1.249
d. Nuclear family	-1.025	2.176	-.036	-.471	.638	.066	-.020	-.019	.270	3.704
d. Multiple wives	-2.254	2.383	-.066	-.946	.344	-.055	-.039	-.038	.325	3.074
d. Single head	-2.611	2.428	-.072	-1.075	.283	-.042	-.045	-.043	.354	2.824
d. Tribal	7.544	1.215	.264	6.207	.000	.268	.249	.247	.872	1.147

Note. d. = dummy variable.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides a discussion of the principal responses of the male Kuwaiti high school students who participated in this study. In addition, it highlights some general conclusions and makes some recommendations for further research in the field.

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between social affiliation and school violence among male public high school students in Kuwait. Specifically, this study was concerned with investigating the violent behavior characteristics of tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait and the relationship between family structure, family type, and student age of those students and school violence to determine whether the tribal culture contributes to the school violence phenomenon in male public high schools in Kuwait..

One-way ANOVA was conducted to test the first null hypothesis: there are no significant differences in mean subscale scores between the four characteristics of violent behavior and social affiliation of male public high school students in Kuwait. Pearson's and Cramer's V correlations and multiple linear regressions were used to develop a linear model for predicting the composite scores on the Aggression Questionnaire were conducted to investigate the second null hypothesis: there are no significant correlations between the demographic variables of household size, family structure, and student age and violent behavior among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait.

The Aggression Questionnaire

This study used an Arabic translation (Al Dokhy, 2003) of the Aggression Questionnaire designed by Buss and Perry (1992) to collect data from 600 male public high school students. The aggression scale measured four factors (indicated by separate subscales). The first two, physical violence and verbal violence, consisted of hurting or harming others and represented the

instrumental or motor component of behavior. The third factor, anger, included physiological arousal and preparation for aggression and represented the emotional or affective component of behavior. The fourth, hostility, consisted of feelings of ill will and injustice and represented the cognitive component of behavior (Buss & Perry, 1992). This division of behavior into these four factors appears to be an accurate reflection of the personality traits of the aggressive participant among Kuwaiti males (Buss & Perry, 1992). The results of the present study showed that the relationships among these factors were strongly correlated with this sample, and the composite scores of the four subscales provided an acceptable level of reliability coefficients, ranging from 0.559 to 0.720.

Discussion of Analysis Results

The first null hypothesis (there are no significant differences in mean subscale scores between the four characteristics of violent behavior and social affiliation of male public high school students in Kuwait) was rejected. In fact, the mean subscale scores of the composite scale and the mean subscale scores of the four characteristics of violent behavior (physical violence, verbal violence, anger, and hostility) were found to be higher among tribal students than non-tribal students: physical violence, $F(1, 587) = 25.84, p = .000$; verbal violence $F(1, 587) = 32.01, p = .000$; anger $F(1, 587) = 27.94, p = .000$; hostility $F(1, 587) = 26.77, p = .000$. As a whole, both groups significantly differ in all subscales. The tribal participant's higher mean composite scores indicated that tribal students may exhibit more instances of violent behavior. These findings suggest that the tendency for committing violent behavior is more likely to be higher among tribal students than among non-tribal students. These results supported the findings of the studies of Al-Husaini (2001) and the Ministry of Education in Kuwait (2000) that identified participation in a tribal culture as a contributor to school violence in Kuwait. They

also supported the findings of Lee A (2002), Slone, et al. (2000), and Weller, et al. (1999) regarding the relationship between culture and violent behavior.

The results of the present study also indicated that tribal students in Kuwait were more likely to resort to violent behaviors in response to potentially difficult or volatile situations than non-tribal students. The first chapter has documented that the tribal culture was violent in the past due to the nature of tribal life and nomadic people. As Akers (1985) has argued, violence is mostly a development of learned behavior. Both learning and social learning theory, therefore, provided a way to interpret the phenomenon of violent behavior of male tribal students in Kuwait, because it argues that children naturally imitate the behavior of other children or adults without needing or receiving a direct reward for the new behavior (Bandura & Walters, 1963). Tribal children who live in and around a culture that views violence not only as acceptable but also “heroic” behavior, because violent acts are embraced and immortalized in tribal poetry and literature (Al Mehaini, 1986), imitate the behavior of their models, including parents, other children, adults, and even teachers, as well as the behavior of their “mythical” heroes.

