CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE PATTERNS AMONG SELECTED LEBANESE VILLAGERS

By

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to determine; first, the proportion of their incomes that sample families in four villages of the Central Beka' Valley allocated to main classes of expenditure; second, the priority patterns of consumption expenditure of these village families; third, the factors influencing these patterns.

Economic, psychological, and sociological approaches to the study of consumption behavior are reviewed. From this background, the sociological frame of reference of this study is presented and defended.

The method of investigation was as follows: a sample of twenty village families, purposively selected from a stratified universe in four villages of the Central Beka' Valley, was chosen for study. The sample families were interviewed four times, at equal intervals, in a period of five months - December, 1957, through April, 1958. The nature of the data obtained is of two complementary levels. The first type of data includes material on consumption and expenditure of the sample group for a period of five months. The second type of data includes material on the social status of the individual sample families. The social status data was converted into an index, which was correlated with the type of consumption expenditure behavior.

It was found in this study that the sample villagers allocate a large proportion of their income to necessities. Forty-four percent of their expenditure goes for food, 13% goes for clothing, another 13% to

household equipment and repairs, seven percent to education, 6% to medical care, 5% to recreation, travel and amusements, 5% to fuel and light, 1% to soap and other cleaning materials, and 6% to other outlays. The proportions of food expenditures going to different types of foods also are described.

The patterns of consumption expenditure are related to social status. High status families seemed to be allocating a higher percentage of their expenditure to education, household equipment and repairs, and clothing, whereas low status families allocated a higher proportion of their total expenditure to food. High status families' diets differed from those of the low status families'; this difference is striking in the consumption of bread.

The allocation of expenditure in the way described above has significant implications. As stated by Engel, the proportion of total expenditure that goes to food is "the best single index of the social position of the family". Seventy-five percent of high status families allocated between 20% and 40% of their total per capita expenditure to food, while 25% of the low status families allocated the same proportion to food. Thus it is demonstrated, empirically, that expenditure on food is positively associated with social status.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

Appendices Page

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

During the past two years the writer has been closely associated with empirical studies of the agricultural-economics situation in eleven villages[1] of the Beka' Valley of Rural Lebanon. During this period approximately three hundred farm families were visited at least once each. These visits provided the writer with valuable background information on the social and economic structure of this region making it possible to bring income, production, marketing and consumption under study. In addition, the writer has reviewed the studies conducted in this area by other researchers including Charles W. Churchill, and Lincoln Armstrong.[2] The writer has also acted as chief assistant to Robert D. Stevens in a study which attempted to measure capital expenditure in the same villages.[3]

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[1]The eleven villages are located near the American University Farm which is half way between Zahle and Baalback in the Beka' Valley. They are indicated by the map on page 31.

[2]Charles W. Churchill, Public Health Survey in Beka' Villages 1955-1956. Economic Research Institute and School of Public Health, American University of Beirut, (mimeographed). Lincoln Armstrong, Socio-Economic Study of the Beka', 1954. Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

[3]Robert Stevens, Capital Formation and Agriculture in Some Lebanese Villages, Ph.D. Thesis. Cornell University, 1958, (unpublished).

Of the many problems, one rose to a position of paramount importance in the mind of the writer. That was the all pervasive problem of the low level of living which, of course, is directly related to the patterns and conditions of domestic consumption. As pointed out by Carl Taylor, the level of living "operates on the lives of the people".[4] It "constitutes an organic whole touching upon every phase of the life of the individual, the family, or the group..."[5] In order to focus upon this problem the writer has chosen four of eleven villages for which relevant background data was available.[6] Of particular relevance in the previous findings was the following information on the level of living:

1. Income

The median gross income (from farm products only) of the unit household for the sample group in 1956 was LL. 700.[7] Since the average family size is six according to Churchill's Census Survey, the per capita gross income is about LL. 117.

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[4]Carl Taylor, Rural Life in the United States. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 329.

[5]Wilson Gee, The Social Economics of Agriculture, 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954), p. 400.

[6]Four villages were selected for study. These are Hazzine, Kafar Dabach, Sarghine Tahta, and Talia. Reasons for choosing these villages are indicated in Chapter IV.

[7]Robert Stevens and Latif Abul-Husn, Agricultural-Economic Survey in Beka' Villages, 1956. School of Agriculture, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

2. Production

Conditions of land, yields and production are also central factors in the lives of the farmers. Statistics taken from the Agriculture-Economic Survey of Beka' Villages in 1956 show that the median number of dunums (a dunums equals one thousand square meters) an individual farmer operates is sixty.[8] He grows wheat on almost half (twenty-five dunums) of this and on the other half he plants cereals and perhaps some potatoes, onions and grapes. In general the yields are relatively low. A kilogram of seeds yields only four or five-fold. Thus total yield covers little more than the cost of production.

3. Marketing

The return from products sold leaves the farmer with only a slight margin, if any, with which to pay his debts. The majority of the farmers visited do not sell any of their products. One hundred and twenty five farm families out of two hundred and fifty seven potential sellers[9] do not sell any of their farm products. Only six farm families sell ninety percent or more of their products.

4. Consumption

Consumption is for the farmer as important a process for the

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Potential seller is defined as the farmer who could have produced a quantity larger than that which he needs for home use.

development of his physical and social potentialities as is production. Together with the previously mentioned factors of income, production and marketing, consumption plays a definite role in shaping the social life of the farmers. Its significance to the level of living is relative to, and depends upon (a) the behavioral patterns of the community, (b) the economic structure, and (c) the value system that the community holds. These three factors are given fundamental expression in patterns of consumption expenditure.

Farmers are aware of the repercussions of the problem of consumption and the statistics of this study provide an impression of the farmers' conception of the problem.[10] Twenty-six percent of the respondents answered the question "what is your biggest farm problem?" by stating that "the family consumes all the farm products that it produces." This answer is complimented by other common answers to the same question which include, "prices received are very low" (21%) and "poor land leads to lack of satisfaction with farming" (33%).

Above this, certain imperatives operate upon t he farmers' basic needs. They must eat at least two meals a day, wear some sort of clothing, furnish their houses with relatively acceptable furniture and participate in group activities.

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[10] Stevens and Abul-Husn, op.cit.

Subject of the Study

The present study grew out of an attempt to investigate the total consumption expenditure behavior in four villages in the central Beka' Valley of Rural Lebanon. As noted, an earlier study focused on the total farm expenditures that go for farm use.[11] The present investigation is limited to non-agricultural consumption expenditure in the following classes: (a) food, (b) clothing, (c) household equipment, furniture and repairs, (d) medical care, (e) education, and (f) recreation, travel and amusement. Quantitatively speaking the problem becomes one of measuring:

1. The proportion of income spent on each class of the above-mentioned non-agricultural needs.

2. The priority patterns that characterize consumption expenditure behavior.

3. The factors which influence these patterns.

This thesis attempts to answer the above questions and test the following hypothesis: consumption expenditure patterns of the sample families are associated with the social status of these families.

It is assumed in this work that the consumption expenditures of the sample families follow one or more definite patterns and that these patterns are governed by definite factors. It is assumed that some of the more important factors are social by nature. To understand them it is

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[11] Robert Stevens, Capital Formation and Agriculture in Some Lebanese Villages, Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University, 1958, (unpublished).

necessary to analyze them in terms of the 'whole organic' unity of the operating social system with its existing system of values. Explanation of the underlying factors in terms of economic variables, while useful, would leave an important section of consumption expenditure behavior untouched. Neglect of the social factors overlooks an important element in the problem of living, particularly for peasant life such as that characterizing rural Lebanon. The background for this theoretical view is presented in Chapters II and III.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY AND CONCEPT OF CONSUMPTION

Some Early Studies of Consumption

The methodological development of these studies as well as their contributions to the field of consumption and the sociological theory is the primary concern of the first part of Chapter II.

The proponents of the studies which we are going to present are Ducpetiaux, Le Play, and Engel.

1. Edouard Ducpetiaux

The problem Ducpetiaux was interested in, was the family level of living and its aspirations for a better life. He proceeded through the investigation of family expenditures and classified families according to income level. A sample of one hundred and fifty three families was chosen by income level and grouped into high, medium and low classes.

Moreover, he stratified his sample in terms of family size. He studied "only those families with both parents living and with three or four children under the age of seventeen."[12]

Ducpetiaux was the first to use the Quetelet method in family

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[12] Carl Zimmerman, Consumption and Standard of Living. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1936), p. 372.

living studies. His main contributions to the field of consumption and the sociological theory lie mainly in his use of the Quetelet method and in the initiation of interest in such studies. His ideas were taken by Engel and synthesized into a working scheme of analysis.

2. Frederick Le Play

Le Play used the case study method in his investigation of family budgets. His 360 studies of families were based upon observation of the following characteristics: place, civil status, religion and morals, habits, hygiene and health, rank of the family, means by which the family existed, mode of existence of the family, food, meals, houses, furniture, clothing, recreation, history of the family, income for the year and expenses for food, households, clothing, morals, recreational and health needs; industry, debt, taxes, income, etc.

In describing the family structure Le Play assumed that he would be describing the social structure with the type of family giving insight into the type of the social structure. The family is best described through a study of its budget.

Le Play's contribution to the field of consumption and the sociological theory is mainly his method of investigation. His case study method is still used. His methodology forced him to recognize the importance of certain factors such as income, education, recreation and health which have social significance.

3. Ernst Engel

The fundamental problem faced by Engel was the economic welfare of man. He devoted most of his efforts and energy to a study of this problem and advanced hypotheses as to the relationship between income and expenditure.

Engel's methodology, in contrast to Le Play's, was oriented toward the accumulation of data on many families. By statistical analysis he was able to propose a hypothetical relationship (which he later termed laws) between income spent on various items of expenditure and the social well-being of the family. He hypothesized that the worker's greatest well-being is promoted when not more than eighty percent of his income is used for material satisfaction and twenty percent for cultural items.

Engel felt that a weighting system was necessary in order to compare families of different sizes. So he invented the 'quet' in "honour of the famous statistician Quetelet". The quet is a consumption unit representing the value of the average consumption of an infant. A tenth is added for each year of growth until the age of twenty for the female and the age of twenty five for the male. A 2-year old child would be represented by 1.1, a 3-year old child would be represented by 1.3 and so on.

Engel's two major contributions were:

1. The quet; a statistical consumption unit.
2. The laws of consumption.

His laws of consumption are:[13]

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[13] John H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society. (Massachusetts: Riverside Press, 1935), p. 367.

a. The importance of food in a budget is the best single index of the social position of the family.

b. The increase in income is associated with declining proportions of the budget spent for food, with about the same proportion spent for clothing, rent, fuel and light, and with increasing proportions for education, health, recreation and amusements.

The first law implies that the poorer a family is the greater the proportion of expenditure goes to food.

The three foregoing pioneers worked out their propositions from empirical situations-family budgets and living conditions. The three of them have in common some methodological assumptions related to family problems and belief that they can be approached through study of family budgets.

Consumption Studies in Rural Areas

Budgetary studies of farm families are a recent trend which had been neglected until 1918. Since then the works of Kirkpatric, Galpin and Zimmerman motivated interest in farm families and attracted the attention of scholars to this field. Galpin in his address to the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of Association of Land Colleges in Washington D.C. said, "The farmer's problem is far from being solely a

problem of price for farm products and profits of agriculture. It is a problem also of consumption."[14]

In 1935-36 the Consumer Purchase Study was conducted in the United States.[15] This study included three types of families; urban, village and farm. Analysis was made by family type according to certain criteria, such as age and sex, and according to the family level of income.

Consumption Studies in Rural Lebanon

The writer of this thesis is aware of two studies on consumption in some Lebanese villages both of which focussed on consumption patterns as an aspect of a total family living. The first study is that of Armstrong, "Beka' Socio-Economic Survey: Methodological Report."[16] It is a study of a 15% sample (169 families) picked at random from five villages in the southern Beka' Valley. The first phase of the study was completed. The schedule included information on the general socio-economic situation of these villages, such as land tenure, farm equipment and livestock, and information on families' backgrounds such as education,

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[14] Op.cit., p. 362.

[15] This study was directed by the Bureau of Home Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

[16] Lincoln Armstrong, Beka' Socio-Economic Survey: Methodological Report, 1954. Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

occupation, marital status, residence, etc. The second part of the schedule includes information on monthly income and expenditure of families, such as income received from a number of sources during the past month, household expenditure during the past month on food, clothing, jewelry, household equipment and repairs, utilities on land, livestock, farm equipment, hired labor and recreation.

Evaluation of this study is not feasible since results were not worked out. However the schedule form provides some clues to the nature of data obtained. Consumption expenditure data included information on agricultural as well as non-agricultural outlays. Moreover, the schedule shows that this study is an attempt to study quantitatively the socio-economic situation in these villages. The success of this attempt could be shown only when results are published.

The other study is a Master's thesis, "Household Income and Expenditure in Al-Kura, Lebanon," by Salah Sawaya. This is a study of 133 village families picked at random from 13 villages in Al-Kura, northern Lebanon. The study focused on net income retained by the families studied.

Of interest to us is the methodology which Mr. Sawaya pursued. The field work proceeded for five months. Information on expenditure for farm costs, schooling and taxes for the past year were obtained. Expenditure accounts on clothing, furniture, medical care recreation and leisure of the past month also were obtained. Information on the expenditure on food was limited to one week only to help precise recall.

Generalizations for the entire year were advanced on the basis of computing the results of one week (as typical of any other week of the year) and one month (as typical of any other month of the year), the year total being the weighted total of these computations. This procedure assumes that expenditure on perishable goods in one week is typical of the whole year. In fact such a situation does not hold especially on the village level, for families' expenditures are seasonal and might be piled up in a month which had not been covered by the study.

