

SOCIAL GOALS AND VALUES RELATED  
TO EDUCATION  
IN THREE SELECTED  
LEBANESE COMMUNITIES

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This study is a preliminary attempt to ascertain the social goals and values related to education in Lebanon. This research should be considered a pilot project. Its purpose is to suggest some of the significant relationships that exist between the social institutions of the family and education.

In this chapter the nature of the basic data will be discussed followed by a description of the analysis procedure. A critical evaluation of the basic concept values will next be presented. In conclusion a brief overview of the report will be given.

#### Basic Data

The data utilized in this study was collected by a group of students working for the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. It represents two hundred recordings of one hundred interview situations. Fifty parents were interviewed in Beirut, twenty-five in Beit



Meri, and twenty-five in Habboush. Two teams of students, each consisting of a boy and a girl did the interviewing. The female member was necessary because there were Moslem women participating in the interview. It could not have been carried out successfully by a single male interviewer. The presence of two interviewers at a time, also gave additional guarantee that the information obtained was reasonably complete.

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The basic questions were memorized, and the interview was carried out in the manner of an informal discussion. Questions were directed towards the collection of data relating to the education of children and particularly to the reasons why not all school age children were attending school.

The recordings resulting from these interviews constitute the basic data of this study and are utilized for the determination and derivation of social goals and values related to education. It should be noted that these recordings were made as a pretest for another endeavor and that the sample of people interviewed is small, consequently the value of this study lies in the insights it may suggest especially those which form testable hypotheses.

In Habboush and Beit Meri, the sample was selected at random from a list of names of household heads provided by the Mukhtars. No consideration was taken of the status and

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\* For an approximate list of interview questions see appendix A.

capacity of the interviewee. In Habboush, most individuals interviewed were predominantly of the lower class; however, this is fairly representative of that community. As for Beirut, the sample was again selected at random.

Since the interviews were made in colloquial Arabic and recorded in English, the records of the interviews may not completely reflect the ideas expressed by the interviewees. Additions or omissions of information, although guarded against by employing two interviewers at a time, undoubtedly biased the data somewhat.

It should be mentioned that the interview situation itself may have tended to make the data selective. The respondents might have been reluctant to give information, and distrustful of strangers asking him personal questions. This is likely to be true in the case of Habboush which is somewhat isolated.

Also, the interviewers' background was quite different from that of the interviewees', and therefore, one expects there were difficulties in communication, hence misunderstandings. There was of course nothing to prevent the interviewee from giving false information or expressing opinions which he did not really believe. Further, assuming that the interviewee was a simple citizen, he may have been led by the suggestions of the interviewer. Finally, noting the fact that the interviewers were amateurs, one is inclined to expect some variations in the accuracy of the recordings.

This study is, therefore, limited by four factors. The first limitation is the size of the sample used. It does not permit rigorous testing of hypotheses.

The second limitation is social in nature and includes such difficulties as customs, traditions, patterns of behavior and social norms and suspicion on the part of the interviewee regarding the intentions of the interviewer.

The lack of knowledge of the interviewers in scientific social research and the manner in which the recordings were made presents the third limitation.

The last limitation consists of the fact that the data was originally collected for a purpose other than the one for which it was used, thus the researcher had to work within limits which she had no control over.

On the positive side several favorable factors can be noted. Since the focus of the interviews was on education, it was favored by not being a sensitive topic. The interview was carried out in an informal manner as a result of memorizing the questions and it was not a long schedule, so that the response could have been rather free. Inquiry of two of the interviewers revealed that they did not feel any particular resistance on the part of the respondents.

A good portion of the interview was concerned with particular people - the respondents' own children, and hence, the bias is likely to have been relatively consistent for all

interviewees. Finally, the interviewers were working under the guidance of a study director and though they were inexperienced in the beginning they evidently performed reasonably satisfactorily as they were retained for the entire study.

Though not a limitation in itself, the definition of the term 'values' presented a special difficulty. The concept is used with different referents by different people. For the purpose of this thesis, a definition will be formulated and utilized in the analysis.

#### Analysis Procedure

The procedure followed in making this study will be outlined below.

The interview situations were read and compared to each other to see if there were any differences in the recordings made by the two interviewers for the same situation. Interviews done by the male interviewers which were more objective (according to the opinion of the former study director) were taken as the standard for comparison and any differences or additions appearing in the interviews by the females were considered and added in case it seemed appropriate.

A series of hypotheses were established as a result of a preliminary scanning of the data. Next, a classification system was developed and categories for the statements and

answers given were devised. Numbers were given to the categories to make it easier to code the interviews. In order to make it more convenient for analysis, summary sheets were used to record the coded material on each interview report. From the summary sheet the data was tabulated according to the classification scheme. The data was next cross-tabulated for use in evaluating the hypotheses. Here the procedure of table analysis was used. Finally the qualitative material was classified according to the social goals which it seemed to suggest.

#### Basic Concepts

Though there is some agreement on the general meanings and implications of the terms and concepts used, yet definitions showing obvious differences and sometimes manifesting contradictions regarding the exact meaning of each concept were encountered.

'Values', 'goals', 'attitudes', and 'interests', are all terms that lend themselves to various interpretations and definitions. No fast line of demarcation can be put between these different concepts and terms; it might be safely assumed that there is at least some interrelation between them and some overlapping. This distinction is very fine and in connection with this study arbitrary definitions and limitations on the meaning of each concept will be made. This is necessary

if a study based on such interrelated concepts is to be made.

In his Concepts of Sociology, Earle Edward Eubank defines values as being ".... anything wished for, that is, for anything to which value has been attached that is desired by someone."<sup>(1)</sup> 'Value' is also defined by Robin Williams in his American Society as ".... any aspect of a situation, event or object that is invested with a preferential interest as being 'good', 'bad', 'desirable', etc."<sup>(2)</sup>

A difference is obvious between these definitions. Whereas Eubank includes in his definition wishes and desires that may conceivably be pure sensations and emotions and may also be reflexes, Williams stresses the preferential element in it and, therefore, he implicitly excludes such elementary desires. This is an essential difference not only in the wording of the definition but also represents a fundamental contradiction in the meaning of value as conceived by two sociologists.

A wish or a desire is something that is not necessarily sought or aimed at. A 'preferential interest' gives importance to the concept. A wish may be trivial. It may be a passing one. It may be an idea that has occurred to a person subsequent to a special situation which might disappear with the change of the situation that stimulated or aroused it.

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(1) Eubank, Earle Edward, The Concepts of Sociology Boston: (D.C. Heath and Company, 1931), p.189.

(2) Williams, Robin, American Society, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p.374.

It may be temporary and pertain only to one individual. It is less than a value. A "value" according to Kluckhohn, ".... is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action."<sup>(3)</sup> The term desirable, per se, implicitly and explicitly assumes generality. An idea or a conception may be desirable when a group representing in one way or another the wishes of a special community, upholds or believes in it. It excludes the personal element. When the term 'distinctive of an individual' is included in the definition, it means upheld or believed in by the individual within the framework of what is desirable in the community or the group. "Value implies a code or a standard which has some pertinence through time, or which organizes a system of action."<sup>(4)</sup> Its persistence through time, and its organization of a system of action implies again the exclusion of the strictly personal wish and desire. However, personal ideas, wishes, and preferences exist and are sometimes conveniently termed personal or idiosyncratic values. In this thesis these are considered only in so far as they affect or represent community values.

In Habboush, for example the population is homogeneous. Interaction with the outside world is not lacking yet it is limited, to discourage infiltration of ideas or the creation of ideo-

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(3) Kluckhohn, Clyde, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification", from Toward a General Theory of Action, Parsons and Shils (ed.); (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 395.

(4) Ibid.

logical conflicts within the community. Therefore one would expect the same values to be generally upheld by the universe in the sample under study. As the population in the other two areas of study is both larger in number and more exposed to the outside world, one would expect at least in the sample taken some variations in values. This is due to a difference in backgrounds and social status of the universe in the samples. In this case, assumption is made that social values represent values upheld by a special group within the community under study. Each interviewee is assumed to be representative of a part of the area and hence his values representative of that area.

A value in connection with this thesis is therefore taken to mean, a conception characteristic of a group or a consensus of opinion fairly persistent through time which influences the selection from what is available. In this connection a value should be characteristic of a group but not necessarily explicit.

A value should be distinguished from an attitude; whereas the former relates to concepts that are preferential, the latter is a tendency or feeling towards a value, "The value and the attitude are two aspects of the same experience,"<sup>(5)</sup> Value is the object towards which attitudes are directed. Attitudes need not express the patterns of behavior of the

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(5) Young, Kimball, Social Attitudes. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931) p. 10.



group or community.

### Goals

A value, it is maintained in this chapter, is a conception which characterizes a group, and is invested with a preferential interest as being desirable. It is therefore a criterion which influences a choice between alternatives. The choice that is made is the object of the value underlying it. This is the goal.

According to Dodd, "The object of value, is called a goal, a desideratum, what is valued, etc.. It is operationally definable for a first approximation as "what a polled respondent says he wants."<sup>(6)</sup>

As there is no significant difference of opinion on the meaning and intent of the term, it is left at this stage without any further elaboration.

It seems useful before closing this chapter to arrive at a conclusion in regards to the meaning of the terms discussed above, in relation to education.

According to Hanus, an educational value of a subject means ".... its efficacy in promoting the realization of the aim of education."<sup>(7)</sup> It is therefore the means to an

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(6) Dodd, Stuart G., "Conditions for Motivating Men", (Seattle: University of Washington, 1954), p.3. (mimeographed).

(7) Hanus, Paul A., Educational Aims and Educational Values, (New York: MacMillan, 1899), p.5.

object, rather than the criteria influencing the choice of the aim of education. As was mentioned early in this chapter, one is apt to meet with many different definitions of the term. For this thesis we may define an educational value as the social criteria influencing the choice between alternative goals of education.

### Overview

Following this introductory discussion of the methodology and basic concepts used in this study, attention will be focussed on the background setting. Some of the dominant ecological and social factors which influence behavior in this region will be set forth, including a brief mention of the characteristics of the communities included in the sample.

Since education in Lebanon has undergone considerable change during the twentieth century, specific attention will be given to the historical events which have affected its growth. The status and nature of the present system will also be given.

The core of this study concerns parents' attitudes toward education. To provide a background for the interpretation of the meaning of their attitudes some discussion of the Lebanese family seems essential. Following this description the way parents perceive education in general will be treated.

Several hypotheses which grew out of a preliminary inspection of the interview reports and others that were suggested by specialists in education will next be evaluated. It is appropriate to restate the earlier remark that this evaluation does not constitute a test of the hypotheses but only an interpretation of their appropriateness for testing.

The social goals and values which appear to be involved in parents' views regarding the education of children will be set forth; after which, a brief summary will conclude the main body of the report.

## CHAPTER II

### LEBANON AND THE LEBANESE SOCIETY

In order that the data which will be reviewed later may be more adequately interpreted, some details of the situation or setting seem necessary. In this chapter a description of the country of Lebanon as well as some of the important aspects of the social life will be reviewed.

#### Lebanon: General Description

Lebanon, a mountainous country, lying on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean is only 10,000 square kilometers in area. Its boundaries run over a distance of 570 kilometers. The Mediterranean Sea on the west forms a boundary of 220 kilometers, Palestine (now Israel) lies on the south covering a boundary of 70 kilometers, and to the north and east, Lebanon has a common boundary with Syria extending over a distance of 280 kilometers.