As explained the first chapter, the predominant culture in Kuwait is the tribal culture which is collectivist culture. Hofstede (1980) has explained collectivist cultures as those cultures in which members are primarily concerned with the needs of the group and tend to view the self as entrenched in group relationships. Hence, tribal culture rules then, including the ones that promote violence, are the master guide for children’s behaviors in Kuwait.

Furthermore, in Kuwait, children with a tribal background are often labeled as violent even though labeling can have a profound and negative effect on the student’s concept of himself. As Clarke (1999) has pointed out, it is close to impossible to escape a negative label. Labeling a student who misbehaves a deviant or a deviant Bedouin associates him with a culture

that uses violence to punish perceived or real transgressions and might even cause him to act like a Bedouin whether he is a Bedouin or not. Consequently, tribal culture plays a significant role in school violence.

The second null hypothesis was that there would not exist significant correlations between the demographic variables of household size, family structure, and student age and violent behavior among tribal and non-tribal male public high school students in Kuwait. Student age in Pearson correlations ($r = .095, p = .01$) and social affiliation in Cramer's V for nominal variables ($V = .446, p = .000$) were found to have significant correlations with violent behavior for the study sample..

The findings of a significant relationship between student age and school violence confirmed the earlier findings from other research investigating the effect of student age on school violence (Al Dokhy, 2003; Lee A, 2002; Weller et al., 1999).

However, the findings indicated that there was no significant relationship between household size or family structure and violent behavior among the sample of the study. In fact, household size and family structure variables were more strongly related to each other. In other words, it seemed that one variable led to the other due to the polygamy phenomenon, which is a deeply rooted characteristic of Arab culture. Because this phenomenon was not a prevalent factor in the culture of the United States and other western countries, and because the size of the family in western culture is relatively smaller, it was not possible to find western studies that dealt with the influence of household size on school violence. In fact, all the studies reviewed focused on family size in terms of household income and the influence of income on school violence.

Although it was hypothesized that there would be a significant relationship between family size and family structure with school violence, the findings of this study did not support

this hypothesis. Moreover, findings on family structure in this study contradicted the findings of Alghamdi (1977), Aljibrin (1994), and Amry (1979) which indicated that family structure was the most essential factor when predicting delinquency. In developing a predictive model the “best” multiple linear regression model indicated that student age and social affiliation (tribal) were variables for predicting the composite scores on the Aggression Questionnaire for male public high school students in Kuwait, of which higher scores may suggest a greater propensity for violent behavior.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between social affiliation and school violence among male public high school students in Kuwait. The results of this study indicated that there existed a significant relationship between social affiliation (tribal background) and violent behavior. Furthermore, when family size, family structure and student age were tested to determine whether or not a significant relationship existed with violent behavior, student age was the only variable that was found to be significantly correlated with violent behavior among male public high school students in Kuwait.

Implications for Practice

The findings of this study have identified the existence of a serious violent behavioral problem in Kuwait’s male public high schools. They have also provided additional data to the leaders in Kuwait at all levels to support the need for further and collective efforts to face this violent behavioral problem. It is important to address this problem and seek ways to eliminate it, because male public high school students in Kuwait represent 4% of the Kuwaiti’s population, which means not only the schools, but also the community as a whole will suffer from the problem of violence. Based on the findings of this study, which have shown tribal customs and

values to contribute to behaviors of male public high school student, including violent behaviors, the Ministry of Education in Kuwait needs to alert the national consciousness to this problem to prevent the Kuwaiti community from being engulfed by an epidemic of violence.

Recommendations for Further Research

Although several studies have investigated the problem of school violence in Kuwait, this study was the first to investigate the violent behavioral characteristics of tribal and non-tribal students in Kuwait. This study should also be conducted in the neighboring countries with social structures similar to Kuwait to see whether or not the violent behavior characteristics of Kuwaiti tribal students are similar to the tribal students of these countries.

The impact of culture on student behaviors themselves should be examined in greater detail in schools where the numbers of tribal and non-tribal students are almost equal (Mubarak Al Kabeer and Al Farwania School Districts). Further studies should be conducted to ascertain the impact of the culture of each group (tribal and non-tribal) on the other. In other words, the influence of tribal and non-tribal cultures on each other should be examined to see whether or not these cultures respect and appreciate each other and other cultures. It might also be useful to look at the issue of labeling a student a deviant or deviant Bedouin to see if and how it affects the behavior of tribal and non-tribal students.