Development of the Concept of Consumption

1. The Classical and Neo-Classical Schools

Consumption was treated by the classical economists as a residue. Production was the focus of their attention, for it was assumed to be the key to the wealth of nations.[17]

The Neo-Classical school headed by Alfred Marshall shifted emphasis from production alone to both production and consumption.[18]

Marshall modified the rigidity of the classical economists by giving a dual nature to economic analysis as both a 'science of wants and of activities'.

This shift in theoretical perspectives from the producer as a unit for analysis of the economic system to the consumer attracted the

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[17]John S. Mill, Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy. (London: Reprinted by the London School of Economics and Political Science, John W. Parker, 1948), p. 132.

[18]Alfred Marshall, Principles of Economics, 8th ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), p. 524.

attentions of some scholars to new aspects of human behavior; that which is related to values and wants rather than cost of production. This growing interest in the consumer is associated with the flourishing of research on living standards and budgetary studies of families.

2. The Austrian School

The movement mentioned above had, in fact, been initiated and developed by a group of economists called members of the Austrian School of thought. The better known names in this school are those of Carl menger, Frederick Von Wieser, and Eugen Bohm-Bawerk.

This transfer of attention from the producer to the consumer corresponded to the growing interest in consumption studies and family standard of living investigations being done at that time in Europe. The Austrian School argued that satisfaction of wants is a fundamental economic fact. Thus the problem of consumption came to occupy a prominant position with this school. Carl Menger, the founder of the school, held that, "wants constitute a fundamental phenomena of human life and their satisfaction depends upon the property of goods known as utility."[19] Along the same line Von Wieser considered the problem of consumption as a question of choice.[20]

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[19]Carl Zimmerman, Consumption and Standard of Living. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1936), p. 497.

[20]Frederick Von Wieser, Social Economics. (New York: Greenberg, Publisher Inc., 1927), p. 45.

Man and his wants became of central importance to economic analysis of the social order. Utility and choice behavior attracted the attention of students of society such as a group of economists known as the Institutionalists.

3. The Institutional School

The tangible shift of interest brought about by the Austrian school provoked further interest in the study of consumption as a problem in human behavior. The institutionalists, headed by Thorstein Veblen, took a rather critical approach to the preceding schools. They analyzed consumption behavior in terms of the social forces acting upon the individual. These forces, inherent in the institutions, condition behavior and shape it in conceivable patterns. It is thus implied that there are forces acting upon the individual consumer; these are provoked by the institutions of the society and take such forms as imitation in influencing consumer behavior.

Since then new trends in explaining consumer behavior have appeared and have given the problem a more 'humane' outlook. Starting with Keynes, consumption as a concept and a field of investigation became of primary importance in describing human behavior.

4. Keynesian School

In his analysis of economic variables Keynes gave consumption a significant position. To him it is as important as production.

Keynes explained consumption behavior in terms of underlying factors and manifested attributes. He classified these factors into two main categories based upon their measurability. The 'objective' factors, including income, assets, rate of interest, could be quantitatively analyzed. The 'subjective' factors including habits, education, conventions, religion and aspirations, could not be quantitatively measured and so they were assumed with/further analysis. /no--

Keynes proposed an elaborate conceptual scheme to explain the relationship between the above mentioned factors and consumption. This scheme revolves around certain variables which are economic by nature. However, in his emphasis upon real income as a determinant factor in consumption he does not neglect the role played by the subjective factors.

CHAPTER III

CONSUMER BEHAVIOR AS AN UNDERLYING FACTOR IN CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Consumer Behavior

An understanding of consumer behavior is essential to a comprehensive examination of the factors underlying consumption patterns, for patterns are manifestations of behavior. Economists as well as psychologists were tempted to analyze consumer behavior with what tools were available to them. Various theories and postulates were formulated, assumptions as well as hypotheses were proposed; some were verified on a speculative level (preference and utility), others by empirical tests (motivational).

Consumer behavior might best be understood if explained by a 'means-ends' continuum.[21] Every consumer is oriented toward a goal. The achievement of this goal depends upon three main factors: (a) the goal itself, whether it is possible of attainment or not; (b) the limitations imposed by the society's norms and values; (c) the orientation of the consumer to the object. Orientation with all of its dimensions depends upon; first, whether a consumer is aware of the object and of other alternatives; secondly, whether the consumer values the object as an

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[21]This approach was initiated by the social action school.

ultimate end or standard; and thirdly, whether the consumer has any attraction to or repulsion from the object.

Assuming that the consumer is aware of the object toward which he is oriented, he has to choose between various alternatives that are offered to him by an outer situation (money income, access to the consumption item, taboo on the item) by which he can reach that object. This process of selection involves decision and choice, decisions as to the means manipulated and ends acquired. It is assumed that an individual consumer would weigh means-ends alternatives in such a way that he obtains maximum 'gratification' from acquiring the object (buying a consumption item such as meat).

The process of decision making and choice is central to an understanding of consumer behavior and an understanding of these processes is necessary before further analysis of consumer behavior is attempted. Solutions to the problem of consumer behavior has been presented by both economists and psychologists.

1. The Utility Approach[22]

It is assumed that an individual consumer is a rational human being; that is, that he maximizes satisfactions and minimizes deprivations. Faced with a problem of choice between consumption items a consumer must choose the way in which he uses his limited funds, that is to spend or to save, to buy one item or a combination of items.

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[22]For an elaborate description of this approach see Willard W. Cochrane and Carolyn Bell, The Economics of Consumption. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), Chapter VI.

The consumer's ultimate goal is to acquire maximum utility out of the items he buys.[23] He weighs the utilities he expects to acquire against the money he must pay for it. If they match he is satisfied, if they do not he then changes the schedule. Table I below shows a hypothetical situation in which an individual consumer weighs the value of consumption items against the money value he paid to acquire.

TABLE I

UTILITY SCHEDULE OF A FARMER FOR HIS CONSUMPTION OF MEAT

Lb. of Meat	Total Utility	Average Utility	Marginal Utility
A	B	C	D
0	0	0	0
1	10	10	10
2	20	10	10
3	24	8	4
4	28	7	4
5	28	5.6	0
6	25	4.1	-3

[23]See Later discussion on page 24 through page 27.

Column A shows the amount of meat demanded. Column B shows the total utilities obtained from the consumption of different amounts of meat. Column C indicates the average utility received from the consumption of each lb. of meat. Column D shows the extra utility obtained from the consumption of an extra lb. of meat.[24]

A consumer is willing to eat 2 lb. of meat, but he is reluctant to eat the third lb. Although it increases his utility this increase falls short of the increase in the amount of meat consumed.

This situation is a hypothetical one. Utility is assumed to be amenable to measurement but to this date it has not yet been tested empirically.

The principle of marginal utility describes consumer behavior in such a way that if this principle should not be operative then consumer behavior would become self-perpetuating. If the satisfaction derived from the second lb. of meat were the same as the first, and that from the third the same as the second, then consumers would not stop adding meat. Imagine a man who started eating meat and could increase his satisfaction steadily by consuming more and more meat.

2. The Preference Approach[25]

Confronted with a choice situation a consumer has to choose between two, or a combination of more than two, commodities. Underlying

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[24] Figures in Column D are computed from Column B by subtracting each figure from the following one.

[25] For an elaborate description of this approach see Paul Samuelson, Economics: An Introductory Analysis. (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1951), Chapter XXIII.

this notion are certain assumptions. The first is that the prices he pays are fixed. The second is that the amount of money he has to spend on these commodities is constant. The third is that the consumer can decide which situation he prefers and to which situation he is indifferent.

How would a consumer, faced with a situation in which he has to buy clothes and food, allocate his fixed income between these two commodities which are assumed to be equally desirable in his eyes?

Figure 1 below shows the preference situation for both commodities.

Food	2	4	6	8
Clothing	6	3	2	1

Figure 1. A Preferential Situation for Two Commodities

The individual consumer faced with such a choice prefers a given combination to another; for example, 4 units of food and 3 units of clothing. This particular combination leaves him with more satisfaction than other combinations.

Assuming that the individual consumer has a limited amount of money, e.g. LL. 1 for each unit of food and LL. 2 for each unit of clothing, then the consumer would allocate his money between these two commodities in such a way that he receives maximum satisfaction from that particular combination. In other words the consumer could decide which combination he prefers and to which ones he is indifferent. It is obvious that our consumer can spend his limited sum of money on a variety of alternative combinations or he could spend all his money on clothing

alone or on food alone. But would that leave him with maximum satisfaction? Figure 2 below shows five possible situations in which a consumer can obtain satisfaction.

Food	0	2	4	6	8
Clothing	6	3	2	1	0

Figure 2. A Preferential Situation for the Allocation of Money Income

The individual consumer could buy 8 units of food and no clothing, or he could buy 6 units of clothing and no food at all. This weighing of favorable combinations depends upon the individual consumer himself, which combination he prefers to others, that is, which particular combination gives him maximum satisfaction?

3. Motivational Approach

The theory of consumer behavior had been presented first in terms of utility and secondly in terms of preference. Yet, it seems to the motivational school that neither of these solutions are inclusive. They do not explain motives behind the patterns of preferences or utility. The motivational school took a rather different approach. Proponents of this school were interested first, in the factors underlying the patterns of choice behavior and, secondly, in the patterns of decision making in regard to a consumption situation. Katona[26] summarizes the major principles of

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[26]George Katona, Psychological Analysis of Economic Behavior. (N.Y: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951), p. 64.

this school in the following two questions:

1. Under what circumstances are behavioral patterns of consumers alike or different from each other?
2. What goes on before a consumer makes a certain decision for spending?

In other words proponents of this school are interested in the 'why' aspect of consumer behavior. Thus any explanation of a pattern would be in terms of a totality of factors in a system of causal relationships. Consumption patterns are a resultant of a multiplicity of factors and are proposed to be psychological by nature.

The action of an individual consumer is manifested in a number of forms. Faced with a situation which requires decision making a consumer acts in accordance with habit or he acts deliberately.

A situation which involves deliberate decision making requires a weighing of alternatives. These decisions are associated with non-recurrent patterns of expenditure, such as buying a car, and with the volume of expenditure and its relative value to the consumer. According to Katona, deliberate decisions are made when a consumer is faced with a state of affairs in which he has to spend the equivalent of one thousand dollars, or more. The frequency of deliberate decisions declines as the amount spent on purchases declines.[27] Or in Norris terms it is a situation in which careful 'weighing'is present.[28] This applies only to

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[27] Ibid., p. 70.

[28] Williard Cochrane and Carolyn Bell, Economics of Consumption. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), p. 150.

expenditures on costly goods.

Thus the type of consumption action and the volume of expenditure explains the decision making of the consumer. A recurrent, repetitive type of consumption is associated with habitual patterns of decisions. Expenditure on food and clothing represents an unplanned pattern of behavior. Katona suggests that the smaller the expenditure relative to the total expenditure the more repetitive, habitual and unplanned it is. Norris explains this type of behavior as an area in which careful 'weighing' is absent-such as expenditure arising out of past commitments, or expenditure on trifling goods or those that 'satisfy a habit' such as smoking. Consumer behavior is explained by a continuum whose polar ends are "planned" and "habitual" behavior respectively. The decisions a consumer takes falls somewhere on a point in that continuum.

The decisions an individual consumer takes are influenced by factors of interest to psychologists. They have analyzed consumer behavior in terms of the directions it follows and the magnitude of these directions as influenced by these factors.

The consumer is known to make certain decisions in regard to a consumption item. The factors underlying these decisions have been studied by a recent psychological approach known as 'Vector Analysis'.[29] A consumer in selecting one consumption item or neglecting another is in a

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[29] This approach is described fully by Warren J. Billey, "A Psychological Approach to Consumer Behavior Analysis", Journal of Marketing, July, 1953.

position of attraction to or repulsion from that item. This situation originates in the consumer out of an 'internal psychic conflict' toward that object. This attraction-repulsion attitude is measured by a positive-negative valence procedure. Thus the consumer will buy an object if the positive valence exceeds the negative valence and the factors influencing such a resultant are explained on two levels; the biological level and the socio-cultural level. On the first level are those factors associated with biological factors such as hormone secretion, age and sex, and physical make up. On the second level are those factors associated with socio-cultural requirements such as status, associates, friends, values and the norms of the society.

Decision making involves psychic effort (tension) that consumers seek to avoid through habitual consumption expenditure but not all people escape this effort.

An Appraisal of the Approaches to the Study of Consumer Behavior in Terms of Cultural and Social Forces

Consumer behavior has been studied by economists and psychologists. One of these approaches, utility, has been criticized as outmoded. "Thirty or forty years ago the principle that consumers seek to maximize utility was generally accepted as furnishing an adequate explanation of their behavior. Today this principle is widely criticized as an inadequate, perhaps wholly false, representation of consumer motivation and as being

useless from an operating point because utility is not a measurable entity on which quantitative analysis can be based. We have rather lost confidence in it..."[30] The other approach, preference, has been criticized as being speculative and hypothetical. This writer believes that the theory of consumer behavior proposed by these two approaches has limitations and proposes on the following pages to point out some of the relevant limitations and advance a working scheme for a more efficient, objective and inclusive explanation of consumer behavior.

The first limitation stems from the assumptions upon which these approaches are based. The utility as well as the preference approach assumes that man is a rational human being, that he always tries to maximize his 'gratifications' and minimize his 'deprivations'. They further assume that man is endowed with the capacity to weigh alternatives and select the object that yields the most satisfaction at a minimum cost and that he can, moreover, decide freely and out of his own initiative.

It is the contention of this writer that decision-making dimensions are forces which are societal by nature. Constraints are placed upon the consuming unit to follow a certain channel in selection. To illustrate, a farmer wants to buy a radio. He must either plan ahead or buy it directly on the spot. Planning ahead involves a careful weighing of alternatives and dimensions such as prices, quality, and information. Such dimensions are responded to by the consuming unit in a culturally

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[30] Herman Southworth, "Progress in Developing a Set of Principles in the Area of Consumer Behavior." Journal of Farm Economis, XXXVI, (December, 1954), p. 1071.

determined way. The consumer considers a 'menu' of alternatives. The decisions he takes are made in accordance with: (a) the budget of the consuming unit; and (c) the existing values of the social system. The social system offers the consumer a set of consumption expenditure habit patterns. Influences such as custom, convention, religion, education, law and propaganda are determinant factors in the process of decision making. Moreover, the very nature of man's existence as a member of a group dictates that he integrates his behavior into the general behavioral system of his group.

