

T  
305

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE TO SOCIAL  
CLASSES IN BEIRUT, LEBANON

by  
Leila H. Ghandour

A Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at  
the American University of Beirut  
Beirut, Lebanon  
May, 1960

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE TO SOCIAL  
CLASSES IN BEIRUT, LEBANON

(A Study of Stratification and Social Classes)

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Grateful acknowledgment is extended to Professor George Fetter who supervised this thesis in its various stages and solved many difficulties. Indebtedness is also expressed to Professor George Weightman and Mr. Samir Khalaf for their counseling and advice. Special thanks are due to Professor Kevin Fenelon and Charles W. Churchill for their helpful suggestions.

Leila H. Ghandour

## ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this thesis is to test the hypothesis that a relationship exists between conservative - liberal attitudes and social status. The second aim is to investigate the basis of social inequality.

The variable that is employed as an index of social status is occupation, supplemented by income and education. The hypothesis is drawn from Centers' theory in "The Psychology of the Social Classes". This theory, as well as other stratification theories are reviewed in the present study.

The method of investigation is as follows: an attitude questionnaire was personally administered to one hundred thirty one purposively selected cases from Beirut. They are of diverse socio-economic level, diverse educational level, diverse occupational strata and diverse religious groups. The interview schedule covered background information and attitude questions which included items to measure attitudes toward institutions under study, and items that shed light on the class concept in general.

The study indicated the existence of diverse attitudes and opinions on major conservative - liberal questions in accordance

with class membership. Status difference is more important in the formulation of opinion than age and religious differences. The study revealed that the sample group are aware of a dynamic class structure where upward and downward mobility are present. The study substantiated the second hypothesis that the basis of social inequality is the financial factor. Other subsidiary factors are reviewed.

Therefore, the empirical data assembled have indicated that there exists a relationship between conservatism and social status that a person's status and role with respect to the economic processes of society imposes upon him certain attitudes, values and interests relating to his role and status in the political and economic sphere was substantiated.

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Age Distribution of the Sample Group .....	28
2. Educational Level of the Sample Cases .....	28
3. Occupation of the various groups .....	29
4. Income per year of the respondents .....	30
5. Religious Distribution of the Cases .....	31
6. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Liberal vs. Conservative attitude with regard to Opportunity (Q.12) .....	36
7. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Satisfaction with Political Representation .. (Q.13) .....	38
8. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Collective vs. Individualistic Attitude (Q.15) .....	40
9. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Government vs. Private Ownership of Industry (Q.14) .....	42
10. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Confidence in the Limitation of Land Ownership (Q.50) .....	45
11. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Government vs. Free Direction of Schools (Q 46) .....	47
12. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Confidence in Unionism (Q 18) .....	49
13. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Attitude Towards the Strengthening of Labor Unions by the Government (Q 48) .....	51
14. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Satisfaction with Income (Q 16) .....	54

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
15. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Satisfaction with Opportunities for Advancement (Q 17) .....	56
16. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Opportunities for Children .....	57
17. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Conservative vs. Liberal Outlook with Respect to Social Change (Q 24) .....	61
18. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Reaction to Western Technology in its Application to the Lebanese Society (Q28)...	63
19. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Conservative vs. Liberal attitude Towards Family Customs (Q 30) .....	65
20. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Liberal vs. Conservative Attitude with Regard to a Child's up-Bringing (Q 31) .....	67
21. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Preference of Marriage of Convenience to to Marriage Based on Personal Choice and Liking (Q 35) .....	69
22. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Father's Role (Q 41) .....	71
23. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Conservative vs. Liberal Attitude Towards the Centralization of Social Activities within the Family (Q 42) .....	72
24. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Conservative vs. Liberal Attitude Towards the Centralization of Economic Activities within the Family (Q 43) .....	74
25. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Role of the Women (Q 20) .....	76
26. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Confidence in the Ability of Women Holding Jobs of the same Responsibility and pay as men (Q 25) .....	78

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
27. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Belief in the Liberty of a Girl to have as much Education as she wants (Q 27) .....	80
28. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Conservative vs. Liberal Attitude Towards the Position of a Woman (Q 36) .....	82
29. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: The Necessity of High Education for Girls (Q 38) .....	84
30. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Approval of co-Educational Schools (Q 39) .....	85
31. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Attitude Towards more mixing (Q 40) .....	87
32. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Conservative vs. Liberal Attitude Towards Religion (Q 29) .....	89
33. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Conservative Attitude Towards Confessionalism in Lebanon (Q 44) .....	91
34. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Liberal Attitude Towards Civil Marriage . (Q 51) .....	93
35. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Class Identification (Q 21) .....	97
36. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Criteria and Causes for Membership in the Upper Class (Q 23A) .....	98
37. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata: Criteria for Membership in the Lower Class (A 23B) .....	100
38. Criteria for own class Membership used by Persons Claiming Membership in the Several Classes (Q 22) .....	102



TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Introduction .....	1
A. Theoretical Background of the study .....	1
1. Aristotle .....	2
2. Marx and Engels .....	3
3. Max Weber .....	3
4. Sorokin .....	5
B. Recent Trends in the Field of Stratification .....	6
C. Relevant Theory to the Study .....	8
D. Related Studies and Literature in the Middle East .....	10
1. The Predominant type of Loyalties ..	12
2. Basis of Social Inequality .....	15
E. Hypothesis of the Study .....	16
II. Methodology .....	18
A. The Interview Schedule .....	18
B. Construction of the Attitude Scale .....	19
C. Definition of Variables .....	26
D. Collection of Data .....	26
E. Definition of the Samples Cases .....	27
1. Age Distribution of the Subject ....	27
2. Education .....	28
3. Occupation .....	29
4. Income .....	30
5. Religion .....	30
III. Analytical Content and Presentation of the Findings .....	32
A. Attitudes and Beliefs in Relation to Occupational Stratification .....	32