Since the findings of this study established the relationship between culture and school violence, the high percentage of non-Kuwaiti teachers (81%) in public high schools in Kuwait raises a concern and a further study ought to be conducted to investigate whether or not this issue affects school violence in Kuwait (Ministry of Planning, 1999). Furthermore, since the findings of this study showed the affect of student age on school violence, the 4/4/4 stages of the educational system in Kuwait (4 years of elementary schools, 4 years of middle schools, and 4

years of high schools) has to be examined to know whether or nor this system contributes to the impact of student age on school violence in Kuwait.

Finally, the Aggression Questionnaire used in this study served very well for collecting data in the Kuwaiti schools and analyzing it. Validity and reliability procedures proved its consistency and validation; therefore, it is recommended that researchers planning to conduct similar studies consider this instrument.

Recommendations for Leaders

School violence is one of the most important educational problems in the world. Kuwait is one of the countries suffering from violent incidents, especially in schools. The impact of culture is one reason for this violence. Therefore, the policy makers and the educators in Kuwait should pay attention to some points regarding school policies such as the following:

1. Human development is one of the most important resources for bringing balance to communities. Therefore, extensive work should be directed toward tribal people to help them understand the impact and damage perpetuating violence related to tribal customs and values does to their children in and out of school. They should be taught how to distinguish between the merits of the different customs and urged to preserve and promote those that allow them to retain their tribal identity but do not condone or support violent behavior.
2. Tribal members can keep their tribal affiliation for special gatherings, important documents, and so forth, but the best way in Kuwait to defuse the problems this ethnicity causes is to discourage the use of the tribe's name that each person includes in his full name and encourage the use his or her family name, particularly when registering children for school.

3. It is also important to persuade families, especially tribal families, to be involved as much as possible in their child's life in and out of school. Families and educators should work together to design curriculums based on community needs. This partnership is one of the greatest things that are being implemented in U. S. schools. The curriculum should also be consistent with current world changes.

4. Teacher preparation programs in Kuwait should provide teachers with better teaching skills as well as skills for coping with behavioral problems. The Ministry of Education in Kuwait should involve non-Kuwaiti teachers, who come from other cultures, in training sessions to teach them how to deal with the domestic cultures before going into classrooms in public schools.

5. Collective work should be done among the organizations and the political parties in the country to build general policy in the country that has facing the problem of violence as one of its main elements.

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APPENDIX A: AGGRESSION QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH)

Instructions:

Using the 4 point scale shown below, indicate how uncharacteristic or characteristic each of the following statements is in describing you. Place your rating in the box to the right of the statement.

1 = extremely uncharacteristic of me

2 = somewhat uncharacteristic of me

3 = somewhat characteristic of me

4 = extremely characteristic of me

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------|----|
| 1. | Some of my friends think I am a hothead | <input type="checkbox"/> | A |
| 2. | If I have to resort to violence to protect my rights, I will. | <input type="checkbox"/> | PA |
| 3. | When people are especially nice to me, I wonder what they want. | <input type="checkbox"/> | H |
| 4. | I tell my friends openly when I disagree with them. | <input type="checkbox"/> | VA |
| 5. | I have become so mad that I have broken things. | <input type="checkbox"/> | PA |
| 6. | I can't help getting into arguments when people disagree with me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | VA |
| 7. | I wonder why sometimes I feel so bitter about things. | <input type="checkbox"/> | H |
| 8. | Once in a while, I can't control the urge to strike another person. | <input type="checkbox"/> | PA |
| 9. | I am an even-tempered person. | <input type="checkbox"/> | A |
| 10. | I am suspicious of overly friendly strangers. | <input type="checkbox"/> | H |
| 11. | I have threatened people I know. | <input type="checkbox"/> | VA |
| 12. | I flare up quickly but get over it quickly. | <input type="checkbox"/> | A |
| 13. | Given enough provocation, I may hit another person. | <input type="checkbox"/> | PA |
| 14. | When people annoy me, I may tell them what I think of them. | <input type="checkbox"/> | VA |
| 15. | I am sometimes eaten up with jealousy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | H |
| 16. | I can think of no good reason for ever hitting a person. | <input type="checkbox"/> | PA |
| 17. | At times I feel I have gotten a raw deal out of life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | H |
| 18. | I have trouble controlling my temper. | <input type="checkbox"/> | A |
| 19. | When frustrated, I let my irritation show. | <input type="checkbox"/> | A |
| 20. | I sometimes feel that people are laughing at me behind my back. | <input type="checkbox"/> | H |
| 21. | I often find myself disagreeing with people. | <input type="checkbox"/> | VA |
| 22. | If somebody hits me, I hit back. | <input type="checkbox"/> | PA |
| 23. | I sometimes feel like a powder keg ready to explode. | <input type="checkbox"/> | A |
| 24. | Other people always seem to get the breaks. | <input type="checkbox"/> | H |
| 25. | There are people who pushed me so far that we came to blows. | <input type="checkbox"/> | PA |

