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THE INFLUENCE OF ECOLOGICAL
FACTORS ON VALUES

BY

Rashid Bashshur

A thesis presented to the
Department of Sociology of
the School of Arts and Sciences
at the American University of
Beirut in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to the Rockefeller Brothers' Foundation which granted funds to cover transportation and interviewing expenses.

Special thanks are extended to Dr. Lincoln Armstrong who guided this research from start to finish, to Dr. Gordon Hirabayashi who offered valuable suggestions in the design of the research, and to Mr. Munir Khuri for field supervision.

The assistance of Miss Sue Fryer, Miss Sonia Franjiyeh, Nabil Dajani, Halim Barakat, Alfred Zacharia, Latif Abul Hesn, and Samir Khalaf, fellow students at the A.U.B. who participated in various stages of this research, is highly appreciated. Special mention is extended to Miss Siham Bustani who helped immensely with the tabulation process.

ABSTRACT

The attempt to relate certain structural and behavioral aspects of a community to valuational standards and attitudinal responses on a "modern-traditional" continuum is the object of this study. The tests should reveal whether or not the degree of ecological interaction of a homogeneous multi-village agrarian community with a dominantly urban center influences the acceptance of middle class standards on a gradient pattern.

A theoretical orientation presenting sociological interpretations and controversies is supplied as a background for the research operation. The possibility of objectivity in the study of values is evaluated and a generalization drawn as to the possibility of definite relationships between conceptual value systems and empirical indices.

Administration of the study involved the application of a questionnaire to 136 respondents in the Middle Beka'a Valley of Lebanon. The sample studied was not randomly selected but arbitrarily chosen in accordance with a plan to obtain fairly representative cohorts from major occupational categories evenly distributed in an area within a radius of 30 miles of the urban center of Zahle.

The data collected was converted into separate indexes or cardinal scales for values and horizontal mobility. The value index was established on the basis of rough scoring of individual responses to eight pairs of contrasted proverbs and eleven value-judgement statements; whereas, the mobility index was based on the extensiveness and variety of the villager's external interactions.

Percentage distribution on scales measuring degrees of value "modernity" and horizontal mobility make possible comparisons between major and minor variables that are taken into consideration in the hypotheses for the study.

Some of the major findings suggest significant rural-urban, religious, and occupational differences in the degree to which a modern or "middle-class" orientation is emerging. The evidence for an ecological gradient pattern of similar differences in value and mobility scores showing increasing traditionality and decreasing mobility to be related to increasing distance from the urban center is present but much less impressive. In summary, it is found that greater "modernity" in values and higher horizontal mobility is characteristic of the white-collar and non-agrarian occupations, the urban and nearby urban areas, the Christians, the more educated, and the younger generation. While no overall correlation between individual value and mobility scores is discovered, the two indexes are significantly correlated when stated in the form of means of different occupational and village groupings.

This research establishes a possible technique for the study of values that is especially adapted to the agrarian Middle East. It can be considered in the nature of a pilot study to the extent that it lays a foundation for further research and study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Knowledge of ecological processes is basic to all social sciences, as social and political institutions have a spatial base and arise and function in response to changing conditions of movement and competition. Institutional stability is largely dependent upon stability in space relations. The constantly changing patterns of division of labor and of population distribution necessitate a continuous process of institutional adjustment."¹

Many of man's values are expressed and accomplished systematically through his social institutions. Therefore, it may be expected that his values will be in constant changing adjustment to ecological factors. It is upon such changing relationships that the study to be reported in the following pages is focussed.

Certain axioms regarding social change are fundamental to the assumptions which underly the following study of the relationship between values and ecological variables. A society consists of a vast number of interrelated parts in varying degrees of integration - never perfect. All parts are changing constantly in their adjustment to one

1. MacKenzie, R.D., "Ecology, human," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York, MacMillan Co. v. 5, p. 315, 1931.

another and such change occurs at varying rates of speed. Integration is favored by an ever present "strain toward consistency" (Sumner). Disorganization and culture lag is favored by the eternal necessity of adjusting cultural responses to the changing needs and desires of man. Just as the cathedrals of Europe reflect a religious value system of an earlier day, so also may the ecological structure of a community reflect obsolete values. In the first case it may be that new religious values have become more secular and individualized and have become less personal, less provincial, less particularistic and more specific and standardized.²

On the other hand the patterns of culture lag might be in just the opposite direction i.e. structure may have moved well ahead of operating norms. In the field of sexual maladjustment, Kinsey finds an explanation in a "tyranny of the mores".³ Mid-Victorian mores continue in control of sexual relations in an age in which the parlor has been replaced by the automobile, the neighborhood setting by the commercialized "Great White Ways" of anonymous cities. Similarly, in emerging community patterns of industrializing societies, it may be expected

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2. Parsons, T., The Social System. Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, p. 67, 1951.
 3. Kinsey, A.C., et al, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. Phil., W. B. Saunders Co., pp. 263-265, 1948.

to discover attitudinal and valuational responses, which were adequately adjusted at one time to isolated and self-subsistent village life, but are still dominant in communities in which superficial mechanization and material modernization have begun to emerge.

The present study seeks to assess the direction and relative degrees of adjustment or correlation between attitudes and values governing interactional relationships and the actual (material) patterns or structure of social relations existing in what is felt to be a relatively typical community of the Arab Middle East.

Industrialized societies in the West gave rise to the middle class. To meet new life situations new conduct norms and standards emerged with this class. For convenience, these new norms and standards may be designated "modern," "western", or "industrial" as opposed to traditional modes of behavior.

It is hypothesized that trends toward urban centralization in a traditional multi-village agrarian community will be reflected in differential and changing attitudes and values. These changes may be measured in terms of such ecological factors as dependence-independence, distance, specialization, commercialization, and so forth; which, in turn, will reveal gradation along the traditional-modern continuum.

The values and attitudes of particular concern will be those which reflect the emergence of a middle

class and progressive orientation in terms of overt desire for technological, utilitarian and secular education, rural development, individual freedom, "interest-group" identification, and in general the subject's "gemeinschaft-gesselschaft" orientation.

A high positive correlation between distance, both physical and social, from Zahle - an urban center - and traditional attitudes and values will be accepted as evidence supporting the major hypotheses. In the absence, or inconclusiveness of such correlation, other explanations will be attempted in the light of the data available.

CHAPTER II

OBJECTIVITY IN THE STUDY OF VALUES

General Statement

In the study undertaken here the realm of the so-called "subjective" is challenged, where the layman as well as a few scientists warn us we have no right to be.

Most social scientists refuse and rerute any argument that tries to deny them their efforts to treat objectively sense data and human behavior. "It is in terms of the 'method' that we are scientific," they say. "Objectivity is not inherent in the object; it derives from agreement in mên's minds." Therefore, the extent to which we are scientific will depend on our application of objective and verifiable measures in dealing with our subject matter.

On the other hand, it would be interesting to note the range of difference that lies in between some schools of thought in sociology. For example, the "natural science" school tries to define all patterns of human behavior in terms of intricate mathematical formulae. "To attain maximum predictive value, generalizations must be stated mathematically. When these statements indicating the statistical probability of the occurence of an event under specified conditions have

been empirically verified they become laws."⁴ Whereas, the "social action" theorists are not satisfied with analysis limited to recurrent systematic social behavior. They attempt to integrate the "unusual" into a meaningful hypothetical framework. "Group behavior must be referred back to, and becomes meaningful in terms of, the subjective intentions of the individual participants."⁵

The existence of universal values which guide all human action has not been claimed by either school. Therefore, research on values needs to be adapted to and becomes meaningful in terms of specific cultural patterns. Different societies must be treated individually taking into consideration the relative standards of each. In spite of such relativity, practical usefulness of such study certainly involves a question of the degree to which results will provide a basis for prediction. At the same time, it is of equally practical consideration that a better understanding of values will promote intelligent social action. "No change will be accepted or produce a lasting effect unless it is based on a system of values."⁶

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4. Lundberg, George, his viewpoint as presented by: Hinkle, R.C. & G.J., The Development of Modern Sociology, New York, Doubleday & Co. Inc., p. 55, 1954.
 5. Parsons, Talcott, his viewpoint as presented by: Ibid., p. 58.
 6. Kroeber, A.L., et al, Anthropology Today. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p. 886, 1953.

1. Problem of Definition

A definition is defined as the intention to use a certain symbol - word - to stand for a certain context. Hayakawa views the definition simply as "statement about language", a "linguistic habit." On the other hand, Lundberg goes deeper in explaining the nature of defining concepts. "It means (a) the selection of significant behavior segments and (b) their representation by symbols which lend themselves to operational representation of relationships."⁷

As applied to values the concept gains serious implications. "The concrete referent of the symbol is not the external object but rather the "way of orienting" which it controls".⁸ These ways of orienting or solving problems may be divided into cognitive, prescriptive, and moral norms.⁹

No extensive agreement on the nature of values and their exact definition exists among the many social thinkers who take a fundamental interest in the field. The problem of abstraction needs to be resolved, i.e., as to what level is the operational definition to be performed. It can be safely said that most discussion

7. Lundberg, G.A., Foundations of Sociology. New York, The MacMillan Co., p. 58, 1939.

8. Parsons, T. & Shils, E., Ed. Toward a General Theory of Action. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, p.163, 1951.

9. Williams Jr., R., American Society. New York, A.A. Knopf, p. 23, 1952.

of the concept values is at a high level of abstraction; and that only when a systematic scheme for a scientific investigation has been devised will the abstraction tone be reduced. A decision has to be made as to a definite relationship between the concept and certain operational indices. However, "too abstract" or "too concrete" are equally obtuse from the practical basis of a scientific inquiry and either tendency should be avoided.

"Various fallacies result from the inadequate realization of the metaphorical character of many propositions and of the symbolical nature of all language. Words are counters or symbols, and it would be a grave error to identify a symbol with what it stands for or represents."¹⁰ On the other hand, the fact that abstractions are real parts of things could not be disregarded even if they do not represent the whole character of these things.

In various discussions of noted theorists in sociology on the subject of values and their reference to human behavior, certain key words and conceptualizations are exposed. Some of these, in the form of

10. Nagel, E. and Cohen, M., An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., p. 371, 1934. Through the process of abstraction we develop the notions of limiting or ideal patterns of structure and behavior. We thus arrive at the concepts of a perfectly straight line, of a frictionless surface... but none can be identified with the whole concrete nature of anything.

"dimensional poles of thought", will be examined in the following discussion. Under each sub-title, major views will be presented in an attempt to indicate the nature of the disagreement among several leading theorists. The definitive position assumed by the writer will derive from and be clarified by this presentation of issues involved.

Abstract or concrete?

Although values are interpreted from behavioral manifestations - both overt and covert - many scholars believe that it is not the behavior as such that is the value. Sense data furnish a great deal of the material from which inferences and abstractions are made possible, but direct observation is not a necessary criterion for the determination of the presence of values. There seems to exist some disagreement on this point.

George Lundberg, apparently accepting the argument that values need not be concrete objects or events, states, "they (values) are clearly inferences from behavior."¹¹ But when he goes on to state that "anything is a value when people behave toward it so

11. Lundberg, G.A., Can Science Save Us? New York, Longmans, Green & Co., p. 26, 1947. Lundberg was most interested in proving that values are subject to scientific verification, like any other type of human behavior. He criticized J. Huxley because the latter claims that "values are deliberately excluded from the purview of natural science".

as to retain or increase their possession of it,"¹² he seems to be concerned with the concrete manifestation of values. Equally indefinite is the interpretation of W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki in The Polish Peasant. "By social values we understand any datum having an empirical content accessible to the members of some social group and a meaning with regards to which it is or may be an object of activity... The meanings of these values become explicit when we take them in connection with human actions."¹³ S. Dodd is even more definite regarding the observable objectivity of values as is clearly demonstrated in his many efforts to apply the most rigorous and mathematical analytical tools of science to the study of values. According to this scientist "a value is defined as a desideratum."¹⁴ The "desideratum" clearly assumes a concrete form when Dodd states "That which is desired"¹⁵ may be a material

12. Ibid.

13. Thomas, W. and Znaniecki, F., The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. 2nd ed. New York, Knopf, v.1, pp.22-26, 1927.

14. Dodd, S., "How to Measure Values", from a condensation of an original paper in the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, University of Washington, Seattle, 1950.

15. Op. cit., "On Classifying Human Values: A Step in the Prediction of Human Valuing, American Sociological Review, v. 16, No. 5, p. 646, Oct. 1951. "... Let 'valuing' be defined as acts

object or a pleasurable experience.

Three important writers in the field who take a counter point of view on this issue will be cited. Robin Williams Jr. points out that value is an aspect of a situation..... values are not concrete goals of action, but rather the criterion by which goals are chosen."¹⁶ This is a statement that clearly directs the search for values into an inferential realm but by no means does it preclude the possibility of empirical verification.

A man exhibits a portrait of a national political leader in his parlor. The picture is not the value. The desire to identify with nationhood, patriotism, is the value. Value is the criterion underlying the selection of the specific course of behavior. It can be inferred from that behavior and empirically verified if a sufficient number of competent observers agree to such inference. Such inference could also be supported directly by probing into why the man behaves in such a manner. Clyde Kluckhohn is another important scholar who puts the stress where Williams does. He states simply that values "represent inferences and abstraction

15. (cont'd) showing a person's intensity of desire for a value... Let a ratio of an index of the amount of the desideratum define a 'valuation' or a 'tension ratio'... Let 'valuers' be respondents in a poll..." In other works of this author the complete mathematical formula is offered.

16. Williams, R., op.cit., p. 374. On the

from the immediate sense data"¹⁷ and this aspect of values is called by Talcott Parsons the "criterion or standard for selection."¹⁸ The concurrence of thought reflected above is methodologically focussed in the point of view expressed by Parsons, namely that values may not be understood without recourse to the subjective intentions of the individual behavior.¹⁹ The investigator must ask why one form of behavior is chosen and not another. If one is truly concerned with describing the unique individual case and predicting his behavior, this orientation to the field of values follows naturally. However, in so far as Lundberg, Dodd, et. al. are not so concerned but rather seek reliable quantitative generalizations about how a group of people facing a choice situation will behave, they just as naturally focus their attention on the behavior itself. The concern is with the frequency that a group hangs portraits of political leaders in the parlor and the correlation or

16. (cont'd). next page, he indicates that "values are modes of organizing conduct."

17. Parsons, T. & Shils, E., op. cit., p. 396.

18. Op. cit., The Social System. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p. 12, 1951.

19. See p. 1, footnote 2.

predictability of other types of behavior associated with that behavior such as volunteering for armed forces duty. Not only is Lundberg not particularly concerned with subjective individual intentions (i.e., Why so and so behaves in such and such a way;) he does not even believe that individuals always are very reliable judges as to why they behave in a certain way.

Thus, at one extreme we have those theorists who are concerned with values themselves and for whom objective behavior is only incidental to the identification of the values. i.e., the criteria that cause the selection of certain responses rather than others. At the other extreme are those who are concerned primarily with the description and prediction of actual behavior of groups. For them the discussion of "why" is largely a metaphysical (pre-scientific) question as is the whole problem of "determining causation". "Cause" is seen by those social scientists "in the relationship between variables." ²⁰

Desirable or desired?

The distinction here is made explicit by C. Kluckhohn. He explains that the desirable is what the group "ought" or "is expected" to desire; sometimes, what the individual desires might be against what is considered

20. Ogburn, W. F. & Nimkoff, M. F., Sociology.
2nd ed., Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co.,
pp. 11-12, 1950.

desirable by the group. It is agreed by most theorists that values are a group phenomenon and their definition must be based on a group's consideration of what is desirable. T. Parsons points out the selective nature of values through his insistence that a range of alternatives must be conceived, and Williams seems to make analysis of choice behavior the vital means by which values can be detected and described. However, a value is more than a "cathexis".²¹ Human beings might perform acts which are against their own good out of hedonic motivation or interest in immediate results. Such impulsive acts need not be considered the basis of valuative selections. "Evaluation rests on standards which may be either cognitive standards of truthfulness, appreciative standards of appropriateness, or moral standards of rightness."²² In fact "desirable" and "selection" appear to play interdependent roles in valuation. This is to be expected since cognitive and affective elements are essential components of any value and represent two aspects of the same situation. There seems to be no

21. "The tendency to react positively or negatively to objects, we shall call cathetic mode of orientation...Cathexis, the attachment to objects which are gratifying and rejection of those which are noxious, lies at the root of selective nature of action. Further more, since selection must be made among alternative objects and gratifications at a single point of time or through time, there must be some evaluative criteria. The tendency of the organism toward

essential disagreement between leading contemporary theorists on this point.

Group or individual?