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata in Relation to Political Views .....	33
a. Satisfaction with Political Participation .....	34
b. Attitude toward the extension of government intervention .....	41
c. Attitudes towards unions .....	48
Summary .....	52
2. Attitudes toward Satisfaction with Occupation and Pay .....	52
Summary .....	59
3. Attitudes toward Social Change .....	59
Summary .....	62
4. Attitudes toward change of family customs .....	64
Summary .....	73
5. Attitudes toward Women's Status .....	73
Summary .....	86
6. Sacred Versus Secular Orientation ...	88
Summary .....	92
IV. Basis of Social Inequality .....	95
A. Major Hypothesis .....	95
1. Class Identification .....	95
2. Criteria for the Upper class .....	96
3. The Criteria for the lower class ....	99
4. Criteria for inclusion in one's class	101
Summary .....	103
Part II - Summary and Conclusion .....	104
B. Limitation of the Study .....	107
1. Limitation due to the Method of Selection of the sample .....	107
2. Limitation due to the lack of a reliable indicator of the person's social level .....	108

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
3. Limitation due to the discrepancy between attitudinal answer and actual behavior .....	108
4. Tests of the level of significance..	109
5. Relationship of empirical findings to theory .....	109
Appendices .....	112
A. Tables .....	112
B. Questionnaire .....	117
Bibliography .....	133

## CHAPTER I

### I. INTRODUCTION

#### A. Theoretical Background of the Study

Sociologists are concerned with the study and analysis of social structure,<sup>1</sup> with the properties and relationships that are found in it. Aspects of the social structure are being investigated by sociologists, who believe that sociology should not seek an integrated or master conceptual scheme at present. Robert Merton declares that the discipline of sociology can advance by devoting major concern to theories of the middle range, which involves special theories applicable to limited ranges of data, such as theories about social class, bureaucracy, and interpersonal influence.<sup>2</sup> Other sociologists, too, seek to comprehend the social structure by devoting their concern to the analysis of various institutions, social positions, and social dynamics. The present thesis attempts to gain knowledge about the Lebanese social structure

---

<sup>1</sup> Social structure, here, is defined the way Warner defines it: "When reciprocal interaction is organized into defined relationships, it produces systems of informal and formal groupings called social structures which regulate the social behavior of individuals." For an elaborate description of this concept see W.L. Warner and Plunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, (New York: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Merton, R. Social Theory and Social Structure, (Glencoe, III., The Free Press, 1949, p. 50.

by focusing its research on social stratification in Beirut. Among the sociologists who admit that a knowledge of social structure requires recognition of social stratification is Pitirim Sorokin.<sup>1</sup> The subject of stratification has been of interest to many other researchers. The focus has been on the classification and definition of the forms of stratification, or inequalities. Several definitions for the forms of social stratification have been suggested. Such definitions as proposed by Aristotle, Marx, Weber, Sorokin and Warner will be discussed in the forgoing pages.

### 1. Aristotle:

Aristotle identifies the social class with economic groups, as well as political groups. Where he identifies the social class with political groups, Aristotle distinguishes between the ruler and the ruled for he says: "Nature would like to distinguish between the bodies of freemen and slaves, making the one strong for servile labour, the other upright, and although useless for such services, useful for political life in the arts both of war and peace."<sup>2</sup> Where Aristotle identifies the social class with economic groups, he distinguishes between the rich and the poor, for he says: "Now in all states there are three elements: one class is very rich,

---

<sup>1</sup> Pitirin Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality. (New York, Harper and Brothers), 1947, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, Politics, tr. by Benjamin Yowett (New York, Modern Library, 1943), p. 60.

another very poor, and a third in a mean. It is admitted that moderation and the mean are best, and therefore it will clearly be best to possess the gifts of fortune in moderation; for in that condition of life men are most ready to follow rational principle. But he who greatly excels in beauty, strength, birth, or wealth, or very much disgraced, finds it difficult to follow rational principle."<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Marx and Engels:

The concept of class becomes more significant with the emergence of socialism and communism. Marx frequently identifies the concept of class with that of occupational stratum or economic stratum. To him, any aggregate of persons playing the same part in production, standing in the same relation toward other persons in the production process forms a social class. All persons occupying a similar position in the production process have a similar income and other common psychosocial and cultural characteristics.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Max Weber:

Max Weber's explanation of stratification somewhat approaches the current concept of stratification, since he differen-

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, (New York, International Publishers, 1932), pp. 126-132.

tiates between pure "class" and social status. Weber says that a class exists when: "(1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor market."<sup>1</sup> Briefly speaking, the term "class" refers to any group of people that is found in the same "class situation" or "market situation". One might, thus, say that "classes" are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods. In contrast to classes, "status groups" are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special "styles of life". Max Weber defines status groups by saying: "Status groups are normally communities. They are, however, often of an amorphous kind. In contrast to the purely economically determined 'class situation' we wish to designate as 'status situation' every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honor. This honor may be connected with any quality shared by a plurality, and, of course, it can be knit to a class situation. Class distinctions are linked in the most varied ways with status distinctions. Property as such is not always recognized as

---

<sup>1</sup> Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, by H. Gerth & C. Mills (London: Paul French, Trubner & Co., 1947), p. 181.

a status qualification, but in the long run it is, and with extraordinary regularity. In content, status honor is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific style of life can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle. Linked with this expectation are restrictions on 'social' intercourse."<sup>1</sup> So far, most of the social scientists used 'class' as a group differentiated by economic factors such as income, economic function, or relation to a system of production.

#### 4. Sorokin

"Class consciousness" is somewhat more emphasized by sociologists such as Giddings, Cooley and Sorokin. To Pitirim Sorokin, classes are not only differentiated by economic factors but by subjective elements as well. Pitirim Sorokin answers the question "what is a social class" by specifying the following points:

It is (1) legally open, but actually semiclosed; (2) normal; (3) solidary; (4) antagonistic to certain other groups (social classes) of the same general nature; (5) partly organized but mainly quasi - organized; (6) partly aware of its own unity and existence and partly not; (7) characteristic of the western society of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries; (8) a multibonded group bound together by two unbonded ties, occupational and economic, and of one bond of social stratification in the sense of the totality of its essential right and duties as contrasted with the essentially different rights and duties of other groups (social classes) of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 187.



same general nature. The specific characteristic of the social class is the coalescence of occupational and economic bonds plus the bond of belonging to the same basic stratum, whose properties are defined by the totality of its essential rights and duties, or by its privileges and disfranchisements, as compared with those of other classes. Persons having essentially similar occupations, economic positions, and rights and duties cannot fail to become similar in a great many other ways, physical, mental, moral, and behavioral.<sup>1</sup>

The theory of Sorokin is important, since he stresses that the objective basis of the physical, mental, moral, behavioral similarities and of similarity in the mode of life is the common occupational strata, economic level, and legal position of the members. Sorokin gave sociologists valuable theories which needed empirical enquiry to determine the actual state of affairs. Of these, the most significant perhaps, is whether similarity in occupation and economic position gives rise to similarity in attitude, behavior, and in the mode of life.