The mountains make good summer resorts and the coasts a winter resort. Rain is abundant on the coastal plain and the western slopes.

In ancient times Lebanon was inhabited by Phoenicians and Arameans, but with the Arab invasion and settlement, the country became Arabicized. While Islam spread on the coast

and internal plain, the mountains remained mainly Christian. By the eleventh century, however, the Druze religion spread in Lebanon as a result of the Druze settlements in central and southern Lebanon. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Armenians came and settled in the country.

The Ottoman Turks ruled Lebanon for four centuries (1516-1918). In 1861, after the massacre of the Christians by the Druze, Lebanon became an autonomous sanjak receiving orders directly from the Ottoman Government in Constantinople. Between 1918-1946, Lebanon was under the French mandate, and it became an independent state with a republican form of government in 1946.

Lebanon is divided into five administrative districts:

Beirut

Mount Lebanon

North Lebanon

South Lebanon

Beka'a

Lebanon is densely populated with approximately 114 persons per square kilometer. The total population was estimated in 1947 to be about 1,186,145,<sup>(1)</sup> and in 1953 at 1,372,376.<sup>(2)</sup> The population includes many racial elements

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(1) Haddad, George, Fifty Years of Modern Syria and Lebanon, (Beirut: Printed at Dar-al-Hayat, 1950), pp.10-11.

(2) Report on Education in Lebanon by Atif Karam, Suad Nassar and Samia Al-Awar, submitted to the Education Department at the American University of Beirut in 1954, p.5.

and religious sects. The basic racial type is Mediterranean and the language Arabic.

The geographic features of Lebanon have greatly influenced its history, economic life, and social organization. It is, and has always been, a center of commercial activity. This affects the country in two different ways. The first is that it supplements by such activities its deficient income from industry and agriculture. The second is that it affords continuous contacts with a large variety of people. This encourages the Lebanese to develop a special mental outlook which is adaptable to almost all kinds of situations.

The types of occupations in order of their importance are agriculture, trade, industry, and tertiary occupations. The natural resources of Lebanon are limited, and the methods used in cultivation are relatively inefficient. It is the opinion of some economists that in a densely populated country such as Lebanon, a substantial improvement in agricultural techniques is important if the country is to improve its standard of living. Also, the population dependent on agriculture should be decreased. An important obstacle to such development is the land tenure system. Share-cropping and large land ownership is still prevalent principally in the Beka'a, South Lebanon, and the Akkar districts.

#### Rural Population and the Farmer

About half of the population of Lebanon live in rural areas where the village type community prevails. The farmer

lives in a village surrounded by farm lands, rather than on the farm itself.

The land tenure system now prevailing in almost all Lebanon is one of the many handicaps to further development and improvement of agricultural methods. The farmer, or better the 'fellaah', suffers as a result of that. The Masha'a system, where a piece of land is owned jointly by more than one land-owner, is a check on the farmers' incentive to employ more efficient methods of production. The same piece of land is divided every year into smaller plots and each farmer is allotted a piece proportionate to his share in the land. It is not likely that the same farmer will receive the same plot in the following year. Hence, the land becomes poorer and poorer, and production falls. Old antiquated agricultural implements are still in use, and the net product of the piece of land allotted to the farmer is, in most cases, barely sufficient to keep him and his family at the level of subsistence.

In some cases, however, the farm land is one large holding owned by a single landlord. The one who cultivates the holding is usually a share cropper. Where the land is cultivated by modern methods, it yields high returns. However, this is possible only where there is sufficient capital investment to secure modern agricultural machinery and commercial fertilizers.

The Lebanese farmer has developed his own handicraft industries in the village. He is more or less self-sufficient (within the limits of subsistence) in regards to food, clothing, fuel and other simple everyday life necessities.

### The Standard of Living of the Lebanese Farmer

The Ministry of Agriculture estimates that about 50 percent of the Lebanese population is directly dependent on the land. It is estimated that the Lebanese rural per capita yearly income arising from agriculture is about 240 LL.<sup>(3)</sup> If "..... the estimated Lebanese per capita income in 1950 is about 800 LL.,"<sup>(4)</sup> then the per capita income in other sectors is 1360 LL. These figures indicate a wide disparity in the income between rural and urban populations. The farmer, however, derives additional income from other sources such as emigrants' remittances from abroad and tourist expenditure in Lebanon. While this tends to narrow the wide disparity of incomes, it leaves a gap which is still large.

It seems that by far the biggest item in the Lebanese farmers' budget is food which is either produced on the farm, or obtained from the village or town. Very little is left for expenditure on other items such as clothing, medical care or for education of his children. Little if any surplus is left for the purchase of equipment, land or supplies.

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(3) Badre, Albert, Income Arising in the Agricultural Sector, (Monograph No.1, Beirut 1951), p.8.

(4) Badre, Albert, Income Arising in the Construction Sector, (Monograph No.2, Beirut 1951), p.12.



It can be concluded that the farmers' standard of living is near the subsistence level. There is no indication that it will improve in the near future unless some major schemes of development are initiated.

### The Lebanese Society

The geographic position of the country bringing about different commercial and strategic interests, coupled with the diversity of religions represented in this area, created a highly heterogeneous community with different interests and aims. . This diversity has been accentuated by the different types of educational institutions which have been operating in the country for a long period of time. The French, American and English institutions account for only a part of the multiplicity of educational systems that are now receiving increased attention from local official and private agencies.

However, there are at least three main factors underlying the situation. The first is religious, the second educational, and the third geographical.

### Religious Factors

Four main religions are represented in Lebanon (see Table I). The Christians, account for approximately 53 percent<sup>(5)</sup> of the total population, but are divided into numerous

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(5) Haddad, George, op.cit., p.17.

sects. In order of their numbers, the Maronites form the largest single group, followed by the Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Protestants, Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholics, Roman Catholics (Latins), and Chaldeans.

TABLE I  
Distribution of Population in Lebanon  
By Religions and Sects in 1947<sup>\*</sup>

Religion and Sect	Population	Total
<u>Christians</u>		
Maronites	343,715	
Greek Catholics	67,734	
Armenian Catholics	10,577	
Syriac Catholics	5,280	
Roman Catholics	3,369	
Greek Orthodox	115,096	
Armenian Orthodox	62,525	
Syrian Orthodox	4,011	
Protestants	10,990	
Chaldeans	1,422	
		624,719
<u>Moslems</u>		
Sunni	249,527	
Shi'ites	220,798	
		470,325
<u>Druze</u>		78,650
<u>Jews</u>		5,950
	Total Population	1,179,634

\* Source: Haddad, George, Fifty Years of Modern Syria and Lebanon. pp. 17-18.

It should be noted that many nationalities are represented in the Christian sects. Arabs are predominant, Armenians, Assyrians, Syriacs and some Europeans are also found. Maronites, or at least a reasonably large proportion of them believe that they are of Phoenician origin and are only "dominated" by Arab cultures. This also accounts for a part of the feeling of antagonism between the different groups.

The large cities and Mount Lebanon are the main places of residence of the Lebanese Christians. This is not accidental. The Turkish rule with its anti-Christian attitude contributed to this condition. Christians found it safer to live together rather than to be dispersed. A visitor to the Mount Lebanon, especially the isolated Maronite villages, cannot escape noticing in the discussion of villagers the still latent feeling of enmity towards Moslems. No doubt missionary schools gave and in some cases still give a helping hand to the accentuation of the situation.

Moslems account for approximately 40 percent <sup>(6)</sup> of the total population and are divided into two large groups, Sunnis and Shi'ites. These like the Christian sects are antagonistic to each other. Shi'ites reside in the south eastern parts of Lebanon while the Sunnis live in the large cities and in some parts of northern Lebanon. Moslems are Arabs except for the Kurds who form only a small proportion.

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(6) Ibid. p. 17.

In the large cities, Moslems and in particular Sunni Moslems are suspicious of Christians. They will recall the days of the Turks when Christians received protection from the French, Spanish and British consulates in the country. However, the feeling is subsiding especially in places where association with the Christians is considerable. Shi'ites, live in a more or less isolated area but hold the same views towards Christians that the Sunnis hold.

Druze form 6.5 percent <sup>(7)</sup> of the total population and occupy a part of Mount Lebanon. On the whole they are friendly with both Christians and Moslems.

Jews, a small minority constitute about less than one percent of the population <sup>(8)</sup> of Lebanon. They live near the commercial center of the city and are suspicious of all other sects just as other sects are suspicious of them. The Palestine conflict added to this feeling and accentuated it. They are viewed as potential or actual spies for the state of Israel. They are hated by the general population, but nevertheless well protected by the government. They have their own schools and are mainly occupied in trade and tertiary industries.

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(7) loc.cit.

(8) loc.cit.

### Description of the Areas in the Sample

Three communities are sampled in this study. They represent different parts of Lebanon, but cannot be said to be necessarily representative of all communities. A brief description of each community concludes the chapter.

#### Beirut

Beirut is the largest and most important city in Lebanon. It is its main sea-port and commercial center. It is important to Lebanon and the neighboring countries aside from being a very important industrial center and a commercial transit center.

It is a metropolis through which travellers and tourists enter and depart from the country. Being a cosmopolitan city, it has a large sector of foreign elements in it. There is an American community and a good number of European communities in it too, being established for cultural, missionary, commercial and political interests. Schools, universities, religious and charitable institutions were established by missionaries in the nineteenth century. Besides a large number of primary and secondary schools, there are three universities in Beirut. The population of Beirut is estimated at 300,000<sup>(9)</sup> exclusive of foreign non residents.<sup>(\*)</sup>

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(9) Churchill, C., The City of Beirut, (Beirut: Dar-El-Kitab, 1954), p. viii.

(\*) According to the statistics of 1953, there were 210 schools in Beirut, including public, private (national) and foreign schools, the majority of which are academic and the rest vocational.

### Habboush

Habboush is a small village lying on the road between Sidon and Nabatiyeh. The population of the village is around 2,000 and the dwellings amount to 297. Its area is 6,000 dunums of which 4,000 is cultivable land. The main occupation is agriculture and the main products are wheat, barley, tobacco and figs. The standard of living is very low, there is no electricity in the village and less than half of the dwellings have piped water. The population is predominantly Shi'ite Moslems.

There are two schools in the village, one private and the other public. Both have 120 students and four teachers. The private school is a girls' school established only two years ago. (10)

### Beit Meri

While also rural, Beit Meri differs greatly from Habboush. Being a summer resort, its population is seasonal varying from 3,000 in winter to 10,000 in summer. The village lies on the main road between Beirut and Brummana. Its area is 15,000 dunums of which 7,500 are cultivable. Beit Meri is predominantly Christian, Maronite, and has the highest rate of education in rural Lebanon. It has one public school, two private schools, 400 students three fourths of

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(10) Rural Statistics Office, (Village Survey), July 1952-August 1954, U.S. Operations Mission to Lebanon, /ma/931.

which are boys, and 22 teachers. It has 410 buildings, 400 of which have electricity, 300 have piped water and 90 have telephones. The standard of living is high compared to other parts of rural Lebanon, in fact it is one of the highest. (11)  
It produces pine seeds, apples, grapes and olives.