There seems to be considerable agreement that values are dominantly a group phenomenon rather than an individual one. The psychological mechanism of need-action-satisfaction involves a concrete expression in the immediate situation. This individual expression - except when it is in conformity with a general pattern - cannot supply a reliable inference to a cultural phenomenon. The need might be a biological one against which all sorts of cultural restrictions may be present. Interiorization of these cultural norms helps the individual behave in an acceptable manner. A "consensus of agreement" is reached when individuals previously are equipped with similar norms and are presently faced with similar situations.

John Gillin, in a review of R. Linton's paper on "The Problem of Universal Values", lends support to the idea that values must be conceived as culture group phenomena. "It seems to me that the values are 'attached' or attributed to goals or states of affairs or to

21. (cont'd) integration requires the assessment and comparison of immediate cognized objects and cathectic interests in terms of their remoter consequences for the larger unit of evaluation." Parsons, T. and Shils, E. Toward a General Theory of Action, p. 5.

22. Ibid.

patterned ways and means of either attaining or avoiding them... I hold that values are not something in themselves, but are qualities assigned by a cultural system either to cultural patterns or to states of affairs resulting from the practice thereof."²³

Social or Cultural

R. Williams, R. Linton and others have attempted to distinguish between 'social values' and 'cultural values'. According to the former "all shared values are cultural values by definition... social values not only are shared by a number of individuals, but are regarded as matters of collective welfare by an effective consensus of the group."²⁴

23. Gillin, J., Book Review in Social Forces, v. 33, p. 187 Dec. 1954.

24. Williams, R. op. cit., p. 375. "These distinctions can be maintained without confusion only by recognizing other possible usages of the terms 'social' and 'cultural' as applied to values. Social values have been considered variously as: (1) conducive or essential to the welfare of a collectivity taken as a whole; (2) constituting models or goals of personal behavior in social interaction; (3) or common to the members of a given aggregate. The term 'cultural value' is sometimes reserved for the value inherent in culture objects (systems of thought and belief, art, artifacts and so on) as distinct from actual social relations." Linton, R., The Study of Man, New York Appleton-Century Inc. p. 422, 1936. "A culture interest may be defined as anything which has meaning for two or more of a society's component

This distinction leads us to say that values represent a group phenomenon serving general social goals. This idea is not accepted by all. For instance Malinowsky seems to take exception when he states, "... strong and inevitable attachment of the organism to certain objectives, norms, or persons who are instrumental in the satisfaction of the organism's needs."

Institutional or super-institutional

The controversy here is between those who believe that social values are simply the patterned behavior prescribed by the several social institutions and those who believe that social values cut across the institutional fabric of a society and act as the primary integrating agent in that fabric.

Implicit or explicit?

Many significant values do lend themselves to direct observation. While they are embodied in the cultural system, people may be unable to express their presence in their ordinary talk. Such values may be said to be implicit. "An implicit value is, however, almost always potentially expressible in rational language by actor as well as by observer. The fact that everybody cannot readily verbalize such conceptions does not remove them from the realm of value."²⁵

24. (cont'd) members. Thus, while it falls within the broadest definition of a value as 'anything of any interest', it at once limits the field to things in which it is shared. Interest also differs from value in that it carries no implication of any relation to good."

25. Parsons, T. & Shils, E.A., op.cit., p. 397.

To detect implicit values, an observer needs to formulate statements that the subject can understand and agree or disagree with. The implicit ones may have to be inferred from actual behavior or from verbalizations that do not directly state the pertinent values. Furthermore, some understanding of the implicit is necessary if we are to have an accurate assessment of the explicit. As Williams states, "systematic attention should be given to those implicit premises necessary for a meaningful account of explicit statements."²⁶

Belief specifies a "conviction that something is real"; whereas, value specifies a preference. The former is confined to an existential proposition. The latter serves as a basis for the selection of goals appropriate for social action both normative and existential. Lundberg throws some light on this aspect of the problem of delimiting values in the following statement, "Throughout the centuries it has been recognized that there usually exists in the minds of men a vision of a state of affairs more congenial than that in which they find themselves. The nature of this vision, in its relation to the immediate actualities, conditions in a fundamental way the range, the possibilities, and types

26. Williams, R. Jr. op. cit., p. 379.
"Even when not explicitly stated, values can often be inferred directly from verbal materials. In argument, the statements arousing 'heat', emotion, and so on are clues to values."

of social action in which people feel motivated to engage. Accordingly, the question of how to determine reliably the nature of this vision and its present and changing content in different times, places and cultures becomes a fundamental condition for the formulation of social programs..."²⁷

Negative or positive

There are some, including C. Kluckhohn, who attempt to divide values into negative and positive kinds. To others this is a highly debatable conception. Value connotes positive and excludes negative force. The opposing point of view reflects a confusion of values with mores.

The mores of a group involve moral imperatives that require, at a specific level, prohibitions from indulging in certain social acts and coercion for the performance of other acts. Values are the criteria which guide the selection of what will be prohibited or promoted. "Do or don't do this or that because of this..." The "because of this" is the value and it is necessarily positive. The "do's" and "don'ts" are simply implementing

27. Lundberg, G.A., "Human Values, A Research Program," Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society, v. 18 No. 3. p. 110, 1950 (Research Studies of the State College of Washington).

mores; mechanisms of adjustment. "From the point on the value continuum at which the moral quality is emphasized, values shade off into those evoking less intense guilts and less severe social sanctions."²⁸ These negative and positive prescriptions serve the important function of the upkeep and continuation of social institutions, but the institutions themselves exist for the promotion of social values. For example, the incest taboo which is a universal mos²⁹, serves the more significant function of the preservation of a harmonious and cooperative family, the latter being the value.

28. Williams, R. Jr., op. cit., p. 376.

29. Mores is a Latin word meaning customs; singular is mos. Sumner introduced this term to sociological literature... "I mean by mores, the popular usages and traditions when they include a judgement that they are conducive to societal welfare, and when they exert a coercion on the individual to conform to them, although they are not coordinated by any authority." Sumner, W. G., Folkways. Boston, Ginn & Co., p. iii, 1906.

SUMMARY

In the previous pages a few of the problems and controversies and a little of the confusion that exists in the theoretical field of social values have been reviewed. It is clear that the several theorists frequently fail to agree with each other. But the situation becomes more frustrating to the neophyte entering the field when it is found that the theorists are frequently inconsistent with themselves. Such inconsistency can be found in the writing of almost all of the well known value theorists and the example singled out below is given as typical of all rather than as critical of the particular man. The field of social values is too new and vague an area in social science research to expect rigorous consistency.

The typical case of inconsistency referred to here is drawn from Robin Williams Jr.'s clear cut and diligent efforts to present a meaningful and concise definition of values. Under a section heading called "what is meant by values?" he states:

"What we can recognize as values have these qualities: (1) They have a conceptual element - they are more than pure sensations, emotions, reflexes, or so-called needs. Values are abstractions drawn from the flux of the individual's immediate experience. (2) They are affectively charged: they represent actual or potential emotional mobilization. (3) Values are not the concrete goals of action,

but rather the criteria by which goals are chosen. (4) Values are important, not "trivial" or of slight concern.

This passage appears on page 374. On page 375, the following passage appears, neatly contradicting point (3) in the above passage.

"Values are thus "things" in which people are interested - things that they want, desire to be or become, feel as obligatory, worship, enjoy. Values are modes of organizing conduct - meaningful, affectively invested pattern principles that guide human action."

Thus, values would appear to be concrete goals of action as can be seen if one simply completes the clauses that end in commas. For instance, "values are thus things... that they want (money), desire to be or become (professor), feel as obligatory (wearing trousers), worship (God), enjoy (candy).

On page 376 point 4 in his definition of attributes is contradicted. Here we find that values may well be trivial and are not an all-or-none matter but exist on a continuum with the most intense and rigid moral values at the top and "aesthetic standards, conventional proprieties and simple norms of expediency or technical efficiency" at the bottom.

Where such confusion exists it would seem that the neophyte may be excused for a certain amount of arbitrariness in defining values for the practical purpose of completing a research project. With this thought in mind the following definition is presented.

For the writer it is not necessary to distinguish

between social and cultural values. Values, which seem to him to be cultural principles or ideals, are cultural in the sense that as forces which organize and direct human behavior their influence is limited to the culture within which they are bound.

Universal values exist to the extent that certain aspects of human interaction are cross-cultural at a universal level.³⁰ Second, to the extent that all values and attitudes are products of social interaction, all values are social.

Therefore, it follows from the above paragraph that values are a group phenomenon and not an individual one. The subjective intentions of individuals may be utilized as testimony to the nature and content of a given value system in so far as those intentions reflect or are the result of socialization in the individual's particular cultural value system. Furthermore, such testimony is not the only access to values, nor is it necessarily the most reliable or most direct point of entry. Observation of choice behavior where alternatives are known, records of important cultural sanctions, the structural relations of vital social institutions all give at least equally direct and reliable evidence of the value system.

30. Bidney, David expressed the following viewpoint with regards to anthropological study and the problem of universals: "Comparative Studies of cultures and their

Values seem most acceptably defined as the criteria underlying the selection of specific means or ends of behavior. Thus, not only must values be highly abstract or generalized, they necessarily must also be understood as a continuous rather than discrete phenomena. By abstraction is meant the process of summarizing the nature of a thing in terms of its sub-parts. The name of a value is simply a label that summarizes a great many forces (emotionally charged attitudes in this case) crystalized into an integrated whole that influences or directs behavior.

That values exist on a continuum becomes apparent when it is agreed that values are both more and less serious and more and less abstract. Overcooking meat because worms ought to be avoided is neither very serious nor very abstract. Praying regularly because "God" must be propitiated is highly abstract and very serious. The researcher is free to define for himself what level of values are to be studied.

Values are not the same things as mores, folkways and institutions. Indeed, all values are positive. They are the reasons given to justify the prescriptions and prohibitions that make up the mores, folkways, and institutions. Values are always good. They describe

30. (cont'd) values must be made with a view to demonstrating universal principles of cultural dynamics and concrete rational norms capable of universal realization." Kroeber, op. cit., p. 698.

social relations between men, between men and groups, and between men, groups and environment that are evaluated within a society as desirable or ideal. Thus, they belong to the order of "ends", however, that which may be a value at a certain point on the continuum may be a "means" at another point. Money may be the end-value of work at one point; at another point it is the means to "success".

Social acts are rarely related only to one specific value. Therefore, it is to be expected that a researcher will usually be dealing with value systems. Most things simply called values are in actuality value systems. The harmonious and solidaristic family is not one value but a system of values including the obeyed father, the loved mother, the deference to age, the worshipped ancestor, et cetera. The voluntarily estranged son may be challenging one or more of the sub-values. Identifying the value system involved is far simpler than identifying the specific values both for the objective researcher and for the subjective estranged son. It is easier to generalize than to specify.

Finally, values are cognitive and affective conceptual phenomena. As Gillin has pointed out they are conceptual evaluations attributed by culturally bound men to states of affairs. Whether explicit or implicit is simply a question of the manner in which they are revealed to the observer. The verbalized belief that "man was created in the image of God" is implicit

testimony to the "dignity that ought to be attributed to man the individual", i.e., primacy of the person in our age as Lewis Mumford has conceived it.³¹ A highly developed counseling service on a university campus is explicit testimony to the same value.

In the present study two vast and highly abstract value systems are conceived as being in dynamic interaction. In the culture under analysis, one of these systems is being introduced and is in process of integration. The other is the traditional and is in process of disintegration. The first is the individuated - gessellschaft-industrial synthesis of the West. The second is the communal - gemeinschaft - agrarian synthesis of the Middle East.

31. Mumford, L. Conditions of Man.
New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co.
Chap. 2, 1944.

2. Possibility of Objectivity

"The wish that the human mind should be untouched by science is father to the thought that it cannot be studied scientifically."³² Such viewpoint has been adequately disproved by many social scientists, and a consequent rigorous scientific concern was adopted in this field. Nevertheless, values occupy a critical position not free from serious objections, since they deal with the most abstract social phenomena.

Overcoming this problem of subjectivity in values requires establishment of objective or empirical indices expressed in social behavior and based on assumptions of conformity and consensus. Theorists that were discussed above in the first part of this chapter and many others offered significant contributions in the nature of establishing such indices. Here follows a short but rather concise presentation of points of their convergence as well as points of departure.

The human tendency to make selections from available alternatives of action is realized by all of them³³

32. Cattell, R.B., An Introduction to Personality Study. London, Hutchinson, p. 14, 1950.

33. Kluckhohn pointed out to "choice situations... when two or more patterns are equally open and (an individual) or group shows a consistent directionality in its selections." Toward a General Theory of Action. p. 403. Dodd also indicated that

as the basis of evaluative judgements.

That verbal behavior in the nature of overt expressions which point directly to one's group values may be used to index values is the second of point of agreement between these authors.³⁴ However, this, like any other point mentioned, is not to be treated as a final index if present alone.

Moral implications found in social sanctions, emotionally toned attitudes, systems of reward and punishment and habitual tendencies in behavior are also more or less accepted as objective indices.

Lundberg suggests the institutional structure as another source of value identification. He believes

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33. (cont'd) "values will be measured in exchange ratios of how much of one value a person will give in exchange for a specific amount of another value or desideratum...", "The Religion of a Social Scientist", Reprinted from Educational Theory, v. 1, No. 1, pp. 87-96, Aug. 1951. "... the criterion of choice seems to provide an adequate way of defining values empirically." Williams, R., op. cit., p. 376. The same thing is implied by Lundberg, "ways in which groups habitually spend their time, money and energy."
34. Directly stated by Williams, "what people say their values are...", op. cit., p. 378. Equally on the same line is Lundberg's statement, "...systematically observing, recording and interpreting verbal behavior." "Human Values, A Research Program," Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society, v. 28, No. 3, pp. 105-106. Research Studies of the State

"a study of what satisfactions people seek through the major institutions they maintain..."³⁵ would be valid and useful.

In the present study, verbal behavior in the form of stated personal identification with certain ideal relations associated with two major value systems, will be used to indicate values. More discussion on this aspect will follow in Chapter III, under methodology.

34. (cont'd) College of Washington, 1950.
Kluckhohn implied a similar approach,
"where approval or disapproval is
made explicit by word or deed..."
op. cit.

35. Lundberg, G.A., op. cit.

Terms to be Used in the Present
Study

1. Valuational

The core concept "values" was explained in detail and it seems appropriate to make a similar attempt in explaining related concepts to be used in this study, but with much less detail.

The most closely related concepts are those of value system and value orientation; the former refers to an interdependent arrangement of values in a meaningful pattern; the latter refers to the major frame of reference or point of view adopted by the group. The range leading from values to value orientations specifies higher levels of abstraction.

Next comes the concept of attitude which makes up the individual's counterpart of a social value. The authors of "The Polish Peasant" offered a comprehensive definition of this term. "By attitude we understand a process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity of the individual in the social world... example ... a workman's decision to use the tool ... The attitude is the individual's counterpart of the social value; activity is the bond between them."³⁶

36. Thomas, W. & Znaniecki, F., op. cit.
"A psychological process is an attitude treated as an object in itself, isolated by a reflective act of attention, and taken first of all in

Attitudes involve "a position or bearing as indicating action, feeling or mood."³⁷ Moreover, it is possible to make a distinction between various types of attitudes; individual, social and collective.³⁸ Not all collective attitudes make up values. Of special concern are only those affective and cognitive standards directed toward social goals.

On even higher levels of abstraction, Morris Opler has introduced the concept of "themes"³⁹ which refers to

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36. (cont'd) connection with other states of the same individual... The psychological process remains always fundamentally a state of somebody; the attitude remains always fundamentally an attitude toward something."
37. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 2nd Ed. Springfield, G. & C. Merriam Co. p. 58, 1951.
38. Bernard, L.L., "Attitudes, Social", Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, New York, MacMillan Co. v. 2, pp. 305-306, 1930. "Social attitudes are individual attitudes directed toward social objects. Collective attitudes are individual, so strongly inter-conditioned by collective contacts that they become highly standardized and uniform within the group... Public opinion is the highest form of collective attitudes."
39. Opler, M.E., "Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture", American Journal of Sociology, v. 51, pp. 198-206, 1945. "In every culture are found a limited number of dynamic affirmations, called themes, which control behavior or stimulate activity. The activities, prohibitions of activities, or references which result from the acceptance of a theme are its expressions. Such expressions

cultural forces that direct and control human behavior. His main thesis gains more serious implications in conceptual discussion than in practical research operations.

Also, worth mentioning in this regard is the concept of norms which is clearly explained by George Homans as follows: "A norm is an idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances."⁴⁰

2. Ecological

In keeping with the previous section, a similar explanation of ecological concepts used in the study will be attempted.