#### B. Recent Trends in the Field of Stratification

Contemporary American investigators have shown some dissatisfaction with the big body of theories on the field of stratification and have begun to exploit the empirical aspect of it. Among the contributors to the empirical research on stratification are W. Lloyd Warner and his associates, August Hollingshead

---

<sup>1</sup> Sorokin, Op.cit., pp. 271-272.

and James West. One might add to the previous definitions of the concept of class, Warner's definition: "By class is meant two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions. A class society distributes rights and privileges, duties and obligations, unequally among its inferior and superior grades. A system of classes, provides by its own values for movement up and down the social ladder."<sup>1</sup> To Warner, the essential trait of a given class is the rank or hierarchy. The value of Warner's research lies not only in the findings but also in the techniques that he used to rate a person. He provides sociologists with the 'Index of status characteristics', a reliable indicator of the individual's social level.

August Hollingshead deals in his book Elmstown's Youth with the impact of social classes on adolescents. His findings confirmed the hypothesis that the social behavior of adolescents appears to be related functionally to the positions their families occupy in the social structure of the community.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Warner and associates give a detailed description about status

---

<sup>1</sup> Lloyd Warner and Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, (New Haven University Press, 1941), p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> August Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, (New York; John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1949), pp. 441-443.

in Democracy in Jonesville.<sup>1</sup>

C. Relevant theory to the study

The lack of scientific research concerned with the social classes in the Middle East motivated the writer to focus her attention on the stratification system in Beirut and to explore what areas of the above mentioned system could be studied. The present study derived its pattern and direction from the work of Richard Centers, the author of the Psychology of Social Classes.<sup>2</sup> Centers' theory

implies that a person's status and role with respect to the economic processes of society imposes upon him certain attitudes, values and interests relating to his role and status in the political and economic sphere. It holds, further, that the status and role of the individual in relation to the means of production and exchange of goods and services gives rise in him to a consciousness of membership in some social class which shares those attitudes, values and interests.<sup>3</sup>

Centers attempted to explore the nature of the relationships between socio-economic stratification and psychological characteristics of individuals. His theory holds that different socio-economic strata are characterized by differing attitudes and beliefs in the conservatism - radicalism sense.

---

<sup>1</sup> W. Loyd Warner and Bailey, Democracy in Jonesville, (New York, Harper, 1949), pp. 22-34.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Class, (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1949).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

The technique decided upon for his study was that of a public attitude survey of a representative cross section of the adult white male population of the United States. The method of sampling employed was that of quota control. A total of 1,200 interviews was assigned. The survey was initiated and completed in the two weeks of July 1945. One of the outstanding findings with regard to the politico-economic orientations and class affiliations of occupational strata is the following: The top occupational strata are marked by their adherence to the status quo in the order of politico-economic relations. In contrast, the lowest occupational groups are distinguished by their lack of support of the status quo and of their support of views clearly radical in character. Occupational groups that lie between these two extremes of the stratification hierarchy show a greater inclination to conservative attitudes than to radical views in proportion as their occupational positions are higher or lower in the hierarchy. A substantial degree of relationship is also found between political behavior and occupational status.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, people of the lower occupational groups belong to labor unions in substantial numbers, and they manifest distinctly more typical approval of unions than do persons in higher occupational strata. Furthermore, those who control more people in an economic situation, who are characterized

---

<sup>1</sup> Centers, Ibid., p. 208.

by a greater amount of wealth or higher standard of living, or who obtain a higher score on the combined socio-economic scale, are all more frequently conservative in attitude, are more frequently the supporters of the Republican Party, less frequently belong to and approve of Labor Unions, and are found more frequently identified with the upper and middle classes.<sup>1</sup> Of the other findings is the one concerned with role of the women. The middle class appears to be somewhat more liberal than the working class with respect to the economic freedom of women. As to the question concerned with satisfaction, the working class as a group tends to be more frustrated than the middle class, and they are more dissatisfied with their jobs, their pay, their opportunities, and their chances to enjoy life. Several variables appear to be related to conservatism-radicalism independently of the influence of socio-economic stratification. Conservatism in attitude is found to be positively related to satisfaction with one's pay, to satisfaction with one's chance to enjoy life.<sup>2</sup>

#### D. Related Studies and Literature in the Middle East

Many of the Middle Eastern scholars, as well as scholars from abroad have turned their attention to the study of social structure in the contemporary Middle East. A considerable number of the relevant books helped in promoting an understanding

---

<sup>1</sup> Centers, Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Centers, Ibid., p. 217.

of the Lebanese social structure, in general, and provided the writer with facts about human relations in Lebanon.

The writer will present, in the following part, the relevant viewpoints that are emphasized by these scholars. These viewpoints are of great help to the study for they cast light on the predominant values that are prevalent in the Middle East and Lebanon. They have reference to the main problem of the study in two respects:

1. Some of these studies are of great help to the writer for casting light on the predominant values, beliefs, and attitudes that are existing in Lebanon. The study's main object is to investigate the extent of appreciation or depreciation of these values, attitudes and beliefs. Who appreciates and who depreciates these values will be a concomitant object of the study. The discussion of these references falls under the heading entitled 'The Predominant Type of Loyalties'.

2. The second category of references is mainly concerned with the basis of social inequality. While still in the preliminary stages of the research, the relevant studies helped the writer to depict the basis of differential prestige. The writer was urged to employ occupation supplemented by income as an index of status from among other alternatives. The discussion of these references falls under the topic entitled 'The Basis of Social Inequality'.