The second limitation of economic theorists is again of a social nature, the selection of the unit of analysis. All three approaches use the individual as that unit on the assumption that the consumer is an independent isolate, that he is isolated from the influences of other individuals and from the whole cultural and social context.

In actual situations it is not possible to treat a consumer as an isolate. Duesenberry in his criticism of Keynes implies that the consumption behavior of the individual consuming unit lies within the field of other individuals' conception of a particular situation and that no consuming unit is independent of other units. The expenditures made by others influence a consumer's patterns of choice. "Every individual makes comparisons between his own living standards and those of his associates in higher, lower, (or equal) status position. Every unfavorable position of this sort leads to an impulse to buy goods which will raise the quality of the living standards and eliminate unfavorable

comparisons."[31] Through such comparisons, goals for a higher standard of living are internalyzed by the consuming unit and such goals convert the drive of higher status into a motive to spend on more expensive goods.

It is proposed that consumer behavior is best understood through an analysis of the status position of the consumer in his social and cultural system. Therefore, the study of consumer behavior should proceed from the study of the status system to the patterns of consumption expenditure manifested. The location of the consuming unit in the hierarchial system of positions is closely associated with the degree of the internalization of the prestige symbols associated with this location. The amount of income might be one of these symbols, amount of landholding, level of education... etc.

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[31] James S. Duesenberry, Income, Saving and the Theory of Consumers Behavior (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 31.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGES STUDIED

Villages Studied

The area of this study consisted of four villages[32] in the central Beka' Valley of Rural Lebanon. These villages had been purposively selected as research areas for the following reasons: (a) background data on relevant aspects of this study were available; (b) the people were cooperative; (c) transportation was possible throughout the whole year.

A. Description of the Villages

1. Population composition: Table II on the next page shows the age distribution of the population in the area of research. Of the total population 33% were below the age of 10. Twenty four percent were between 11 and 20 years of age, 33% were between 21 and fifty years of age, and 9% were over 50 years old.

Population composition was significant to the present study because it helped clarify some of the underlying factors of consumption. The type of food consumed by different age groups was different.

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[32] These villages are: Hazzine, Kafar Dabach, Sarghin Tahta, and Talia. (See map on page 31).

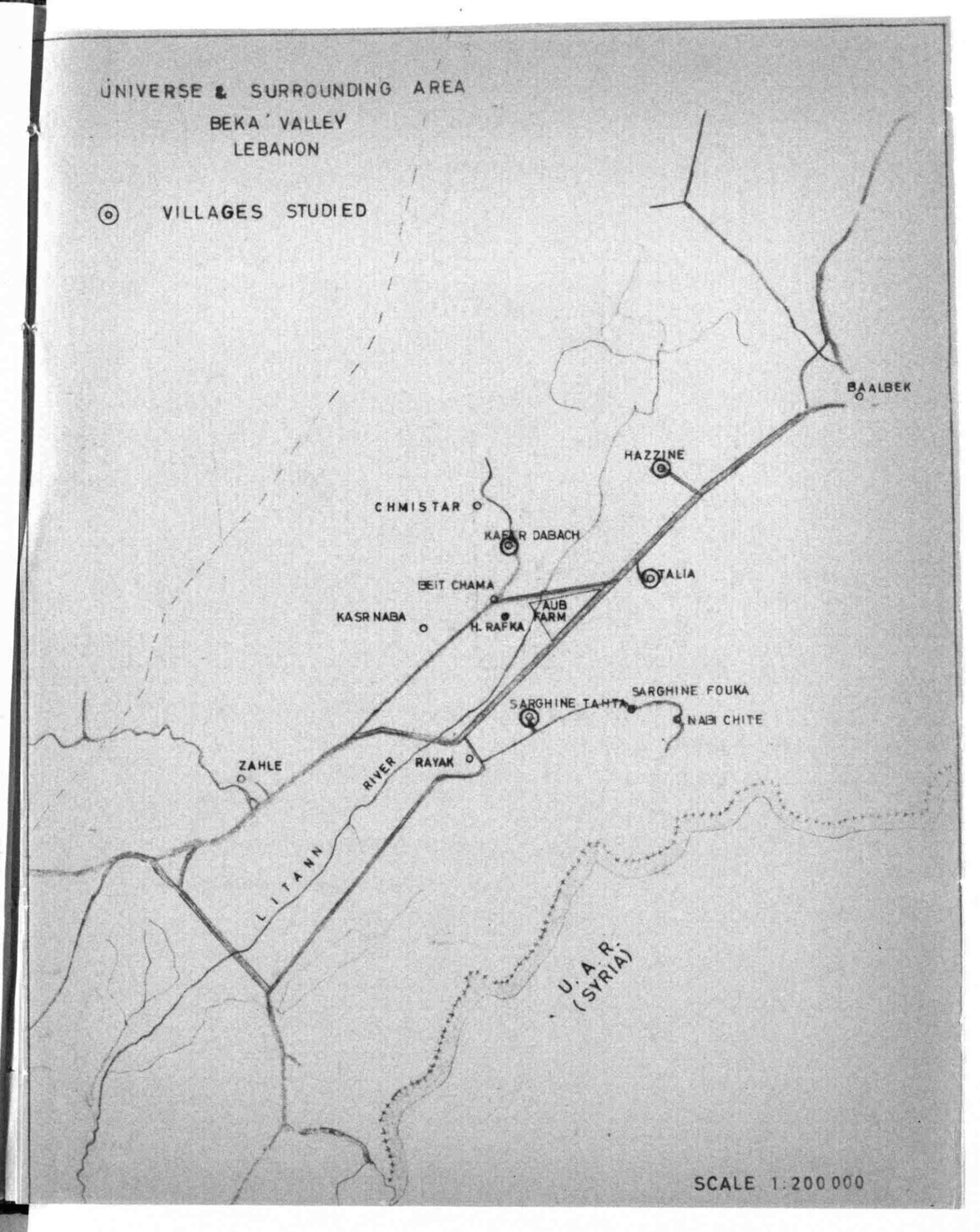
TABLE II

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN THE AREA OF RESEARCH[33]

Age Group	No. of Persons	Percent
Under one	39	2
1 - 5	241	16
6 - 10	225	15
11 - 20	350	24
21 - 50	489	33
over 50	145	9
D.N.K	9	1
Total	1498	100

2. The Level of Education: Table III on page 32 shows the level of education in the area of research. Five percent of the total population had had over 6 years of schooling while 40% had had no schooling whatsoever. Nineteen percent of the total population had had between 1 and 3 years of schooling, and 15% had had between 4 and 6 years of schooling.

[33]Based on Public Health Survey in Beka' Villages 1955-56. Economic Research Institute and School of Public Health, American University of Beirut, (mimeographed).


UNIVERSE & SURROUNDING AREA
BEKA' VALLEY
LEBANON
VILLAGES STUDIED
BAALBEK
HAZZINE
CHMISTAR
KAFAR DABACH
TALIA
BEIT CHAMA
AUB FARM
KASR NABA
H. RAFKA
SARGHINE FOUKA
SARGHINE TAHTA
NABI CHITE
ZAHLE
RAYAK
LITANN RIVER
U.A.R. (SYRIA)
SCALE 1:200 000

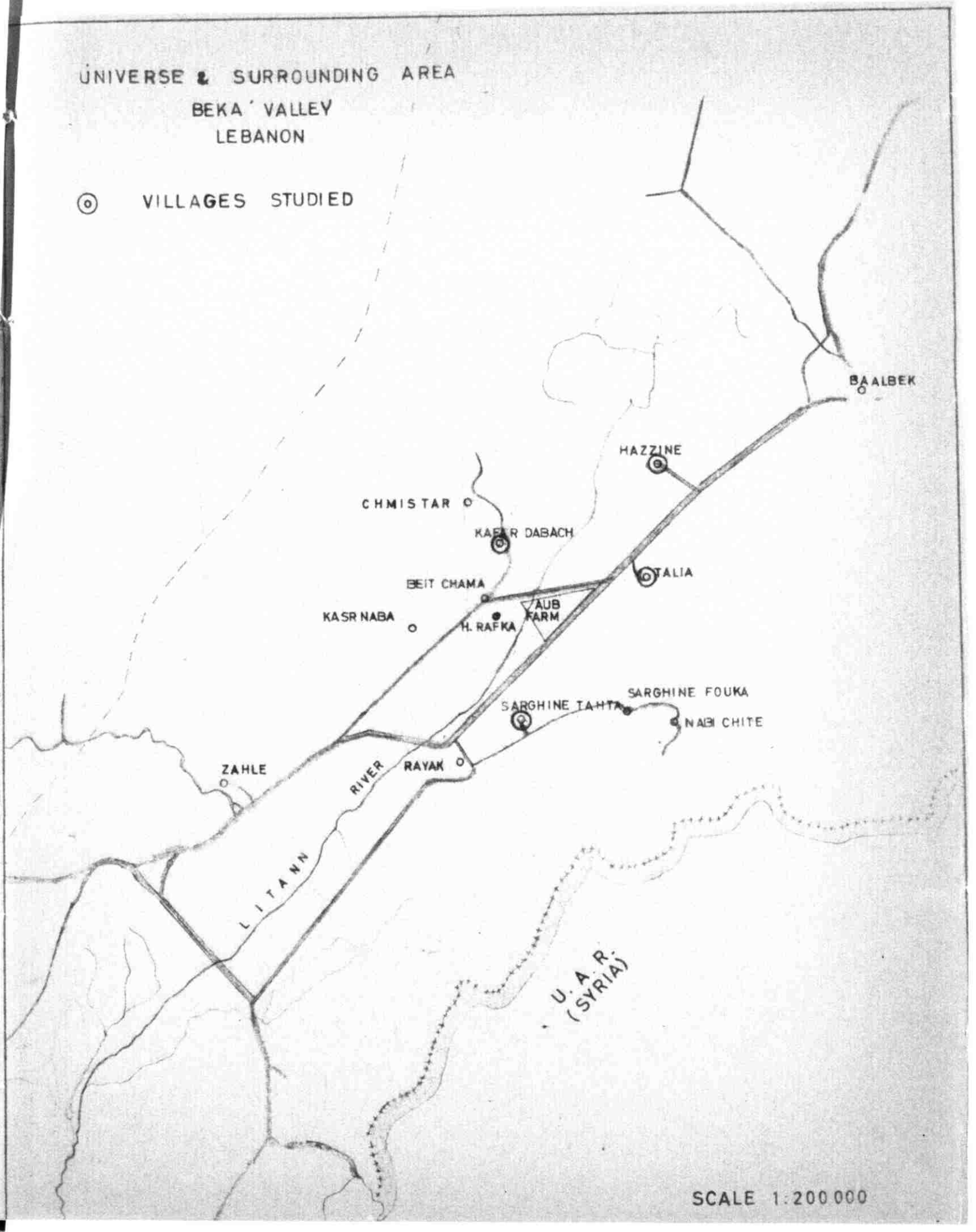

UNIVERSE & SURROUNDING AREA
BEKA' VALLEY
LEBANON
VILLAGES STUDIED
BAALBEK
HAZZINE
CHMISTAR
KAFAR DABACH
TALIA
BEIT CHAMA
KASR NABA
H. RAFKA
AUB FARM
SARGHINE FOUKA
SARGHINE TAHTA
NABI CHITE
ZAHLE
RAYAK
LITANN RIVER
U.A.R. (SYRIA)
SCALE 1:200 000

TABLE III

NUMBER OF YEARS IN SCHOOL OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN THE AREA OF RESEARCH [34]

No. of Years	No. of Persons	Percent
1 - 3	291	19.0
4 - 6	225	15.0
Over 6	79	5.0
None	592	40.0
D.N.K.	4	1.0
D.N.A.	302	20.0
Total	1498	100.0

The level of education had bearing upon the patterns of consumption expenditures. It was assumed, for example, that those who were better educated were more aware of the effects of consumption practices on such matters as diet.

[34] Ibid.

B. The Economic Structure

The particular economic structure of the area of research was the result of the interplay of the following four factors:

(1) Occupation.

(2) Amount of landholding.

(3) Production and level of subsistence.

(4) Labor force utilized by the sample group.

Tables on pages 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, show in quantitative terms the characteristics of the area of research.

Agriculture is the major occupation in the area of study (Table IV). Most of the land in use is owned by large landowners who may rent it out to tenants. Small farmers (arbitrarily defined as those who own and operate less than 500 dunums of land) own almost one third of the land (Table IV).

Agricultural products are mainly cereals with wheat grown by almost all farmers (Table VI). However most of the crop produced is kept for home use (Table VII). Although the amount of labor used is relatively high (Table VIII), yet the hired labor is greater than the family labor.

These findings are significant to understand the consumption patterns of the sample group in the area of study. The type of occupation is assumed to be related to consumption behavior. The type of crops produced and the part of it kept for home consumption (level of subsistance, Table VII) explains the possible alternatives that are offered to the villagers. Moreover the notion of the amount of labor hired gives insights

TABLE IV

ACTIVITIES OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THE FOUR VILLAGES

	Hazzine	Kafar Dabach	Sarghine Tahta	Talia
Number of Households	41	30	112	97
Total Population	236	136	632	494
	%	%	%	%
Activities of Households*				
Landowner	4.9	3.3	6.2	1.0
Farmer on his own	48.7	10.0	21.5	21.6
Farmer on his own and by share	0.0	0.0	8.0	1.0
Farmer by share	9.8	43.4	12.5	4.2
Shepherd	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Livestock trader	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0
Workers and laborers	26.8	40.0	17.9	19.6
Others and unemployed	9.8	3.3	33.0	52.6
T o t a l	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*If a household was reported as having an agricultural occupation the household was classified as agricultural under the proper category.