Most of the textbooks on rural and urban sociology deal with these concepts at some length. There seems to be a high degree of agreement on ecological definitions.

39. (cont'd) may be formalized or unformalized. Limiting factors, often the existence of other opposed or circumscribing themes and their extensions, control the number, force and variety of a theme's expressions. The interplay of theme and counter theme is the key to the equilibrium achieved in a culture, and structure in a culture is essentially their inter-relation and balance."

40. Homans, G.C., The Human Group. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co. p. 123, 1950. "A statement of the kind described is a norm only if any departure of real behavior from the norm is followed by some punishment."

The impact of such clarity on research is expressed by Calvin Schmid in the following statement, "the fact that every large community is composed of a mosaic of many diverse areas; each with its own type of people, institutional activities, physical characteristics, standards of life, sentiments, and traditions, forms a logical basis for compiling data and for conducting research."⁴¹

Community is viewed by Carr as "a residence-substance aggregate within a total society, living in an identifiable area and characterized by relatively complex interdependence of institutional organizations."⁴² Carr distinguishes neighborhood in terms of primary level of group interaction; "a residence-subsistence aggregate of a number of families in an identifiable local area whose members tend to associate spontaneously and without specific plan or organization, and to feel a certain sense of identification with the locality."⁴³

41. Young, P.V., Scientific Social Surveys and Research. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc. p. 378, 1939.

See also Linton, R., op.cit., p. 210.

"While an understanding of the local group is vitally necessary to the understanding of any social system, the task of collecting the necessary information does not necessarily lead the student into romantic regions."

42. Carr, L.J., Situational Analysis. New York, Harper & Bros. Publishers, p. 72, 1948.

43. Ibid., p. 69.

Generally speaking, distinctions between community and neighborhood indicate the larger size, the greater degree of self-sufficiency and the elaboration of functions in satisfying basic needs in the former; and more spatial proximity, stronger feeling of belonging to a locality, and greater intimacy of social contact in the latter.⁴⁴ In other words, "a community is unlike a neighborhood in that a person could spend his whole life within its boundaries, if he so wished."⁴⁵

Quinn who has summarized some of the most significant ecologists' descriptions of the concept natural area, states that it "... has generally meant any particular extent of the earth's surface that has come to be distinctive through the unplanned operation of ecological or social processes. Chief emphasis in this concept historically has centered on the fact that such areas depend more on the non-deliberate, non-planned operation of interactional processes than on deliberate design and planned area control."⁴⁶

44. Quinn, J., Human Ecology, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc. pp. 47-48, 1950.

45. Kolb, J.H., & Brunner, E.deS., A Study of Rural Society. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 4th Ed. p. 210. (Quotation taken from: Wilson, W.H., The Evolution of the Country Community. Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1912.) The same author is referred to in the same context in Nelson, L., Rural Sociology. New York, American Book Co., 2nd Ed. p. 72, 1955.

46. Ibid., p. 266.

Dominance: A relationship in which one unit exerts more influence over another is one of dominance. On the ecological level, the place of greatest activity is the point of dominance, "the center through which most influences pass, the area that serves to integrate the activities of parts into an organic unity."⁴⁷

Distance: "Ecological distance, like linear distance, refers to the separation of points in space, but its measurement depends on the cost of moving men and materials through space ... including time, money, energy, danger, discomfort, and so forth."⁴⁸

Gradient: "An ecological gradient refers to the increase or decrease of an ecological variable (that is, a variable involving man-environment relations) across a given ecological distance."⁴⁹

47. Ibid., p. 271.

48. Ibid., p. 272.

49. Ibid., p. 275.

Studies of a Similar Nature

The concept values has long been discussed in the literature, however, little research has been performed to verify and test the various conceptions. This generalization has been drawn after canvassing in the various sources. After searching in A.U.B. library and in the Sociology Department offices, the author could not lay his hands on a single study relating ecological factors to values in a direct way as is attempted in this one. On the other hand, there were innumerable studies on ecology per se and plenty on values per se.

Faced with such a dearth of directly related material, the search was directed to studies of a more distantly related nature, namely studies which at least use an ecological base in the study of various social phenomena even though not specifically values themselves.

A study by Thomas O'Dea⁵⁰ was focussed on assessing the role of frontier conditions, i.e., the peripheral situation, on the perseverance of religious institutions. The study was done in a rural Mormon village in northwestern New Mexico. His main hypothesis that, "isolation and peripheral position tend to strengthen distinctive in-group social institutions and beliefs," was tested on data collected for other purposes and now subjected to

50. O'Dea, T.F., "The Effects of Geographical Position on Belief and Behavior in a Rural Mormon Village", Rural Sociology, v. 19, pp. 358-364, 1954.

comparative examination.

The early settlement of this village was as a missionary outpost in the late 1870's. In 1950, when the data was collected it had changed into a farming area of about 250 inhabitants, with the church as the central core of the village. The study compares this village with other Mormon villages similar in all particulars except geographic position.

The following aspects were found to be peculiar to this village: (a) Persistence of the village pattern; (b) despite the introduction of secular utilities such as the radio, the automobile, and moving pictures, 1) the degree of religiosity is but slightly changed, 2) farming remains unchanged as the central value, 3) religious control is still dominant, 4) and personal relationships with strong primary group identification is the basic form of association.

On the whole this village shows itself at present much more like any other Mormon village one generation ago than the present ones. The main explanation of this difference is its physical location on the periphery of the Mormon culture area.

Another somewhat relevant study is one by Smith⁵¹ who has attempted to correlate psychological test scores on intelligence with detailed ecological studies based on

51. Smith, M., "An Urban-Rural Intellectual Gradient," Sociology and Social Research. v. 27, pp. 307-315, 1943.

a gradient pattern. The study was done in rural Kansas, Missouri, 1933-37. Subjects were chosen from graduates from high school students going on into higher education.

The method of analysis involved collection of intelligence data from successive radial zones falling at 25, 50, 75, etc., miles from a metropolitan center. After classification by zone, the number of subjects from all counties in each zone was totalled and the median intelligence test scores were computed. In correlating the results, the following were some of the most significant findings: (1) There is a slight tendency for intelligence test performance to decrease with distance from metropolitan centers. (2) There is a slight decrease in intelligence with distance from large cities, aside from that discovered by the zonal analysis of gradiance.

Two studies by Bryce Ryan⁵² reveal valuable research techniques for the study of primary and secondary types of association and the changing value structure.

In the first, he attempts to outline important primary relationships in a Ceylonese community and to indicate the manner in which newer forms of social organization are being introduced. The kinship and neighborhood bases of social participation are explored, preli-

52. Ryan, B., "Primary and Secondary Contacts in a Ceylonese Peasant Community", Rural Sociology, v. 17, pp. 311-321, 1952. and Ibid. "The Ceylonese Village and the New Value System", pp. 9-28.

minary to consideration of secondary and special interest contacts.

The community studied extends over a large area with 21 sub areas having distinctive names attached to them by the villagers, although only a few are geographically segregated in the sense of being isolated by fields or topographic barriers. The researcher indicates the fact that these areas have a subjective significance which is expressed in the villager's response to the neighborhood designation, when asked where his home is within the larger village; and when inquiry is made about him outside the village.

Subjects were asked about: (1) the individuals from whom they most frequently borrow; (2) the individuals with whom they like best to chat and visit; and (3) whom each considered his (her) best friend. Results indicate the patriarchal family as the strongest unit of social life. Apparently, the vast majority of household heads live in physical proximity to their siblings.

In the second study Ryan tries to ascertain the orientation of members of four Ceylonese villages today to the types of knowledge and attitudes implied in the social changes under way.

Direct questionnaires and interviews were performed and the following are some of the significant generalizations that relate to 'our' study: (1) Few villagers know major topics of international affairs; (2) international

information exists only where village life has produced specific contacts; (3) the isolated jungle dwellers know virtually nothing of the outside world.

Another study reflecting only a remotely related concern is that of Richard Du Wors⁵³. This is a study of persistence and change in local values in two New England rural communities. Two competing and adjacent communities were studied, similar in geography, economics and population. Two of the major hypotheses drawn are: (1) Social change and social persistence are best understood in terms of social values; (2) integration of a community value system is bound up both in the distribution and the content of the values. (The reader will recognize the opposite nature of these hypotheses to those drawn for the present study).

Du Wors used personal visual observation together with unstructured interviews to collect a picture of the present times; whereas, historical records were used for comparative purposes. The study is focused on "community wholeness."

The study showed clearly the origin and persistence of these local values through history. It showed that these New England communities have social relations and values which have been "shaken down" to give value defined spatial limits to the community; that community

53. Du Wors, R., "Persistence and Change in Local Values of Two New England Communities", Rural Sociology. v. 17, pp. 207-217. 1952.

members are highly conscious of local values; and that they have correct cognition concerning the possible effects and meanings of values.

In spite of the inconclusiveness of the studies mentioned above, the possibility of relating differences in social phenomena to physical environmental factors is indicated in them. The importance and significance of such relationships is also suggested. Nevertheless, the study at hand is of a more technical nature than the above.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Assumptions and Hypotheses

The universe for this study is coterminous with the group of subjects who have been interviewed. No effort to relate, representatively, this universe with either a statistical or intuitive Beka'a Valley population has been made. This situation is the result of several considerations. First, because census type data exists on only a few villages in the Beka'a⁵⁴ which do not meet the criteria of ecological relatedness to a center, a random sample could not be drawn. To meet the criteria of ecological relatedness it was necessary to conduct interviews in potentially related villages which had never been studied before. Second, obtaining a relatively adequate number of cases from each of several occupational, religious, age and "distance" categories or strata was a vital consideration in the light of the basic relationships under analysis. Previous studies in the Beka'a⁵⁵ indicate that in order to randomly select 30

54. Current Survey in the Beka'a conducted by the School of Public Health at the American University of Beirut.

55. Armstrong, L., "The Beka'a Socio-Economic Survey". Unpublished Study. Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut, 1954.

large landowners a total sample of roughly 1000 subjects would be required. The scope of this study was not sufficient to warrant such effort. Third, it is believed that significant sub-cultural variation in value orientation exists and is related to such variables as social class status, occupational status, religious differentiation, et cetera. This study is concerned with such variation as well as ecological variation. If by any chance there are general values characteristic of all classes and sub groupings, they will be revealed in this type of research as readily as in any other. Finally, if valuational tendencies of the Beka'a population as a whole were desired, they could hardly be compared meaningfully with similar quantitative data on any other population group because, to the knowledge of the writer, no other such data exists.

The first step in this study involves the determination of an area exhibiting similar characteristics in important social and geographical particulars, primarily those that reveal potential relatedness to a service center. The second step involves the application of a questionnaire which tests value orientations in terms of acceptance of Western middle-class standards.

With regard to the first step, Zahle, capital city of Lebanon's Beka'a Valley, along with its immediate outlying district was tested superficially to determine that, at least to some extent, there was interaction and

inter village self-consciousness. On the basis of similar observation two other areas had previously been eliminated. It was observed⁵⁶ that the outlying district to Zahle exhibits a variety of interactions with the main center and within itself. This study has been set up partially to measure the types and frequencies of these interactions. The results are to serve as an index of degrees of dependence-independence. A gradual decrease in the rate of interactions as one gets farther from the center will be considered as indicative of a gradient pattern of ecological relationships. The test of such a gradient is made possible by specifying three semi-concentric rings of villages lying at successively increasing distances from the center, if they do in fact show a decreasing amount of interaction with the center in terms of objectively measured horizontal mobility.

On the second step, the measure of value orientation, the method finally adopted simply involves a choice by the subject between pairs of opposed proverbs or his rejection-acceptance reaction to a specific value judgement. The proverbs and value judgement statements were selected on both intuitive and logical grounds by the writer. Verification was sought through presentation

56. Personal observation as well as group field observation by A.U.B. students participating in Rural Sociology and Human Ecology during the Fall Term, 1955.

to Arabic-speaking students at the A.U.B. The conceptual system or frame of reference by which "modern-western-middle class" qualities were attributed to some, and "traditional-folk cultural" qualities attributed to others, has been borrowed from many sources. A very good summarization has been presented by George A. Theodorson, in his article, "Acceptance of Industrialization and Its Attendant Consequences for the Social Patterns of Non-Western Societies".⁵⁷ Likewise, nothing will be found contradictory to the psycho-social antipathies, barriers and incentives to industrialization cited by Wilbert E. Moore, in "Industrialization and Labor",⁵⁸ in the value orientations attributed to proverbs and statements utilized in this study. Again, it is believed that these attributions reflect accurately the general conceptions in the vast literature on Fundamental Education, Community Development, Rural Social Welfare and related thought-ways. Finally, the questionnaire underwent extensive field pretesting during which over half of the original proverbs and statements were eliminated because they failed to discriminate or were more or

57. Theodorson, G.A., "Acceptance of Industrialization and its Attendant Consequences for the Social Patterns of Non-Western Societies", American Sociological Review, v. 18, pp. 477-484, Oct. 1953.

58. Moore, W.E., Industrialization and Labor. Ithaca & New York, Cornell Univ. Press, 1951.

less unintelligible to the Beka'a Valley resident.

The use of proverbs and value judgement statements itself was only adopted after elimination of several other techniques such as the presentation of problematic situations to be verbally resolved by the subject or the presentation of lists of desideratum for him to rank in a preference scale. The validity of the measuring stick selected can only be determined by follow-up studies using other techniques and such studies are felt to be eminently worthwhile and necessary by the writer.

Integration in the study is attempted by comparing frequency distributions and averages between major and certain minor variables. However, it is not to be implied that such integration makes for a statistical generalization about the area. // One major variable, degree of mobility reflecting interdependence, has been reduced to an index which involves a ratio between total number of external visits (T), dependence types or number of services obtained (D), and the frequency of places visited (F), by subjects located in Zahle and outlying villages. Thus, mobility equals $\sqrt{T \cdot D \cdot F}$. Mobility distribution for comparison between groups of villages, occupational categories, age, religion and sex are made up.

The ecological factors are eliminated when the analysis turns to a consideration of value differentiation by occupation, religion, age, sex, and education.

On both mobility and valuational distribution, the universe is dealt with in terms of cross-village strata.

The general value orientation itself has been reduced to a numerical measure. A traditional response to a value statement or choice is rated zero. Indecision is rated as one and a modern-western response is rated two. The higher the score, the greater the modern-value orientation. Finally, percentages were assigned to specific categories on each evaluative item on the questionnaire.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire which was used in this study (see Appendix A) consists of three parts. In the first section the ecological-mobility data is collected. The respondent is asked to recall his visits or "purposeful trips" outside of his community during the past month. The number, purposes, and destinations were all recorded in detail. The "regular commuter" is, of course, recorded simply as such (actually, "daily") and then asked to recall other trips in addition to this regular diurnal mobility that he has made. The commuting is arbitrarily rated as less significant than other types of mobility.

The second section of the questionnaire is divided into two parts. At first, the respondent is asked to declare which proverb in eight sets of pairs he believes to be the better guide to behavior or conduct code. If required, it is explained these are to be treated as general codes. He is asked which proverb does he

regard as being the more generally reliable one. Which one should people follow? The pairs of proverbs obviously could not be constructed so as to eliminate ambiguity or overlapping entirely. Nevertheless, they were selected with the intention of separating individual responses in terms of the following continuums:

1. Acceptance of innovation vs. conformity.
2. Acceptance of youthful leadership vs. "wisdom of elders".
3. Respect for saving and investment attitudes vs. gaining satisfactions through immediate release in consumption.
4. Belief in efficacy of interest group participation vs. its opposite.
5. Primacy of the individual vs. primacy of the group.
6. High level of aspiration vs. acceptance of status quo (fatalism).
7. Belief in the promise of the machine age for human welfare vs. its opposite.
8. Preference for Gessellschaft social organization vs. Gemeinschaft.

Comments on each selection are invited from the respondent and recorded directly in his own terms. These were helpful in eliminating non-discriminating items during pre-testing and in assigning scores during final tabulation.

The second part of section II included "true-false" value-statements. Again, the respondent was asked to comment in full on his answers. In large measure these statements were complementary to the proverbs, but they were also somewhat supplementary in the sense that they made possible a greater degree of specificity than did the proverbs. Education was chosen as a major area of specification for practical as well as theoretical reasons.

The following are the specific areas in which opinions were tested.

1. Desirability of specialization in agriculture.
2. Merits of formal schooling vs. vocational education and apprenticeship.
3. Appropriateness of filial piety and economic support of parents by their sons in old age.
4. Faith in education as the panacea of social problems.
5. The desirability of birth control.
6. The importance of secondary and higher education.
7. The need for vocational specialization.
8. The importance of theoretical education in school.
9. The value of permissive discipline in education.
10. The desirability of a student-centered system

of education.