### 1. The Predominant Type of Loyalties:

Most scholars view local loyalty, such as loyalty to the family, sect, clan, or tribe as the most important features of the social structure in the Middle East. This type of loyalty is associated, in Lebanon, with confessionalism and nepotism. Religious loyalty is prior to other inclusive loyalties such as national identity. Hess and Bodman ascribe the priority of religious loyalty, prevalent in Lebanon, to the system of proportional representation by religious faith in all government functions.<sup>1</sup> Hess is not the only scholar who wrote about confessional forces in Lebanon. Arthur Mills dedicated a large part of his research to this subject. He says that the strength of ethnocentrism in Lebanon is conditioned by the type of family organization which prevails. Where the initiative and interests of wife and children are firmly subordinated to those of the father, the individual is an instrument of the group and sacrifices personal interests to other such as sect, and race.<sup>2</sup>

Laqueur affirms the influence of local loyalties in the Middle East for he says: "It is recognized that Middle Easterners develop intense loyalty to certain small units, such as the family, the clan, the tribe or the religious sect, but they

---

<sup>1</sup> Clyde Hess and Herbert Bodmen, "Confessionalism and Feudality in Lebanese Politics." Middle East Journal, Vol. 8, (January, 1954), pp. 10-26.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Mills, "Economic Change in Lebanon", Middle East Economic Papers, (Beirut, Economic Research Institute, 1956), p. 82.

do not seem to be able to transcend those groups and feel toward any larger body, for example the city or the nation, enough devotion and responsibility to subordinate their individual selfish propensities to some common goal."<sup>1</sup>

It is believed that such loyalties often take precedence over any wider loyalty in the economic and political activity. The absence of numerous organizations on the basis of class-cut economic associations, or class interests of political parties is attributed to the influence of personal following and ruling families. Alfred Bonne states that economic and social political principles or programs that condition the political parties and organization of the West, are not to be found in any like form in Oriental countries. Bonne feels that the power of primary associations is stronger than the recognition of any program of principles and practical objectives laid down by any party.<sup>2</sup>

Morroe Berger's book Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt<sup>3</sup> analyzes the backgrounds, attitudes and opinions of the higher civil servants of Egypt. Berger includes, in his book, a detailed description of the changing socio-economic status

---

<sup>1</sup> W.Z. Laqueur, The Middle East in Transition, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Bonne, State and Economics in the Middle East, (London, Kegan Paul, French Trubner and Company Ltd., 1948), pp. 96-97.

<sup>3</sup> Morroe Berger, Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 7.



of the higher civil servants, their loyalties and the extent of their professionalism. Berger asserts that the persistence of personal, familial, and communal loyalties in the population from which the administration is recruited, have repercussions and implications on many administrative problems.

David Lerner discusses in his book, The Passing of Traditional Society,<sup>1</sup> the modern trends that are appearing in the Middle East. His major hypothesis is that high empathic capacity is the predominant personal style only in modern society. All his respondents are classified as Moderns, Transitionals or traditions of their score on the opinion range.<sup>2</sup> Lerner says about Lebanon: "Lebanon scores well ahead of all Arab neighbours on every index of modernity. The Lebanese early became attuned to a variety of modernizing influences from abroad such as trade connections, Christian ties to European churches and to emigrant colonies overseas, widespread contact with Western missionaries and administrators."<sup>3</sup> Lerner recognizes that broad loyalties are challenging the old local ones. Political parties are seeking to cross religious lives in their effort to recruit adherents.<sup>4</sup>

From what has been written on the subject of loyalties,

---

<sup>1</sup> David Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, (Illinois, The Free Press, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 207.

the writer infers that although the claims of the family are still prior to those of the individual member, its solidarity is gradually being undermined by the emergence of modern urban life. The role of education and growth of national feeling are also promoting the decline of sectarian and local loyalties.

## 2. Basis of Social Inequality

Most researchers who write on the subject of stratification in the Middle East attribute the basis of social inequality to the financial factor. They describe the upper class as constituted of powerful men in the political and economic life. With few exceptions, these Middle Eastern countries do not know a class system in any way resembling a cast. Dowson believes that social inequality found in Lebanon is based on large landownership by a small group of landowners. The second factor causing social inequality is commerce.<sup>1</sup>

As to the occupational composition of each class, Mills states that the rich merchants, industrialists and landlords are the upper privileged and powerful class, whereas the peasants and workpeople are the lower class.<sup>2</sup> The emerging class is the commercial and independent professionals who formulate the middle class. It is not an autonomous class capable of

---

<sup>1</sup> V.H. Dowson "The Lebanon", Royal Central Asian Society Journal, Vol. 37, (January, 1950), p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Mills, Op.cit., p. 81.

challenging the social power of the landowners. Morroe Berger attributes such an incapability to the fact that its leaders who emerge from this class do not act especially in its interests but usually in those of a combination of the wealthiest urban and rural groups, or an aristocracy in league with other upper-class groups, or a military class that exercises control. Despite its lack of power, the middle class has had enormous influence in the introduction of modernization and Western elements into the Arab world.<sup>1</sup>

Another emerging class is the rural and urban working class. This class does not constitute a tightly knit group, for local loyalties hinder the worker from integrating himself with his new environment.

From what has been said about stratification in the Middle East, we infer that most of these scholars attribute the basis of social inequality to the financial reason. The writer will attempt to analyze the basis of this inequality in Beirut, in Chapter IV of this thesis.

#### E. Hypothesis of the Study

##### A. Major Hypothesis:

Relationship exists between conservatism<sup>2</sup> and social status<sup>3</sup> of the sample cases

---

<sup>1</sup> Laqueur, Op.cit., pp. 63-69.

<sup>2</sup> For definition of conservatism see page 26 of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup> Occupation is used as an index of social status supplemented by income and education.