In this chapter some of the dominant factors affecting social life in Lebanon have been described. In particular, the divisions of the country into coastal plain, mountainous region, and a high plateau; the importance of agriculture, and the religious schism between Moslems and Christians seem to be the most important features. Although these factors have had their effect on the educational system of Lebanon, certain historical events have perhaps had an even more significant role in influencing its course of development. These will be discussed below.

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(11) Ibid. /vh/1275.

## CHAPTER III

### EDUCATION IN LEBANON

How people feel about education is influenced by the educational situation. In part, parents' orientations to the problem of their children's education is a product of their own earlier experience. Also, the availability and nature of education today is involved.

In this chapter, a brief sketch of the history of education in Lebanon during the last fifty years is presented, and the present situation is analyzed. It appears that formal education has progressed appreciably only since the Turks left the country. Prior to that, no significant developments took place other than the missionary schools established by different religious sects.

#### History of Education

The educational systems existing prior to World War I were varied. There were few schools which belonged either to religious communities or to foreign missions. The most important among these were the American University of Beirut founded in 1868 and the Jesuit University founded in 1875. There were some Turkish schools in which the language of instruction was Turkish. Of these, the Turkish School of Law was the most important.



Public education under the Turkish regime was neglected and private education unregulated. There were no trained teachers, no satisfactory textbooks written in Arabic and few school buildings. Since the Turks left, education has been organized along different lines with Arabic as the language of instruction in public schools.

Under Turkish rule, Lebanon was divided into two administrative sections. The autonomous sanjak of Mount Lebanon had private and public schools. The vilayet of Beirut had a great number of sectarian and foreign schools. Nearly all of the foreign missions were represented by educational institutions.

Under the French mandate the number of public schools did not increase. French schools and missionary schools belonging to French communities were encouraged. They did not try to establish an educational program which would take into consideration the unification of public and private schools, or which would emphasize the culture of the people and which would do away with the religious differences existing then.

Private education under the mandate was not interfered with as long as it conformed to the French conception of public order and morals. Under the French mandate the French language was emphasized and its teaching encouraged in the schools. The number of languages an individual can speak was and still is considered as an important index of his education.

In 1926 there were 1,170 schools and 86,907 students in attendance (see table II).

TABLE II

Educational Institutions and Enrollment  
in Lebanon by Type of School, 1926

Type of School	Number	Enrollment
Public	133	6,700
Private	578	35,207
Foreign	459	45,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1170</b>	<b>86,907</b>

Source: Haddad, G., Fifty Years of Modern Syria and Lebanon, (Dar-el-Hayat, Beirut, 1950), p.156.

By 1932 the number of schools had increased to 1,216 and students to 104,133. In 1948 there were 637 public schools with 54,600 students. Private schools had increased to 819 with 69,000 students, and the number of foreign schools had decreased (1) to 275 with about 43,000 students. In 1953-54 schools under private control consisted of 917 elementary and secondary schools with 139,395 students and 6,096 teachers, while those under public control were 953 elementary and secondary schools, with

(1) Haddad, George, Fifty Years of Modern Syria and Lebanon, (Dar-al-Hayat, Beirut, 1950), pp. 156-157.

108,255 students and 2,828 teachers. (2)

The number of girls has also been increasing in the different schools. Their number has consistently been a little over half the number of boys. In 1948 there were 61,000 girls and 107,000 boys in the different schools in Lebanon and in the different levels of education. (3)

After the mandate the number of elementary public schools and their students increased considerably. In 1944 before the mandate terminated, the number of students in elementary public schools was 26,000. Four years later the enrollment had more than doubled (see above). By 1954, there were about 1200 public schools in Lebanon most of which were elementary. These schools contained approximately 15,000 students and 3,700 teachers.

The schools, public, and private (national or foreign) can be divided into two classes in relation to the curriculum applied. There are ~~there are~~ those that follow the Lebanese curriculum (French system) and those that follow the Anglo-Saxon system. These two different systems prepare the students to join either one or the other of the universities in Beirut.

Lebanon is purported to have the highest rate of literacy among the Arab states. About 70-75 percent of the children of primary school age are attending school. A number of villages in Lebanon have nearly universal literacy. (4)

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(2) Ibid. p. 159.

(3) Economic Research Institute, Tabulation for the Lebanese Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1953-54.

(4) Matthews & Akrawi, Education in Arab Countries of the Near East, (Wiscosin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1949), p. 407.

## Kinds of Educational Systems in Lebanon

At the present time there are three main educational systems in Lebanon; the Anglo-Saxon, the Latin, and the Arab. All three systems will be discussed below in some detail.

### The Anglo-Saxon System

The history of this type of education dates back to the early nineteenth century. However, not until the year 1860 did it gain firm foothold in Lebanon. In that year the American School for Girls and the British Syrian Training College were established.

English, American and Danish schools fall into this category of educational system. In fact, many private schools follow the program of either British or American schools and therefore may be entered in this classification.

The above mentioned type of schools have classes starting from kindergarten up to university. This type includes native schools, non-sectarian and missionary schools all lending to the American University of Beirut or the Beirut College for Women.

In these schools, the lower classes are sometimes coeducational, separating in the second or third grade or even after that. The American University opens a wide field for

higher education as well as professional education and training. The teachers in these schools are both Arabs and foreigners (English and Americans). In 1921-22 the American University became a coeducational institution and has changed to non-denominational after having been a missionary college. The American and British Schools are fee charging.

The American-type elementary and secondary schools are boarding as well as day schools. The buildings occupied by them are generally good and well furnished.

American schools, and schools following other than the French program, had a difficult time trying to adapt their programs to meet the requirements of the situation. They had to teach the French language at the demand of the parents, and therefore to modify their English programs.

The Arabic language, as the native of the Lebanese population, was the language of instruction at least in the elementary classes. At times English had to be taught two or three years after teaching the French language. American schools have not been criticized as much as the French schools, in part, because they did teach the Arabic language. The methods of discipline in American schools are much freer than in French schools, and students are given more freedom in the choice of subjects and expression of opinion.

British schools are few in number. They are prepared for Arabic speaking students except for the higher classes

in which English is the language of instruction unless the students are willing to learn Arabic.

### The Latin System

This type was introduced into Lebanon through Catholic missionary activities during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. They established schools all over Lebanon. Their work was facilitated by the fact that the Maronites of Lebanon acknowledge the spiritual authority of the Pope. This type of schools includes all French schools, Italian Catholic schools, Jewish Alliance, and such of the native schools which follow the Latin system. These include Greek Catholic schools, Maronite schools, some Greek Orthodox schools and government schools.

French missionary schools are organized according to the French system of education, and their program tends to favor education for an "elite" rather than for all classes of society. The French language is emphasized and encouraged. French schools make a complete system from kindergarten through the university. A graduate of a French or French-type school may enter the University of Saint Joseph where he can make his choice regarding the courses and field of specialization.

In 1942-43, French schools numbered 273 out of a total of 326 foreign schools. These schools had a total student registration of 39,513 out of 46,726 in all foreign institutions during that year. (5)

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(5) Ibid. p.458.

French schools are usually fee-charging institutions. Their buildings are good in general and quite well equipped. Their teachers are both French and Lebanese. They have both boarding and day schools.

The schools on the whole enjoy a good reputation and prestige especially those schools which are run by nuns for female education. Students in these schools are generally Christians and mainly Catholics, but there are Moslems, Druze and Jews as well.

The program of studies followed in these schools is more or less the same as that of France except for the teaching of the Arabic language, Arabic philosophy and Lebanese history.

#### The Arab System

This type includes old type mosque-schools and the new type. The old type religious schools includes theological and Koranic schools of the mosques. The new nationalistic type includes society or individual schools, and there are the Druze private schools.

The main concern of this system is to educate students in the Koran and the Arabic language. These schools belong to the mosque in which they are held, or to individual sheikhs who charge small fees for the instruction they give.

Students graduating from such schools will have a good knowledge of the Arabic language, but little education in arithmetic or foreign languages.

No statistics are available either as to the number or distribution of these schools, for they are not usually registered and are more or less irregular. This system is a heritage of the early Islamic type of mosque-schools, with little, if any, change.

#### Other Types of Schools

Besides the above mentioned three types, there are private schools belonging to the different religious groups and adopting one or the other of the above mentioned types of schools. These private, native schools are non-denominational belonging to Maronites, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Protestant, Moslem, Druze and Jewish religious sects and groups.

There are also some non-denominational schools sponsored and controlled by boards and societies on a profit basis or owned and directed by individuals on non-profit basis.

Choice of the schools that students go to depends on their background, religion, and sect. The choice of school seems to be to a large extent determined by sectarian and religious considerations,

#### Public Education

Public education has been copied from the French system rather than developed to meet the unique needs of the Lebanese people.



The Ministry of Education has recently placed emphasis on the practical side of primary education. It facilitated the vocational and academic training and made it available for those who have primary school diplomas to get into schools for agriculture, industrial institutions and petty jobs. It has also emphasized girls' education and especially training in home-economics and house-keeping.

In Lebanon there are four vocational schools which are located in Zahle, Tripoli, Sidon and Beirut.

As to secondary education, teachers were instructed to direct students according to their individual interests and to encourage the development of these interests. The theoretical side of education is given more emphasis than the practical. The subjects usually taught in secondary schools are: sciences - mathematics, physics and chemistry; languages and literature; history, geography, civics, physical education and fine arts.

Public education is free and universal but not compulsory. Nearly all school buildings in Beirut are publicly owned while most of the schools in the villages are rented.

Beginning June 1955 all secondary schools in Lebanon, private or public, must present the students of the graduating classes to sit for the first part Baccalaureat examination. After that date no Lebanese or any other person will be allowed to practice any profession unless he is a holder of the Lebanese

Baccalaureat. (6)

Education in Rural Areas

The percentage of literacy is quite low in rural areas among village populations. Education is becoming of greater importance to the villagers. The young generation is beginning to move away from the village to seek work, higher education and training.

Small schools and mainly for boys developed in rural areas as a result of the influence of American, English and French missionaries. This has been largely supplied on the lower levels by the different religious sects found in the area. This has occasionally resulted in the concentration of small schools in one area, each belonging to a religious sect and struggling for existence and each with a different program and curriculum.

There appears to be a gap between the material offered in the curriculum and what the villagers need. This is a result of the attempt to conform with urban schools' program and of a disregard for the kind of education the rural population needs. The lack of schools for girls is a further defect in rural education.

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(6) Report on Education in Lebanon by Atif Karam, Suad Nassar, and Samia Al-Awar submitted to the Education Department at the A.U.B. in 1954, p.24.

The costs of private education are high and more than what the villager can afford with his present financial conditions and living standards. In areas where parents desire some schooling for their children, they often provide the schools, equipment and even in some cases share in paying the teachers' salaries.

Village life at present is undergoing change as a result of education and of contacts and communication with non-rural areas. Religion as a system of control is losing its vitality and hold on the people. It is being replaced by political and national interests.

There has not been at any time one educational system in Lebanon. The systems have always existed under political or religious control with each group pursuing its own interest in matters of education. This has naturally resulted in different curricula, aims, methods, and management. However, it is still to be determined what effect this plethora of educational programs has had upon parents' orientation toward education. Some indications will be given in a following chapter, but first the nature of family life itself will be reviewed.

## CHAPTER IV

### FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE

The family in the Middle East and especially in Lebanon has undergone considerable change in the last fifty years. The status of women seems to have risen with the spread of education. Despite many changes, the traditional way of life is still predominant and with special reservations it is still the ideal.