11. The importance of secular vis a vis religious education.

The final section of the questionnaire is concerned with personal identification of the respondent, his occupational, familial, and village situation. Personal identification includes age, sex, religion, marital status, and level of education. Under occupation, sources of income, status position in major occupation and general description of his economic situation are included. Family identification considers style and quality of home, number of rooms, number of persons, and relation to the village average. Relative status of the respondent in the village, composition of his household, position of respondent in household, number of other households belonging to the same kinship group, and other facts relating to status of respondent or his family are also recorded.

Sampling and Collection of Data

As stated previously, no rigorous sampling was attempted. Selection of respondents was dictated by the desire to get a sufficient number of interviews in each of several categories so that valuative differences could be cited. 125 respondents were divided into 12 villages and 8 occupational categories. After each interviewing day cases were checked against the assigned number of interviews. Thus, it was possible to focus attention increasingly from day to day on obtaining repre-

sentative cases for each category. Furthermore, 11 cases were added when it was felt that there was not enough representation in certain categories.

The following is a table comparing the originally assigned numbers and the actual interviews completed.

TABLE I

<u>Occupational Categories</u>	<u>Assigned Number of interviews</u>	<u>Interviews Completed</u>
1. Large land owners, well to do professional and business persons	20	20
2. Small business men	20	17
3. White-collar-clerical workers	15	18
4. Skilled laborers	10	10
5. Crafts men	10	8
6. Above average land owner operators	15	20
7. Marginal land owner operators	15	20
8. Common laborers, field and factory	20	23
<hr/>		
TOTAL	125	136
<hr/>		

There are actually 18 villages listed in the sample. The reason for there being a few isolated village cases is that such persons were interviewed away from their homes, usually in Zahle. Where results are compared

according to villages these cases are assigned to the nearest village in which interviewing was conducted. A table and map presenting the distribution of respondents by residential location is to be found in Appendix B. In the sample universe there were 65 Christians and 71 Moslems. 24 of the former resided in Zahle.

Some of the interviewers who participated in this study were students in a "Field Projects" course in Sociology at the A.U.B. They performed this job as part of their course requirements. The writer directed all interviewing and completed 62 cases himself. Another 12 cases were completed by a trained interviewer who was paid for her services. All interviewing was performed in a period of two weeks, beginning on April 8 and ending on April 21, 1956.

Tabulation

Nearly all the tabulation performed for this study was done by the writer assisted by a trained tabulator and students in the above mentioned course. The process involved the following stages:

1) Translation. The same group of students who worked on interviewing translated their own interviews into English under the supervision of the writer. Of special significance at this stage was the interpretation of valuational responses into "modern", "traditional", and "in-between". Each translator was given a key with which to interpret the responses.

2) Codification.⁵⁹ Each questionnaire was coded and grouped according to "ecological rings", religion (Moslem or Christian), occupational category (1-8), age (29 and below - 30 and above), and sex.

Village rings were grouped as follows:

Case "A" - Zahle - the center

Group "B" - Ma'alaka

Haush Omara

Haush Zara'ne

Al - Karak

Group "C" - Delhamiye

Nabi Aila

Hzerta

Rayak

Ablah

Group "D" - Tammine Tahta

Haush Hala

Group "E" - Nabi Shit

El Marje

Terbol

Anjar

Jditta

Kosaya

59. Codes on these English forms correspond to those on the Arabic so that later checking is possible for every individual case.

When coding was finished, master tables were constructed to indicate the distribution of every single case by category.

Two separate tables on ecological interaction and valuational responses were constructed from which an integrated table made possible the various tests of correlation. Summary tables and frequency distributions were also constructed to allow simple comparisons of various factors and variables in the study.

The results of these tabulations and tests will follow the next chapter in which a description of the area is presented.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA

Zahle

Legendary accounts suggest that Zahle is a very ancient town, whose history goes back to the pre-Christian era. The name is thought to have been derived from the God Zuhul, whose temple was discovered in Wadi el Arayesh. There is also a superstition that Noah built his Ark on the top of Mount Kanisah, at the bottom of which Zahle is located, and that his tomb is located in Al Karak, a small place about two kilometers from Zahle. Another fact that suggests the antiquity of the town is that some implements that were used by the Stone Age man were discovered in the area.⁶⁰ The people seem to be well informed about their history and boast of many significant events that took place in various stages.

The town is located in a deep valley, Wadi el Arayesh, at the base of Mount Kanisah. River Berdaouni, a branch of the Litani, cuts the town into two sections, giving it recreational facilities and beautiful scenery. Parallel along both sides of the river lies the main street; connected by bridges at various intervals; and

60. Ma'louf, I. I., History of Zahle.
Zahle, Al Fatat Press, 1911.
(Arabic)

secondary streets branch off to the rest of Zahle. Nearly all services with the exception of grocery stores and small shops are located on this main street, together with the better residential area.

The altitude of Zahle is about 1000 meters above sea level. The weather is dry with a mild temperature during the summer. Snow is scarce during the winter, although it sometimes rises to 70 cm. and lasts for about a week at a time.

According to the Mukhtars, there was a census in 1951 which stated the population as 35,000, including Ma'alaka, Haush Omara and Wadi el Arayesh. Zahle alone has approximately 20,000 people. Christians constitute the dominant religious group, 95 to 98%, with the following distribution : a) Roman Catholic - 65%; b) Maronites - 15%; c) Greek Orthodox - 15%. Minority groups include Armenians, Mardinians, Assyrians, Chaldeans and Jews. During the Summer season, the population is significantly increased by people coming from Beirut, Damascus and other places.

A variety of urban services are offered in Zahle, indicating an urban way of life. The educational facilities include two high schools, which attract students from neighboring villages, and also four junior high schools, and four primary schools. Health services include two hospitals, one home for the aged, approximately 50 doctors, 10 licensed and 4 unlicensed dentists, 10 licensed and 4 unlicensed pharmacies. Other specialists include 50 lawyers, 5 licensed

engineers and 5 civil agricultural experts. Shops for the sale and repair of modern heavy farm machinery are numerous.

Another highly significant urban trait is the Electricity Company. It was founded in 1927 as a national corporation with a capital of 800 thousand Lebanese Pounds. Most of the stock is presently owned by residents of Zahle. There are two main generating units for the electricity; one runs on a water fall from the River Berdaouni, and the other is powered by a motor. Electricity is distributed from Zahle to Ma'alaka, Haush Omara, Wadi el Arayesh, and al Karak on one line; and to Ablah and army camps near there, to Rayak and its airport, Haush Hala, and Ali Nahri on another line. Still another line supplies Ksara, Talbaya, Tanayel, Bar Elias, and el Marj; while plans are being made to supply the nearby villages of Niha and Furzul. This electricity is a basic element in the industrial development of the entire district, and is a distinctive urban characteristic which is protruding into the outlying rural district.

Recreational facilities include 4 movie-houses, one night club which is open all year round, and 5 hotels, as well as several coffee houses. These are especially active during the summer season. Communication includes a telephone system, a post office, a radio station which broadcasts locally, three local newspapers and one library. Beside these, there are market centers and one agricultural

cooperative in Haush Omara. Also, of significance are the centralized governmental services offered in Zahle such as courts, the land registration bureaus, et cetera.

The most important industry is the production of Arak, and the most important products for trade are onions and potatoes. These products are distributed to other parts of the Arab World and are exported to Europe.

Zahle has long been and still is considered to be the chief town in the Beka'a Valley. The extent to which this is both a physical and social psychological fact is, in essence, the object of verification in this study.

The large scale presence of industrial equipment, services, and mechanization, the extensive higher education, and the results of preliminary studies on the nature of the area suggest that Zahle is characterized by a dominant middle class. However, whether such a middle class is present there or emerging in the farming villages has not been determined. The expectation has been that in the villages a few absentee landlords who reside in Zahle possess the major portion of the lands, constitute an upper social class stratum. The remaining villagers work as tenants or eke a meager living out of minute holdings and constitute a relatively undifferentiated lower class enjoying a status similar in most respects to serfdom.

The data presented on Zahle suggests a large community orientation. That is, the specialized services prevalent in Zahle couldn't have existed in such quantity or

in such variety without a dependent surrounding community. This statement is supported by Loomis and Beegle in their definition of a trade-centered community. They state, "The trade center community includes an area which usually contains not only a village or city whose residents furnish services, but also the surrounding rural families who make use of these goods and services."⁶¹ But, of course, this statement was applied to scattered non-village dwelling farm families. In the present case, the presence of self sufficient village communities and patterns of centralization of services may produce a marked difference.

The Middle Beka'a

The area under study occupies the middle part of the Beka'a Valley with Ba'albeck to the north and Jib Janeen to the south. However, description of the present nature may be more or less applicable to the Beka'a at large.

The Beka'a Valley is a fertile strip of land, about 110 kilometers long and averaging about 25 kilometers in width, lying between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains. Politically it constitutes one of the 5 Lebanon muhafazats (states). It was carved out of Syria at the time of the French Mandate and to this day is in many respects oriented more toward Syria than to coastal Lebanon. Except for the city of Zahle, the people are dominantly Sunni and Shi'a Moslem.

61. Loomis, C.P., & Beegle, J.A., Rural Social Systems. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., p. 189, 1950.

Zahle lies just north of the Beirut-Damascus highway on the western slopes of the valley. Because the Litani river (central river of the valley) branches into many streams, including Zahle's own Berdaouni, there is a large plain of lush growth which, even in summer time when all the valley floor is green, stands out in bold relief. This area is occupied by large holdings devoted to orchards and vegetable gardening. The clustered villages, typical of all the rest of the valley, are not to be found in this section. In fact, one gets the very definite impression of "line-village" development thinning out as one proceeds into the fertile plain along roads leading away from the center. Beyond this densely fertile zone one meets with the typical clustered villages again to the north, south and west.

Other villages in the Zahle orbit are situated similarly to Zahle itself, namely 100 to 600 meters up innumerable ravine valleys entering the Beka'a from the western slopes. Where the farmers of the valley floor villages are mostly occupied with grains, these ravine village farmers are occupied with grapes and various terrace-garden crops.

This whole area is interconnected with roads that are mostly good, some of them actually being highways. Damascus lies to the East and Ba'albeck, Homs and Aleppo to the north, all on important roads, connecting ultimately with Beirut.

No overall census on this area has been done before. According to the estimates of the majority of the respondents in each village figures on the population were drawn. In the villages studied the population ranges from 300 to 5000, while the number of kinship groups ranges from two to fifty. Four of the villages, namely Nabi Aila, Delhamiye, Nabi Shit, and Tamnine Tahta, are composed completely of Moslems; El Marje is predominantly Moslem, with 5% Christians. Ma'alaka, Haush Omara, and Kosaya are predominantly Christian. The tendency is for Moslem predominance to grow in relation to the distance from Zahle.

- There is at least one primary school in every village and clearly, the younger generation is receiving more education than the older. Higher education is to be found in Zahle or Beirut.

The main type of farming in the villages is household farming, although some commercialized and mechanized farming is evident. One finds a Caterpillar service station in the "open-country" at a fork in the road crossing the valley from Zahle. However, a few farmers own tractors, and those who require one for ploughing must pay 3 Lebanese Pounds per dunum, to rent one.

Although few villagers own cars, "services", taxis, and busses are available to and from almost all points in this section of the valley. In most of the villages there is at least one telephone. Another means of outside contact is a few daily newspapers, which are often read in groups. The villages studied here all lie within 30

kilometers of Zahle. On the other hand, in the case of nearly all other specialized services a considerable dependence on Zahle and other centers is indicated by even the most cursory observation.

In spite of the introduction of some urban traits to the Beka'a, it seems that the area is still largely underdeveloped and increasingly so as one moves away from the town. There is an increasing degree of inter-dependence between Zahle and the villages, but there is still a marked difference in the styles of life and the sources of income between them.⁶²

62. Most of the information presented in this chapter is integrated from students' reports in Rural Sociology and Human Ecology in the Fall Term of 1955, supplemented by personal observations.

TABLE II

Summary of the Actual Population Interviewed in this Study.⁶³

VILLAGES REPRESENTED

Valley Floor	12
Mountainside	6
	18
Total	18

RESPONDENTS

Religion

Moslem	71
Christian	65

Age and Sex

Male	104	
29 and below		41
30 and above		63
Female	32	
29 and below		16
30 and above		16

Education

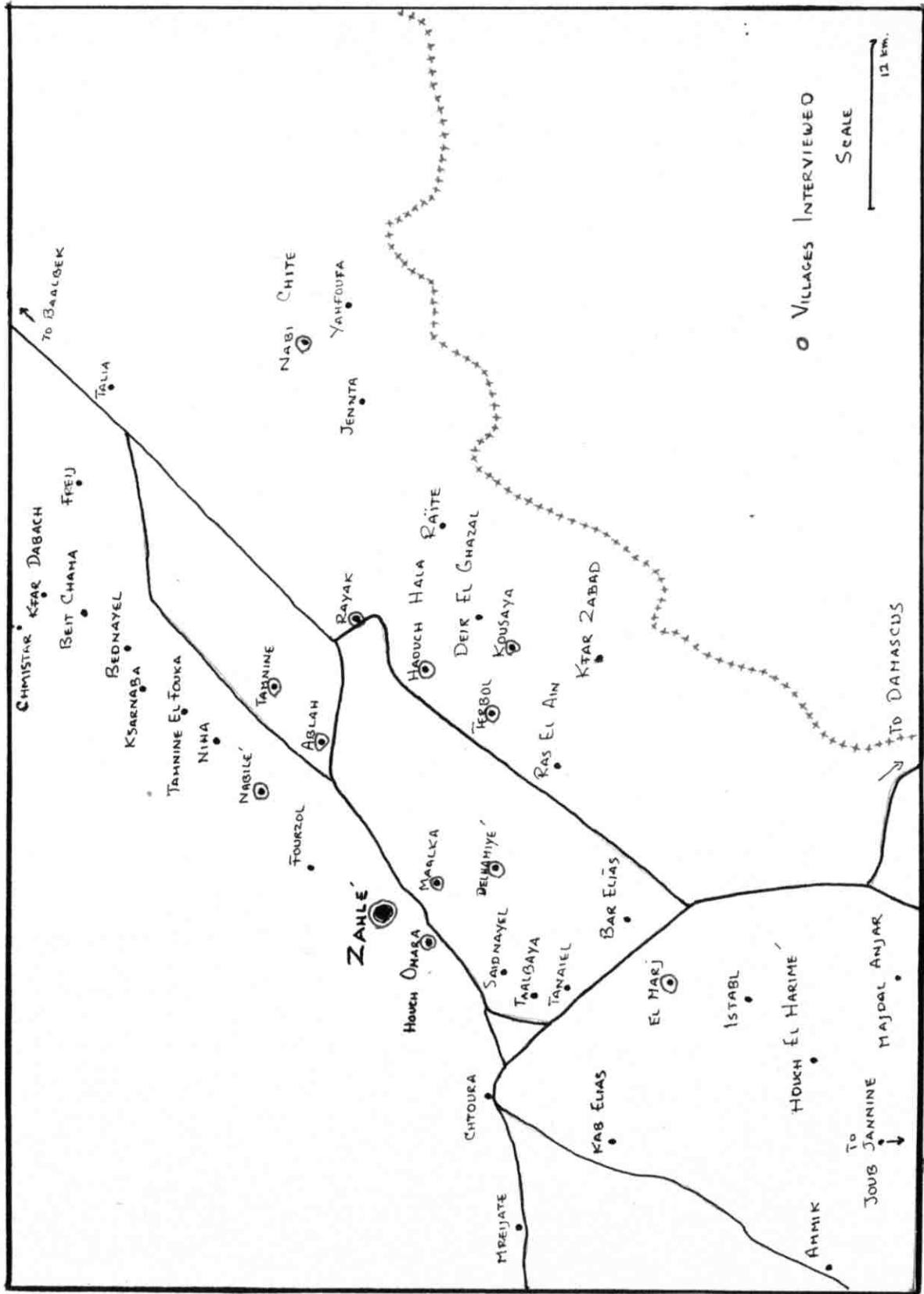
Illiterate	33
Read and Write	23
Formal Schooling	80

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY VILLAGES

4 and below respondents	9	villages
5-9 "	3	"
10-14 "	3	"
15-19 "	1	"
20 and above "	2	"

63. See table I for Occupational Distribution.

THE MIDDLE BEKA'YA



CHAPTER V

MAJOR FINDINGS

VALUATIONAL

In the following section tables indicating the mean scores on the valuational index are presented in order to provide comparisons between specified variables. The figures presented do not pretend to represent adequately the value orientation of any natural population universe. The universe measured herein has been artificially created. However, it is believed that the data collected speak reliably about the several population strata described. The process by which the valuational index was constructed has been explained previously.