SOURCE: Public Health Survey in Beka' Villages 1955-56. Economic Research Institute and School of Public Health, American University of Beirut, (mimeographed).

TABLE V

LAND OWNED BY LARGE LAND OWNERS, FARMERS, AND NON-FARMERS IN FOUR VILLAGES, BEKA' VALLEY

(Figures in Percentages)

Village	Percentage of Land Owned by Farmers Over 500 Dunums	Percentage of Land Owned by Farmers 5-499 Dunums	Percentage of Land Owned by Non-Farmers
Hazzine	62	36	2
Kafar Dabach	93	7*	0
Sarghine Tahta	74	23	3
Talia	12	43	45

*It was found out by the writer that the land of Kafar Dabach is wholly owned by four large absentee landowners. No farmer owns his land except the Mukhtar, who owns about 20 dunums planted in fruit trees and some vegetables.

SOURCE: Agricultural-Economic Survey in Beka' Villages 1956, School of Agriculture, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

TABLE VI

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF CROPS IN FOUR VILLAGES
BEKA' VALLEY, LEBANON, 1956

Crops	Hazzine %	Kafar Dabach %	Sarghine Tahta %	Talia %
Dry Land Crops				
Barley	33*	70	50	78
Chickpeas	17	10	7	11
Cucumber	-	10	-	-
Grapes	8	10	0	0
Lentils	58	70	23	100
Vetch Baki	8	20	37	33
Watermelon	-	10	20	-
Wheat	83	90	100	100
Irrigated Crops				
Onion	17	-	3	-
Potatoes	8	-	23	-
Tomatoes	-	-	7	-
Other Land Use				
Fruit trees	8	2	3	-
Other crops & waste lend	25 -	17 -	10 -	22 -
Fallow land	50	60	40	67

SOURCE: Agricultural-Economic Survey in Beka' Villages 1956, School of Agriculture, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

TABLE VII

INDEX OF SUBSISTANCE OF THE FOUR VILLAGES

Percent of Crops Retained	Hazzine No.	Kafar Dabach No.	Sarghine Tahta No.	Talia No.
0-9	1			
10-19	3	1	1	
20-29	2	1	2	1
30-39	1		1	1
40-49				1
50-59				1
60-69	1			
70-79		2		
80-89				1
90-99			2	1
100	4	6	9	3
T o t a l	12	10	15	9

SOURCE: Agricultural-Economic Survey in Beka' Villages 1956, School of Agriculture, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

TABLE VIII

LABOR FORCE SITUATION IN THE FOUR VILLAGES

Months	Months of Family Labor				Months of Hired Labor			
	Hazzine	Kafar Dabach	Sarghine Tahta	Talia	Hazzine	Kafar Dabach	Sarghine Tahta	Talia
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
0-None					2	1	3	
1--5			4	2	8		3	
6-11								
6-11	6	2	11	3	1		3	
12-17			5	1		1	3	2
18-23	4	5	6		1	1	2	1
24-29	1	1	1	3			1	
30-35								
30-35		1	3				3	
36-41								
42-47	1	1					2	
48-53								
54-59						1		
60-65								
66-71							1	
72 & over								
Subtotal	12	10	30	9	10	6	22	3
0-None					2	1	3	
Subtotal	12	10	30	9	12	7	25	3
No. Ans.						3	5	6
Total	12	10	30	9	12	10	30	9
Median	10	20	11	9	3	56	20	15

SOURCE: Agricultural-Economic Survey in Beka' Villages 1956, School of Agriculture, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

into the degree and type of relations existing in the area. This is important in enhancing a possibility for a comparison of standards of living among the members of the same community.

C. The Social Structure

The social structure of the area of study was analyzed in terms of the overt behavioral patterns of the existing social system. The unit of analysis consisted of the patterned actions of the components of that system, the people. Only those actions that were relevant to consumption expenditure patterns were investigated in this study, such as patterns of settlement, food, housing, light and heat, and recreation.

1. Patterns of settlement: Dwellings in the central Beka' Valley are basically characterized by a detached type of settlement, although houses are sometimes arranged in differing patterns such as the nuclear farm village (Kafar Dabach falls in this category). It is assumed that the type of settlement influences the patterns of consumption expenditure.

2. Food: Due to the fact that the village family is engaged all day in manual work, the family must consume various food items to keep up with the daily work requirements which cause physical effort and loss of energy.

The diet of the villagers consists mainly of bread, lentils, burghul or rice, potatoes, chickpeas, dry beans and vegetables. Eggs are frequently consumed and sometimes used as barter in place of money. Milk

laban and labni are part of the daily food. Although fresh meat is considered a luxury, it is eaten infrequently. Kawarma (boiled and preserved meat) is eaten every day. Chicken meat is rarely consumed.

The fruits consumed by the village families are oranges, bananas and apples and some grapes, cherries and appricots which are locally produced.

Vegetables are also part of the villagers' food. Olives are eaten at every meal.

The consumption of bread ranks high among other items with the average per capita consumption of bread estimated by the villagers at two hundred kilograms per year. This is partly due to the fact that wheat is produced by the families, and partly due to cultural factors.

3. Housing: The predominant type of house construction in the area of study is of an stone and earth type. However, there are many houses made up of cement with well shaped stone and brick roofs.

The number of rooms in the dwelling units vary from 1 to 5. The room person ratio is very low, for the sample group it was not larger than 1 and not less than .20 with a mean of .46 and a median of .50.

Drinking water is secured from public and private wells. Piped water is not yet available.

4. Light and Heat: Electricity has not been introduced into the area. Kerosine lamps provide the source of light and mazoot is used by almost all families for heat and cooking.

5. Recreation: To an outsider, life in the area of study would appear monotonous. But when one gets to know the villagers for a period of time he will discover that they are a happy people. They find relaxation and entertainments in many ways, mostly on a spontaneous and informal level. There does not exist an organized recreational system.

Villager substitute the reading of newspapers and going to cafe by listening to radios, talking, or playing cards. Folk music, dancing, and popular poetry are other sources of recreation.

Recreation outside the village is of a different nature. Although trips by villagers to towns are infrequent, they do take joy in making a monthly trip or two to town where a few of them attend movies and spend money lavishly for food. Wedding ceremonies provide opportunities for crowds to celebrate, dance the 'dabki' and lift weights.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

Universe and Sample

Definition of the Universe

The universe was stratified in terms of the size of landholding in the area of study. This criterion was selected for the following reasons:

1. The difference in the size of landholdings underlies many of the differences in the social status among the families of the villages which consititutes the area of study. Social status in these villages seemed to be highly related to the size of landholding.

2. Land is a direct source of income. It is assumed that the amount of income received contributes to the shaping of the consumption expenditures of these families.

The universe of this study consisted of all families[1] with a size of three to nine members, who lived in these villages and who belonged to any one of the following categories of land holders.

(1) Category I Landless.

(2) Category II Those who operate 1 to 25 dunums of land.

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[35]A family is defined by this study as a consuming unit whose members eat and sleep under the same roof most of the time.

(3) Category III Those who operate 26 to 100 dunums of land.

(4) Category IV Those who operate 101 to 500 dunums of land.

All farmers who operated more than 500 dunums of land were excluded from the universe. They were 10 in number in the four villages. It was assumed that their level of living would be quite distinct from the level of living of the remainder of the community. It is obvious that most of those who own more than 500 dunums of land have a higher status, and a different pattern of consumption expenditure behavior than the lesser landholders would have.

The categories of which the universe is made up were selected on the basis of frequency of the size of landholding. Statistics on the proportions of population in these villages operating less than 500 dunums of land show that only few own and/or operate no land, some own and/or operate around 500 dunums, and the majority operates and/or own less than a 100 dunums of land.[36]

These four categories include the following four types of population in the area of study:

(1) Landowners.

(2) Sharecroppers.

(3) Part owners and part sharecroppers.

(4) Landless.

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[36]Robert Stevens and Latif Abul-Husn, Agriculture Economic Survey In Beka' Villages 1956. School of Agriculture, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

Landowners are defined as those farmers who own the land they operate and/or own the land they have rented out. Sharecroppers are those farmers who rent the land they operated. Part owners and part sharecroppers are those farmers who own part of the land they operate. If a householder rents more than one third of the land he operates he is classified under this last category. Landless are those villagers who own and/or operate no land. They are not classified here as farmers because they are agricultural laborers, skilled and unskilled workers.

Sample

The sample was selected purposively from the above described universe. Household units were picked in a non-random manner. Two lists were used. The first was a list of village names.[37] This list included the names of all household members in the village with information as to age and sex, occupation and education. The other list included the names of a thirty percent sample of farmers who operated between 5 and 500 dunums of land. This list included, among other things, information on landholding. Eighteen cases were selected from the latter list and seven cases were picked from the landless population whose names were obtained from the Mukhtar of each village.

In the selection of a sample the list of all names, farmers and non-farmers was read before the mukhtar. He was asked to comment on the

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[37] Charles W. Churchill, Public Health Survey in Beka' Villages 1955-56. Economic Research Institute and School of Public Health, American University of Beirut, (mimeographed).

degree of cooperation that might be expected of each head of household. In certain cases his comments were discounted but on the whole they were helpful in making final decisions. The subjects that were selected were from both religious groups in the villages, Christians and Moslems. In all, twenty five cases were selected from the four villages comprising the sample.

The field work started on the first week of January, 1957, and continued through the last week of April, 1958. Twenty five village families were interviewed in January, but throughout the whole period five respondents dropped off for different reasons. Two of them were dropped after the first visit. They did not meet the requirements of family size. One of them had a family of nineteen members (ten of them are his recently deceased brother's). The other one was a couple. The third respondent was dropped after the second visit for exageration of information. (In fact this case was a polite refusal; the information he gave was unbelievable, even considering usual inacuracies of reporting.) The other two respondents also were dropped after the second visit. They migrated from their village to Mount Lebanon for work.

These respondents who were dropped were not distributed equally among the four categories. Originally the sample was distributed as follows:

Dunums	Christians	Moslems	Total
Landless	3	4	7
1 - 25	3	3	6
26 - 100	3	3	6
101 - 500	3	3	6
Total	12	13	25

The reason for having seven respondents in the first category instead of six was that discards in this particular category were anticipated to be higher than for the rest of the categories. It was assumed that the landless people are more mobile than those who own land because they must move around looking for work in other villages or in other districts of Lebanon.

The final size of the sample was as follows:

TABLE IX

SIZE OF THE SAMPLE OF THE STUDY (by religion)

Size of Landholding (dunums)	Christians	Moslems	Total
Landless	2	2	4
1 - 25	3	3	6
26 - 100	3	2	5
101 - 500	4	1	5
T o t a l	12	8	20

In this study a random sample was not feasible. The refusals disturb the analysis; replacements are impossible. The method of repeated interviews requires checking the accounts of the families from the first month of the study to the last month. Cooperation was

essential for success. The judgment sampling procedure has its limitations, among which is the low power of generalizations from the results obtained. The writer of this thesis is aware of the fact that generalizations beyond the findings for these twenty families are not possible nor is it claimed that the sample is statistically representative of the universe.

Collection of Data

Data was collected by an interview schedule[38] administered by the writer. The following topics were covered:

1. Family composition.
2. Education of the family members.
3. Religion.
4. Group participation of the head of household.
5. Type and size of farm.
6. Expenditure on:
    (a) Durable goods.
    (b) Perishable goods.
    (c) Medical care.
    (d) Education.
    (e) Light and heat.
    (f) Recreation, travel and amusements.
    (g) Social obligations.

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[38] See Appendix C.

7. Consumption of different food items bought and produced by the family.
    (a) During the coming year (estimates).
    (b) During the last five weeks.
8. Living conditions.
    (a) Housing.
    (b) Water.
    (c) Kind of light and heat.
9. Current money income received during the period covered by the study.
10. Respondents' conception of the importance of each item of consumption and expenditure.

These general topics included information on the background of the family, the means of living, the level of living, and consumption expenditure behavior.

Field work experience in these villages helped the writer of this thesis in the construction of the interview schedule. However, credit goes also to Armstrong's Socio-Economic Study of the Beka'[39] and Saway's Masters thesis "Household Income and Expenditure in Al-Kura, Lebanon."[40] Moreover, the literature on the subject of consumption helped. The work

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[39]Lincoln Armstrong, Socio-Economic Study of the Beka', 1954. Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut, (unpublished).

[40]Salah Sawaya, Household Income and Expenditure in Al-Kura, Lebanon, (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Economics, American University of Beirut, 1952).

of Ernst Engel, Le Play and more recently those carried on in the United States of America and those carried on in the United Kingdom contributed to the formulation of the categories of consumption expenditure of this study.

The field experience provided the writer with information on the type of food consumed, the living conditions of the villages, religion and group participation.

1. Pretest: By means of the pretest given to eight household heads, which are not included in the sample, several modifications were introduced in the schedule. The time dimension for the question on the consumption of cereals, potatoes, olives and fats was narrowed down to one week prior to the visit instead of a month. This decision was taken for two reasons: first, the respondents could not recall what quantity of these items they had consumed during a period of a month, but they could recall for a period of one week; second, the consumption of these items is consistent and does not vary much from one week to another. However, different weeks of the month were sampled for each successive month. The respondents were interviewed on the first week of the first month, then again on the second week of the second month, and yet again on the third week of the third month and so on.

2. Field Work: Twenty village families were interviewed four times during a period of five months. The first visit was between January 1st, 1957, and January 8th of the same year. The second visit was between

February 8, 1958, and February 16th. The third visit was between March 16th and March 23rd. The fourth visit was between April twenty third and May first. The time interval between each visit, for individual respondents, was kept at five weeks.