As a corollary to this major hypothesis the following sub-hypotheses are proposed and verified on equal levels:

1. There is a direct relationship between status and conservative political views.<sup>1</sup>
2. There is a direct relationship between status and satisfaction with occupation and pay.
3. There is a direct relationship between status and liberal views toward social change in areas other than the politico-economic.<sup>1</sup>
4. There is a direct relationship between status and liberal attitudes toward change of family customs.
5. There is a direct relationship between status and liberal attitudes toward egalitarianism in women's status.
6. There is a direct relationship between status and secular orientation.

II. The basis of social inequality is the monetary aspect.

With these hypotheses serving as a focus for the entire research procedure, the writer will describe in Chapter II the methodology that is applied in the various stages of the research. Chapter III will be devoted to the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of the results. This will be followed by a chapter on 'The Basis of social inequality in Beirut'. In part II of Chapter IV, the summary, conclusions and implications will be presented.

---

<sup>1</sup> For further explanation see page 109, section 5.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

The present chapter will be devoted to the general description of the techniques and procedure that were applied in the various stages of the research. Description of the interview schedule will be followed by a discussion about the construction of the attitude scale. The last part of the chapter will reveal the characteristics of the universe and sample.

#### A. The Interview Schedule

To throw light on the relation of attitudes to social status, an attitude questionnaire was used. The topics that were covered by the interview schedule included background information about the subject such as religion, present occupation, years of residence in Beirut, age, level of education, present marital status, and number of rooms at home.

The second part of the interview schedule is composed of attitude questions. They fall under 7 headings:

1. Attitudes toward the government. The numbers of the relevant items are: 12, 13, 15, 14, 46, 50, 18, 48.

2. Attitudes toward occupation and salary. The numbers of the relevant items are: 16, 17, 19.

3. Attitudes toward social change. The numbers of the relevant items are: 24, 28.

4. Attitudes toward change within the family. The numbers of the relevant items are: 30, 31, 35, 41, 42, 43.

5. Attitudes toward the status of women. The numbers of the relevant items are: 20, 25, 27, 36, 38, 39 and 40.

6. Attitudes toward the religious institution. The numbers of the relevant items are: 29, 44, 51 and 52.

7. The subjective evaluation of the "class" concept. The numbers of the relevant items are: 21, 22, and 23.

A copy of the schedule appears in Appendix B.

#### B. Construction of the Attitude Scale

The technique used for attitude measurement of the statements within the interview schedule is referred to as the method of equal-appearing intervals, or the Thurstone technique.<sup>1</sup> The steps taken by the writer to apply this technique of attitude measurement to the present study are described below.

Five university professors were asked to judge the degree of conservatism - liberatism of the fifty one statements of the questionnaire. The five judges who examined the statements are Lebanese, and they are considered as experts on the different

---

<sup>1</sup> Goode and Hatt, Methods in Social Research, New York, McGraw Hill Book Company, 1952, p. 262.

social institutions found in Lebanon. The judges were Dr. Bashir Aridi, Mr. Adnan Iskandar, Dr. Hassan Saab of the Political Science and Public Administration Department, Dr. Kamel Salibi of the History Department, Dr. Lutfi Diab of the Psychology Department. These judges were asked to scrutinize carefully the statements of attitudes, and were asked to add items which are of relevance to the subject of conservatism-liberalism in Lebanon. They were asked to assign the items to the appropriate positions along the conservative-liberal attitude continuum. The statements which were considered to be vague or irrelevant were discarded.

The statements given to the judges were built through the help of several sources. The writer included some of the questions used by Richard Centers in his study on the United States Population.<sup>1</sup> Items which were judged to be not applicable to the Lebanese society were not included. Items relating to the institutions under study were kept in mind, since it was the objective of the present study to measure attitudes toward the social institutions. Furthermore, the scale received the unanimous approval of a class of graduate students in the Sociology Department. The same group was asked to scrutinize the statements before handing them to the five judges.

The five judges were given fifty one statements and were told:

---

<sup>1</sup> Richard Center, Op.cit., Appendix A.

"You are given eleven slips with letters on them, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K. On slip 'A' put those statements which you believe express the highest conservatism of attitude. On slip K put those which express the strongest liberalism of attitude. On the rest of the slips arrange statements in accordance with the degree of conservatism or liberalism expressed in them:- In judging the degree of conservatism in each of the following statements, assume that all of them have been answered positively."

The mean of the answers of the five judges was computed. The mean of the statement that represented or expressed the highest conservatism of attitude is 1.4. The mean of the statement that expressed the highest liberalism or the lowest conservatism is 10.6. Statements with a mean between 4.6 and 7 were excluded from the questionnaire since they occupy a neutral position.

The following statements were given to the judges. They are numbered consecutively according to the mean they received. The number in parentheses refers to the mean each statement received:-

- (1.4) 1. Do you think that marriages should be arranged with members of families of equal status in wealth, name, and origin?



- (1.4) 2. Do you think a family should stick strongly to family customs?
- (1.4) 3. Do you think a person should adhere strongly to religious observances?
- (2.4) 4. Do you think that government should reduce the strength of Labor Unions?
- (2.5) 5. Do you think a person's loyalty to his religion should be prior to his loyalty to the nation.
- (2.6) 6. Do you think that it is preferable for the owner of a private institution to hire employees of his own religious denomination?
- (2.8) 7. Do you think that economic and recreational activities should be centered within the family?
- (2.8) 8. Do you think the woman at home should be subordinate to the men?
- (2.8) 9. Do you think that belonging to a union usually hurts people's chances for advancement in their jobs?
- (3.2) 10. Do you think that family members should consider the family as the social unit around which the individual's life is centered?
- (3.2) 11. Do you think the government should decrease its services?
- (3.2) 12. Would you say that your children had just as good a chance to use in the world as anybody else is?
- (3.2) 13. Do you agree that Lebanon is a land of opportunity and that people get pretty much what's coming to them in this country?