Value Differentiation by Groups of Villages.

Zahle and its immediate surroundings have a higher mean score on the valuational index with a declining tendency as distance increases from this center. The evidence for a gradient pattern in the distribution of means is slightly suggested. The following table compares groups of villages and their average distances from Zahle with their mean scores.

TABLE III⁶⁴

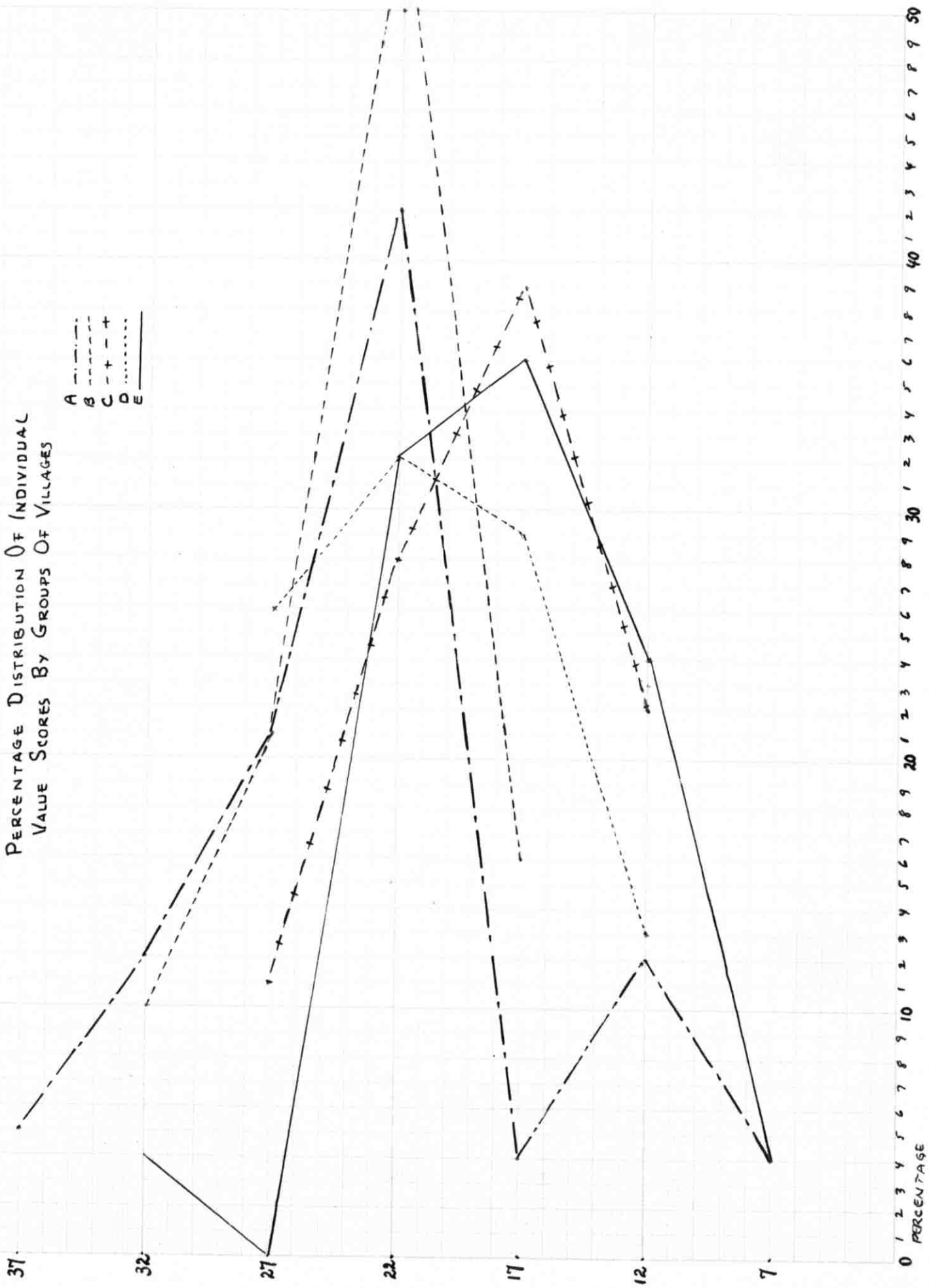
Distribution of Mean Scores on the Valuational Index By Groups of Villages.

<u>Groups of Villages</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>	<u>Average Distance v.v.Zahle</u>	<u>Value Mean Score</u>
Case A - Zahle	24	-	22.83
Group B - Ma'alaka, Haush Omara, Haush Zara'na Al-Karsh	38	3	23.31
Group C - Delhamiye, Nabi Aila, Hzerta, Rayak, Ablah	18	10	19.50
Group D - Tamaine Tahta, Haush Hala	31	11	20.55
Group E - Nabi Shit, El-Marje, Kosaya	25	20	17.60
OVERALL	136		20.89

64. Taken from Master Table II in Appendix C.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL
 VALUE SCORES BY GROUPS OF VILLAGES

- A - - - - -
- B - - - - -
- C - + - +
- D
- E _____



Value Differentiation by Occupational Categories

A tendency for the occupational groups of greater prestige to be more modern in values is indicated by the data presented in Table IV below, where the occupational groups are ranked according to value index means.

TABLE IV ⁶⁵

<u>Occupational Categories</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>	<u>Value Mean Score</u>
1. Large land owners, professional, official and large business operators.	20	24.75
2. Small business proprietors and keepers of small general stores.	17	21.12
3. White collar routine clerical and skilled labor.	28	22.36
4. Craftsmen and above average land owner-operators.	28	19.50
5. Marginal land owner operators.	20	19.50
6. Field and factory laborers.	23	18.09
OVERALL	136	

There seems to be a line of division between two groups of occupational categories, namely, those with higher income - 1, 2, and 3 - and the other categories which are primarily occupied with agricultural and related

65. Taken from Master Table III in Appendix C.

pursuits. The slight increase in the white collar group may reflect its greater exposure to secondary contacts and standards arising out of ordinary business activities.

Value Differentiation by Age and Sex

A higher mean score for the younger age groups indicates support for the generally accepted notion that the younger generation is more favorably disposed toward social change than the older generation. However, quite extraordinary is the finding that females on both age levels are more prone toward modern standards. The following table shows the distribution of mean scores on age and sex.

TABLE V⁶⁶

Distribution of Mean Scores on the Value Index by Age and Sex.

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>	<u>Value Mean Score</u>		
		<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Overall</u>
1. 29 and below	41	22.24		
	16		23.56	
	56			22.61
2. 30 and above	63	19.06		
	16		22.00	
	79			19.66
3. Overall	104	20.32		
4. Overall	32		22.78	

66. Taken from Master Table IV in Appendix C.

Value Differentiation by Religion

The Christian segment of the studied group (65 in number) has a higher mean score on the value index than the Moslem segment (71 in number) indicating a Christian disposition favorable to Western standards. The difference between the mean score of the Christian and Moslem groups in the whole sample is 3.58.⁶⁷

Value Differentiation by Rural-Urban Location

While it is not implied that the concept of rural-urban differentiation can be transferred from one culture to another without considerable modification on superficial grounds, it is possible to hazard a rural-urban comparison based on the data of this study. For convenience Zahle and Village Group B (Zahle's suburban-area) will be considered as urban; the remaining village groups as rural. In order to hold the religious factor constant, Moslems and Christians are treated separately. Table VI, below, presents the results of this analysis.

67. Taken from Master Table VI in Appendix C.

FIGURE 2

HISTOGRAM COMPARING VALUE DISTRIBUTION
BY AGE GROUPS IN PERCENTAGES

□ 29 AND BELOW
▨ 30 AND ABOVE

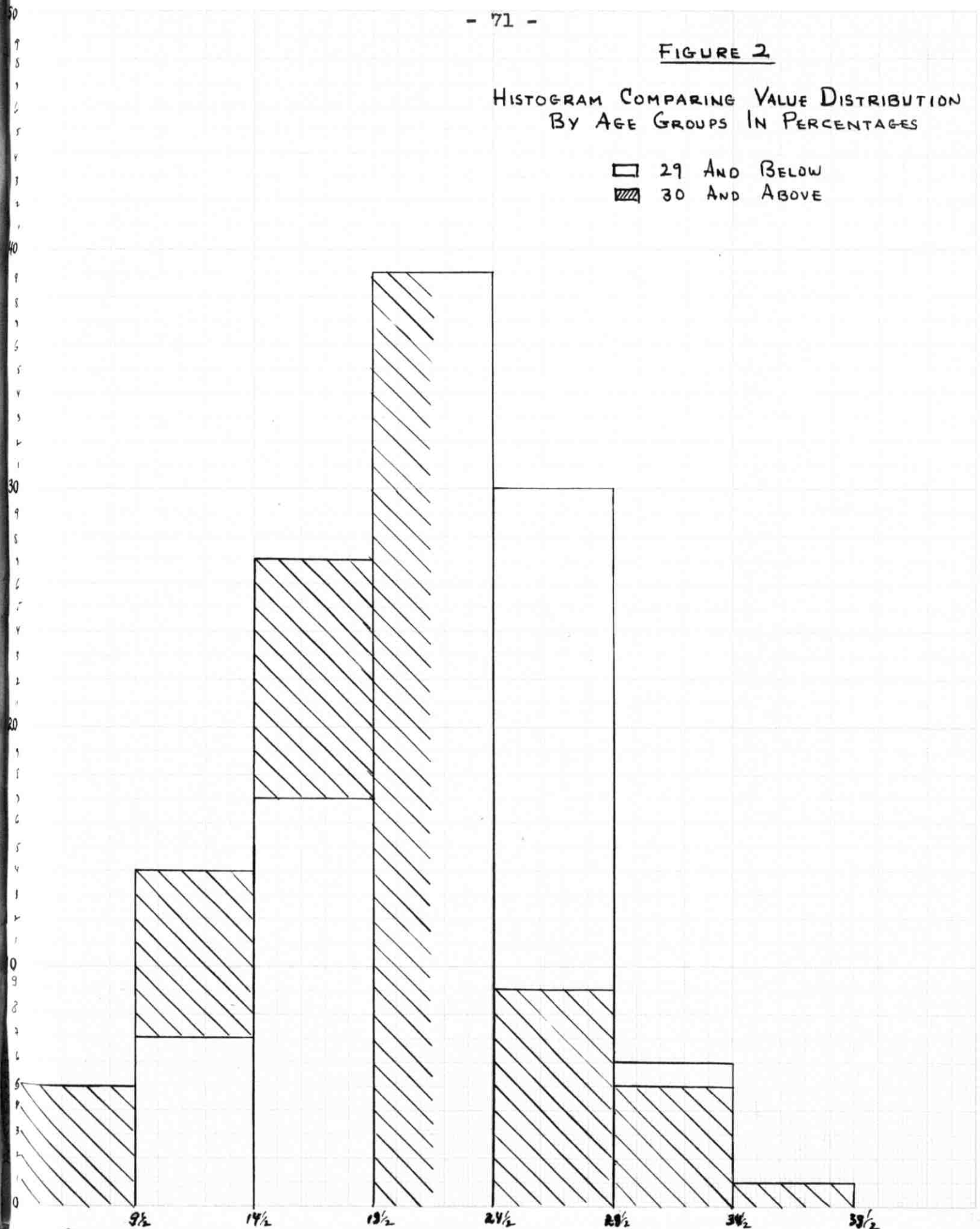


FIGURE 3

HISTOGRAM COMPARING VALUE ORIENTATION
By RELIGION IN PERCENTAGES

□ CHRISTIAN
▨ MOSLEM

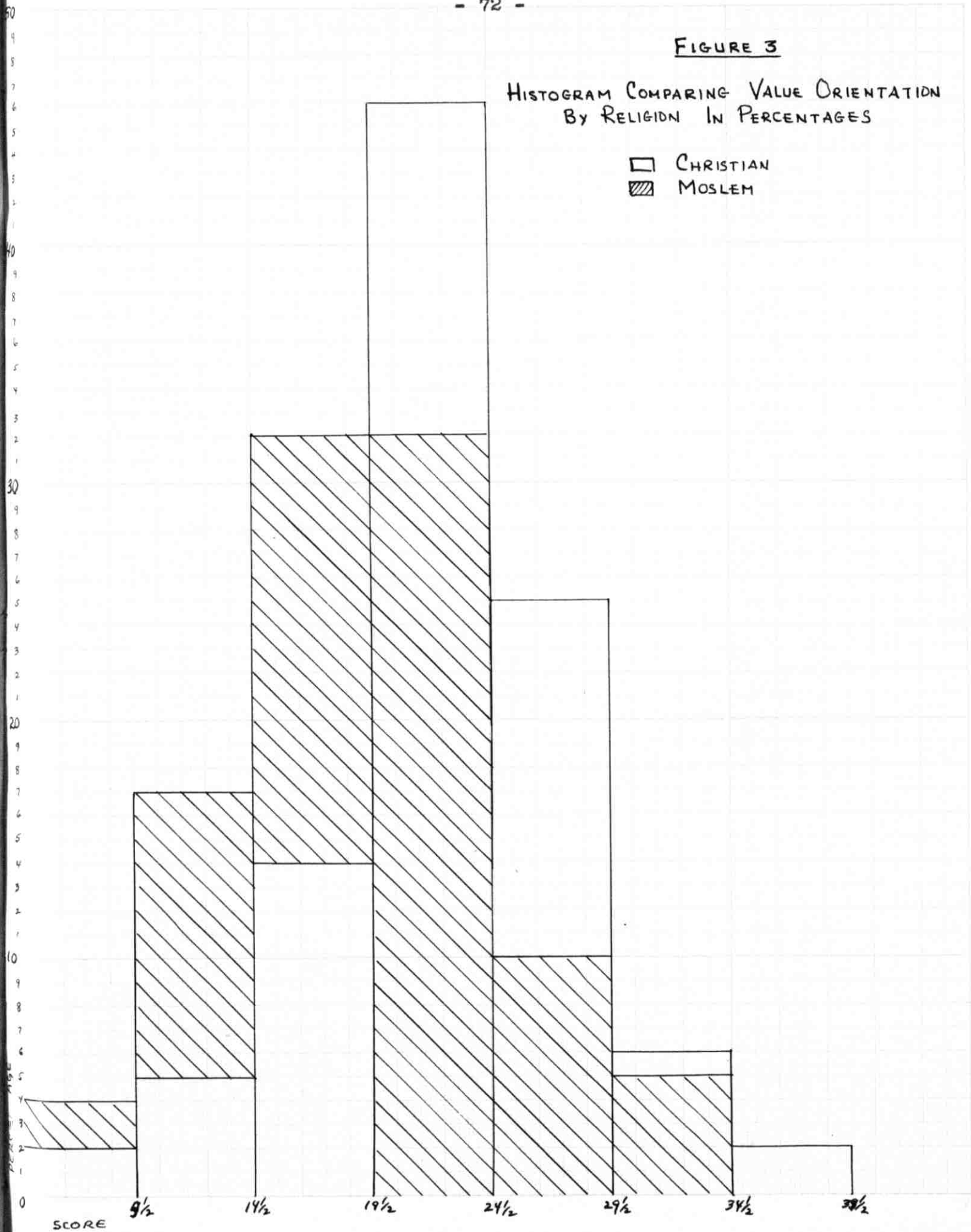


TABLE VI

Rural-Urban Mean Value Indexes for Moslems
and Christians separately and combined.

	<u>Christian</u>		<u>Moslem</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Mean Value Index</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Value Index</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Value Index</u>
Zahle-Urban	24	22.83	xx	xxx	24	22.83
Group B-Urban	20	22.80	18	22.88	38	22.84
Total Urban	44	22.81	18	22.88	62	22.83
Groups C, D + E Rural	21	22.28	53	17.94	74	19.29

While an overall rural-urban difference of 3.54 value points exists, the significant thing about these findings is that this whole difference is contributed by the rural village Moslems. There is barely any difference between urban and rural Christians. Until it is possible to analyse other factors that may be involved it is possible to postulate that urbanizing influences are equally effective upon urban residents regardless of religion, but that such influences are being diffused to rural Christians more readily than to rural Moslems.