In this chapter we will describe some of the prominent features of Lebanese family life.

#### The Family

At the core of Lebanese society is the nuclear family, of which the father or husband is the head and the dominant member. The family is traditionally patrilocal and the patriarchal family system is the rule. Thus obedience and respect for the father are demanded from all members of the family. However, it is the extended family or the larger family group (parents, their children, the paternal grandparents, uncles and their families and the unmarried aunts) that is most important. Usually all the people living in one village can claim descent from one or two paternal ancestors, thus forming one or two "families"

in that one village. Each individual learns to identify himself with this joint family group, and his behavior is accordingly regulated.

Family identification is very strong and conformity with the group is essential if the individual is to continue being accepted within that group. To insure family solidarity, marriage within the group is held to be necessary. The specific mate is usually chosen by the elders of the joint family. Lineage endogamy or marriage within the group is especially encouraged by the Moslems. It is also encouraged by some Christian sects excluding marriage between first or second cousins.

Kinship groups in the village form very active social units. The kinship group usually shares land and often live in a particular section of the village. In general, the village is divided into "haras" (quarters) each with a number of households belonging to one family. Nearly everything in the family is shared by the neighbors and relatives. Each family knows nearly everything about other families and in some cases they can speak for each other. Children in the family may go to any of their relatives, especially those who do not have children and work for them.

Cooperation among the members of the kinship group is expected and is considered as a basic element in matters related to the group, and in family feuds. Gulick says: "The

Lebanese village as a type of kinship structure may be defined as an endogamous local group which is segmented into patri-lineages which are preferably endogamous but often exogamous in practice. Residence after marriage is ideally patrilocal but often neolocal in practice."<sup>(1)</sup>

Elders in the village are looked up to and respected by the younger generation. Religion is of considerable importance in the village, and a religious person usually has a high social position among his people and within the larger community.

Usually the wealthiest family in the village is looked up to and respected and it is the aim of every villager to reach their standard so as to get similar respect and prestige. Respect among them might also be for lineage, wealthy ancestry, and land ownership. The bigger the land ownership, the more the respect given. Land ownership, hospitality, and generosity are highly valued in the village.

Life in the village requires sociability, and the individual has to participate in the different activities if he wants to lead a normal life in the village. All the villagers participate in happy and unhappy events, and share with others their joys and sorrows. To be a good speaker, courageous, and hospitable is highly desirable in the village community and of great importance in the life of the villager

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(1) Gulick, John, "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction" American Anthropologist, (Vol. 55, 1953), p. 371.

A close relationship exists between farmers living in the same village. "A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself. He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group."<sup>(2)</sup>

There is an obvious clear division of labor and work among the sexes in the village. A status-role differentiation along sex lines can be observed especially in Moslem villages and to a lesser extent in Christian villages. It is usually the male who is the domineering character in the family. He is not supposed to do any work at home. If he does, he is likely to be looked down upon by the villagers.

Women in rural areas usually work in the house and help their husbands in the field, tilling the soil, weeding, and doing other kinds of manual labor. Very often the woman is given the hard work to do besides the ordinary house duties. The woman's role is important in the economic life

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(2) Tannous, Afif, "The Village in the National Life of Lebanon". Middle East Journal, (Vol. 3, 1949), pp. 155-156.

of the rural family. No matter what her status is, she still represents a very conservative element in a society built around traditions. The woman is given more freedom among the Christians than among the Moslems. Laws governing family relations differ somewhat with the different religious groups.

Marriage in Islam does not happen before puberty and it is preferably a matter of mutual agreement between the parents of each party, though with the latter's consent. Divorce and polygamy are permitted but are less frequent than they used to be. Among Christians marriage is also made with the consent of both parents. Among some religious sects, divorce is allowed but it is rare.

Arranged marriages are decreasing and contact between young people of the different sexes is increasing. The consanguine rather than the conjugal type of family is emerging.

Among Christians and Moslems marriage is looked upon as a natural duty and a social necessity. Women are for the most part dependent on men. Recently, however, some have started working and earning their own living. Marriage offers economic security as well as social position.

Segregation between the sexes is and has been the rule, but this is changing slowly and dying out in some areas. To some extent this has been the result of education and mixing with foreigners. The veil is still worn by many



Moslem and Druze women in urban areas, while veiling exists only to a limited extent in rural areas among the same groups.

### Children

Children are considered desirable and an advantage among the rural population. Boys are an important element in the family. Much weight and importance is put upon them in the Arab society and especially in rural communities. The family is considered to be continued through them. There is a dominant feeling that it is the boy rather than the girl who supports the "house" of the father. It is said that "the boy is the tent peg of the house".<sup>(3)</sup> The girl is spoken of as building another man's house "a girl's house is ruined; she builds up the house of someone else."<sup>(4)</sup>

Girls are expected to imitate in their behavior those who are older than them. They are taught to be quiet, docile and behave themselves. They are expected to help their mothers in the housework, to take care of the younger members of the family, and to look after the animals if there are any attached to the house. The boys usually help their fathers in the fields.

Since patrilocal residence is the rule, a girl's status among her husband's family usually depends upon her own family's support. However, the birth of a son gives her prestige and helps establish her position in her husband's

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(3) Granqvist, H., Child Problems Among The Arabs, (Printed in Finland, 1950), p.138.

(4) Ibid., p. 138.

family. The less the number of girls in the family in proportion to the boys, the more the love and care are given to the girls. Boys feel more secure than girls in general because they are desired more and loved better. Boys are always wanted and no matter how many there may be in the family, they are all loved.

Children are considered well brought up if they comply with the demands and orders of parents and discipline of the school. Obedience, politeness, goodness and quietness are required of all children if they are to be considered well brought up. A quiet child is usually praised and complimented.

Education is an important factor in prestige and respect. An educated person is highly regarded and honored in a village community especially where educational facilities are limited. However, some parents may send their children to school not because they favor or desire education but simply because they wish to conform, that is when most of the other families in the village send their children to school. Considerable emphasis is put on a foreign language. It is often considered as a means for getting good jobs in urban areas and also, as a sign of prestige. To village people, formal education is becoming more important, having come to realize the need for knowing at least how to read and write and some arithmetic.

Not all Lebanese live in villages. An increasing proportion of the population are becoming urban dwellers. Living in cities tends to affect the beliefs and practices which were

part of rural social life. Some of the more obvious characteristics of the urban Lebanese family will now be set forth.

### Urban Family

Except for the foreign families, nearly every urban family in Lebanon claims descent from a rural family. They show attachment to their villages of origin. They keep in more or less continuous contact with their relatives and identify themselves with the larger family group. Traditions and customs established during rural residence are often continued by the urban family. However, the association of the urban family with other families coming from different rural areas and foreign families tends to weaken the bonds that tie it to the traditions and customs it used to uphold.

Marriage within the group, although still preferred, is not felt to be essential to the solidarity of the group in urban families. Kinship groups in the urban areas are not very strong, though in smaller towns they are active. They may share the business and own lands in rural areas jointly, but the bond seems to be growing weaker and weaker as time goes on. The strength of the bond is temporal, being strong in the case of newly settled families and weaker in the case of old established ones.

Contacts and communication between urban families seems to become less frequent as the urban area becomes larger. In

Beirut it is often said that there is very little relations between any family and its neighbors. In fact, some families are said to have lived for years in a building without knowing anything about the other families living in the same building. This seems to be especially true in the case of families coming from different backgrounds and villages.

On the other hand, 'village' groups are formed in the city. 'Family Organizations and Family Societies' are not infrequent. There is an effort to keep family ties and even to strengthen them. Some families residing in the city are still registered in their villages of origin and even continue to vote here.

Within the urban family the father remains the dominant member. In general, he assumes a role which is less important than that of the rural father; he is normally respected rather than feared and looked to for advice rather than orders. He works "to win the bread" for the family, and, sometimes, his wife assists him in making the family living.

The urban woman does not usually work outside the house though this is becoming socially acceptable now. If she does work, it is frequently in manual trades and secretarial work. Also there are many women in the teaching profession, some in the medical professions, and a few in trade.

The two sexes are allowed to mix, though not very freely. Coeducation in higher educational institutions has set limits to sex segregation. It is no longer publicly condemned or rejected that boys and girls are permitted to mix together.

Urban marriage, except in the especially conservative circles, depends more on the acceptance of the prospective couple. The families of the couple have less to say in this matter than is true of rural families. The final say rests in the parties directly concerned.

Children are considered desirable, but the expense of urban life makes children a real burden on the family. Schooling and higher education are expensive. These tend to set limits to the desirability of having children. Yet this, too, differs according to the family and its background. No conclusive generalizations can be made.

In the preceding chapters the background factors which appeared to have some bearing on the central study problems -- the social goals and values related to education -- were discussed. Explicitly some of the distinctive characteristics of the geography, demography, educational, and familial aspects of Lebanon and Lebanese units were set forth. Now, against these fundamental features, it is appropriate to begin directly the investigation of the views of parents. We will start by noting the overall perspectives through which parents view education. .

## CHAPTER V

### EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF PARENTS

Schools and education in general are part of the everyday world of most Lebanese families. As parents meet the problem of preparing their children for adult life, they naturally give consideration to schools and education.

Lebanese families, as has been indicated earlier, are ideally of an extended type, and thus, solutions to problems are likely to be the result of group opinions. Individuals' views consequently reflect the general concensus of the larger family group.

Some of the important ways in which people view education will be reviewed. In particular, the general worth of education, the relationship of education to other aspects of community life, the desired amount of education, and the conditions affecting schooling will be treated in this order.

#### General Evaluation

Without exception, the parents in our sample consider that education is good. They seem to recognize that as one parent put it, "education is very important and valuable nowadays" or as another says, "life asks for education." Some

go so far as to say "the uneducated is like an animal".

Formal education has come to be accepted as something valuable for all and not as something worthwhile only for a few privileged people. There was no condemnation of schools, but occasionally, some criticism was voiced regarding the lack of available educational facilities. Though education is appreciated and desired, not everyone is able to partake of it. One expressed his feeling regarding this condition when he stated that "the uneducated are as useful as the educated because no one will work in the fields if everybody is educated."

#### Education and Life

When parents consider education, it is usually in reference to their own children or to those in the larger family group, and in their considerations, they seem to relate education to three aspects of life: the family, the child and society.

When education is viewed in an abstract way, consideration is more frequently given to its relationship to the child and society rather than to the family. When education is seen in personal terms, its relationship to the family is always considered first. Although it is a child or an individual who is to be trained, it is the family and its needs that are given priority in consideration.

The meaning of education for the child, as an individual person, is of secondary importance. Here some division might be made with respect to the importance of education for the child in terms of his membership in his family of orientation and his family of procreation. If for the child, his family of procreation is an extension of his family of orientation or the two be intimately related, then the relationship of education to this particular person is likely to be given attention in addition to that of the family. It may even be considered alone, without any reference being made to the family. However, if the child is likely to become associated in his family of procreation with another family group, then the parents are not likely to consider the child's needs in regard to education as an independent consideration. This is alluded to in the comment that "the boy should have higher education than the girl because he helps his parents even if he is married, while the girl is lost to her parents when she gets married."

When education is considered with regard to the community, which occurs only in the discussion of education, in general, it is thought of primarily as providing more effective communication between people. As one respondent put it, "education helps in understanding people better, in dealing with them better and in mixing in society".