- (3.6) 14. Do you think the father's will should be accepted and followed when his advice is sought?
- (3.6) 15. Would you prefer arranged marriages of convenience rather than marriages based on personal choice and liking?
- (3.6) 16. Do you think your pay or salary is as high as it should be?
- (3.8) 17. Do you think you have a good chance to get ahead in your present line of work?
- ( 4 ) 18. Do you think that a person's loyalty to relatives outside his immediate family should be stronger than his loyalty to his business associates?
- ( 4 ) 19. Do you agree that everybody has equal power and influence in government?
- (4.6) 20. Are you satisfied with your present job?
- (4.8) 21. Do you think you have as good a chance to enjoy life as you should have?
- (5.2) 22. Do you think a boy should have as much education as he wants?
- (5.2) 23. Do you think that it is preferable for a person to receive his education in a national Institution rather than in a Western Institution?
- (5.4) 24. Do you think that western influence will improve conditions in Lebanon?
- (5.7) 25. Do you think that art is most enjoyable when viewed by itself rather than when accompanying a ceremony?

- (6.4) 26. Would you prefer Western art and movies to Arab art and movies?
- (6.6) 27. Do you prefer Western literature to Arab literature? time with their friends outside the home rather than at home with members of the family?
- ( 7 ) 29. Do you think that the most important job for the government is to make certain that there are good opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own?
- ( 7 ) 30. Do you think that activities should be sought individually and according to one's interests?
- (7.2) 31. Do you approve of women receiving education?
- (7.6) 32. Do you think that civil servants should be recruited by impartial examination?
- (7.6) 33. Do you think that Western technology would have a beneficial effect on Lebanese society?
- (7.8) 34. Do you think that the government should extend its services?
- (7.8) 35. Do you think the government should raise the income tax?
- ( 8 ) 36. Do you think women should participate on an equal basis with men at social gatherings?
- (8.2) 37. Do you think that the most important job for the government is to guarantee every person a decent and steady job and standard of living?
- (8.2) 38. Do you think a girl should have as much education as she wants?

- (8.6) 39. Do you prefer marriages which are arranged with individuals not equal in status, wealth and origin but tend to emphasize the education of the individual and his success in life?
- (8.8) 40. Do you think a child should be left to determine his own occupation rather than have his occupation determined by paternal authority?
- (8.8) 41. Do you value an individual for his achievements rather than his line of descent?
- (8.8) 42. Do you think that women should be free to take jobs outside the home?
- ( 9 ) 43. Do you approve of co-educational schools?
- ( 92 ) 44. Do you think a high degree of education is necessary for girls?
- (9.2) 45. Do you think that everybody would be better off if the lands were more equally distributed among the farm people?
- (9.6) 46. Do you think that women should hold jobs of the same responsibility and pay as men?
- (9.6) 47. Do you think that mixing between the sexes should be carried on more freely, especially in social activities and parties?
- ( 10 ) 48. Do you think that labor unions should be strengthened?
- (10.2) 49. Do you think that government should strengthen labor unions?

(10.2) 50. Do you think that marriages should be conducted by a government official?

(10.6) 51. Do you think wages and salaries would be fairer, jobs more steady, and that we have fewer people out of work if the government look over and ran our factories and industries in the future, rather than having things done under private ownership?

#### C. Definition of Variables:

In discriminating between a conservative versus liberal attitudes, the writer relied upon the judges' definition of a conservative versus liberal attitude. That is to say, subjects answering items number 1 through 19 positively are regarded as persons possessing conservative attitudes. Modification of the definition was sometimes inevitable, since relativity of attitudes was sufficing for the discrimination between conservative versus liberal attitudes.

With regard the liberal attitude, subjects answering questions number 30 through 51 positively are judged to be persons of liberal attitudes.

#### D. Collection of Data:

Data was collected by a personally administered questionnaire supplemented by the interviewing technique. The interviewing was started in May 1959 and terminated in October 1959. Very few refusals were encountered. The three subjects

who refused to answer were of the lower occupational strata. The higher occupational strata showed co-operation on all questions, but 9.2% of them refused to answer the income question. The interview took approximately fifty minutes.

#### E. Definition of the Sample Cases:

The Universe of study was the male adults in Beirut, Lebanon. In order to compare the conservative-liberal attitudes of the various groups, subjects of diverse socio-economic level, diverse educational level, diverse occupation and religious groups were interviewed. The subjects were all males. These cases were purposively sampled from various occupations, according to their social prestige.

This study is best described as a case study of selected population of Beirut. However, representativeness of the different occupations was to a large extent attempted since the quota sampling method was employed. The 131 subjects were men who have resided in Beirut for a period longer than ten years.

##### 1. Age Distribution of the Subject:

Table 1 shows the age distribution of the subjects. The specific class interval, used here, was chosen as such for the cases distributed themselves empirically evenly in each class interval. Table 1 indicates that the average age of the whole sample group is 40 years. The same table suggests that there is no significant difference in age among the subjects.

Table 1

Age Distribution of the Sample Group

<u>Years of age</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1-28-33	33	25.2
2-34-39	37	28.2
3-40-45	20	15.3
4-46-51	28	21.4
5-52 and above	13	9.9

2. Education:

Table 2 below shows the level of educational attainment of the sample cases. The table indicates that there is a significant difference in the educational level of the cases.

Table 2

Educational Level of the Sample Cases

<u>Type of Education</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Elementary	27	20.6
2. Elementary graduate	5	3.8
3. Some secondary education	3	2.3
4. Secondary graduate	6	4.6
5. Some college education	9	6.9
6. College graduate	18	13.7
7. Post graduate	33	25.2
8. No education	30	22.9

### 3. Occupation\*

Table 3 shows the various occupations of the study group. They fall under four main categories:

#### 1. Large Businessmen.

This category is composed of bankers, manufacturers, large department store owners, managers, proprietors and merchants.

#### 2. Professionals

This stratum includes physicians, dentists, professors, teachers, engineers and lawyers.

#### 3. White collar and skilled manual workers

This category is mainly composed of clerks, salesmen, agents, semi-professional workers, technicians, carpenters, machinists, plumbers, masons, printers, barbers, cooks and owners of small shops.

#### 4. Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers

These strata are composed of truck drivers, machine operators, service station attendants, waiters, counter men, garage laborers, sweepers, porters, janitors, street cleaners, construction laborers.