Value Differentiation by Education

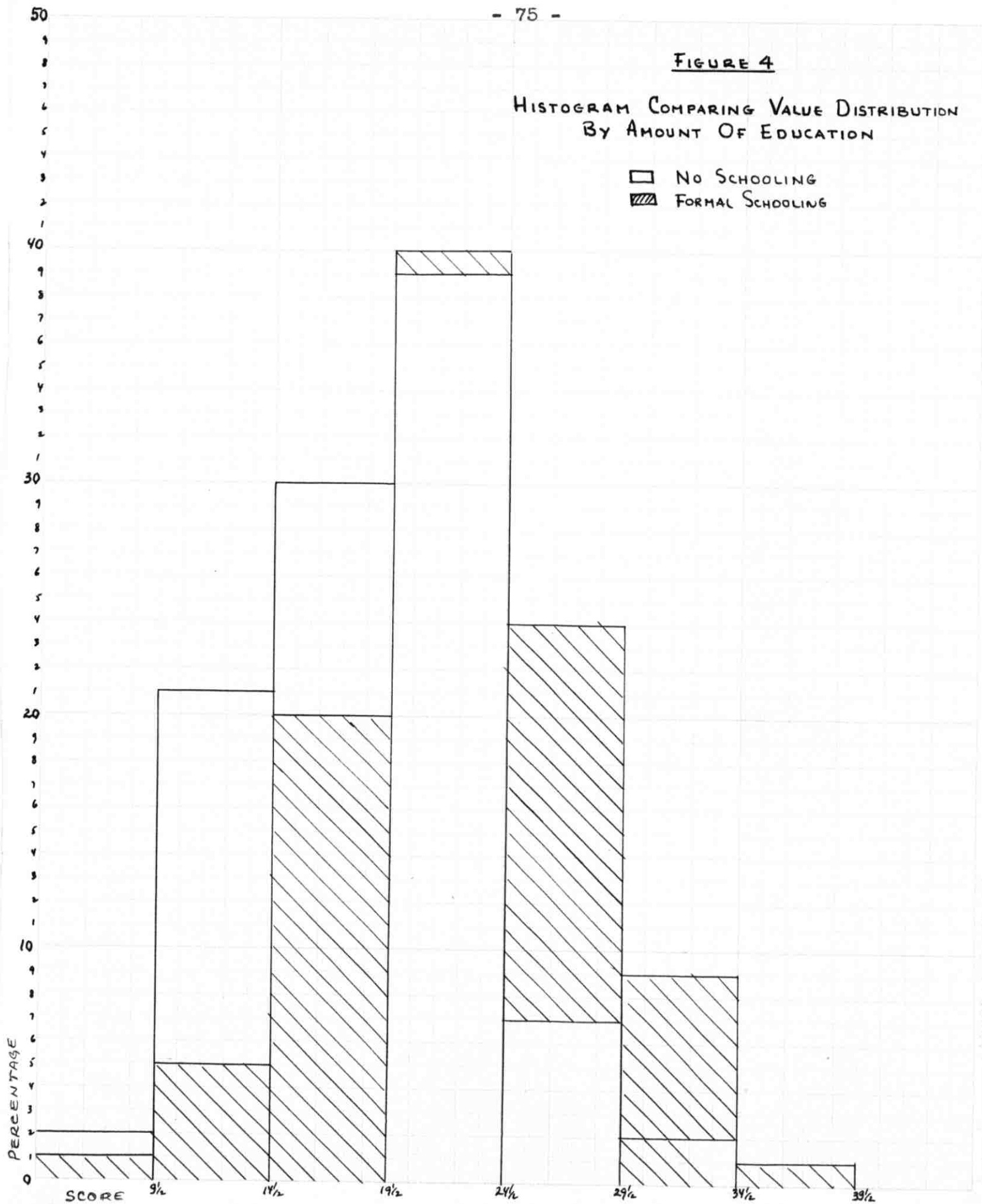
A difference in the mean scores for educational levels suggests the greater acceptance of a modern ideology

on the part of those who have received formal schooling. The difference lies between a mean score of 22.56 for those who have had formal schooling and 18.61 for those who have not had any formal schooling. The question then arises as to which types of people are receiving the formal education, Moslems or Christians, ruralites or urbanites, et cetera. In presenting the percentage distribution of formal education by a few of those classifications, once again the dominant role that is played by the Beka'a villagers' religious affiliation becomes apparent. In Zahle and its suburbs fully 90% of Christians received some formal education in contrast to 66% of the Moslems from the same area. In the rural region only 30% of Moslems had had any formal schooling in contrast to 66% of rural Christians who had had some. It is beyond the scope of this study to attempt to measure the relative importance of religion or education in determining the value differences that have been presented. Most probably both factors, interdependently, and supported by other factors are influential.

FIGURE 4

HISTOGRAM COMPARING VALUE DISTRIBUTION
By Amount Of Education

□ NO SCHOOLING
▨ FORMAL SCHOOLING



ECOLOGICAL

The method of establishing a mobility score was explained in Chapter III. Subsequently, mobility indexes have been assigned to each individual case as well as averages for selected categories. The same reservation taken in regard to the value index is also applicable here, namely, the validity and usefulness of these measures ultimately depend on further study utilizing greater statistical standardization. It should be noted that mobility indexes are subject to more fluctuation than the value scores. One should anticipate seasonal variation for instance, and in the case of this study mobility was measured during the spring season when contacts between rural villages and urban centers are perhaps less frequent than in summer but more frequent than in the dead of winter. Mobility data was not collected for Zahle residents, while it was collected for nearby "suburban" Group B villages. It is not surprising that Group B mobility is lower than might be expected. In the first place, Group B residents buy, sell, visit, etc., "at home", which is the Zahle orbit essentially.

The measuring device used was not sufficiently refined to allow discrimination between satisfactions obtained inside and outside (i.e. Zahle) of the Group B villages themselves. Second, the season in which the study was conducted has been reported by Group B villagers to be a low one in so far as their contacts with outlying

villages is concerned. Finally, mobility differentiation are most clearly depicted in the evidence gathered from the three outer rings because they, in turn, usually fail to discriminate between Zahle proper and its suburbs when they mention a trip to the center. With these points in mind mobility data is now presented.

Mobility Differentiation by Groups of Villages.

The relationship suggested here is a decline in the rate of mobility as distance increases from Zahle and its environs. The low score recorded by the Group B villages is explained in the above paragraph.

TABLE VII⁶⁸

Distribution of Mean Scores on the Mobility Index By Groups of Villages.

	<u>No. of Interviews</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>
Group B - Ma'alaka, Haush Omara, Haush Zara'na, Al-Karak	38	9.76
Group C - Delhamiye, Nabi Aila, Hzerta, Rayak, Ablah	18	12.55
Group D - Tamāine Tahta, Haush Hala	31	11.84
Group E - Nabi Shit, El-Marje, Kosaya	25	10.00
Overall	<u>112</u>	<u>10.83</u>

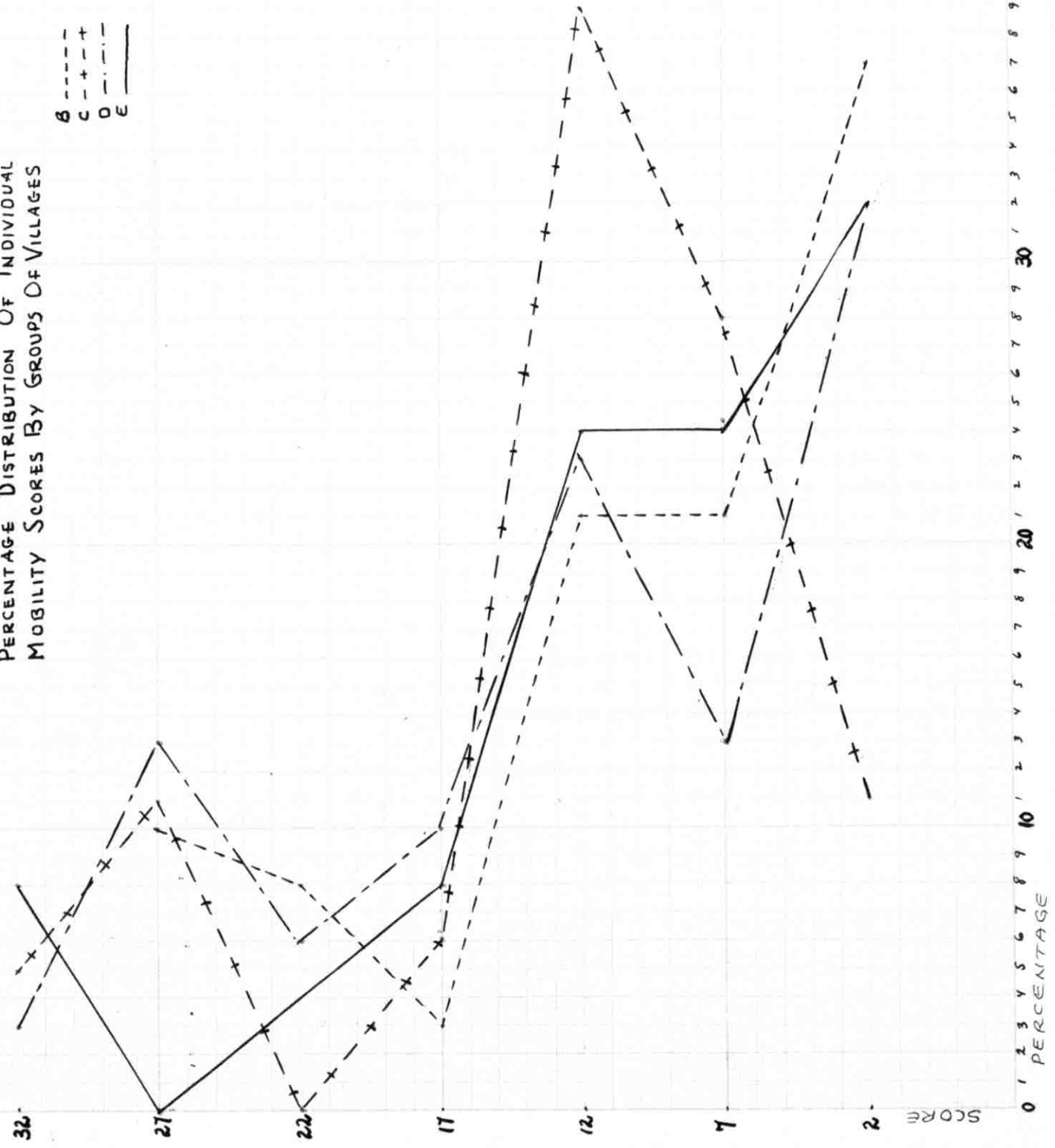
Mobility Differentiation by Occupational Categories

Mean mobility scores of occupational categories exhibit a declining tendency that appears related positively to the prestige level of the occupational groups. Between

68. Taken from Table IX in Appendix C.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL
 MOBILITY SCORES BY GROUPS OF VILLAGES

B - - - -
 C - - + -
 D - - - -
 E - - - -



the landlords, professionals, and large business men and the common field and factory laborers, the score diminishes from 13.36 to 7.18; a difference of nearly 50%.

TABLE VIII⁶⁹

Distribution of Mean Scores on the Mobility Index By Occupational Categories.

<u>Occupational Categories</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>	<u>Mobility Mean Score</u>
1. Large land owners, professional, official, and large business	11	13.36
2. Small business proprietors and keepers of small general stores	15	12.66
3. White collar routine clerical and skilled labor	19	11.48
4. Craftsmen and above average land owner operators	25	11.20
5. Marginal land owner operators	19	10.94
6. Field and factory laborers	23	7.18 7.86
Overall	112	

Mobility Differentiation by Age and Sex

The younger age group has a higher score on mobility in the overall sample. Also, when broken down for sex, males as well as females ranked higher in the younger generation, and as might be anticipated, females are less mobile than males in both age groups.

69. Taken from Table X in Appendix C.

TABLE XI⁷⁰

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>	<u>Mobility Mean Scores</u>		
		<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Overall</u>
1. 29 and below	33	12.33		
	14		9.50	
	47			11.47
2. 30 and above	51	11.80		
	14		5.57	
	65			10.46
3. Overall	84	12.00		
4. Overall	28		7.53	

Mobility Differentiation by Religion

The Christian group has a higher mobility score, indicating a difference similar to that found in the valuational scoring. Most probably this difference is influenced by other than religious factors as was found to be the case in the analysis of values. Particularly important would be the influence of rural-urban residential, educational and occupational factors.

70. Taken from Table X in Appendix C.

TABLE X

Mobility by Religion

<u>Mean Score for the Christian Group in the Whole Sample (excluding Zahle)</u>		<u>Mean Score for the Meslem Group in the Whole Sample</u>	
	No.		No.
11.02	41	7.75	71

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS ON INDIVIDUAL
ITEM ANALYSIS ITEMS

The present section attempts an analysis of the percentage distribution of modern responses to individual items in the value section of the questionnaire for the two major religious groups and the occupational categories. However, the six occupational groups are not treated separately. Instead they have simply been divided between those closely related to "dirt" farming and those which may be considered "non-farming." In the non-farming group the first three occupational categories (see Table VII, above) are included. The inclusion of the "Large landowners" here is justified by the fact that uniformly these respondents turn out to be "absentee" landlords who lead lives similar in all respects to urban commercially oriented professionals and large businessmen. The remaining occupational categories are considered as "farming" or typical traditional agrarian activities. Tables XI and XII present the percentages of villagers in the whole sample who gave modern or "western" type responses to the proverbs and to the value judgement statements, respectively.

TABLE XI

Item Analysis of Values Presented to Respondents
in the form of Proverbs by Religion and Occupation,
stated in percentages of modern or non-traditional
responses.

	<u>Religion</u>		<u>Occupation</u>		<u>Overall</u>
	<u>Christian</u>	<u>Moslem</u>	<u>Farming</u>	<u>Non-farm</u>	
1. Acceptance of innovation vs. conformity	77%	39%	47%	69%	57%
2. Acceptance of youthful leadership vs. "wisdom of elders".	34%	29%	31%	32%	32%
3. Attitudes reflecting respect for saving and investment vs. gaining satisfactions through immediate release in consumption.	78	77	61	69	78
4. Belief in efficacy of interest group participation vs. its opposite.	65	65	61	69	64
5. Primacy of the individual vs. primacy of the group.	29	27	27	29	29
6. High level of aspiration vs. acceptance of status quo (fatalism).	54	31	31	54	42
7. Belief in the promise of the machine age for human welfare vs. its opposite.	74	68	66	75	70
8. Preference for Gessellschaft social organization vs. Gemeinschaft	52	65	62	55	59
<u>No. of cases</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>136</u>
<u>Ave. percent of modern responses</u>	57.8%	50.1%	48.2%	56.5%	50.1%

TABLE XII

Item Analysis of Values Presented to Respondents in Form of statements by Religion and Occupation stated in percentage of modern or non-traditional responses.

	<u>Religion</u>		<u>Occupation</u>		<u>Overall</u>
	<u>Christian</u>	<u>Moslem</u>	<u>Farm.</u>	<u>Non-farm.</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Desirability of specialization in agriculture	67	39	42	64	53
2. Vocational, education and apprenticeship favored over formal schooling.	63	42	55	40	48
3. Agreed on inappropriateness of filial piety and economic support of parents by their sons in old age.	17	05	08% 92	17% 83	12% 88
4. Faith in education as the panacea of social problems.	86	68	68	86	76
5. The desirability of birth control.	69	38	41	66	53
6. The importance of secondary and higher education.	69	63	57	77	66
7. The need for vocational specialization.	90	89	92	88	90
8. The importance of theoretical education in school.	21	18	18	22	20
9. The value of permissive discipline in education	26	13	13	26	19
10. The desirability of a student-centered system of education.	66	50	54	61	57
11. The importance of secular vis-à-vis religious education.	45	18	20	43	31
<u>No. of Cases</u>	65	71	71	65	-
<u>Ave. percent of Respondents that are Modern</u>	63.80%	40.3%	51.8%	59.6%	54.5%

In the light of foregoing comparisons there is little surprising in the above pattern of responses to specific items. Greater traditionalism or conservatism is characteristic of the Moslems and farmer responses on nearly every item. In the one exception, item 8 - Table XI, dealing with personal vs. contractual social relations, the unexpected direction of the difference may reflect the vested interest that the socio-economically dominant Christian non-farming group possess in maintaining relations with the "peasants" that are personalized and non-contractual. That the Beka'a "peasants" are becoming alerted to the exploitation that is involved in their economic relations is attested to both by their verbal testimony, the popularity of communism in many remote villages, and recent protective governmental legislation and legal actions in their favor. In this connection note also the positive attitudes of the otherwise conservative rural people to saving and investment (item 3), interest group participation (item 4), and the promise of the machine (item 7- all in Table XI). In other words the conservatism of the rural people is brought out characteristically on traditional issues such as the value of general conformity, filial piety, familism, fatalism, and on the whole question of liberal-progressive-utilitarian education. On the latter point the fact that the rural people lean toward a traditional-formal educational system rather than a utilitarian one may be explained by the association between power and authority and liberal arts

degrees that they observe daily. If they do not yet perceive in practical ^(vocational) education a solution to their social problems it is because such education has barely been brought to their attention and experience until the present time. Furthermore, on at least a few of the educational items, the dominantly urban group are quite conservative themselves (items 8, 9 and 11 - Table XII, for instance).