Although education is considered in its relationship to society, child and the family, one is impressed in reviewing the comments to note the secondary reference of the remarks to



family life itself. When consideration is given to the child, it usually is in terms, though sometimes unmentioned, of his future relationship to the family. And when society is considered, there is often a secondary reference to the position of the family and child in the context of the society. It may be that this is a consequence of interviewing parents, but it is nevertheless, a real factor to be considered. One further comment regarding parents' view of education and life is that education is almost always considered in terms of its consequences and seldom, if ever, in terms of how effective education should be accomplished.

#### Amount of Education

Although all parents evaluate education as being good, they vary in their evaluation of how much education is desirable. Education is always approved for boys and only in very few cases is education for girls disapproved. However, the attitude reflected seems to indicate that where boys are concerned, education seems to be predominantly desirable, while for girls it is only acceptable.

The amount of education that is desired varies according to different situations. (Factors in the situations are reviewed in the following chapter on the "Evaluation of Hypotheses"). One general pattern of orientation that parents use in viewing the desired education for their child is to

refer to it in terms of the Certificate, Brevet, or sometimes Baccalaureat I, while at the same time talking in terms of particular professions or occupations which require more advanced education. Also there seems to be a tendency for people to view education in terms of the accomplishment of certain tasks or goals rather than in terms of learning certain skills and basic knowledge or in terms of years of education. However, there is some mention of the desirability of education due to the fact "it helps to read and write."

The amount of education is almost always related to a consideration of the financial position of the family. One wonders if there was no question of money involved, what amount of education parents would chose for their children. There were some remarks to suggest that parents value education which costs money over education which is free.

There is a characteristic manner in which parents view occupational objectives for their children. Where it is mentioned by the respondents it is almost always in terms of skilled manual specializations or in terms of the professions. Parents do not view business and trade as occupational goals for their children. It is unclear, but this may be because they do not feel that such activity requires special educational preparation.

#### Conditions of Schooling

As has been mentioned before, parents do not usually discuss education in terms of the conditions under which

schooling takes place. However, they do have some opinions regarding certain aspects or conditions relating to the educational situation. In this section we will review some of the opinions regarding coeducation, boarding schools, vocational training, and political influence.

In the chapters which described the educational programs in Lebanon and the pattern of family life some indication was given to the desirability of the separation of boys and girls in the community activities. This is reflected in parents' views concerning coeducation.

In general, coeducation is viewed in three ways. About one-third of the sample disapprove and favor separate schools for boys and girls. There is a small group of people, about half the size of those who disapprove who are willing to tolerate coeducation under certain conditions. Some of these parents indicate that they would follow the customary pattern of the community where they reside, and others thought it acceptable up to the age when children achieve physical maturity. The third group of parents, which constitute a majority of 52 percent, approve of coeducation. One further comment seems necessary; that is, if the discussion of coeducation is focussed in reference to girls, it is likely to be disapproved.

Parents do not indicate much response with respect to boarding schools. Those who do have something to say indicate that they think such schools are generally good. Some, however, indicate that they definitely prefer day schools. From

peripheral evidence it seems that boarding schools are disliked because of the separation of the child from the family. The intimate and supportive relationships which a child receives in the extended family are not present in most boarding school environments. In the interviews, one of the respondents expressed an opinion that "students miss the parental atmosphere and their feelings towards their parents would have some artificial touch". This response she explained was due to her having been a boarding student. On the positive side, boarding schools are valued because they are assumed to give better education and training, teach the children discipline, and provide a select group of playmates.

Over three-fourths of the interviewees felt that vocational schools were good. Generally, they are regarded as providing skills for people who cannot afford an academic education or who are not interested in it. Some parents indicate that vocational schools provide training "which is an alternative to working in the fields." However, because the type of training which is provided leads to rather low status occupations, there is a tendency for the parents to say that the vocational schools are good but for the poor. On the other hand, there is some recognition that the skills provided by vocational training are vital for the development of Lebanon. As one parent expressed it, "the country is in need of men with vocations rather than with academic degrees."

An inquiry was made as to whether or not parents would consider the political sponsorship of a school in deciding whether or not to enroll their children. Only in one instance did a person feel that the political aspect was something to be considered. Generally, parents seem to evaluate a school in terms of its ability to produce educated persons. Thus it seems that if a school is controlled by an alien religious body, ethnic minority, political party, or country, it evidently will not necessarily prevent a parent from sending his child to it. However, when a group to which a parent belongs sponsors a school to which he can conveniently send his children the evidence seems to suggest that he will choose this institution over any other equivalent one.

In the above paragraphs an attempt has been made to give an overall perspective of the various aspects of education as viewed by the parents. In the following chapter a more exhaustive examination will be made of some of the salient factors which seem to influence parents' views on education.

## CHAPTER VI

### EVALUATION OF HYPOTHESIS

While the stated concern of this study is with the social goals and values related to education, its real concern is more basic. The more basic problem is to discover certain of the significant factors that bear upon education. Since the data utilized in this study are the opinions and attitudes of parents regarding the education of their children, this study is focussed from a particular point of view.

Parents differ in the amount of education which they desire for their children. Approximately 80 percent of the parents in our sample commented on this aspect of education. In this chapter several factors which were thought to have a casual relationship upon parents' attitudes will be explored.

Five of the factors have to do with certain preceding variables that seem to be relevant. These include the parents' sex role, religion, residence, education, and the occupational situation of the father. One factor which might be considered a conditional one is that of the sex role of the child. This, also, will be investigated.

As has been mentioned earlier, several hypotheses bearing on the research problem were suggested during the preliminary examination of the data and some were suggested by educational specialists while the data was undergoing examination. The aim of this chapter will be to evaluate these hypotheses in terms of whether or not the data seems to confirm the notion that they are relevant. The limited size of the sample makes a rigorous test of these hypotheses inappropriate. The practice which is followed here is to interpret differences of 10 percent as suggesting that real differences may exist and consequently the hypothesis seems worthy of definitive examination.

The only scale which will be used to rank educational goals is that of the ideal amount of education desired by parents. If no mention was made of an ideal amount of education that was thought desirable, the mention of an appropriate amount was used as indicating the ideal. There were too few responses which indicated educational goals in terms of occupational objectives to use this as a scale. However, where there is some data on occupational objectives that seems especially relevant it will be mentioned.

### Sex Role

Three hypotheses were suggested concerning the relationship of sex roles and parents' attitudes on education. They will be reviewed here in the following order: first, by noting the effect of parents' sex roles and second, childrens' sex roles.

Hypothesis 1: Fathers and Mothers differ in their views regarding educational goals for their children.

TABLE III

Relationship Between Sex Role of Parent And  
Desired Amount of Education for Children

AMOUNT <sup>(a)</sup>	FATHER	MOTHER
Certificate	60	57
Baccalaureat	40	43
<hr/>		
Total percent <sup>(b)</sup>	100	100
Total frequency	65	88

(a) Certificate = certificate and brevet, baccalaureat = Baccalaureat I, II, or higher.

(b) Since each parent could have commented on both sons and daughters, total possible frequency for men was 94 and for women 106.

From inspection of Table III it will be noted that fathers and mothers indicate similar response distributions. It is important to note that the fathers and the mothers whose opinions are recorded here came from different families. Thus when the amount of education for children is viewed in toto parents do not seem to differ on the basis of their sex roles.



Other data indicates that parents tend to see the same occupations as appropriate for their children. However, the sex role of the child is a consideration in determining which occupation is appropriate.

Hypotheses 2: Fathers' and Mothers' View regarding the Education of their sons are identical while they differ regarding their daughters.

TABLE IV

Relationship Between Sex Role of Parent and  
Desired Amount of Education for Sons

AMOUNT	FATHER	MOTHER
Certificate	51	41
Baccalaureat	49	59
Total percent	100	100
Total frequency	35	44

As far as sons are concerned (Table IV) there is some indication that parents do not share the same aspirations for their education. Mothers seem to want more education for sons than fathers, though the difference is not great.

TABLE V

Relationship Between Sex Role of Parent and  
Desired Amount of Education for Daughters

AMOUNT	FATHER	MOTHER
Certificate	70	73
Baccalaureat	30	27
Total percent	100	100
Total frequency	30	44

Where daughters are the object of attention, parents seem to agree on the amount of education that is desirable. Thus the results of Tables IV and V seem to suggest that the reverse relationship might take a more appropriate hypothesis: Fathers' and mothers' views regarding the education of their sons differ while they are identical for their daughters.

A comparison of Tables IV and V suggests, further, that the sex role of the child may be a significant factor in parents' views on education. The following hypothesis states the proposed explanation.

Hypothesis 3: Parents' Educational Goals Differ with the  
Sex Role of the Child.

TABLE VI

Relation Between Sex Role of Child and  
Amount of Education Deemed Desirable by Parents

AMOUNT	SON	DAUGHTER
Certificate	46	72
Baccalaureat	54	28
Total percent	100	100
Total frequency	79	74

That this relationship is a significant one is strongly suggested by the data set forth in Table VI. A higher education is nearly twice as preferable for boys than it is for girls according to the response.

Of the two variables the sex role of the child seems to be dominant over the sex role of the parent. In other words mothers and fathers seem to agree on the desired amount of education for sons and for daughters.

Religion

Two principal monotheistic religions have a nearly equal number of adherents in Lebanon as has been revealed in Chapter II. The Christians and the Moslems are divided

into sects which express different orientation to life. Unfortunately our sample is too small to permit the examination of differences on the secondary level.

Two aspects of education seem dependent upon religious outlook. These are the amount of education and the question of coeducation. They will be examined in that order. The original hypothesis is given first.

Hypothesis 4: There are no significant Difference in Educational Goals between Religious Groups except in regard to Coeducation.

TABLE VII  
Relationship Between Religion and Desired Amount  
of Education Level

AMOUNT	CHRISTIAN	MOSLEM <sup>(a)</sup>
Certificate	53	66
Baccalaureat	47	34
Total percent	100	100
Total frequency	91	62

(a) Includes members of Druze religion.

The situation suggested by Table VII would seem to indicate that there is a difference between religious groups as to the desired amount of education. The Christians in the sample seem to desire more education for their children than is true of Moslem parents. The difference may be even

more since the frequency of Moslems reporting is one-third less than the Christian group. However, it should be recalled that the Moslem village which constitutes half of the Moslem sample is the most isolated and rural-oriented of the groups.

TABLE VIII

Relationship Between Religion  
and Coeducation

ATTITUDE	CHRISTIANS	MOSLEMS
(a) Approve	62	30
(b) Disapprove	38	70
Total percent	100	100
Total frequency	52	33

- (a) Includes responses with "maturity" limitations.  
(b) Includes "conformity" responses.

Coeducation certainly is viewed differently by the two groups (Table VIII). Twice as many Christians approve of the practice as Moslems. However, nearly 40 percent of the Christians in the sample disapprove of the practice.

Coeducation is primarily related to the question of "honor" (chastity) of the girls. From the standpoint of boys, it is opposed because the presence of girls is liable

to distract them from their studies.

The original hypothesis needs to be tested, but a more realistic one is as follows: There are significant differences in educational goals between religious groups in addition to the factor of coeducation.

### Residence

Whether one resides in a city or in a village would seem likely to affect his attitude toward education. Since there are more schools available in the city, more people ought to want their children to attend and to secure a higher education.