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------|----|
| 26. | I know that “friends” talk about me behind my back. | <input type="checkbox"/> | H |
| 27. | My friends say that I’m somewhat argumentative. | <input type="checkbox"/> | VA |
| 28. | Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason. | <input type="checkbox"/> | A |
| 29. | I get into fights a little more than the average person. | <input type="checkbox"/> | PA |

Note. Scoring: The aggression scale consists of 4 factors (subscales), Physical Aggression (PA), Verbal Aggression (VA), Anger (A) and Hostility (H). The total score for Aggression is the sum of the factor scores (Buss & Perry, 1992).

Buss and Perry grant permission to use this questionnaire for academic purposes in “The Aggression Questionnaire.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63, 452-459. The Arabic version of the questionnaire was used for this study and the English version is provided here for the non-Arabic reader.

APPENDIX B: AGGRESSION QUESTIONNAIRE (ARABIC)

تعليمات : فيما يلي مجموعة من العبارات . أقرأ كل عبارة منها بإمعان ، وضع علامة (×) تحت واحدة مما يلي. من فضلك لا تترك أي عبارة دون اجابة.

أوافق بشدة	أوافق بدرجة متوسطة	أعارض بدرجة متوسطة	أعارض بشدة
			1-في بعض الاحيان لا استطيع السيطرة على رغبة قوية في ضرب شخص آخر
			2-ألجاء الى العنف لحفظ حقوقي اذا دعت الضرورة الى ذلك.
			3- جن جنوني حتى أنني حطمت بعض الاشياء
			4-لا استطيع أن امنع نفسي من الدخول في جدال حين يختلف الآخرون معي .
			5- أشعر أحيانا كأنني قنبلة على وشك الانفجار .
			6- يصعب على التحكم في انفعالاتي .
			7- يبدو أن الآخرين دائماً لهم حظ أوفر .
			8- أشك في الأشخاص الغرباء الذين يظهرون لطفاً (وداً) زائداً.
			9-عندما يتلطف معي الناس فأني أشك في نواياهم .
			10- اذا تعرضت لقدرة من الاستشارة فإنني قد اضرب شخص آخر
			11-استقزني بعض الناس الى حد دفعني الى العراك
			12-عندما اختلف مع اصدقائي فإنني اخبرهم بذلك بصراحة آخر.
			13-يقول اصدقائي عني أنني اميل الى الجدال بعض الشيء .
			14-انا شخص معتدل المزاج .
			15- اذا ضربني شخص ما فإنني أضربه بالمقابل .
			16- قد اضرب شخص بلا سبب .
			17- غالباً ما أجد نفسي مختلفاً مع الآخرين .
			18- سرعان ما أغضب وسرعان ما أهدأ.
			19- يعتقد بعض أصدقائي أنني حاد الطباع .
			20-أشعر أحيانا بأن الغيرة تقتلني .
			21- أتساءل لماذا أشعر أحيانا بالمرارة اتجاه الاشياء .
			22- تورطي في العراك يزيد قليلاً عن الشخص العادي .
			23- سبق لي تهديد اشخاص اعرفهم .
			24- عندما يزعجني البعض فإنني قد أخبرهم برأيي فيهم
			25- عندما أصاب بالاحباط فإنني أكشف عن غضبي .
			26- أفقد صوابي أحيانا بدون سبب معقول .
			27- أشعر أحيانا أنني مظلوم في هذه الحياة .
			28- أعلم أن اصدقائي يتحدثون عني في غيبيتي (من وراء ظهري) .
			29- أشعر أحيانا أن الآخرين يسخرون مني في غيبيتي .

APPENDIX C: PERMISSION OF THE AGGRESSION QUESTIONNAIRE.

منح الإذن لاستخدام استبيان

أمنح بموجب هذه الورقة السيد / مشاري الحسيني (طالب دكتوراه في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية) الموافقة لاستخدام استبيانته المستخدمة من قبلي في دراسة حول ظاهرة العنف في مدارس دولة الكويت وذلك لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط .

Hnan Aldoukhi

APPENDIX D: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET (ARABIC)

بيانات الطالب

الجنسية:

الاسم:

المدرسة:

العمر:

المنطقة التعليمية:

الصف:

لا أتنتمي إلى قبيلة

أتنتمي إلى قبيلة:

العدد الكلي للأسرة التي تسكن معها:

مع من تسكن:

آخرين

الوالدة فقط

الوالد فقط

الوالدين

عدد زوجات الأب:

APPENDIX E: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET (ENGLISH)

Dear participant, please, respond to the following:

1. Name: _____

2. Age: _____

3. Educational District: _____

4. School: _____

5. Please, choose one of the following:

a. I belong to a tribe: _____ b. I do not belong to a tribe: _____

6. Number of people you live with in the same house excluding you. _____

My family is one of the following:

a. My father and my mother.

b. Either my father or my mother.

c. In addition to my mother, my father has at least one additional wife.

d. Both my father and my mother have died.

APPENDIX F: RELIABILITY ANALYSIS

Items	N of Items	N of Cases	<i>Alpha</i>	Split-Half			
				Part 1		Part 2	
Physical Aggression PA	8	482	.7006	4 items	.5676	4 items	.4850
Verbal Aggression VA	6	482	.5193	3 items	.3303	3 items	.2571
Anger A	7	482	.6547	4 items	.4978	3 items	.4534
Hostility H	8	482	.7241	4 items	.5994	4 items	.6610

Note. A Cronbach *Alpha* and Split-half for factors of Aggression Questionnaire. Adapted from “*The Differences between Normal, Delinquent, and Abandoned Juveniles in Dejection and Aggression*” by Al Dokhy (2003)

APPENDIX G. CORRELATION RESULTS

		Physical Aggression	Verbal Aggression	Anger	Hostility	Internal Consistency
Physical Ag.	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.425**	.513**	.399**	.775**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	482	482	482	482	482
Verbal Ag.	Pearson Correlation	.425**	1.000	.464**	.407**	.701**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.	.000	.000	.000
	N	482	482	482	482	482
Anger	Pearson Correlation	.513**	.464**	1.000	.522**	.810**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.	.000	.000
	N	482	482	482	482	482
Hostility	Pearson Correlation	.399**	.407**	.522**	1.000	.781**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.	.000
	N	482	482	482	482	482
Internal Consistency	Pearson Correlation	.775**	.701**	.810**	.781**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.
	N	482	482	482	482	482

Note. Adapted from “The Differences between Normal, Delinquent, and abandoned Juveniles in Dejection and Aggression” by Al Dokhy (2003), Kuwait University.

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

APPENDIX H: IRB FORM OF VIRGINIA TECH



Institutional Review Board

Dr. David M. Moore
IRB (Human Subjects) Chair
Assistant Vice Provost for Research Compliance
CVM Phase II - Duckpond Dr., Blacksburg, VA 24061-0442
Office: 540/231-4991; FAX: 540/231-6033
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November 12, 2003

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jennifer Sughrue Educational Leadership & Policy St. 0302
Lisa G. Driscoll Educational Leadership & Policy St. 0302
Meshari Al-Husaini ELPS 0302

FROM: David M. Moore 

SUBJECT: **Expedited Approval** – “Relationship between Social Affiliation and School Violence in Kuwait’s Male Public High Schools”– IRB # 03-538

This memo is regarding the above-mentioned protocol. The proposed research is eligible for expedited review according to the specifications authorized by 45 CFR 46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. As Chair of the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board, I have granted approval to the study for a period of 12 months, effective November 10, 2003.

Approval of your research by the IRB provides the appropriate review as required by federal and state laws regarding human subject research. It is your responsibility to report to the IRB any adverse reactions that can be attributed to this study.

To continue the project past the 12 month approval period, a continuing review application must be submitted (30) days prior to the anniversary of the original approval date and a summary of the project to date must be provided. My office will send you a reminder of this (60) days prior to the anniversary date.

Handwritten in pink: 0302
Jen Sughrue

Cc: File
Department Reviewer: M. D. Alexander EL 0302

APPENDIX I: PERMISSION OF MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

السيد / وكيل وزارة التربية
المحترم
تحية طيبة وبعد ،،،

الموضوع / طلب إذن إجراء دراسة

السيد / مشاري الحسيني هو باحث كويتي يحضر رسالة للدكتوراه
موضوعها ظاهرة العنف وانتشارها في مدارس الكويت وهو متواجد
الآن في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وفي حاجة إلى توزيع استبانته على
عينة من طلبة مدارس الكويت من أجل جمع بيانات حول هذه الظاهرة
لذلك نرجو منحنا الموافقة نحن مساعدين الباحث من أجل توزيع هذه
الاستبانته على عدد من مدارس الكويت.