There are many other interesting suggestions in the above tables (for instance, the much greater conservatism of Moslems vis-a-vis Christians on the issue of birth control) but perhaps the greatest usefulness of these data will be the guidance they can provide for future research in this same area. It is believed these findings are reliable. Whether they are valid or not (i.e. do the measures measure what they say they measure?) will require extensive re-study and modification as well as alternation of research techniques.

INTEGRATION

Comparison Between Value and Mobility Mean Scores
For Groups of Villages and Occupational Categories.

The major hypothesis in this study anticipated that there would be found a positive relationship between mobility and value orientation. The results of the test of this major hypothesis are presented in this final section. The test is provided by determining the amount of correlation that exists for village rings and occupational groups between mobility and value mean-index scores. Table XIII presents the results when village rings are correlated. Because, as explained previously, no mobility data was collected on Zahle and the mobility rate for Group B is biased by its close juxtaposition to Zahlé, only the three outer rings (C, D, and E) have been compared. In their case values and mobility are correlated at $r = + .52$. While not highly significant, a relationship well beyond chance is indicated and this evidence supports the anticipation of an ecological gradient pattern of mobility and modern standards having a declining tendency as distance from an urban center increases.

TABLE XIII

Comparison Between Value and Mobility Mean Scores for Groups of Villages.

<u>Village Groups</u>	<u>Value Mean Scores</u>	<u>Mobility Mean Score</u>
Case A - Zahle	22.83	xxxx
Group B - Ma'alaka, Haush Omara Haush Zara'ne, Al Karak	22.31	9.76
Group C - Delhamiye, Nabi Aila, Hzerta, Rayak, Ablah	19.50	12.55
Group D - Tammine Tahta, Haush Hala	20.55	11.84
Group E - Nabi Shit, El Marj, Terbol, Anjar, Jditta, Kosaya	17.60	10.00

TABLE XIV

Comparison Between Value and Mobility Mean-Index Scores for Occupational Categories.

<u>Occupational Categories</u>	<u>Value Mean Score</u>	<u>Mobility Mean Score</u>
1. Large land owners, professional, official, and large business	24.75	13.36
2. Small business proprietors and keepers of small general stores	21.12	12.66
3. White collar routine clerical and skilled labor	22.36	11.48
4. Craftsmen and above average land owner operators	19.50	11.20
5. Marginal land owner operators	19.50	10.94
6. Field and factory laborers	18.09	7.18

The correlation between the two sets of scores shown in Table XIV, above, is $r.82$. This relatively high degree of correlation reaffirms the major hypothesis. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the rank order of the occupations finds those of higher prestige dominantly located in or near the urban center while a reverse location is characteristic of the lower occupations.

FIGURE 6

HISTOGRAM COMPARING VALUE AND MOBILITY
MEAN SCORES BY GROUPS OF VILLAGES

□ VALUE
▨ MOBILITY

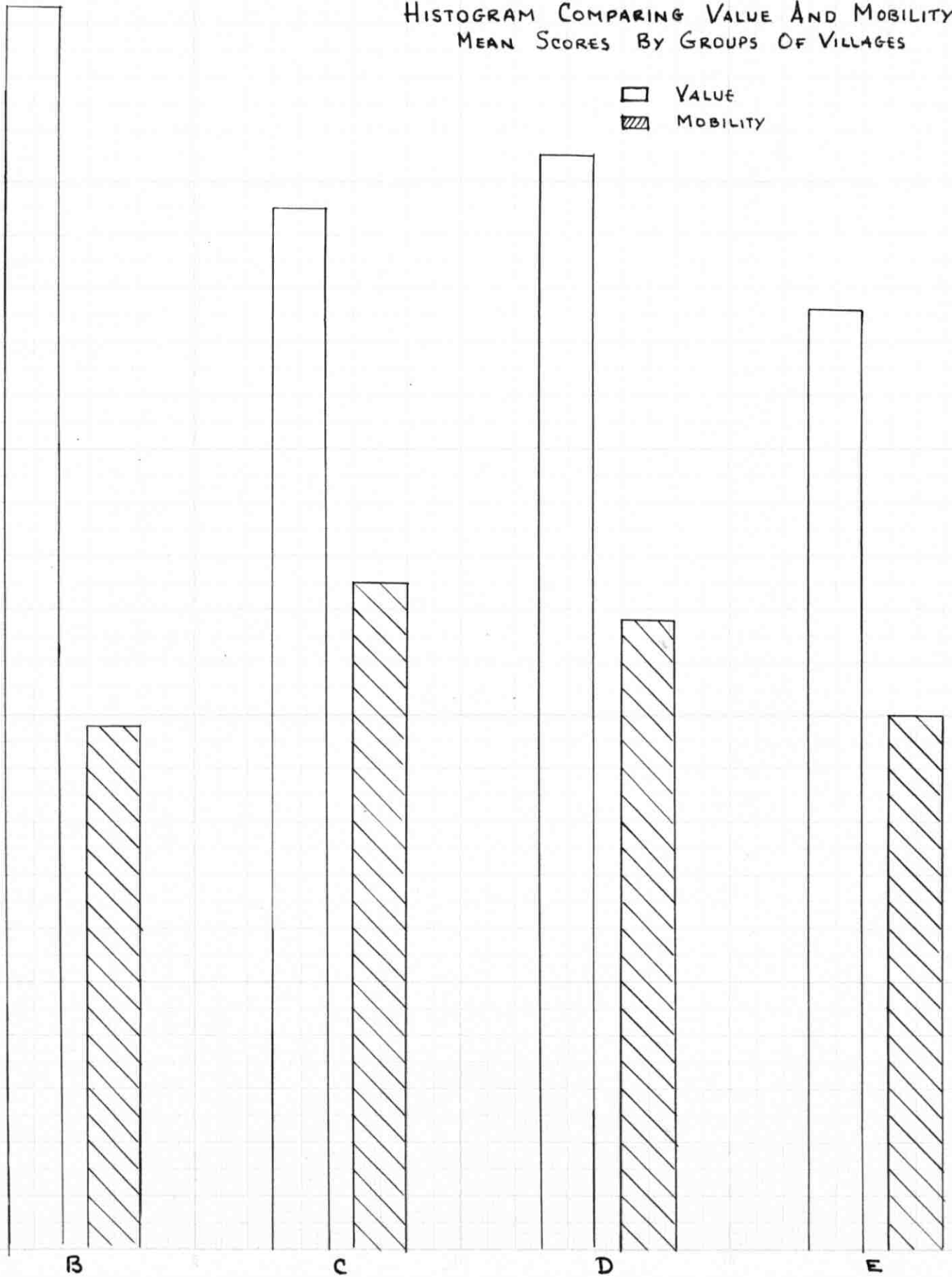
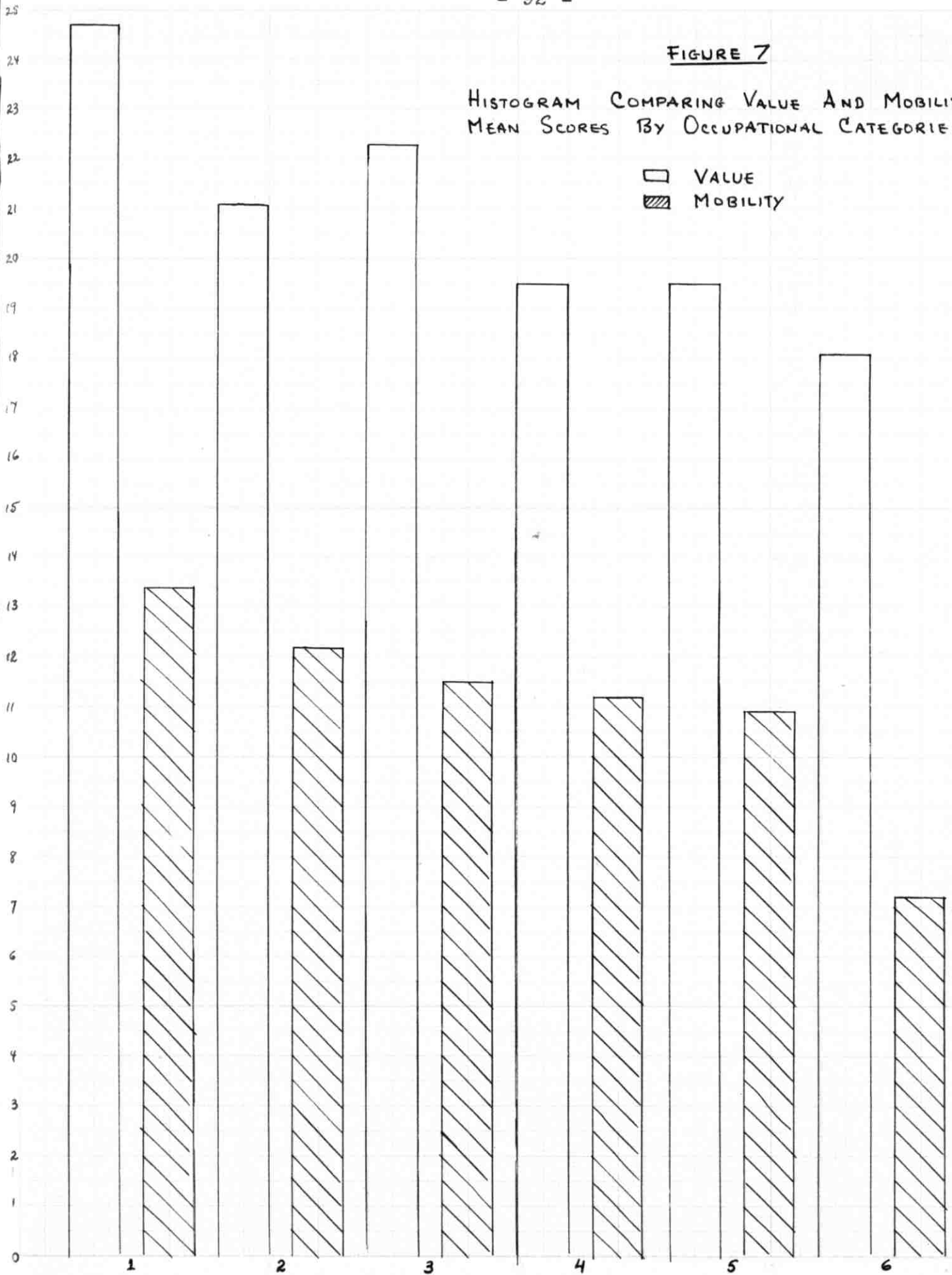


FIGURE 7

HISTOGRAM COMPARING VALUE AND MOBILITY
MEAN SCORES BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

□ VALUE
▨ MOBILITY



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The findings have been presented in this chapter in a manner that parallels the development of major considerations of this study in the earlier chapters. The possibility of scaling values on a modern-traditional continuum has been demonstrated. There was an indication of a tendency for value orientations to be positively related, however indecisively, to such social factors as occupation, religion, rural-urban location, and education. Another set of results point to pertinent but indecisive relationship between horizontal mobility and the acceptance of modern standards. An analysis of individual items used in the measurement of values indicates interesting relationships with religious and occupational factors. These include a higher "modernity" score in favor of the Christian group and the non-agrarian occupational categories of a majority of the items.

General conclusions drawn from the evidence of this study are as follows :

1) Physical distance as an ecological variable appears to be of slight importance in determining the degree of urban influence that is to be found in the area surrounding Zahle.

2) Although the gradient aspect is ill defined important differences between the rural and urban types do exist. Definition of the exact nature of this difference deserves further extensive investigation.

3) The younger age group, the "educated" or those having formal schooling, the Christians, and the non-agrarian occupational groups ranked higher on modern valuational standards and the mobility index. Such a relationship was most clearly defined in the case of the occupational hierarchy. One notable exception concerns the female group which showed more modernness on the valuational scale but scored lower on the mobility index.

4) While no overall correlation between individual value and mobility scores is discovered, the two indexes are significantly correlated when stated in the form of means of different occupational and village groupings.

5) It is believed that the significance of this study ultimately depends on the guidance it furnishes for further research. A technique for studying values is suggested that has proved itself to be practical. Its reliability and validity can only be demonstrated by more rigorous follow-up studies.

6) It is the feeling of the writer that quantitative research in this area is not as difficult as it is usually anticipated to be.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Schedule

Part I. Introduction:

We are students at the American University of Beirut majoring in studies of rural life problems. Lately we have argued about such things as how much village people get around, what things in life they prize the most, what kinds of work they like best and what they think is good and bad about education. Well, since we couldn't come to any agreement the teachers told us to go out and ask the people themselves. So here I am and I hope you will help me.

Part II. External Relations:

We are interested in learning something about the kinds and amounts of communication villagers have with places outside of their villages and cities. I am going to read this list to you. I want you to tell me which of these villages you have been in for a special purpose during the past month. I don't mean to just pass through. Your purpose could be any of the following:

1. visit relatives or friends
2. buy something
3. sell something
4. celebrations or religious associations

5. any kind of pleasure
6. governmental or legal business
7. other.

(Introduction: Read list slowly. When respondent indicates he has been in a place ask:)

"How often during the past month?"

(and record number in Col. 2. At end ask:)

"Please name any other villages in the Bekaa that you have been in."

(Record at bottom of list.

When the list has been read return to the indicated villages in Col. 2. and ask:)

"What was your purpose or purposes that took you to (Name village) ?

(Select and record the major purpose given for each and every visit in Col. 3.)

<u>Col. 1</u> Names of villages	<u>Col. 2.</u> Time visited last month	<u>Col. 3</u> Purposes of visits (be as specific as space allows)
1. Zahle		
2. Maalaka		
3. Ksara		
4. Delhamiye		
5. Said nayel		
6. Ta'albaya		
7. Tanai'el		
8. Chtoura		

Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3
9.	Bar Elias	
10.	El Marj	
11.	Terbol	
12.	Kafar Zabad	
13.	Deir Ghazal	
14.	Haush Hala	
15.	Furzul	
16.	Nabi Aila	
17.	Ablah	
18.	Tamnine Tahta	
19.	Rayak	
20.	Niha	
21.	Tamnine el Fouka	
22.	Ksarnaba	
23.	Bednayel	
24.	Haush Moussa	
25.	Chmistar	
26.	Haush Snaid	
27.	Djitta	
28.	Mreijate	
29.	Ba'albeck	
30.	Beirut	
31.	Damascus	
32.	Homs	

Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3
33. Other places in the Beka'a (name them)		

Part III. Value Orientations

A. Proverbs:

Now I'd like to ask you about some of your likes and dislikes. For instance, which one of each of these pairs of proverbs do you think is better advice or more important or more accurate.

1. Innovation vs. conformity

- a) Be prepared to meet the future with new approaches.
- b) That which is already known is better than that which will come to be known.

2. Age and Leadership

- a) He who has no elder, has no adviser.
- b) The world is a young man.

3. Saving vs. Immediate release

- a) Keep your white plaster for your black day.
- b) Spend what you have now. Fate controls your future.

4. Joining vs. Non-joining

- a) If you desire success be not obligated to any groups.
- b) Success comes to those who join together in pursuit of common objectives.

5. Individualism - Familism

- a) I and my brother against cousin; I and my cousin against stranger.
- b) Every goat depends on its own ankles.

6. Aspirations

- a) All that glitters is not gold. Content is treasure.
- b) Ambition is the root of success. He who is satisfied with little will have an unrespectable living.

7. Promise of the Machine Age

- a) Mechanization promises man more happiness than he has ever known.
- b) The machine is a half blessing. It brings more problems than it solves.

8. Gemeinschaft - Gesseleschaft

- a) If you can't trust a man's word it is impossible to do business with him.
- b) A legal contract makes an agreement secure even between liars.

B. Statements: Pro and Con

Ask: "Now what do you think of these statements?"

Are they true or false?"

(Insts: Record true as +, false as -, and indefinite as 0. Add any comments that seem relevant in terms of the normative continuum of industrial vis a vis traditional society.)

<u>STATEMENT</u>	<u>Answer</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1. One marketable crop is better than 20 different crops planted on the same amount of land.		
2. It is better to learn a vocation by growing up in it than by learning it in school.		
3. A man should save money toward his old age and not depend upon his sons for financial support.		
4. Education will play a more important part in solving our problems in the future than religion.		
5. A man should deliberately try to stop having more children than he can support.		
6. Some ability in many trades is better than mastering one trade.		
7. Most of the world's problems could be solved through education of the masses.		
8. Schools should try to teach practical rather than theoretical or intellectual things.		
9. Strict discipline is necessary in school.		
10. Children would benefit more from schooling if they were given more chance to develop their ideas.		