Hypothesis 5: There are Differences in Educational Views Between Communities Remote from the Center of Educational Activities and those Near to it.

TABLE IX

Relationship Between Distance from Educational Center and Desired Amount of Education

AMOUNT	CENTER	NEAR	FAR
Certificate	56	47	88
Baccalaureat	44	53	12
Total percent	100	100	100
Total frequency	82	47	24

According to Table IX the suburban (near) inhabitants seem to have higher educational aspirations for their children than either the center or the remote community. The remote rural village is strikingly lower in their aspirations for education for their children than either of the other communities.

Hypothesis 6: No Difference in Educational Goals exist Between Rural and Urban Communities of the Same Religion.

TABLE X

Relationship Between Residence and Desired Amount  
of Education for Christians

AMOUNT	RESIDENCE (a)	
	URBAN	RURAL
Certificate	56	47
Baccalaureat	44	53
Total percent	100	100
Total frequency	50	47

(a) Druze included.

TABLE XI

Relationship Between Residence and Desired Amount  
of Education for Moslems

AMOUNT	URBAN	RURAL
Certificate	56	88
Baccalaureat	44	12
Total percent	100	100
Total frequency	32	24

As indicated in Chapter II the village which is near to the center is acknowledged as having the highest literacy rate in Lebanon. It is a Christian community. In Tables X and XI the residence factor is controlled on religion. Here it is suggested that there is no real difference between the urban and rural Christian groups, but the difference between rural and urban Moslem groups does seem significant. It is, also, interesting to note that Moslem and Christian groups residing in the urban area have identical aspirations so far as amount of education is concerned. However, other evidence suggests that there may be some difference in occupational preference.

It appears that residence may be an important factor in influencing parents' opinions, but it requires further study to determine to what extent it is significant.



Parents' Education

Will parents who have an education be more likely to want it for their children than parents who have not had such training? This is the question that confronts us here. The answer stated in minimal terms is suggested in the hypothesis below.

Hypothesis 7: Literacy of Parents has a Bearing on the Desirability of Education for their Children.

TABLE XII  
Relationship Between Education of Parents (a) and Desired  
Amount of Education for Children

AMOUNT	NONE	SOME
Certificate	74	45
Baccalaureat	26	55
Total percent	100	100
Total frequency	62	91

(a) Education of respondent only.

As Table XII suggests there seems to be an important relationship between parents' education and their aspiration for their children. Whether or not it would be true for all levels of education is yet to be determined.

Related to education in an abstract sense is training in an occupation. Parents who are engaged in occupations which require much formal training might desire a similar amount for their children. But there is another aspect of

an occupation in addition to the training necessary for successful performance.

Occupational Situation

In the performance of an occupation, the situation in which the activity takes place is likely to have an impact upon a person and his family. An attempt has been made to get at this elusive quality of occupation by classifying them into whether their main concern is with intangible goods (office), tangible goods (shop), or with salable physical labor (field).

Hypothesis 8: Occupational Situation of the Father has a Bearing on the Desirability of Education for the Children.

TABLE XIII

Relationship Between Fathers' Occupational  
(a)  
Situation and Desired Amount of Education.

AMOUNT	OFFICE	SHOP	FIELD
Certificate	44	58	77
Baccalaureat	56	42	23
Total percent	100	100	100
Total frequency	54	59	40

(a) Office, intangible goods; shop, tangible goods; field, salable labor (see appendix for classification of occupations)

There appears to be a consistent trend in preference for higher education for children by households whose heads are engaged in occupations of an office type to those of a shop and finally to the field variety. This variable seems significant enough to justify further testing and exploration. It is still vague as to what is involved, but the attempt is made to avoid placing the occupational factor on the scale of education.

The eight hypotheses which have been examined here should be thought of as provocative and not as inclusive. The data itself limited the type of hypotheses that could be examined. In particular, factors concerned with the object to be educated (the child) and the desirable conditions to be observed in the education process have not been explored due to lack of data. With respect to the former, the data did suggest three factors that might have some bearing. These were as follows : sibling order; sex ratio of children (number of boys to number of girls); and demonstrated ability in school work. Other relationships suggested by the data were that it is desirable for at least one child in the family to be educated for the prestige of the family and that the father tends to curtail the education of the children while the mother tends to encourage it.

## CHAPTER VII

### SOCIAL GOALS AND VALUES

The social goals and values as revealed by the interviews are varied. Social goals refer to certain conditions, events, or tasks to which people feel they must adjust. They are what people want in the society. For the parents, the social goals discussed below seem to be of the same dimension and are evaluated as being the same. To them, they are real. They are mainly related to education and are not inclusive of all social goals. They seem to be indicative of the parents' life views in relationship to education.

There may be social goals of education as viewed by the teacher, administrator of a school system, or by the student or child. These may or may not coincide with those of the parents. However, there probably is a considerable amount of agreement among them.

Social values are not directly ascertainable from parents' views, but must be inferred from their comments and the assumptions which underlie them. Certain values are more important than others. Some may affect more of group behavior than others; some may differ in their degree

of explicitness. At this point, we are only able to begin to suggest some of the social values that seem to be involved in the interrelationship of the institutions of the family and education.

The discussion will begin with a review of the social goals related to education. Subsequently, the social values will be set forth.

### Social Goals of Education

Goals of education as viewed by the parents may be classified into: security, occupation, prestige, communication, wisdom, and marriage. These are discussed individually below. It should not be inferred that each goal is equally significant. Unfortunately, from the data at hand it is impossible to determine their relative importance. The range of social goals is presented but not their rank.

### Security

One of the goals of education as viewed by the parents is to prepare the boy and to a lesser extent the girl to be self-dependent in financial matters. Parents want their children to have the economic security which is commonly lacking in many parts of Lebanon and which seems to be a reflection of an inner feeling of insecurity on the part of parents. In fact, the boy is prepared to give security to

other members of the family, and in many cases to secure the economic future of the family as a whole.

Education is viewed as an investment, and a remunerative one which is desirable because of the yields measured in terms of money that it is expected to give. The beneficiaries of this yield are normally the family as a unit and the child as a member in this larger unit.

Viewed from this vantage, the education of the boy is more essential than the education of the girl. He is the one supposed to support the family. The girl marries, and therefore, benefits her husband's family. Her education is viewed as essentially unremunerative. However, the girl's future is viewed with great concern. As she is regarded by the community as being less sufficient than the boy, she needs continuous protection and support. Special care must be taken by her family to give her economic security. Education is one way; marriage is another means. Education is, therefore, essentially important for the girl as evidenced by the following statements made by parents: "education is preferred to marriage;" "a girl should have an education because no one can foretell what will happen in the future;" and "the girl's education is her best dowery."

The main distinction between the education of the boy and that of the girl is that the former is supposed to give security to his family of orientation as well as to his family of procreation while the girl's education is intended as a security for herself alone.

A limitation is however present when education is a means for the fulfillment of this goal. A dysfunction which cannot be overlooked, is that of monetary expense. The average income of the family in the sample seems to be relatively low. The education of children is expensive, and it becomes more expensive as it approaches higher education and as it approaches urban education centers. The money for education is derived from a source of income which is relatively limited, and the allocation of this money for education limits savings (if any) and its alternative use for the other necessities of life. It is a present sacrifice for an expected future security.

#### Occupation

If education is viewed as a means to an end, occupation is that end according to the view of many parents. An occupation is seldom desired for itself alone, it is desired for the income that it affords and the living standard that it makes possible. Such statements as "the boys' education is a means to find a job, and make a living", and "education provides good jobs and good salaries" are common arguments used for education. By occupation is meant here a type of work which is not "hard", and the term, "hard", refers to such occupations as manual labor and domestic service. "Children should be educated so as not to suffer from hard work" is another argument for the education of boys and girls. Higher education is

sometimes preferred for girls as they have a narrower field of choice of occupations than boys.

### Prestige

It would not be far from the truth if we say that the educated are accorded a high place in Middle Eastern society. Especially this seems the case in recently developed areas or where education has been recently introduced. The educated person is supposed or at least is expected to occupy a high position in society and give prestige to his family.

The sources of prestige derived from education are varied, but a "respectable" job, honor, politeness, and an elevated social status are the expected sources. This is evidenced by such statements "education brings politeness and honor because an educated person will not say a bad word", "education helps the person occupy a high position in society," and "prestige and honor result from education."

From the point of view of the parents, therefore, education is a means to another end; this end being social prestige for the family and the individual child.

### Communication

During the interaction between the Lebanese society and foreigners over the last few decades the idea became established that mastery of a language other than the mother



language was an essential part of the individual's education. With a second language the individual can understand people better, and communicate with them in a more efficient manner. As to boys, education is held as being desirable and necessary as a means for communication. "Boys should have more education than girls because they get in contact with people more than girls" is a statement given by several of the interviewees. The boys' more frequent contact with the outside world is assumed in such a statement. Girls are supposed to stay at home or work in professions or occupations in which contact with outsiders is either circumscribed or limited. Yet such statements as "education makes the girl understand more and take care of herself" are not infrequent. There is no universal agreement on whether or not it is desirable for the girl to get an education for purposes of communication with the outside world. Many parents seem to prefer that the girl does not get any education in order to preserve her honor and the prestige of her family. A number of the interviewees remarked that "girls should not get high education because they will write love letters."

#### Wisdom

It has been traditional in this part of the world to accord the wise a high place in society, and special respect is due them. Wisdom has been accepted as a virtue and a characteristic that is good per se. It is an end by itself, and education is viewed as the means to that end.

The educated are wise. This is the view of the parents in our sample, and this is one of the criteria that makes parents favor education for the child. Through it he may become wise, a person of knowledge, and thereby secure a position of high prestige in his community for his family and himself.

### Marriage

Education has a special value for girls. Some parents view it as leading to a good chance in marriage. To an educated man seeking marriage, a girl with some education would seem to be preferable (though this is not always the case). So, a criterion of choice regarding the girl's education, from the parents' point of view, is the chance that it affords for a better marriage.

However, education involves the present sacrifice of money, which may be sacrifice of present security, on the part of the parents. The reward that is expected from educating a son or a daughter may be either material such as expected future income, or moral which might result from an enhanced social position for the child. If these are the rewards expected from education, then it would not seem to be an advantage to spend money on a girl's education. A girl is expected to marry, and on marriage, she "follows" her husband and becomes a part of his family. Since this is so, then no material benefit accrues to her parents from educating her.

As evidence of this are the following statements made by some of the interviewees: "a girl should not have high education because she will marry," and "the girl cannot help her parents after marriage."

Another criterion in point regarding the relationship between marriage and education of girls is the relatively scarce opportunities for finding the "right" person to marry. An educated girl will not consent to marry "any" person, at least this is the way parents view it. Therefore, education may be an obstacle to marriage. "The girl's education will stand in her way of marriage because she cannot find an educated man".

### Values

Values are principles underlying the choices people make and the criteria by which alternative goals are chosen. As defined in the first chapter, a value is a conception characteristic of a group or a concensus of opinion fairly persistent through time which influences the selection from what is available.

The social values are concerned with more obscure views. They are inferred from the general comments that people make regarding the education of their children. They are necessary assumptions to explain the parents' attitudes. Of all the material reviewed in the paper, the values seem to be the most difficult to ascertain or demonstrate though

their presence in the broad sense is quite apparent. This is a first attempt and no effort was made to find out which of the values to be discussed is more important in its relationship to education.