Table 3

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Large Businessmen	38	29
2. Professionals	28	21.4
3. White collar and skilled manual workers	45	34.3
4. Semi-skilled manual workers and unskilled manual workers	20	15.3



#### 4. Income:

Table 4 shows the level of economic status of the cases. The specific class intervals for income was used because the subjects distribute themselves empirically evenly in each class interval.

Table 4

Income per year of the respondents

	<u>Income</u>	<u>L.L.</u>		<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1.	1	-	2000	36	27.5
2.	2001	-	4000	24	18.3
3.	4001	-	6000	3	2.3
4.	6001	-	7000	1	.7
5.	7001	-	20000	10	7.6
6.	21000	-	40000	21	16.0
7.	41000	-	60000	12	9.2
8.	61000	-	80000	2	1.5
9.	81000	-	100000	3	2.3
10.	101000	-	500000	3	2.3
11.	501000	-	and above	4	3.1
12.	no answer			12	9.2

#### 5. Religion

Table five shows that 53.4% of the study group is Moslem; the remainder, or 46.6% of the group is Christian.

Table 5

Religious Distribution of the Cases

<u>Religion</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Moslem	70	53.4
2. Christian	61	46.6

## CHAPTER III

### ANALYTICAL CONTENT AND PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

It is hypothesized by this study that there is a relationship between conservatism and social status among the sample group. Six sub-hypotheses were proposed from the major hypothesis.<sup>1</sup> These sub-hypotheses will be subjected to statistical testing in sections A,A,C,D,E, and F of the current chapter.

The writer stated in Chapter I that the independent variable of the study, that is status, is measured in terms of the following indices: occupation, income and education. The following parts of this chapter will be concerned with the analysis of attitudes and beliefs in relation to occupational stratification. An analysis of the relation of attitudes to economic status, a second index of status, will be attempted together with the analysis of attitudes in relation to occupation.

#### A. Attitudes and Belief in Relation to Occupational Stratification

The reader will observe that some attitude questions do not manifest differences between the diverse sample groups, whether they are occupational, economic, or educational. Other questions

---

<sup>1</sup> For further explanation refer to page 16 of this thesis.

reveal vast dissimilarities between sample groups. Sometimes, the variation is slight, other times, it is large. Whether it is a difference of major degrees or minor degrees, still, in the final results, it shows some significant trends in the analysis of these occupational groups.

Attitude differences in relation to occupational stratification shall have a detailed consideration in the present study, since differences in people's occupation connote a difference in income, education and prestige. Occupation is considered by this study as the most reliable index of status.

Presentation of the findings will be supplemented with the subjective comments on the data. The subjective explanations are derived from literature written about the Middle Eastern and Lebanese cultures. All of these relevant references were referred to in the introductory chapter. The personal experience of the writer as a participant observer of the social structure, under study, provided the writer with further insights on the Middle Eastern culture.

1. Attitude Differences of occupational strata in Relation to Political views

The sub-hypothesis to be verified in the present section of Chapter III is that there is a direct relationship between status and conservative political views.

The type of information that will be drawn to test the hypothesis centers on three main aspects of the political institution.

1. Satisfaction with political participation. It is assumed that there is a direct relationship between conservatism and satisfaction with political participation.

2. Attitudes toward the extension of government intervention. It is assumed that there is an inverse relationship between conservatism and attitudes toward the extension of government intervention.

3. Attitudes toward unions. It is assumed that there is a direct relationship between conservatism and antagonistic attitudes toward unions.

a. Satisfaction with Political Participation

Three items of the interview schedule scrutinize the individual's attitude in relation to satisfaction with political participation. The author will analyze, in the current section, the findings referring to items 12, 13, and 15 of the interview schedule.

Item 12 of the interview schedule states whether the cases believe that Lebanon is a land of opportunity, and people get

pretty much what is coming to them in this country.

The findings in table 6 on page 36 confirm the statement that the majority of the cases interviewed strongly believe that Lebanon is a land of opportunity, and people get pretty much what is coming to them in this country. This majority is 63.4%. Those who most strongly disagree are the semi-skilled manual workers and the unskilled manual workers for 20% of them strongly disagree that Lebanon is a land of opportunity. Such a finding is attributed to the dissatisfaction of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. These strata are somehow dissatisfied with the opportunities that are available. Nevertheless, it can be generalized that most of the Lebanese cases interviewed have optimistic attitude with regard to opportunity for 7.6% is the total proportion of these who strongly disagree with the statement. This question is not to be regarded as a measure of liberal versus conservative political views only. The findings reflect attitudes of the people with regard to social system under study. Therefore, the resultant findings are not to be ascribed to the predominance of conservative attitudes with regard to the satisfaction with opportunity, but it should be attributed to the prevalence of the opinion that Lebanon does not have a rigid social structure. Most of the cases believe that anybody, provided he works hard, can advance and get what he aspires. They believe that success is attainable provided a person knows how to use the opportunity. The

TABLE 6

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Liberal vs. Conservative attitude with regard  
 to Opportunity (Q. 12.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly agree	83	63.4	26	68.4	15	53.6	27	60	15	75
2. Mildly agree	24	18.3	9	23.7	6	21.4	8	17.8	1	5
3. Indifferent	3	2.3	-	-	-	-	3	6.7	-	-
4. Mildly disagree	11	8.4	2	5.3	6	21.4	3	6.7	-	-
5. Strongly disagree	10	7.6	1	2.6	1	3.6	4	8.8	4	20
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

rest of the findings with regard to this question are found in table 6 on page 36. Item 13 of the questionnaire is related to the previous one, and is concerned with political views. The subjects are asked whether they believe that everybody has equal power and influence in government.

The findings presented in table 7 on page 38 suggest that the lower the occupational status of the person, the more likely he is to be dissatisfied with political participation. This finding is confirmed by the results associated with attitude differences in relation to income groups. Table 39 in appendix A manifests that the lower the person's income the less satisfied he is with political participation.

Though the difference in attitudes is very slight, most of the cases who strongly agree that everybody has equal power and influence in government are large businessmen, for 5.3% of them strongly agree, and 10.5% of them mildly agree with this attitude; whereas, only 3.6% of the professionals, and 2.2% of the skilled manual workers strongly agree with this point of view. Similarly, only 3.6% of the professionals, 4.4% of the skilled manual workers, and 5% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers mildly agree with this point of view. The cases who state that they are most strongly dissatisfied with political participation are the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers; 82.3% of the skilled manual workers say that they are strongly dissatisfied with political participation.