An average of three interviews were completed each day. The time taken by each interview was from about half an hour to forty minutes. All the respondents were cooperative, rapport was average to excellent, and the general interviewing atmosphere was very natural and free from tension.

Problems of Measurement

A measurement of villagers' consumption expenditures is subject to many limitations. Their expenditures are seasonal and an account of their expenditure for a long period of time is necessary if a study is to be fruitful. Another limitation is one of keeping records of expenditures. The respondents, with the exception of two, did not keep records of their expenditure nor could they recall them over a long period of time. The writer was faced with the problem of determining the optimum time interval between each visit. Time intervals for checking some items was set at one week, for other items it was set at five weeks. All accounts were kept together. This timing fitted into the villagers' conception of time in regard to their consumption expenditure behavior. The main problem of measurement was one of precise recall over a period of time and a deter-

mination by the investigator of that period best suited to optimum recall.

The period covered by the study was six months beginning in December, 1957, and ending in May, 1958. Due to the political crisis in Lebanon only five month's accounts were completed. The analysis was limited to these five months. The findings are not claimed to be representative of the entire year.

CHAPTER VI

CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE PATTERNS

General Descriptive Findings

1. Family Composition

Table XIV in the appendix shows the age distribution of each family in the sample. Fifty-three percent of the total population of the sample group are below the age of 10,7% are between the age of 11 and 20,30% between the age of 21 and 50, and 10% are over 50 years old.

2. Education

Table XV in the appendix shows that three of the heads of the sample households had no schooling at all, and twelve of the female heads of households had none. Five husbands have had 7 years of schooling and above; one of them attained 12 years. Children's education did not exceed six years of schooling.

3. Income

Table XVI in the appendix indicates the current money income received by each village family during the period covered by the study (five months). As shown by the table, two of the families received a zero income during that period. Sixty percent of the families in the

sample group each received an income below LL. 500, twenty percent received an income between LL. 500 and LL. 1,000, of the remaining families twenty percent received an income between LL. 1,000 and LL. 1,625. The sources of income were mainly from land and salaries and returns for use of capital equipment, such as hiring out tractor for plowing. The mean income received by the sample group was LL. 529.

Due to the fact that villagers' returns are seasonal, generalizations as to the amount of income received during the whole year were not feasible.

4. Landholding

The sample was picked from a universe stratified by landholdings. Only those villagers who operated less than 500 dunums of land were included in the universe. The range of landholding was between 0 and 500 dunums, the mean was 95 dunums. (See Table XVII in the Appendix).

5. Occupation

The predominant occupation of the sample group was farming. Sixteen families were landowners and operators and four families were salaried people. Two of them were agricultural laborers, one was a government school teacher and the fourth was a skilled laborer.

6. Religion

Twelve of the sample cases were Christians and eight were Moslem

Shiites. The Christians were residents of Talia and Sarghine Tahta and the Moslems were from Hazzine and Kafar Dabach.

7. Type of House Construction

One subject had a well shaped stone constructed house with cement roof. Eleven subjects had ordinary stone houses, five with cement roofs and six with earth roofs. Two subjects had cement houses, and the rest (five) had earth brick houses with earth roofs.

Room person ratio for the group was very low. The mean ratio was .49, the median was .45 and the range was between .20 and 1.00.

Consumption Patterns

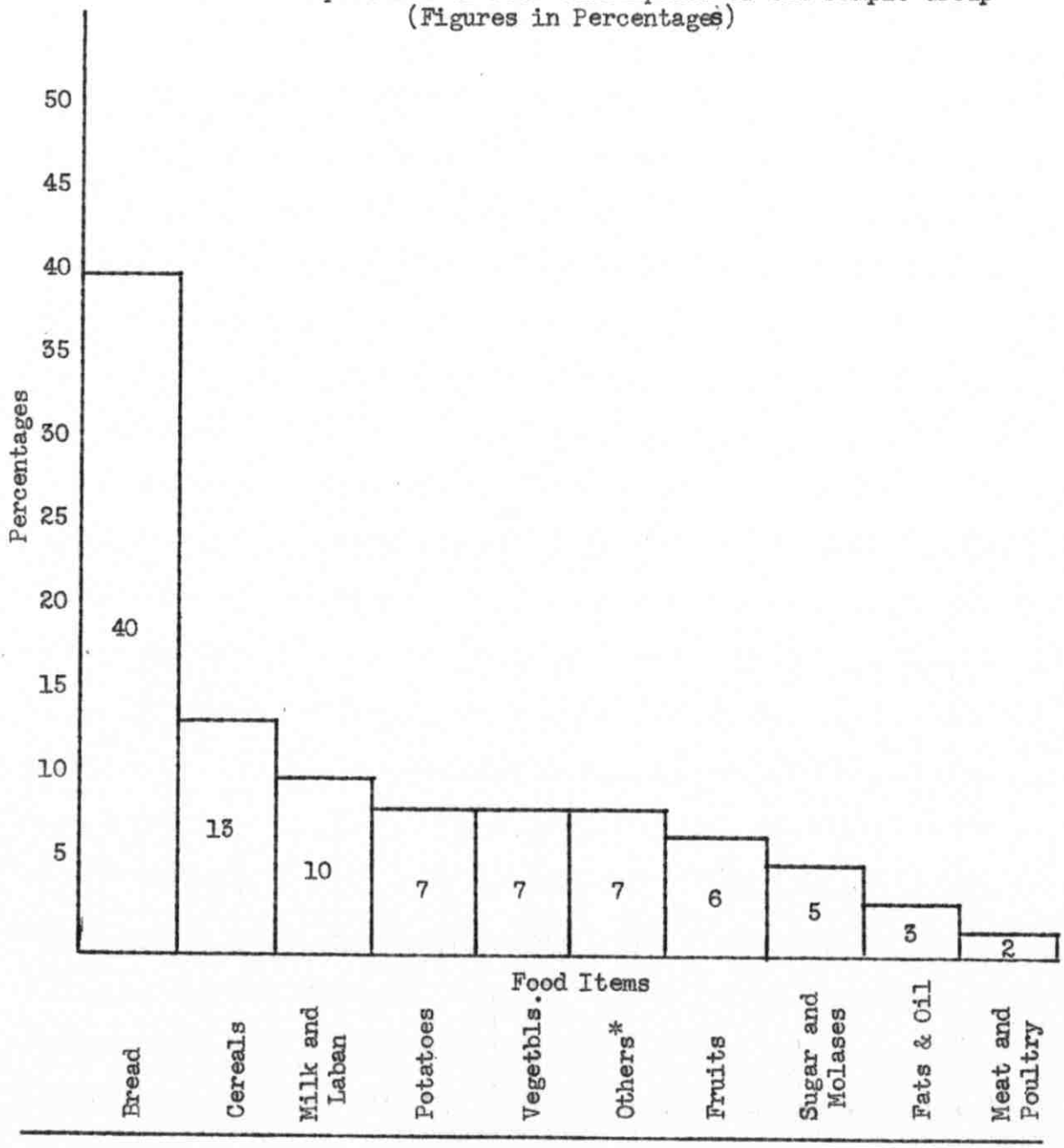
Consumption of food is the largest single item for the twenty village families in their total consumption expenditure. Table XIX in the Appendix shows that 44% of the total expenditure of the sample group goes for food.

Table XVIII in the Appendix shows the major tendencies in the consumption of food for a period of five months starting in December, 1957, and ending in April, 1958. Figure 3 on page 55 presents the proportions of consumption of different food items for the group during the period covered by the study.

Consumption of bread constituted forty percent of total food consumption. This is partly due to the fact that it is locally produced

Figure 3

Relative Importance of Food Consumption of the Sample Group
(Figures in Percentages)



* Others include onions, turnips, coffee and tea, sweets, jam, pines, and dates.

by the family and partly due to the cultural heritage and value orientation toward that particular kind of food. Bread is eaten daily with each meal. It is used instead of utensils to lift foods from the dish to the mouth.

Milk and laban make another important item of consumption for the study group, constituting ten percent of the total. The majority of the families produce it in their houses and the rest can have access to it at a low price. The consumption of milk increases during the spring and decreases during the winter.

The next major food item is potatoes which make up 7% of the total food consumption. Potatoes, like cereals, are stored in large quantities early in the autumn. Every family of the sample group ate them at least twice a week boiled, roasted or cooked. Part of it is produced on the farm but most of the families interviewed buy it from the local producers at a low price.

Vegetables provide the sample families with 7% of their total food consumption. This low consumption of vegetables is attributed to many factors most important of which are the ecological setting of the villages in relation to the place of vegetable production. The families buy them either from Zahle, Rayyak or Baalback. Sometimes peddlers bring vegetables in on donkey back. Cabbages make the largest vegetable item eaten by all families of the sample group being eaten in large quantities and frequently. Other vegetable items consumed by the sample families are cauliflower, radish, olives, beets, tomatoes, and lettuce. Turnips, not included in vegetables category, are cut into strips, pickled and

used as salted vegetables. Most of the families visited keep preserved eggplants for consumption in the winter and early spring.

Fruits constitute 6% of the total food consumption. They were eaten by all families interviewed. Oranges make up the largest fruit item, other being bananas, apples and lemons.

Thirteen percent of the total food consumption consisted of cereals distributed among the constituents as follows: burghul 4%, lentils 2%, chickpeas 2%, kishek 2%, dry beans 1%, rice 2%. Cereals were consumed by the sample families quite frequently but in small quantities.

The consumption of meat and poultry make up 2% of total food consumption. Village families rarely eat meat but when they do so they eat it in large quantities. Kawarma is usually used with cooked food in lieu of meat.

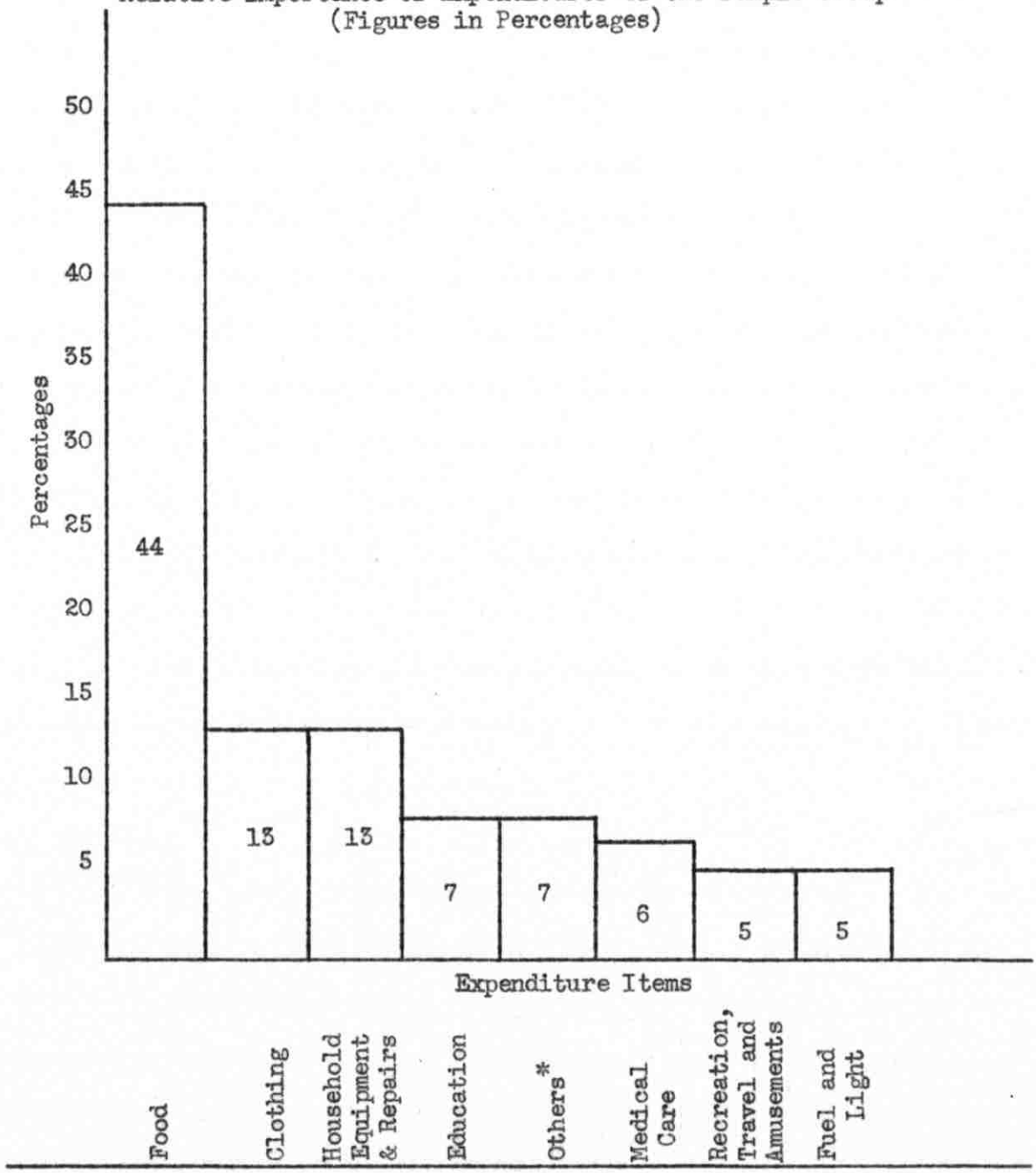
The consumption of sugar represents 4% of total food consumption. It is used mainly with tea and coffee, and for the sweetening of prepared jams and cookies.

Expenditure Patterns

Figure 4 on page 58 and Table XIX in Appendix B show the proportions of expenditure for various items including food, clothing, household equipment and repairs, education, medical care, recreation, travel and amusements, soap and other cleaning materials, etc.