<u>STATEMENT</u>	<u>Answer</u>	<u>Comment</u>
11. It is right and proper that religious education should be required in schools.		

Part IV. Identification

(From observation as much as possible - fill in from direct questions only at the end of the interview.)

VILLAGE _____ Size _____ Principle Products _____

Location V.V. Zahle _____

Other description _____
(no.kinship groups) (religious diff.)

RESPONDENT

Age _____ Sex _____ Marital status _____ Other _____
religion

Style and quality of home _____

No. of rooms _____ No.of persons _____ Relation to vill.aver.

FAMILY

Relative status in village _____ Composition
of respondent's household group _____

Position of respondent in household group _____
(head,wife,etc.)
No.of other households belonging to same kinship group

Other facts relating to status of respondent or his
family _____

OCCUPATION

Sources of income of respondent _____

Status-position in major occupations _____

General description of respondent's economic situation

EDUCATION

Illiterate _____

Read and Write _____

Primary Schooling _____

Secondary Schooling _____

APPENDIX B

CODIFICATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES AND DISTRIBUTION

OF RESPONDENTS BY RELIGION, VILLAGE, AND OCCUPATION

CODIFICATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES

1. A, B, C, etc. Village doing visiting
2. X or M Religion
3. 1, 2, 3, etc. Occupation
4. (1), (2), etc. Case identification No.

VILLAGES IN GROUPS

- A. Zahle
B. Ma'alaka
 Haush Omara
 Haush Zara'ne
 Al Karak
C. Delhamiye
 Nabi Aila
 Hzerta
 Rayak
 Ablah
D. Tamnine Tahta
 Haush Hala
E. Nabi Shit
 El Marj
 Terbol
 Anjar
 Jditta
 Kosaya

TABULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

1. Large land owners
Professional, Official and Large Business contractor.
2. Business
Proprietors and Keepers of small general stores, groceries, grains, and spices, clothing, coffee shops, mobile trader, sheep merchant.
3. White-Collar Routine Clerical
Teachers, Policemen and small Sheikhs, Money collector for plant.
4. Skilled Labor
Operators of power machinery, repairmen, mechanics, drivers - taxi and bus and tractor, factory machine operators.
5. Crafts
Weavers, tinkers, blacksmiths, millers, carpenters, barbers, tailors, shoemakers, butchers, simple painter of houses, chair repair
6. Above average land owner operators
7. Marginal land owner operators
8. Field and other common laborers including road workers and manual factory laborers, village watchmen, peddlers, newspaper distributor.

TABLE I

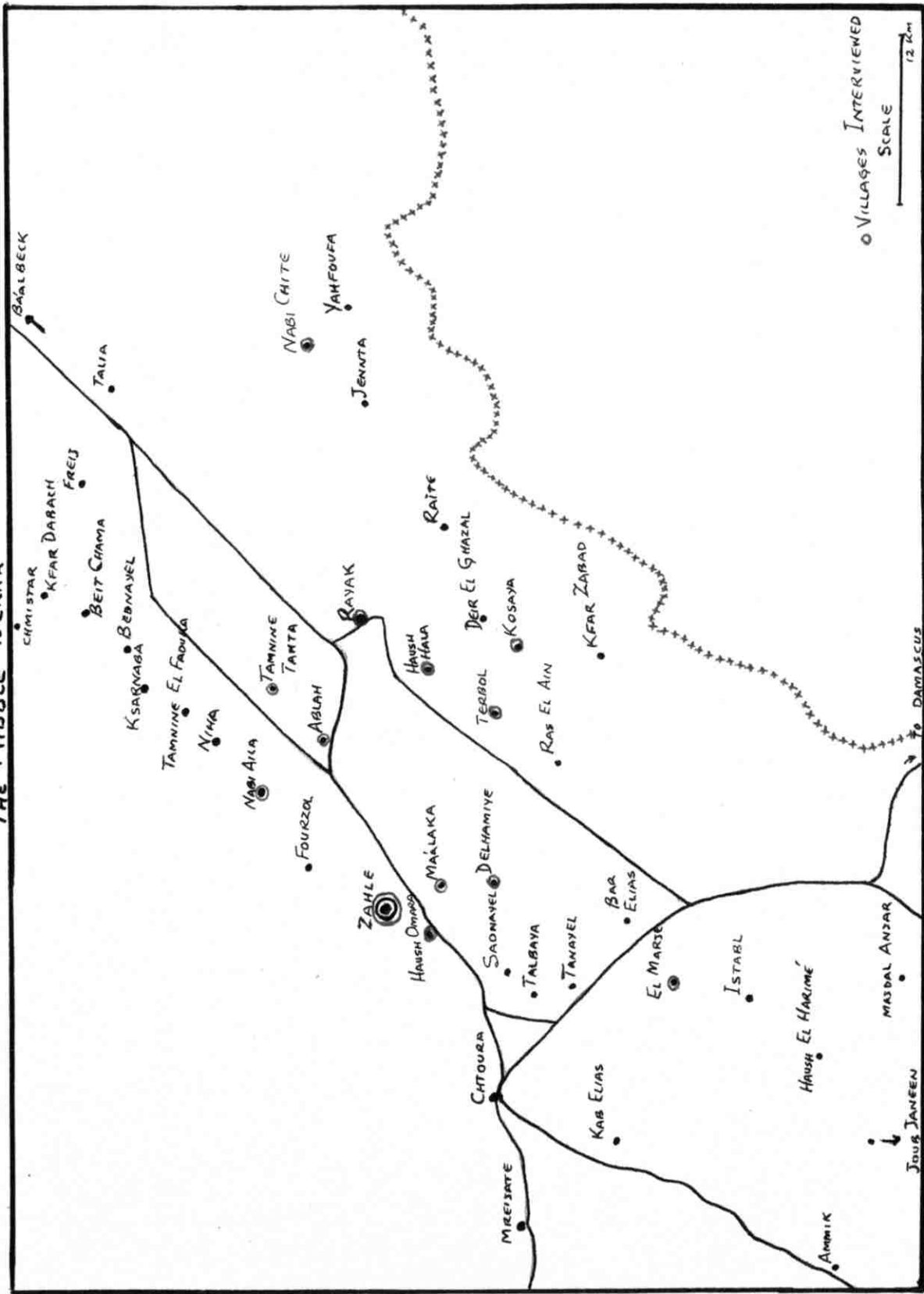
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY RELIGION, VILLAGE AND OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION	X										M										G. T
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	T	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	T			
A Zahle No. 1-24	9	2	6	3	-	3	1	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24			
A SUB TOTALS	9	2	6	3	-	3	1	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24			
B MA'ALAKA No. 1-13 22-29 38 31-35	4	-	2	-	1	2	1	1	11	1	2	1	2	2	3	4	3	16	27		
B HAUSH OMARA No. 14-21	2	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8		
B HAUSH ZARANE No. 3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
B AL KARAK No. 36, 37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2		
B SUB TOTALS	6	5	3	-	1	3	1	1	20	1	2	1	2	2	3	5	3	18	38		
C NABI AILA No. 1-4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	4	4		

TABLE I(Cont'd)

		X										M										G. T.
OCCUPATION		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	T	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	T			
E	NABI SHIT No. 15-19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	5	5		
E	JDITTA No. 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1		
E	KOSAYA No. 21-25	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5		
E	ANJAR No. 14	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
E	SUB TOTALS	1	1	-	2	-	2	1	1	8	1	2	1	1	2	4	1	5	17	25		
GRAND TOTALS		18	8	12	8	2	11	3	3	65	2	9	6	2	6	9	17	20	71	136		

THE MIDDLE BEKA'A



APPENDIX C

MASTER TABLES DESCRIBING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
VALUE AND MOBILITY INDEXES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC
FACTORS.

TABLE II

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Value Index
by Groups of Villages.

GROUPS OF VILLAGES

Value Index Score	A%	B%	C%	D%	E%	Total No. of Respondents	Overall %
9 and below	4	-	-	-	4	2	1
10-14	12	-	22	13	24	17	12
15-19	4	16	39	29	36	32	24
20-24	42	53	28	32	32	53	39
25-29	21	21	11	26	-	23	17
30-34	12	10	-	-	4	8	6
35-39	5	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	-	100
Total Number of Cases	24	38	18	31	25	136	136
\bar{x}	22.83	23.31	19.50	20.55	17.60	20.89	
σ	6.98	4.27	4.5	4.93	5.15	(a) 9.89	
c.v.%	30.57	18.32	23.08	24.04	29.26	(a)	

QR 1.42 (a) not computed. QX 1.03 QX .86

CR A/E = 3.0
CR A/Tot = 1.21
CR E/Tot = 2.46

TABLE III

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Value Index
by Occupational Categories.

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Value Index Score	1	2	3	4	5	6
	%	%	%	%	%	%
9 and below	-	-	4	4	-	9
10-14	5	12	4	18	15	13
15-19	10	29	21	21	30	30
20-24	35	35	32	46	50	44
25-29	30	12	32	4	-	4
30-34	15	12	7	7	5	-
35-39	5	-	-	-	-	-
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total No. of Cases	20	17	28	28	20	23
\bar{x}	24.75	21.12	22.36	19.50	19.50	18.09
σ	5.33	5.74	5.64	5.75	4.61	5.09
C.V.%	21.54	27.18	25.22	29.49	23.64	28.14

TABLE IV

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Value Index
by Age and Sex.

Value Index Score	29 and below			30 and above		
	Male	Female	Overall	Male	Female	Overall
9 and below	-	-	-	6	-	5
10-14	10	-	7	16	6	14
15-19	20	13	17	30	13	27
20-24	34	50	39	35	56	39
25-29	29	31	30	5	25	9
30-34	7	6	7	6	-	5
35-39	-	-	-	2	-	1
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total No. of Cases	41	16	57	63	16	79
\bar{x}	22.24	23.56	22.38	19.06	22.00	19.66
σ	(a)	(a)	5.06	(a)	(a)	6.05
C.V. %	(a)	(a)	22.38	(a)	(a)	30.77

(a) not computed.

TABLE V

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Value Index
by Sex Alone.

Value Index Score	Male	Female
9 and below	2	-
10-14	15	3
15-19	27	13
20-24	35	53
25-29	13	28
30-34	7	3
35-39	1	-
Total %	100	100
Total No. of Cases	104	32
\bar{x}	20.32	22.78
σ	6.00	0.59
C.V.%	29.53	2.59

TABLE VI

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Value Index by Religion.

Value Index Score	Moslem	Christian
9 and below	4	2
10-14	17	5
15-19	32	14
20-24	32	46
25-29	10	25
30-34	5	6
35-39	-	2
Total %	100	100
Total No. of Cases	71	65
\bar{x}	19.11	22.69
σ	5.86	5.19
C.V.%	30.66	22.87

Q_m .70

.65

CR = 3.7

TABLE VII

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Value Index
by Education.

Value Index Score	No Schooling	Formal Schooling
9 and below	2	1
10-14	21	5
15-19	30	20
20-24	38	40
25-29	7	24
30-34	2	9
35-39	-	1
Total %	100	100
Total No. of Cases	56	80
\bar{x}	18.61	22.56
σ	5.16	5.49
C.V. %	27.73	24.34

TABLE VIII ¹

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Mobility Index
by Groups of Villages.

Mobility Index Score	GROUPS OF VILLAGES				Total No. of Respondents	Overall %
	B	C	D	E		
4 and below	37	11	32	32	34	30
5-9	21	28	13	24	23	21
10-14	21	39	32	24	28	25
15-19	3	6	10	8	7	6
20-24	8	-	6	4	6	5
25-29	10	11	13	-	10	9
30-34	-	5	3	8	4	4
Total %	100	100	100	100	-	100
Total No. of Cases	38	18	31	25	112	-
\bar{x}	9.76	12.55	11.84	10.00	-	10.83
σ	8.33	8.25	9.29	7.78	-	(a)
C.V. %	85.35	65.98	78.46	77.8	-	(a)

1. No data collected on A
(a) Not computed

TABLE IX

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Mobility Index
by Occupational Categories.

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Mobility Index Score	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %
4 and below	9	20	42	24	21	48
5-9	27	20	16	28	16	18
10-14	27	33	11	24	47	17
15-19	10	7	5	4	5	9
20-24	18	-	5	8	-	4
25-29	9	13	11	8	11	4
30-34	-	7	10	4	-	-
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total No. of Cases	11	15	19	25	19	23
\bar{x}	13.36	12.66	11.48	11.20	10.94	7.86
σ	7.42	9.11	10.86	8.67	7.00	7.18
C.V. %	55.53	71.95	94.59	77.41	63.98	91.35

TABLE X

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Mobility Index
by Age and Sex.

Mobility Index Score	29 and below			'' ''	30 and above		
	Male	Female	Overall		Male	Female	Overall
4 and below	28	29	28	''	25	50	31
5-9	21	21	21	''	20	29	21
10-14	18	36	24	''	27	21	26
15-19	9	-	6	''	8	-	6
20-24	3	14	6	''	6	-	5
25-29	18	-	13	''	8	-	6
30-34	3	-	2	''	6	-	5
Total %	100	100	100	''	100	100	100
Total No. of Cases	33	14	47	''	51	14	65
\bar{x}	12.33	9.50	11.47	''	11.80	5.57	10.46
σ	(a)	(a)	8.94	''	(a)	(a)	8.50
C.V. %	(a)	(a)	77.94	''	(a)	(a)	81.34

(a) not computed

TABLE XI

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Mobility Index by Sex Alone.

Mobility Index Score	Male	Female
4 and below	26	39
5-9	20	25
10-14	24	29
15-19	8	-
20-24	5	7
25-29	12	-
30-34	5	-
Total %	100	100
Total No. of Cases	84	28
\bar{x}	12.00	7.53
σ	10.36	9.05
C.V. %	86.33	120.18

TABLE XII

Percentage Distribution of Responses on Mobility Index by Religion.

Mobility Index Score	Moslem	Christian
4 and below	32	24
5-9	17	27
10-14	27	24
15-19	8	3
20-24	2	12
25-29	8	10
30-34	6	-
Total %	100	100
Total No. of Cases	71	41
\bar{x}	7.75	11.02
σ	11.77	8.06
C.V. %	151.87	73.14

APPENDIX D

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES ON
MODERN-TRADITIONAL LEVELS BY RELIGION,
OCCUPATION AND OVERALL

MASTER TABLE XIII

Percentage of Modern and Traditional Responses for Individual Items by Religion, Occupation and Overall.

RELIGION

Item	Moslem			Christian		
	Modern +	Tradition -	In between o	Modern +	Tradition -	In between o
1	39	60	1	77	23	-
2	29	65	6	34	61	5
3	77	23	-	78	19	3
4	65	35	-	65	32	3
5	27	73	-	29	65	6
6	31	69	-	54	43	3
7	68	31	1	74	21	5
8	35	65	-	52	48	-
1	39	54	7	67	28	5
2	58	42	-	37	54	9
3	5	94	1	17	80	3
4	68	31	1	86	8	6
5	38	61	1	69	29	2

RELIGION (Cont'd)

	Moslem			Christian		
	Modern +	Tradition -	In between o	Modern +	Tradition -	In between o
6	63	37	-	69	28	3
7	89	10	1	90	5	5
8	18	72	10	21	51	28
9	13	83	4	26	74	-
10	50	49	1	66	29	5
11	18	82	-	45	52	3

OCCUPATION (CONT'D)

	Farming			Non Farming		
	Modern †	Tradition -	In between o	Modern †	Tradition -	In bet. o
1	47	52	1	69	31	-
2	31	66	3	32	60	8
3	76	24	-	80	17	3
4	61	38	1	69	29	2
5	27	73	-	29	65	6
6	31	69	-	54	43	3
7	66	34	-	75	19	6
8	62	38	-	55	45	-
1	42	51	7	64	28	8
2	55	45	-	40	51	9
3	92	7	1	83	14	3
4	68	29	3	86	12	2
5	41	58	1	66	32	2
6	57	42	1	69	28	3
7	92	7	1	88	8	4
8	18	76	6	22	46	32
9	13	84	3	26	71	3
10	54	45	1	61	34	5
11	20	80	-	43	54	3

OVERALL (CONT'D)

	Modern +	Tradition -	In between o
1	57	42	1
2	32	63	5
3	78	20	2
4	34	65	1
5	29	69	2
6	42	57	1
7	70	26	4
8	59	41	-
1	53	41	6
2	48	48	4
3	88	10	2
4	76	20	4
5	53	45	2
6	66	32	2
7	90	7	3
8	20	62	18
9	19	79	2
10	57	40	3
11	31	68	1

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