مع فائق الاحترام والشكر

مساعد الباحث
الأستاذ / عمار العجمي

Ammar Alajmi

APPENDIX J: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)

Dear Participant:

Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated. This research study is designed to measure violent behavior among male high school students in governmental public high schools in Kuwait. You are asked to complete the Aggression Questionnaire presented for you. Because your name is not required, your anonymity is assured and only group statistics will be reported. You are asked to sign below, and your signature means that you voluntarily participate, and you understand that you can withhold your opinions should you decide to.

Signature

Date

APPENDIX K: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ARABIC)

أخي الطالب ,,.,.,.,,

أرجو المشاركة بايجابية في هذه الدراسة من خلال إعطاء الإجابات الواقعية والتي تعبر عن رأي كل مشارك فالإجابة هنا لا تعبر عن صواب أو خطأ بل هي للتعبير عن وجهة نظر المشارك , كما أن البيانات سوف يتم التعامل معها بسرية تامة وسوف يتم استخدامها للأغراض البحثية فقط, فضلا عن أن المشاركة في هذه الدراسة هي تطوعية

أرغب بالمشاركة _____ لا أرغب بالمشاركة _____

التوقيع : _____ التاريخ : _____

APPENDIX L: MULTIPLE LINEAR MODELS

Model	Under-standardized coefficient		Standardized coefficient	t	Sig.	Correlations			Collinearity statistics	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Beta			Zero	Partial	Part	Tolerant	VIF
1										
Constant	47.96	7.08		6.78	.000					
Student age	1.007	.43	.095	2.32	.021	.095	.095	.095	1.000	1.000
2										
Constant	46.38	7.15		6.48	.000					
Student age	.97	.43	.092	2.24	.025	.095	.092	.092	.997	1.003
Family size	.32	.22	.060	1.45	.147	.065	.060	.062	.997	1.003
3										
Constant	45.17	7.18		6.29	.000					
Student age	.99	.43	.094	2.30	.022	.095	.095	.094	.996	1.004
Family size	.29	.22	.057	1.38	.169	.065	.057	.057	.995	1.005
d. Nuclear family	1.89	1.16	.067	1.62	.106	.066	.067	.066	.997	1.003

(table continues)

Table (continued)

Model	Unstandardized coefficient		Standardized coefficient	t	Sig.	Correlations			Collinearity statistics	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Beta			Zero	Partial	Part	Tolerant	VIF
4										
Constant	45.022	7.655		5.881	.000					
Student age	.997	.434	.095	2.296	.022	.095	.095	.094	.993	1.007
Family size	.303	.228	.057	1.326	.185	.065	.055	.054	.899	1.112
d. Nuclear family	1.936	1.410	.068	1.373	.170	.066	.057	.056	.685	1.460
d. Multiple wives	.098	1.767	.003	.055	.956	-.055	.002	.002	.630	1.586
5										
Constant	49.456	8.372		5.908	.000					
Student age	1.052	.436	1.00	2.412	.016	.095	.099	.099	.984	1.017
Family size	.329	.229	.062	1.436	.152	.065	.059	.059	.892	1.121
d. Nuclear family	-.339	2.242	-.012	-.151	.880	.066	-.006	-.006	.271	3.695
d. Multiple wives	-2.133	2.458	-.062	-1.868	.386	-.055	-.036	-.036	.325	3.074
d. Single head	-3.265	2.503	-.090	1.305	.193	-.042	-.054	-.053	.355	2.818
6										
Constant	52.985	8.134		6.514	.000					
Student age	.813	.424	.077	1.914	.056	.095	.079	.076	.976	1.025
Family size	-.137	.234	-.026	-.584	.559	.065	-.024	-.023	.801	1.249
d. Nuclear family	-1.025	2.176	-.036	-.471	.638	.066	-.020	-.019	.270	3.704
d. Multiple wives	-2.254	2.383	-.066	-.946	.344	-.055	-.039	-.038	.325	3.074
d. Single head	-2.611	2.428	-.072	-1.075	.283	-.042	-.045	-.043	.354	2.824
d. Tribal	7.544	1.215	.264	6.207	.000	.268	.249	.247	.872	1.147