Figure 4

Relative Importance of Expenditures of the Sample Group
(Figures in Percentages)



*Others include expenditure on cars, payment of debt, buying a milk cow, buying a gun, and expenditure on soap and other cleaning material.

1. Food

The first item to be considered is food. As shown by figure 4 the proportion of family budget used for food must be necessarily higher than that used for any other expenditure item. The socio-cultural structure of the community accounts for this type of expenditure pattern. Villagers are not highly sophisticated about their clothing, nor about what they consider luxuries. The fact that they are very close to the soil and limited in their inter-relationships with neighbouring communities in turn limits their perspectives to the village environment. Their contacts with the urban world are even more limited. Their standard of living is almost static, yet every family aspires to better housing, better food, etc. Their style of life emphasizes a cultural heritage of which they are proud and they cling to tradition. The fact that they are living in relative isolation gives some clues to their relative low expenditure on other items than/a function of their isolation. /food--

2. Clothing

Expenditure on clothing accounts for 13% of the total expenditure. This type of outlay is associated with the climate, family composition, occupation and social status in the community. A household head who is typical of the average villager in the area of study owns two changed outer clothes; one to wear on occasions such as festivals, funerals or wedding ceremonies, and one to wear every day.

The type of clothing bought depends upon the community's standard

of appreciation, and usually they are not expensive. They are commensurate with village housing, recreation, and general style of living.

3. Household Equipment and Repairs

This category includes expenditures on kitchen utensils, furniture, repairs and appliances. Household operation expenditures amount to 13% of the total expenditure. Most of it goes for furniture and kitchen utensils. Good furniture is as important for a farmer as an adequate meal. In their responses to a question 'if you have extra money how would you spend it?' twelve of the respondents answered "first buy furniture for my house, then clothes for my children." The reason for this priority in buying furniture is, as one respondent put it, "to save face".

4. Education

Expenditure on education includes payment of school fees, tuition, books, pocket money, transportation and other items required by the school such as chalk, stoves and heating fuel. Expenditure on these items amounted to 7% of the total. There was free government schooling in each village of the area of study yet a high proportion of students were still sent to private schools in Zahle, Baalback, and Beirut. The government schools in each village charge each student LL. 8 for the whole year payable at the beginning of the school year. Other expenses for books, uniform, etc. are not included, and must be paid by the students.

Expenses for education in private schools is very high for the

villagers in the area of study. They range from LL. 100 to LL. 900 a year. Parents send their children to these schools for two reasons: the first is that education beyond elementary level is not offered by the government schools in these villages, and the second is that the standard of elementary education is higher than that of the government schools.

Attendance in village schools is casual and turnover is frequent even on the part of some of the government school teachers. Some families still believe that the place of the child is on the farm not in the school, the latter being a "waste of time". Thus the concept of education is not yet fully integrated into the value system of these villagers. This is partially because the present system of education is consistently failing to offer rewards which would offset those offered by the traditional 'working on the farm' concept. Moreover, the low level of living in these villages does not allow an intensive experience with higher education.

5. Medical Care

The expenditure on medical care amounts to 6% of the total outlay. The villagers are becoming familiar with the basic principles of hygiene and particularly with the proper care of children. They are generally conscious of health problems. They had experience with extension work of American University School of Public Health. During the summer medical care services were daily available to each family virtually free of charge. For the rest of the year such services were offered once each week. Medical services are obtainable otherwise only in Zahle or Baalback,

for there are no resident physicians in the villages. Doctors are called only when a case is very serious. This is partially because of the villagers' philosophy of life and partly due to transportation difficulties. The villager is proud of his ability to stand hardships and to bear pain.

6. Recreation

Recreation in these villages is limited to indoor activities; playing cards, listening to the radio, reciting popular poetry... etc. The expenditure on this item by the sample group is 5% of their total. A high proportion of this goes to travel and transportation.

7. Fuel and Light

This category includes expenditures for mazoot, kerosene for cooking, heating and lighting. This category makes up 5% of the total budgetary outlay of the sample families. Most households of the sample group used mazoot for heat and cooking.

8. Soap and Other Cleaning Material

The villagers' awareness of cleanliness is increasing. Their expenditure in this category is low (1%), yet the fact that it shows in the total expenditure at all is of considerable significance.

9. Others

This item includes expenditures on cars, social obligations, the

repayment of debt or contributions to philanthropic purposes, guns, and milk cows. Expenditures of this kind makes up 6% of the total due mainly to the volume of expenditure rather than the frequency.

CHAPTER VII

CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE RELATIONSHIPS

It is hypothesized by this study that the consumption expenditure behavior of the sample group is associated with factors which are societal by nature. The hypothesis to be tested here is that the consumption expenditure patterns of the sample families are associated with the social status of these families.

Consumption expenditure patterns are described in Chapter VI. The social status of the sample families is described below.

Social Status

Status is defined by Davis[41] as a position in the social structure which is identified by external symbols. The social structure manifests a hierarchy of positions. These are defined by the value system of the society as reflected in the deference and respect expected from others. More specifically what defines one's position in a hierarchical system (a system in which every position is located vertically in relation to other positions), is socially and culturally determined. Some societies value income highest as a major source of prestige and deference, some other

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[41] Kingsley Davis, Human Society. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 85-88.

societies value heredity most (European nobility), and yet other societies value physical power (the Spartans), while others value material possessions highly such as landholding, type of house construction... etc.

In determining the status system in the four villages in the study an objective approach was employed.

While subjective designation of a status position accounts for one aspect of status it holds equally that people's evaluation of social positions are reflections of the concrete attributes of that position. These attributes are the objective dimensions of a status position. Among the villagers in this study they include income, landholding, level of education, type of house construction, family material possessions, room-person ratio, and group participation. Such dimensions can be quantitatively measured.

1. Social Status Index

The assumption underlying the construction of this index is the following: there are measurable attributes which differentiate families on a superior-inferior social status hierarchy. These attributes are indicators of family position and can be combined. The social status index below is constructed on the basis of:

a. The objective dimensions of status.

b. People's conception and evaluation of these dimensions:

(1) As differential elements.

(2) As contributing parts to a social system.

2. Construction of the Social Status Index

The items included in this social status index were selected on the basis of extensive field observations. Some items were troublesome, yet they were kept in the index (such as group participation). Other items were eliminated for their loose predictive characteristics (such as occupation).

Another criterion for the selection of the index items was the ability of these items to differentiate between groups and families. Weights, arbitrarily assigned to each item, are indicators of the degree of differentiation that that item yielded.

Another criterion for the selection of component items was their frequency of occurrence. Items that were rarely or never mentioned, such as telephones or piped water, were dropped.

TABLE X

SOCIAL STATUS INDEX SCORE

						Total
(1) Level of Education						
	Years of Schooling					
	1	2	3	4	5	
Score:	1	2	3	4	5	5
(2) Landholding						
	0	25	100	500		
Ownership Score:	2	4	6	8		8

(3) Room-Person Ratio

	Ratio					Total
	.40	.60	.80	100	1 & over	
Score:	1	2	3	4	5	5

(4) Type of House Construction

	Well-Shaped Stone	Cement	Small Unshaped Stone	Earth Brick	
Score:	5	3	2	1	5

(5) Current Money Income

	Lebanese Pounds						
	200	400	600	800	1000	over 1000	
Score:	2	4	6	8	10	12	12

(6) Radio

	Yes	No	
Score:	4	2	4

(7) Car

	Yes	No	
Score:	8	0	8

(8) Group Participation*

Very Active	Active	Inactive	
3	2	1	3

Total 50

*The criteria by which people were described by this item are the following: the degree and direction of social interaction between the herd of the household and the rest of the villages (in terms of visits, consultation and advice, respect and acceptability).

Dimensions of Social Status Index: Problems of Measurement

The objective dimensions of the status index presents no problem of measurement; data was obtained by observation (such as type of house construction) or by an interview schedule in terms of landholding, income room-person ratio... etc. People's evaluation and ranking of these dimensions were measured by an arbitrary index. The weights given to each dimension are arbitrarily assigned by this writer.

Verification of Hypotheses

We can proceed now to test our hypothesis the following procedure was pursued. The sample families were sorted into high and low status groups. The cutting point between the two groups was based on the distribution of the sample families on total status index score. The distribution displays a natural gap between those families who received high scores on the status index and those families who received low scores on the same index (see Figure 5 on page 70).

Expenditure Relationships

The results given in Table XI on page 71 and Figure 6 on page72 are pertinent to the hypothesis. From the table presenting the allocation of percentages of expenditure of both groups, it can be seen that there is a tendency for one group of families to behave in relation to certain

expenditure items differently from the rest of the sample group. More specifically the table shows that:

1. High status families allocated a smaller proportion of their per capita expenditure to food than did low status families.

2. High status families allocated a larger proportion of their per capita expenditure to education, clothing, and household equipments and repairs than did low status families.

Figure 6-1 indicates that high status families allocated 38% of their per capita expenditure to food, whereas low status families (figure 6-2) allocated 52% of their per capita expenditure to food.[42] The same two figures, 6-1 and 6-2 show that high status families allocated 8% of their per capita expenditure to education, 16% to household equipments and repairs, and another 16% to clothing. The low status families allocated 2% of their per capita expenditure to education, 12% to household equipments and repairs, and 11% to clothing.

Consumption Relationships

Table XII on page 73 presents the results of the consumption facet of this study. Tendencies in consumption behavior were similar to tendencies in expenditure behavior for both groups. The high status group behaved differently than the low status group. Table XII on page 73 reveals that:

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[42] For further discussion see pages 74, 75 and 76.

Figure 5

STATUS SCORE OF SAMPLE FAMILIES AND THE CUTTING POINT BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW STATUS GROUP