Values as defined early in this chapter and as revealed by the interviews include: education, multilinguality, familism, the "male" value, segregation of women and honor, and fatalism. These conceptions are discussed below.

#### Education

Education seems to be held as a means to an end (a value) or as an end in itself by a majority of the people interviewed. The desire and need for education seems to be growing among the people. They are aware of the fact that the uneducated cannot earn his living in an easy way but must labor and struggle to live. "Education is an alternative to hard work." It is a means to find a job, a good salary and provide a living." "Education provides for better understanding of life." Thus, education is looked up to as something necessary and desirable.

It is an asset associated with the individual that is not detachable and that is definitely durable. Land, property, money, etc. may be lost but not education.

#### Multilinguality

A great deal of emphasis and importance is placed on foreign languages. The ability to control or master languages seems to be highly desirable and considered by some as a means

to gaining prestige, finding well paid jobs, and travelling abroad, including emigration.

The prestige gained by mastering English and French stems from the association of power and influence with foreigners. Lebanon has been ruled for a long period of time, either politically or economically by nations and groups whose mother language is not Arabic, hence the high place accorded foreign languages. In addition to this, the language of instruction in institutes of higher education and in colleges happens to be either French or English, and therefore education is associated with multilinguality.

It seems that mastery of foreign languages can be considered as a goal, an ideal or an end to be achieved through education and learning. Multilinguality may be considered a desirable principle by which conduct is organized.

#### Leisure

In this society there seems to be an emphasis on leisure as a means to an end or as an end in itself. This seems to be particularly evident in rural areas where farmers work hard for a few months of the year and spend the rest of their time in leisure doing nothing even if they can find more work or have the chance for regular employment. Leisure can be a means to an end, the end being self-satisfaction or it can be an end, a goal in which case the individual would

struggle and work hard trying to finish his work and spend the rest of the time in leisure and pass-time activities.

Parents educate their children so that once the child is through and can earn a living, the parents will stop working, and rely upon their children for their support.

#### Familism

Another important value in Middle Eastern society in general is that of family or 'familism' on which much importance, weight and emphasis is put. Individual behavior preferably should be in relation to his family. A person should conform and act in a manner that is desirable and acceptable to this larger group. Individual unhappiness and sacrifice are expected, if it helps keep up the family reputation. Statements made by parents in which the focus was on the family are: "the girl should have more education because she helps her parents financially," "the boy should have higher education than the girl because he helps his parents even if he is married while the girl is lost to her parents when she gets married."

#### The "Male" Value

As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, differentiation is made by parents between their children on the basis of sex in favor of the male child. Boys are given more attention in regard to education than girls. The question of desirability along sex lines cannot be ignored. As one parent succinctly put

it, "the boy should have higher education than the girl because the parents love the boy more than the girl."

The male is considered as the head and breadwinner of the family; he is considered as an asset to the family, and a more valuable asset if educated. It is not so much that the female is a detriment, (though sometimes this is inferred) but that reference to her is only secondary.

### Segregation and Honor

In the Arab countries of the Middle East there still exists the feeling among some religious groups that men and women should not mix together and that it is much safer for girls to be separate from boys. Seclusion of women and veiling have been the dominant features of female life mainly in the Moslem societies. Women are usually not permitted to join men's circles, associate with them, or participate in their social activities. Women are thought of and considered as belonging to the "private" rather than to the "public" life of society and consequently most women are not allowed to work outside the home by their families. This has been gradually changing, and it is becoming acceptable among some families that their women work in offices, participate in social life outside the home or study where men are present.

Another fact that goes with segregation of women is the question of honor (chastity) of the girl. In rural as well as urban areas the dominant feeling is that the girl must not become involved in sexual relations until marriage. If a girl is known or is discovered to have associated with men, her family will undoubtedly kill her. This seems to be one of the reasons why most Moslem parents and at least a third of the Christian parents in our sample express disapproval of coeducation. They indicate, "the honor of the girl is involved," or "some of the boys are rascals and it is not safe to put girls with them."

#### Fatalism

Another dominant value still held in this society is fatalism and the belief in spiritualism. People still seem to believe in fate which gives order to their actions, behavior and the unknown future. They do not plan for the future because "no one knows what might happen." Most people decide to leave things for fate to decide for them and will not interfere in what destiny might have for them by setting plans for the future. Fate, as an expression of God's help and will, is what determines the future of the individual, and no one can change what is destined to happen or stand against God's will. "We cannot decide about the education of the children because no one can foretell what will happen in the future".



It is hoped that this review of social goals and values as related to education will be looked upon as being provocative rather than definitive. We have inferred rather than demonstrated their presence, It is hoped that others will be stimulated to make a test of their validity. A few suggestions will be made for further research in this field at the end of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At the outset of this dissertation the problem and purposes of the study were stated, and an attempt to critically evaluate and to define the basic concepts -- values and goals -- was made. An attempt was, also, made to evaluate the data used for the purposes of the study in order to point out its scope and limitations. Special emphasis was put on the fact that the study should be considered as a pilot project and that the results of the study are only tentative and need further investigation.

The study was based on one hundred interview situations, fifty of which were for Beirut and twenty-five each for Beit Meri and Habboush (The interviewees had been selected at random). The procedure followed in the study was first, to make an overall survey of the geographical, economic and social conditions existing in Lebanon, with special emphasis on the three areas from which the sample was taken. It is shown that the Lebanese population is far from being homogeneous, and that religious, educational and geographical factors have contributed to make Lebanon a complex society. The different religions and educational

systems represented in Lebanon together with the continuous contact and interaction of the different segments of the population, have had their effect in shaping the social goals and values of the inhabitants.

Second, a brief sketch of the history of education in Lebanon over the last few decades, and an analysis of the present situation was presented. It was shown that formal education progressed appreciably only since the Turks left. Other than the missionary schools established by different religious groups or sects, no significant progress had been made prior to that. The educational systems, classified into Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and Arab, were exposed and critically reviewed.

Third, a review and analysis of the family as an entity and as the basic unit in Lebanese society was made. The role of the elders and of kinship groups in affecting the constitution of the family and the position of women and children was set forth. The family in both rural and urban areas tends to show similar characteristics. Both are ideally patriarchal and both patrilocal. The child is intimately related to his family from the emotional, social, and economic aspects of life. In rural areas the extended family system is still predominant, while in urban areas it tends to be a smaller unit.

These introductory discussions were made to throw some light on the factors that affect directly or indirectly the

views of the parents on education. The family organization has a bearing, and a heavy one, on educational goals and values. The solution of all problems of the family including education are the result of group opinions rather than the independent individual's thoughts. The views on education, its worth, its relation to other aspects of community life, the desired amount of education, and the conditions affecting schooling, were subsequently treated in the light of the introductory discussions referred to above.

Education is generally viewed as being good and parents relate it to three aspects of life, namely, family, child, and society. The needs of the family are taken into consideration when a decision regarding the child's education is to be arrived at. This is an important factor underlying the attitude of parents in regard to the education of girls; for when the girl marries, she will be lost to her parents' family. On the other hand, the boy helps his family and may even support it if he starts a separate home.

The amount of education desired varies according to the particular family conditions, though there is no indication that parents have a fixed attitude towards the question. Vocational and professional education were both evaluated as being desirable.

Hypotheses were used to help explore the more specific views of parents towards education and were evaluated in light of the responses given by the parents.

The hypotheses that seemed to best fit the responses and therefore are considered worthwhile to subject to a rigorous examination are as follows:

1. Fathers and mothers do not differ in their views regarding educational goals for their children.
2. Fathers' and mothers' views regarding the education of their sons differ while they are identical for their daughters.
3. Parents' educational goals differ with the sex role of the child.
4. There are significant differences in educational goals between religious groups in addition to the factor of coeducation.
5. There are differences in educational views between communities remote from the center of educational activities and those near to it.
6. Differences in educational goals exist between rural and urban communities of the same religion.
7. Literacy of the parents has a bearing on the desirability of education for their children.
8. Occupational situation of the father has a bearing on the desirability of education for the children.

As a result of analysis, the following goals and values were deduced: security, occupation, communication, prestige, wisdom, and marriage as goals; education, leisure, multilinguality, the "male" value, segregation of women and honor, and fatalism as values. Each of the above was discussed briefly in reference to the parents' views on education.

The study that is presented here is an introductory one and should be followed up by a definitive research project which would entail a larger sample and better facilities for investigation and research. Separate studies should be made for rural, sub-urban and urban communities. The sample to be selected ought to give a fair representation to the dominant religions, sects, and minority groups residing in the different parts of Lebanon. The interview schedule to be prepared for the larger study might desirably consider factors that are related to education from the standpoint of discipline, programs, schooling, family organization and the position of the child in the family. Slight benefit will arise from interviewing males and females separately since in this study no significant difference of opinion seemed to exist along this line of division. It is hoped that this thesis may prove to be a basis for such an extended study.

Interview Schedule

1. Name of household head \_\_\_\_\_
2. Religion \_\_\_\_\_
3. Occupation \_\_\_\_\_
4. How many children are there in the family \_\_\_\_\_
  - a. Number of boys \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Number of girls \_\_\_\_\_
5. How many years of education has the household head had \_\_\_\_\_
6. How many years of education has the wife had \_\_\_\_\_
7. a. Is the first child in school yes \_\_\_\_\_, no \_\_\_\_\_
  1. How old is he \_\_\_\_\_
  2. What level of education did he get to \_\_\_\_\_
  3. How are his grades in school \_\_\_\_\_b. Is the second child in school \_\_\_\_\_
  1. \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. etc.
8. For what occupation do you want to prepare your 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. child
  - a. Profession \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Vocation \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Apprenticeship \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. None \_\_\_\_\_

9. For what occupation do you want to prepare your sons
- a. Professions \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Vocations \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Apprenticeship \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. None \_\_\_\_\_
10. For what occupation do you want to prepare your daughters
- a. Professions \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Vocations \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Apprenticeship \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Others \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. None \_\_\_\_\_
11. a. Minimal level of education for your sons \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Minimal level of education for your daughters \_\_\_\_\_
12. a. Extent of education for your sons \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Extent of education for your daughters \_\_\_\_\_
13. What is your opinion in regards to coeducation ?
14. Would you send your daughters to a coeducational school  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_, no \_\_\_\_\_,  
Why ?
15. What is your opinion in regards to vocational schools ?



16. a. Would you send your sons to a vocational school  
yes \_\_\_\_\_, no \_\_\_\_\_,  
Why?
- b. Would you send your daughters to a vocational school  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_, no \_\_\_\_\_,  
Why?
17. a. Would you send your sons to a vocational school  
before the Brevet \_\_\_\_\_  
or after the Brevet \_\_\_\_\_  
Why?
- b. Would you send your daughters to a vocational school  
before the Brevet \_\_\_\_\_  
or after the Brevet \_\_\_\_\_  
Why?
18. a. Do you prefer to send your sons to vocational  
schools \_\_\_\_\_  
or academic schools \_\_\_\_\_  
Why?
- b. Do you prefer to send your daughters to vocational  
schools \_\_\_\_\_  
or academic schools \_\_\_\_\_  
Why ?
19. What is your opinion in regards to boarding schools?