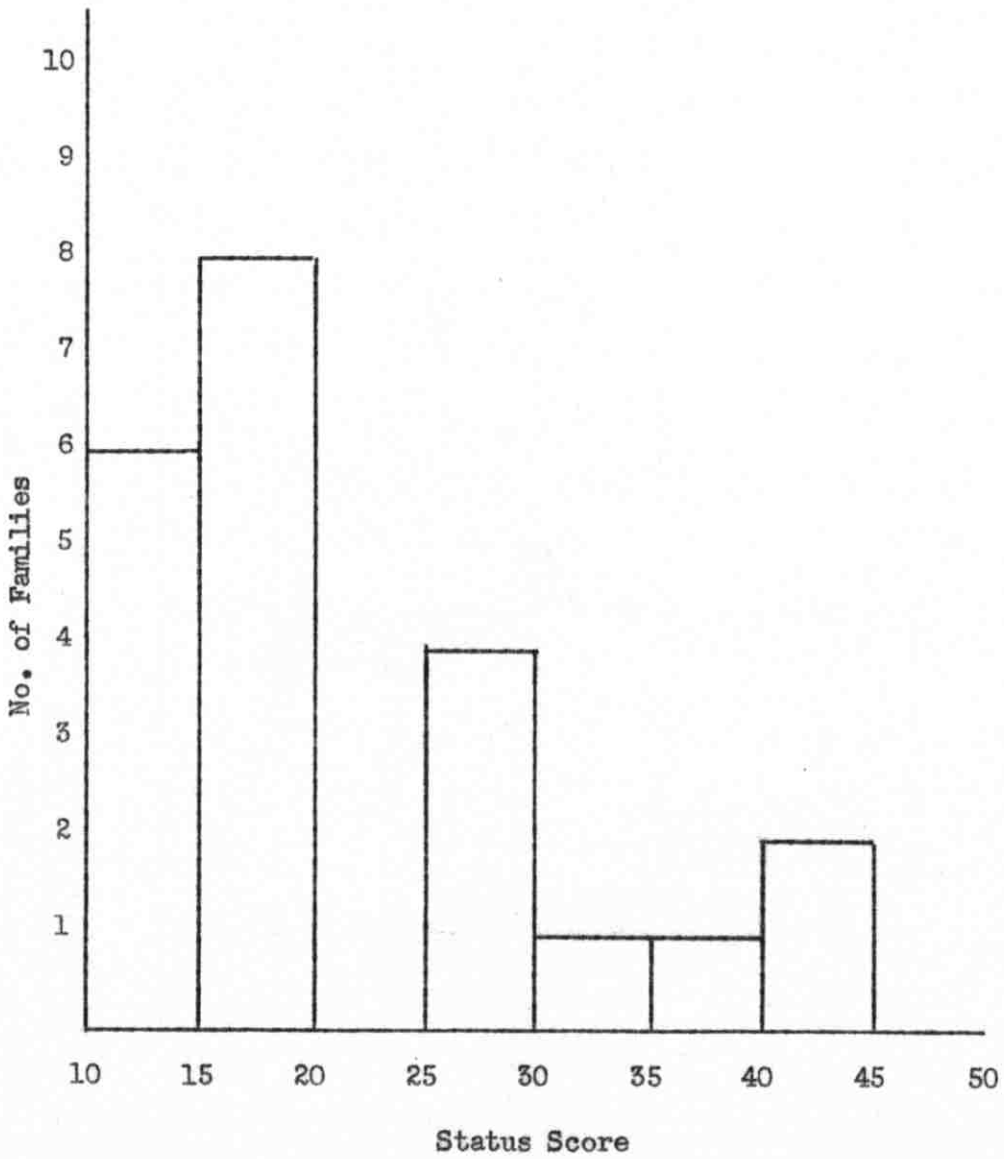


TABLE XI

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURE OF HIGH AND LOW STATUS GROUPS IN A PERIOD OF FIVE MONTHS

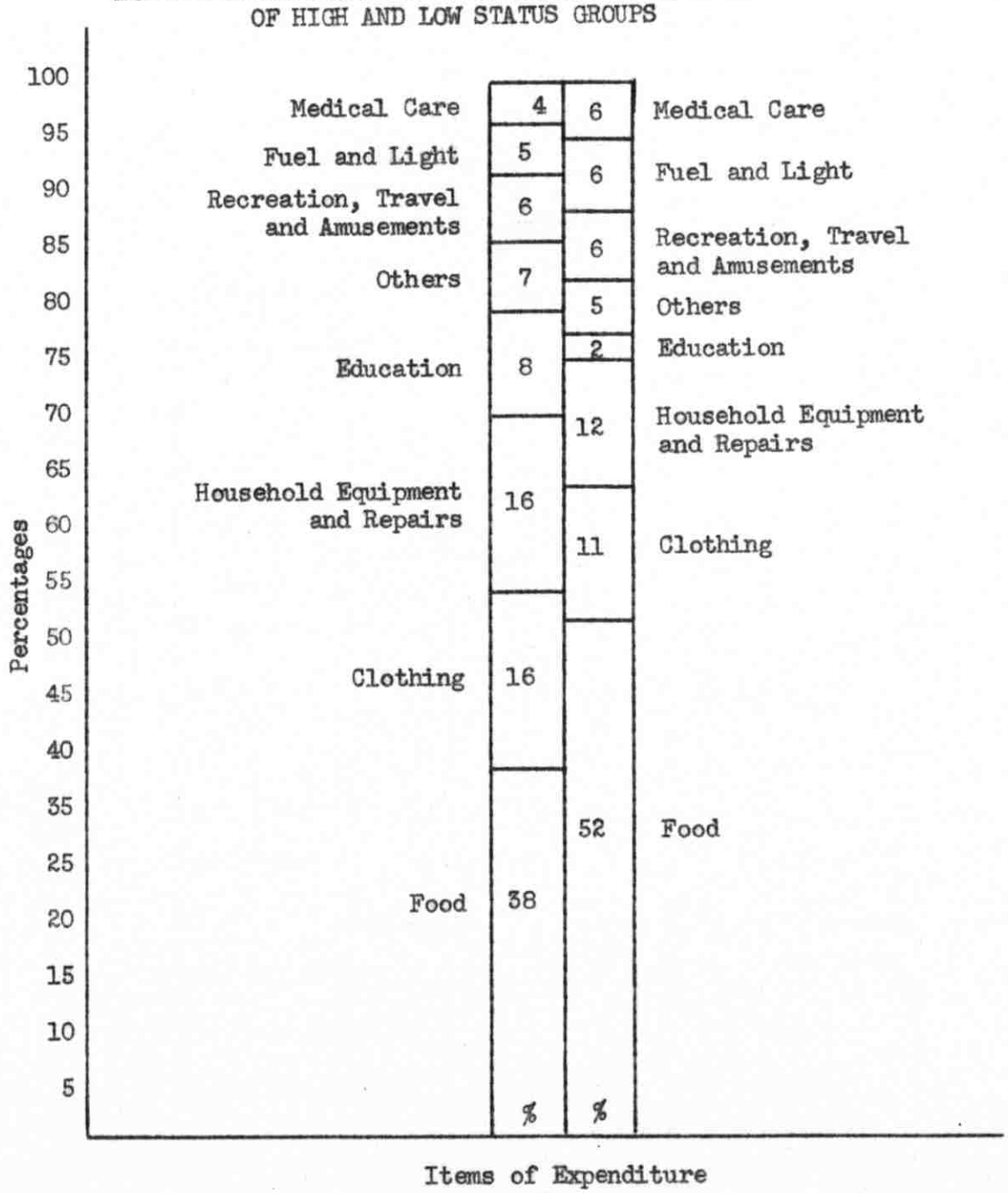
(Figures in Percentages)

Expenditure Items	High Status %	Low Status %
Food	38	52
Clothing	16	11
Household equipment & repairs	16	12
Medical Care	4	6
Recreation Travel and Amusements	6	6
Fuel and Light	5	6
Education	8	2
Others*	7	5

*Others include expenditure on cars, payment of debt, buying a milk cow, buying a gun, and expenditure on soap and other cleaning material.

Figure 6

GRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF PROPORTIONS OF EXPENDITURE
OF HIGH AND LOW STATUS GROUPS



Items of Expenditure

High Status Group Fig 6-1 | Low Status Group Fig 6-2

TABLE XII

PROPORTION OF PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION

OF HIGH AND LOW STATUS GROUPS IN A PERIOD OF FIVE MONTHS

(Figures in Percentages)

Consumption Items	High Status %	Low Status %
Wheat	33	42
Lentils	2	3
Chickpeas	2	2
Kishek	2	2
Dry Beans	2	*
Burghul	4	5
Rice	3	2
Potatoes	7	8
Vegetables	8	5
Fruit	6	4
Fats and Oil	3	2
Meat and Poul.	3	2
Milk and Laban	12	11
Sugar	4	4
Molases	2	2
Others[1]	7	6

*Less than a half percent.

[1]Others include onions, turnips, coffee and tea, sweets, jam, pines, and dates.

1. The diet of the high status families consisted of a larger proportion of meat, vegetables and fruit than did the diet of the low status families.

2. The diet of the high status families consisted of a smaller proportions of bread and potatoes than did the diet of the low status families.

The consumption of bread by the high status group (as shown by Table XII on page 73 made up 33% of their per capita consumption, whereas 42% of the low status families' diet was made up of this same item. The consumption of potatoes is nearly matched for both groups.

The diet of high status families consisted, among other items, of 3% meat, 8% vegetables, and 6% fruit. The diet of the low status families consisted of 2% meat, 5% vegetables, and 4% fruit. This would appear to bear out the main hypothesis.

Theoretical Implications of Expenditure Relationships

The expenditure relationships described by this study substantiate Engel's first law of consumption.[43] Engel sets forth in this law the proposition that the significance of expenditure on food (measured in terms of proportions) of a family budget is an indicator of the social position of that family.

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[43] For a statement of the law see page 10 of this thesis.

Results given by Tables XI on page 71 and Table XXII in Appendix B and Table XIII on page 77 are pertinent to the verification of this law.

For the purpose of analysis the items of expenditure were sorted into two general classes: 1. Expenditure on food; 2. Expenditure on 'cultural needs' (clothing, household equipments and repairs, and education).

Table XI on page 71 shows that high status families allocated a smaller proportion of their per capita expenditure to food than did low status families. On the other hand high status families allocated a larger proportion of their per capita expenditure to 'cultural needs' than did the low status families. The situation becomes more specific if we find out what proportion of each status group allocated what proportion of their per capita expenditure to each item. Table XXII in Appendix B and Table XIII on page 77 answer these questions.

Proportion of Expenditure on Food

As shown by Table XIII on page 77, 75% of high status families allocated between 20% and 40% of their total per capita expenditure to food, whereas 25% of the low status families allocated the same proportion to food. The majority of the low status families, 75% allocated between 40% and 80% of their per capita expenditure to food whereas only 25% of the high status families allocated the same proportion to food.

Proportion of Expenditure on 'Cultural Needs'

Clothing: Table XIII shows that 75% of the high status families allocated less than 20% of their total per capita expenditure to clothing. On the other hand 92% of the low status families allocated equal proportion to the same item.

Household equipment and repairs: As indicated by Table XIII, 87% of high status families allocated less than 20% of their total per capita expenditure to this item, whereas 25% of low status families allocated zero percent to the same item and 66% allocated less than 20% of their total per capita expenditure to the same item.

Education: The situation with education is different than it is with the first two. The impression one gets from Table XIII is that the importance of education is not highly recognized by both groups. Thirty eight percent of the high status families allocated zero percent to education. On the other hand 34% of the low status families allocated the same proportion (zero) to the same item. Another 38% of the high status families allocated less than 10% of their total per capita expenditure to education. Sixty-six percent of the low status families allocated the same proportion to this item. However, 12% of the high status families allocated between 20% and 30% of their total per capita expenditure to this item whereas none of the low status families did so. Moreover, another 12% of the high status families allocated between 40% and 50% of their total per capita expenditure to this item while none of the low status families reached that level.

TABLE XIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PROPORTIONS OF HIGH AND LOW STATUS FAMILIES IN REGARD TO PROPORTIONS AND TYPES OF EXPENDITURES

Percent of Expenditure	Food		Clothing		Household Equipment & Repairs		Education	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None						25	38	34
More than 0 to 10			50	58	62	58	38	66
More than 10 to 20			25	34	25	8		
More than 20 to 30	25			8			12	
More than 30 to 40	50	25	25					
More than 40 to 50	12	8				9	12	
More than 50 to 60	13	34			13			
More than 60 to 70		16						
More than 70 to 80		17						
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Engel's second law of consumption states the nature of the relationship between income and expenditure and analyses the repercussions of changes in income on the proportioning of expenditure. The data of the present study is inadequate for a verification of this law for the following reasons:[44]

1. Consumption expenditure of an individual family depends upon its income (expected as well as present), savings and debt. It is assumed that families for their present expenditure, count upon future income or/ and the amount of savings.

2. The type of data obtained by this study along this line is limited to information about the amount of income received during the present only-during a period of five months. The reasoning behind this decision was that since villagers' income, especially farmers', is seasonal and since most of them are in debt and have no or very little savings then any information about factors of psychological security (future income debt and savings) would be of limited value.

Summary and Conclusion

A. Consumption Expenditure Patterns

The consumption expenditure behavior of the study group follows definite patterns. These patterns were reflected in the configurations

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[44] See appendix for type of data needed.

of food consumption and in the proportioning of expenditure on non-agricultural needs. Data on food consumption shows that a larger proportion of the sample families' diet consisted of cereals and potatoes while meat, fats and oil, fruits, and vegetables made up only a small fraction of their total consumption.

Expenditure patterns of the study group revealed that the greater part of their income goes to food and a minor proportion was allocated to 'cultural needs' (clothing, household equipment and repairs, and education).

B. Consumption Expenditure Relationships

Consumption expenditure patterns of the study group seemed to be related to factors inherent in their social and value systems. These factors, converted into a social status index correlated positively with the particular type of consumption expenditure behavior. For instance, high status group allocated a smaller proportion of their income to food than did low status group. On the other hand, the farmer group allocated a larger proportion of its income to 'cultural needs' than did low status group.

The consumption situation showed that the diet of high status group consisted of a smaller proportion of cereals and a larger proportion of meat than did the diet of low status group.

The implications of such relationships, particularly the expenditure relationships, have significant bearing on existing theories of consumption. For instance, Engel's first law of consumption (expenditure on food is the best single index of the family's social position) is substantiated by the present relationships.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL DECISIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has limitations in the following areas: sampling, time span, unit of analysis and scaling techniques.

Limitations Due to the Method of Selection of the Sample

The sample of this study was purposively selected from a stratified universe. This means that the sample may not be representative of the universe. Thus the power of generalizations is limited to the sample group. A random sample could have overcome this limitation. However, due to the fact that refusals could not be replaced a random sample was not feasible.

Limitation Due to Time Span of the Study

For consumption studies to be fruitfull, a one-year study period is necessary. This study covered only five months. Generalizations for a whole year are not valid due to the fact that consumption expenditures during these five months do not represent the consumption expenditure situation of the entire year. Villagers' expenditures are seasonal (usually they are high when money starts coming in directly after harvest in the autumn). Due to the limited facilities of the writer and due to the political crisis in Lebanon only five months' accounts were completed.

This limitation could have been overcome if monthly accounts of consumption expenditure inventories of the whole year were kept by the respondents. Such inventories could include detailed information on day to day expenditure and consumption of families.

Limitations Due to the Unit of Analysis and Scaling Technique

The per capita unit was used in analysing consumption expenditure in this study. This unit has limitations as far as age and family position is concerned because all members of the family were given the same weight. This could have been avoided by using the 'adult male equivalent' or the statistical unit introduced by Engel, known as the 'quet'. But due to the fact that these two techniques were not accessible to the writer the per capita was used as an alternative.

Limitations Due to the Scaling Technique

An arbitrary index was used in this study to locate the position of the individual families of the sample group in the social system. This technique is not highly recommended by statisticians.[45] A scale could have provided a more accurate and precise means of measurements. The reason for using this index instead of a scale was because of the nature of the approach to the investigation of the people's evaluations and ranking of the social and economic factors.

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[45] Margaret Hagood and David Price, Statistics for Sociologists. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 159.

An objective approach to the study of social status in the area of research has limitations. Although the objective factors (income, landholding, level of education, type of house construction, family material possessions, room-person ratio, and group participation) of social status are the basis from which the social status of the individual families in this study is derived, people's subjective evaluations of these factors could have provided a more accurate index of the status system operating in the area studied. Their evaluation (what rank they give to each factor) might have provided a safer grounds for treating each factor independently and thus avoiding contamination among factors.