20. a. Would you send your sons to them  
yes \_\_\_\_\_, no \_\_\_\_\_,  
Why?
- b. Would you send your daughters to them  
yes \_\_\_\_\_, No \_\_\_\_\_,  
Why?
21. a. Should boys be educated  
yes \_\_\_\_\_, no \_\_\_\_\_,  
Why?
- b. Should girls be educated  
yes \_\_\_\_\_, no \_\_\_\_\_,  
Why?
22. Do you prefer to educate your sons or your daughters  
or both if your means are limited? Why?
23. How do you feel about Beirut's atmosphere in regards to  
student's life?
24. What are your views about education in general?
25. What are the advantages and disadvantages of education?
26. Do you allow politics to interfere with your choice of  
schools for your children if the schools belonged to a  
political party different than yours?

CLASSIFICATION OF PARENTS' EDUCATION

1. Primary
  - a. 1 - 6 years in School
  - b. Read and write
  - c. Read
  - d. Vocational
  
2. Secondary
  - a. 7 - 12 years in School
  - b. Vocational and Primary
  - c. Matriculation
  
3. Higher Education
  - a. College Education
  - b. University Education
  - c. Professional Education

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS'

OCCUPATIONS

- I. Office (Salable facility- intangible)  
guards, drivers, police, clerks, instructors,  
journalists, economists, sheikhs, lawyers, contractors,  
auto-brokers,
  
- II. Shop (salable goods - tangible)  
pharmacists, benzine station owners, merchants,  
jewelers, shopkeepers, grocers, peddlers, tailors,  
restaurant owners, shoemakers, butchers, dairy  
workers, mechanists, carpenters, barbers.
  
- III. Field (salable labor)  
laborers, masons, farmers, porters, cooks, white-  
washers.

SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION IN LEBANON

<u>LEBANESE</u>	<u>FRENCH</u>	<u>AMERICAN</u>
Kindergarten	12 ieme	Elementary 1
Elementary 1	11 ieme	Elem. 2
Elem. 2	10 ieme	Elem. 3
Elem. 3	9 ieme	Elem. 4
Elem. 4	8 ieme	Elem. 5
Elem. 5 (Cert.)	7 ieme	Elem. 6
Secondary 1	6 ieme	Elem. 7
Sec. 2	5 ieme	Elem. 8 (graduation Cert.)
Sec. 3	4 ieme	Secondary 1
Sec. 4 (Brevet)	3 ieme (Brevet)	Sec. 2
Sec. 5	2 ieme	Sec. 3
Sec. 6 (Bacc. I)	1 iere (Bacc.I)	Sec. 4 (High School Certificate)
Sec. 9 (Bacc.II)	Bacc. II or Phil.	Freshman

CODE SHEET

Quest. No. \_\_\_\_\_

1. Community

- 1-1 Beirut
- 1-2 Habboush
- 1-3 Beit Meri

2. Religion

- 2-1 Christian
- 2-2 Moslem
- 2-3 Druze

3. Occupations

- 3-1 Office
- 3-2 Shop
- 3-3 Field

4. Husband's Education

- 4-0 No answer
- 4-1 None
- 4-2 Primary
- 4-3 Secondary
- 4-4 Higher Education

5. Wife's Education

- 5-0 No answer
- 5-1 None
- 5-2 Primary
- 5-3 Secondary
- 5-4 Higher Education

6. Interviews

- 6-1 Husband
- 6-2 Wife
- 6-3 Son
- 6-4 Daughter

7. Number of Children

- 7-1 1-4
- 7-2 5-8
- 7-3 9-12

General Views on Education

8. General Evaluation of Education

- 8-1 No comment
- 8-2 Good
- 8-3 Bad
- 8-4 Alternative
- 8-5 Qualified Response (not needed)

9. Functions of Education

- 9-1      Family
- 9-2      Child
- 9-3      Society

10. Evaluation by Sex

Boys

- 10-1      Approve
- 10-2      Disapprove
- 10-3      Indifferent
- 10-4      No answer

11. Evaluation by Sex

Girls

- 11-1      Approve
- 11-2      Disapprove
- 11-3      Indifferent
- 11-4      No answer

12. Justification for Preference

Boys

- 12-1      Family
- 12-2      Child

13. Girls

- 13-1      Family
- 13-2      Child



14. Amount of Education \*

<u>Ideal</u>	<u>Minimal</u>
<u>14-1</u> none	<u>14-11</u>
<u>14-2</u> Certificate	<u>14-12</u>
<u>14-3</u> Brevet	<u>14-13</u>
<u>14-4</u> Baccalaureat I	<u>14-14</u>
<u>14-5</u> Baccalaureat II & Phil.	<u>14-15</u>
<u>14-6</u> Higher Education	<u>14-16</u>

\* Boys A

Girls B

18. Preferred Occupation \*

- 18-1 Manual Trades
- 18-2 Clerical Work
- 18-3 Business and Trade
- 18-4 Law, Engineering
- 18-5 Teaching
- 18-6 Medical Practice
- 18-7 Pharmacy
- 18-8 Nursing

\* Boys - A

Girls - B

19. Coeducation \*

- 19-1 Approve
- 19-2 For all ages
- 19-3 Up till 12 years
- 19-4 After 18
- 19-5 Disapprove
- 19-6 Conformity

20. Advantages

20-1 Refinement

\* Boys - A

Girls - B

21. Limitations

21-1 Distracts attention

21-2 Spoils the character

22. Politics and Education

22-1 Affect choice of schools

22-2 Have no importance to choice of schools

22-3 No response

Vocational Schools

23 Evaluation

23-1 Good

23-2 Prefer academic

23-3 No response

24. Qualitifications

Boarding Schools

25. Evaluation

25-1 Good

25-2 Prefer day schools

25-3 No response

26. Advantages

27. Limitations

SUMMARY

Religion

52 Christians (Catholics, Maronites, Protestants,  
Orthodox)  
45 Moslems (Sunni, Shiites)  
3 Druze

Occupation

33 Office  
38 Shop  
29 Field

Husbands' Education

36 None  
52 Primary  
7 Secondary  
5 Higher education

Wives' Education

60 None  
31 Primary  
7 Secondary  
2 Higher education

Interviewee

43 Males  
57 Females

Number of Children

55	1-4
39	5-8
6	9-12

General Evaluation of Education

6	No answer
94	Good
(2)	Alternative

Functions of Education

31	Family
53	Child
40	Society
30	No answer

Evaluation by Sex

Boys

96	Approve
4	No answer

Girls

91	Approve
2	Disapprove
4	Indifferent
3	No answer

Justification for Preference

Boys

69 Family  
 44 Child  
 19 No answer

Girls

40 Family  
 29 Child  
 40 No answer

Amount of Education

Boys

<u>Ideal</u>	<u>Min.</u>	<u>Girls Ideal</u>	<u>Min.</u>
19 Certificate	7	30	6
17 Brevet	7	23	1
21 Bacc. I	1	14	
13 Bacc. II or Phil.	3	5	
9 Higher education		2	
21 No answer	82	26	93

Preferred Occupations

Boys

Girls

28 Manual Trades	36
5 Clerical Work	14
3 Business and Trade	--
18 Law and Engineering	7
9 Teaching	16
25 Medicine	10
3 Pharmacy	--
Nursing and Midwifery	13
Fine Arts	1
34 No answer	38

Coeducation

General

Girls

52	Approve	
10	Till 12	4
1	After 18	
32	Disapprove	12
5	Conformity	

Advantages

1	Refinement
1	Adds knowledge

Limitations

13	Distracts attention	
10	Spoils the character	6

Politics

1	Affect choice of schools
53	Do not affect choice of schools
46	No answer

Vocational Schools

76	Good
4	Prefer academic
22	No answer

Boarding Schools

29	Good
2	Prefer day schools
69	No answer

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## Abstract

### Social Goals and Values Related to Education in Three Selected Lebanese Communities

This study is a preliminary investigation into the relationship between the institutions of the family and education. The data utilized consists of 200 recordings of 100 interview situations that had been carried out by the Economic Research Institute. In the urban city of Beirut, 50 parents had been interviewed, while in the rural communities of Beit Meri and Habboush, 25 homes were visited in each.

The procedure used in the analysis of the data follows. First, a series of hypotheses was established by scanning the interviews. Next, a classification scheme was developed and categories were devised to fit the statements made by the interviewees. Numbers were given to the different categories to facilitate the coding of the interviews, and summary sheets were used to tabulate the coded material of each interview. Also, appropriate qualitative material was extracted for the purpose of identifying the social goals and values.

For background information to aid in interpretation, a survey was made of the geographic, economic, and social conditions which might bear upon the parents' views on education. The history of education in Lebanon was briefly

reviewed, and an analysis of the present educational situation made. Also, the main characteristics of family organization in Lebanon were set forth.

Parents' overall perspectives on education served as an introduction to the analysis of the data. Generally, parents perceived education as being good and worthwhile. They related it to three aspects of life, namely, the family, child, and society. The level of education desired for children varied. Parents evaluated vocational education as being good but inferior to professional. Coeducation was approved by the majority of parents, while a significant proportion expressed complete disapproval giving preference to separate schools. The political sponsorship of schools did not consciously influence the parents' choice of schools.

To explore the views of parents on the desired amount of education, the original hypotheses were evaluated by table analysis. The hypotheses that seemed to best fit the responses and, therefore, were considered worthwhile to be subjected to a rigorous examination were the following.

1. Fathers and mothers do not differ in their views regarding educational goals for their children;
2. Fathers' and mothers' views regarding the education of their sons differ, while they are identical regarding their daughters;
3. Parents' educational goals differ with the sex role of the child;
4. There are significant differences in educational goals between religious groups in addition to the factor of coeducation;

5. There are differences in educational views between communities remote from the center of educational activities and those near to it;
6. Differences exist between urban and rural communities of the same religion;
7. Literacy of parents has a bearing on the desirability of education for their children; and
8. Occupational situation of the father has a bearing on the desirability of education for the children.

As a result of analysis, social goals and values were deduced and discussed briefly in reference to the parents' views on education. A goal was defined as being the object of a value, a desideratum or what is valued. One of the goals of education as viewed by the parents was security. Education was viewed as a means to prepare the child to be independent in financial matters and to offer economic aid for the family. Another was occupation; it being desired for the income afforded and the living standard made possible. Education is supposed to entitle the person to social prestige and a high position in society. It also enables him to interact and communicate with others in a better manner. Wisdom, as another goal, has been accepted as a virtue and a characteristic of the educated. For girls, marriage was viewed as an end made possible (or hindered) by education.

Values, which were set forth as being the principles underlying the choices people make, the modes of organizing conduct, and criteria by which alternative goals are chosen.

Those suggested by the data were: education, multilinguality, leisure, familism, the "male" value, segregation and honor, and fatalism.

Education was held as something desirable, a means to an end which provided for the different goals desired. The knowledge of many languages, "multilinguality," seemed to be highly desirable and valued by the parents as a means for gaining prestige and wisdom. Leisure as a means to self-satisfaction and comfort seemed desirable by the parents. The family institution was viewed as being dominant in society and the importance of the male child was emphasized. Women were still viewed as belonging to the private life of the community and should not mix with men (segregation). Fatalism and the belief that all life is predetermined was another value deduced from the parents' discussion of education.

The thesis is concluded with a number of suggestions for further research. It is recommended that a larger sample be utilized and that separate communities representing different religious groups be examined. Several other remarks pertinent to making a definitive study are suggested.