APPENDIX B

TABLE XIV

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS OF THE SAMPLE GROUP

Family Code No.	Under One	1-5 Years	6-10 Years	11-20 Years	21-50 Years	Over 50 Years	Total Years
1		2	1		2	1	6
2		3			2		5
3	1	1	2	2	2		8
4		2			2	1	5
5	1	2	1		2		6
6	1	2			2	1	6
7		2	3		2	2	9
8		2	3	1		2	8
9	1	2			2		5
10		2	1	3	2		8
11		1	2		3		6
12	1	2	1	1	2		7
13		1	2			2	5
14		1	2		2		5
15		2	2		2		6
16			4		2	1	7
17	1	1			2		4
18	1	1	2		1	1	6
19			2	1	2		5
20					2	2	4
Total	7	29	28	8	36	13	121
Percent	6%	24%	23%	7%	30%	10%	100%

TABLE XV

YEARS IN SCHOOL OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS OF THE SAMPLE GROUP

Family Code	Male Head Years in School	Female Head Years in School	Children Years in School	Total Years in School
1	0	0	2	2
2	3	0	1	4
3	4	0	12	16
4	2	0	1	3
5	0	0	3	3
6	7	4	1	12
7	3	0	12	15
8	0	0	8	8
9	5	0	1	6
10	7	3	11	21
11	3	2	6	11
12	8	0	4	12
13	5	0	8	13
14	1	0	0	1
15	3	0	6	9
16	12	5	10	27
17	5	3	1	9
18	2	3	2	7
19	7	7	8	22
20	0	0	13	13

TABLE XVI

INCOME RECEIVED BY THE SAMPLE FAMILIES DURING A PERIOD OF FIVE MONTHS

Family Code No.	Income - L.L.
1	335
2	174
3	368
4	440
5	180
6	1000
7	204
8	1050
9	0
10	815
11	0
12	477
13	1000
14	75
15	350
16	1625
17	900
18	300
19	565
20	720
Total	10587
Mean	529

TABLE XVII

LANDHOLDING OF THE SAMPLE FAMILIES

Family Code No.	Landholding (Dunums)
1	30
2	0
3	17
4	5
5	5
6	200
7	10
8	100
9	100
10	18
11	200
12	0
13	140
14	90
15	0
16	325
17	500
18	15
19	90
20	0
Total	1850
Mean	95

TABLE XVIII

FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SAMPLE FAMILIES IN A PERIOD OF FIVE MONTHS
(Figures in kilograms)

Family Code No.	Bread	Lentils	Chickpeas	Kishek	Dry Beans	Burghul	Rice	Potatoes	Vegetables	Fruits	Fats and Oil	Meat and Poultry	Milk and Laban	Sugar and Molases	Others	Total
1	580	18	22	12	5	40	23	46	9	20	16	20	142	67	19	
2	445	30	32	22	15	72	22	95	17	34	26	26	47	69	52	
3	595	32	28	20	15	60	12	46	13	29	15	28	104	64	60	
4	428	40	34	32	22	80	10	72	109	57	20	10	88	42	73	
5	650	26	16	13	00	28	18	95	45	67	28	25	148	62	122	
6	650	68	10	16	5	64	50	155	63	107	51	36	250	78	73	
7	575	20	22	18	5	34	18	60	42	124	22	16	125	85	46	
8	550	22	30	17	30	55	40	127	85	151	30	26	210	135	58	
9	350	20	28	25	5	22	20	120	142	45	44	18	103	52	68	
10	430	21	21	8	28	15	25	75	65	58	33	28	98	42	51	
11	550	30	23	18	15	30	31	95	85	93	30	25	200	70	52	
12	650	47	33	18	00	36	25	90	103	38	44	15	230	84	100	
13	485	30	27	18	12	40	40	65	174	107	34	65	195	79	74	
14	375	52	25	25	8	80	23	90	28	19	6	6	85	36	116	
15	500	40	30	19	5	65	11	85	18	5	24	4	65	38	75	
16	450	28	30	20	30	48	47	65	107	71	42	67	128	130	63	
17	165	24	27	14	30	53	23	55	102	79	45	36	40	38	49	
18	190	16	16	10	6	43	12	85	38	36	28	8	75	43	81	
19	190	11	16	15	6	22	21	30	50	18	35	36	128	42	51	
20	355	15	17	22	22	45	33	90	96	100	34	27	145	52	75	
Total	9163	590	487	353	284	952	504	1643	1391	1264	607	522	2734	1308	1358	
Percent	40%	2%	2%	2%	1%	4%	2%	8%	7%	6%	3%	2%	10%	5%	6%	

TABLE XIX

EXPENDITURE OF THE SAMPLE FAMILIES IN A PERIOD OF FIVE MONTHS

(Figures in Lebanese Pounds)

Family Code No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Others 8	Total 9
1	483	99	20	65	55	56	0	457	1235
2	545	53	30	138	41	31	8	12	858
3	548	50	60	71	60	76	95	26	986
4	514	125	62	38	125	65	0	11	940
5	639	313	240	62	179	71	20	15	1539
6	920	88	485	20	74	193	0	653	2433
7	595	45	0	417	41	80	0	20	1198
8	827	62	74	400	39	26	408	33	1869
9	642	235	75	0	115	127	8	26	1228
10	580	93	32	70	28	122	966	23	1914
11	762	180	100	40	125	105	100	35	1447
12	751	150	1076	15	26	78	16	66	2178
13	981	331	66	40	86	62	100	52	1718
14	386	108	15	25	25	37	0	6	602
15	419	5	0	0	7	58	16	17	522
16	923	996	536	139	145	132	268	23	3162
17	698	110	1046	3	37	102	0	26	2022
18	413	50	0	1	6	41	16	23	550
19	553	280	7	0	20	72	25	472	1429
20	756	614	44	196	349	61	0	12	2032
Total	12935	3987	3968	1740	1583	1595	2046	2008	29862
Percent	44%	13%	13%	6%	5%	5%	7%	6%	100%

1 stands for food; 2 for clothings; 3 - household equipments and repairs; 4 - medical care; 5 - recreation, travel and amusements; 6 - fuel and light; 7 - education; 8 - others, including milk, cow, car, payment of debt, and buying a gun; and 9 for total.

TABLE XX

STATUS AND PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF THE SAMPLE GROUP (Figs. in Kgs.)

Family Code No.	Status Score	Wheat Kg.	Lentils	Chickpeas	Kishek	Dry Beans	Burghul	Rice	Potatoes	Vegetables	Fruits	Fat & Oil	Meat and Poultry	Milk and Laban	Sugar	Molases	Coffee	Tea	Others
14	12	75	10	5	5	2	16	5	18	6	4	1	1	17	6	1	0		23
5	13	108	4	3	2	0	5	3	16	8	11	5	4	25	9	1			20
15	14	83	7	5	2	1	11	2	14	3	1	4	1	11	3	3			12
18	14	32	3	3	2	1	7	2	14	6	3	5	1	13	3	4	0		15
2	15	89	6	6	4	3	14	4	19	3	7	5	5	9	12	2	0		10
9	15	70	4	6	5	1	4	4	24	28	9	9	4	21	6	4			12
7	16	64	2	2	2	1	4	2	7	5	14	2	2	14	5	5	1		4
1	17	97	3	4	2	1	7	4	8	2	3	3	3	24	9	3	0		3
3	17	74	4	4	2	2	8	1	6	2	4	2	4	13	4	4			7
11	17	91	5	4	3	2	5	5	15	14	17	5	4	33	12	0	1		8
4	19	26	8	7	6	4	16	2	14	22	11	4	2	18	5	3	0		13
12	19	93	7	5	3	0	5	4	13	15	5	6	2	30	6	6	0		12
8	26	69	3	4	2	4	7	5	16	11	19	4	3	26	10	7			7
10	26	54	3	3	1	4	2	3	9	4	7	4	4	12	5	0	1		6
19	26	38	2	4	3	1	4	4	6	10	20	7	7	25	8	0			10
20	27	71	3	3	4	4	9	7	17	19	3	7	5	29	6	4			15
13	33	97	6	5	4	6	8	8	13	35	21	1	13	40	12	3	2		13
17	38	41	6	7	3	8	12	6	16	22	19	11	9	10	5	4	1		11
6	42	108	11	2	3	1	11	8	26	10	18	8	6	42	9	1	1		11
16	45	64	4	4	3	4	7	7	9	15	10	6	11	18	18	1	1		8

TABLE XXI

STATUS AND PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE OF THE SAMPLE GROUP

Family Code No.	Status Score	Food L.L.	Cloth. L.L.	Hshld. L.L.	M.C. L.L.	Recreation L.L.	Fuel & Light L.L.	Education L.L.	Soap L.L.	Others L.L.
14	12	77	22	3	5	5	7	0	1	
5	13	107	63	40	10	30	12	3	3	
15	14	70	1	0	0	1	10	3	3	
18	14	69	8	0	*	1	7	3	4	
2	15	109	10	6	28	8	6	2	2	
9	15	128	47	15	0	23	25	2	5	
7	16	66	5	0	45	5	9	0	2	
1	17	80	13	3	11	9	9	0	1	75
3	17	69	6	8	9	7	9	12	3	
11	17	127	30	17	7	21	18	17	6	
4	19	103	25	12	8	25	13	0	2	
12	19	107	21	154	2	4	11	2	4	5
8	26	103	8	9	50	4	3	51	4	
10	26	73	12	4	9	4	15	121	3	
19	26	110	56	1	0	4	15	5	4	90
20	27	151	123	9	20	70	12	0	2	
13	33	196	66	13	8	17	12	20	10	
17	38	174	28	261	1	21	25	0	7	
6	42	153	13	81	3	12	32	0	2	107
16	45	132	142	77	20	21	16	38	3	

TABLE XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF PROPORTIONS OF EXPENDITURE AMONG HIGH AND LOW STATUS FAMILIES

Status Score	Food %	Cloth. %	HsHld. %	M.C. %	Recreation %	Fuel & Light %	Education %	Others %
12	64	19	2	4	4	6	0	1
13	40	23	15	3	13	4	1	1
14	80	1	0	0	1	10	4	4
14	75	9	0	*	1	8	3	4
15	64	5	3	16	5	3	1	1
15	52	19	6	0	10	10	1	2
16	50	4	0	34	3	8	0	1
17	40	7	1	6	4	4	0	38
17	56	5	7	8	5	7	10	2
17	52	12	7	3	9	8	7	2
19	55	13	7	4	13	7	0	1
19	34	6	50	1	1	4	1	3
26	44	3	4	22	2	1	22	2
26	30	5	2	4	2	6	50	1
26	39	20	*	0	1	5	2	33
27	40	32	3	5	16	3	0	1
33	57	19	4	2	5	4	6	3
38	34	6	51	*	2	5	0	1
42	38	3	20	1	3	8	0	27
45	29	32	18	4	4	3	9	1

*Less than half percent.

TABLE XXIII

SOCIAL STATUS INDEX SCORE OF THE SAMPLE FAMILIES

Family Code No.	Room-Person Ratio	Type of House Construction	Level of Education	Radio	Land-holding	Income	Group Part.	Car	Total
1	3	1	1	2	4	4	2		17
2	3	3	1	2	2	2	2		15
3	1	1	3	2	4	4	2		17
4	2	3	1	2	4	6	1		19
5	1	1	1	2	4	2	2		13
6	2	2	3	4	8	12	3	8	42
7	1	2	2	2	4	4	1		16
8	1	2	2	2	6	12	1		26
9	2	2	2	2	3	2	2		15
10	1	3	3	2	4	10	3		26
11	2	2	2	4	4	2	1		17
12	3	1	2	4	2	6	1		19
13	3	3	3	4	8	12	1		33
14	1	2	1	2	3	2	1		12
15	1	2	2	2	2	4	1		14
16	2	3	5	4	8	12	3	8	45
17	5	5	3	4	8	10	3		38
18	1	1	1	2	4	4	1		14
19	3	2	5	2	6	6	2		26
20	4	3	4	4	2	8	2		27

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

Code No._____

QUESTIONNAIRE

CONSUMPTION PATTERNS STUDY OF FAMILIES

IN BEKA' VILLAGES

1957-1958

Village_____ Date of Interview_____

Name of Head of Household_____ Name of Respondent_____

Family Size_____ Males_____ Females_____

Housing Condition:

House: Stone____, Earth Bricks____, Cement____,

Others (specify) _____.

Water: Private Well____, Public Well____, Piped Water_____

Others (specify) _____.

Fuel and Heat: Wood____, Mazoot____, Kerosene____, Manure____,

Others (specify)_____.

Family Composition

Name	Rel. to Head	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education			
					Yrs. in School	Kind of School	Location	Expenses

Production During the Last Year

Crops	Area	Total Product	Farmer's Share	Product Kept for		Product Sold	Price P.L.
	Dunums	Mud (20 Kg)	Mud	Home Use	Farm Use	Mud	

Total _____

Ownership of Land

Owned _____, Rented in _____, Rented Out _____, (Conditions _____,

Operated _____.

Food Consumed During the Last Week

Kind	Consumed Kg.	Bought					Food Stored for the Whole Year			
		Amount Kg.	Price P.L.	Cash	Debt	Exchange	Amount Kg.	Self Produced	Bought	Price
Flour										
Lentil										
Chickpeas										
Burghul										
Kishek										
Dry Beans										
Kawarma										
T. Juice										
Oil										
Olives										
Samni										
Turnips										
Potatoes										
Onion										
Molases										

Food Consumed During the Last Five Weeks

Kind	Consumed Amount	Self Produced	Bought						Comments
			Amount	Price	Cash	Debt	Exchange	From Where	
Milk & Laban									
Labni									
Cheese									
Eggs									
Meat									
Poultry									

Food Consumed During the Last Five Weeks

Kind	Consumed Amount	Self-Produced Kg.	Bought						Comments
			Amount	Price	From Where	Cash	Debt	Exchange	
Vegetables Cabbages Cauliflower Radish Beets Tomatoes									
Fruits Apples Bananas Lemon Oranges									
Sugar Coffee Tea Rice Sweets									

Cleaning Material Used During the Last Five Weeks

Soap Tide Palmolive									

Fuel Used During the Last Five Weeks

Kerosene Mazoot Charcoal Matches									

Clothes you bought for you or your family during the last five weeks.							Clothes you plan to buy during the coming five weeks						
Clothes	Amount	Price	From Where	Cash	Debt	Comments	Clothes	Amount	Price	From Where	Cash	Debt	Comments
Clothes							Furniture						
Kitchen Utensils							Kitchen Utensils						
Light							Light						

Have you or any one of your family consulted a doctor or bought medicine during the last five weeks?

	Costs	Comments
Doctor Medicine		

Personal Expenditure; Recreation, Travel and Amusements.
During the last five weeks.

Activity	Location	Expenses	Comments

Household Repairs during the last five weeks.

Kind of Repairs	Costs	By Himself	Others	Comments

If you have extra money, do you save or spend it?

Save_____ Spend_____

On which class of expenditure you will be willing to spend first?

(Enumerate the classes to him)_____. Why?

On which class would you spend last_____. Why?

Returns during the last five weeks

Amount	Source	Comments
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Are you in debt? Yes_____ No_____

If yes. Amount_____ Interest Rate_____

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