TABLE 7

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Satisfaction with Political Representation  
(Q 13.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.Strongly agree	14	3.1	2	5.3	1	3.6	1	2.2	-	-
2.Mildly agree	8	6	4	10.5	1	3.6	2	4.4	1	5
3.Indifferent	6	4.6	1	2.6	-	-	5	11.1	-	-
4.Mildly disagree	22	16.8	16	42.1	6	21.4	-	-	-	-
5.Strongly disagree	91	69.5	15	39.5	20	71.4	37	82.3	19	95
6.No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Only 39.5% of the large businessmen, and 71.4% of the professionals are strongly dissatisfied with the political participation. The majority of the large businessmen and professionals are only mildly dissatisfied for 42.1% of the large businessmen, and 21.4% of the professionals say so, and nobody of the lower four occupational strata agrees with this view.

Item number 15 is concerned with collective versus individualistic attitude. The question expresses the opinion that the most important job for the government is to guarantee every person a decent and steady job and standard of living. Those who strongly agree are the four lower occupational strata, for 90% of the semi-skilled manual workers and unskilled manual workers, and 93.4% of white collar and skilled manual workers strongly agree with this notion; only 60.7% of the professionals and 34.2% of the large businessmen hold such a view. Those who strongly disagree are mostly large businessmen for 26.3% of them strongly disagree with this collective trend. The disagreement drops as one moves down the occupational strata - 7.1% of the professionals, 2.2% of the skilled manual workers, and 10% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers strongly disagree with this point of view.

Presenting what has been said in a summary form, it can be stated that there is a direct relationship between occupational status and satisfaction with political participation. Political power and privileges usually accompany upper class membership.

TABLE 8

Attitude Defferences of Occupational Strata:  
 Collective vs. Individualistic Attitude  
 (Q 15)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.Strongly disagree	15	11.4	10	26.3	2	7.1	1	2.2	2	10
2.Mildly disagree	5	3.8	2	5.3	2	7.1	1	2.2	-	-
3.Indifferent	5	3.8	3	7.8	1	3.6	1	2.2	-	-
4.Mildly agree	16	12.2	10	26.3	6	21.4	-	-	-	-
5.Strongly agree	90	68.7	13	34.2	17	60.7	42	93.4	18	90
6.No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

That is why, as a group, the upper class is bitterly opposed to political and economic reform since reform can only be at its expense.

b. Attitude toward the extension of government intervention

To test the subjects' attitudes toward the extension of government intervention, three items are proposed. They are items 14, 46, and 50 of the interview schedule. The writer will interpret in this section of Chapter III the findings referring to these three relevant items.

Item 14 of the questionnaire states whether subjects agree that wages and salaries would be fairer, jobs more steady, and there would be fewer people out of work if the government took over and ran the factories and industries in the future rather than having things done under private ownership. Large differences exist between the attitudes of the diverse occupational strata. The results given in table 9 on page 42 indicate that the lower the person's occupational status, the more he is to hold "the government ownership of industry" opinion. Those who most strongly disagree are the large businessmen for 89.5% of them express such a view. The next strata that strongly disagree is the professional strata for 57.2% of them are strongly against the opinion of government ownership of industry. The lower four occupational are more for government ownership of industry for only 22.3% of skilled manual workers are strongly against the government ownership, and only 5% of the semi-

TABLE 9

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Government vs. Private Ownership of Industry  
(Q 14.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.Strongly disagree	61	46.5	34	89.5	16	57.2	10	22.3	1	5
2.Mildly disagree	3	2.3	-	-	3	10.7	-	-	-	-
3.Indifferent	5	3.8	-	-	2	7.1	3	6.6	-	-
4.Mildly agree	6	4.6	-	-	4	14.3	2	4.4	-	-
5.Strongly agree	56	42.8	4	10.5	3	10.7	30	66.7	19	95
6.No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

skilled and unskilled manual workers are strongly against the idea of government ownership of industry. As to those who strongly agree with this opinion, 95% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 66.7% of the skilled manual workers strongly agree with the idea of government ownership of industry. The higher two occupational strata are more conservative concerning this point of view, for only 10.5% of the large businessmen and 10.7% of the professionals strongly agree with the opinion of government ownership of industry. Basing the conclusion on the findings, it can be affirmed that the lower the occupational status of the person, the more apt he is to hold "the government ownership of Industry" opinion. This conclusion is confirmed by findings associated with attitude differences in relation to income groups. Results found in table 40, in Appendix B suggest that almost all those who strongly agree with the notion of government ownership of industry are of the lower income level, that is cases with an income of 6000 Lebanese pounds and less a year.

This liberalism in the attitude of the lower occupational strata and this desire for change in the economic as well as political structure is attributed to the general dissatisfaction of the lower occupational strata. Later on, it shall be manifested in the section related to attitude toward occupation and pay<sup>1</sup> that the lower occupational strata are the people to be

---

<sup>1</sup> See page 52 of this thesis.

least dissatisfied with their pay and their occupation. Item 50 of the interview schedule asks the respondents whether they believe that everybody would be better off if the lands were more equally distributed among the farm people. The findings in table 10 on page 45 suggest that 65.9% of the large businessmen, and 32.1% of the professionals strongly disapprove of this point of view. The disapproval drops sharply as one reads down the occupational level; 2.2% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, 10% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers hold such a view. Those who strongly approve of such a point of view are mainly from the four lower occupational strata: 85% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 91.2% of the white collar and skilled manual workers. Very few subjects of the professional group and the large businessmen strongly approve of the limitation of land ownership: 14.3% of the professionals, and 15.8% of the large businessmen state such an attitude. Furthermore, table 41 in Appendix A, indicates that the higher the person's income, the more strongly he disapproves of the limitation of land ownership. Therefore, the findings associated with attitude differences in relation to income groups corroborate the findings associated with attitude differences in relation to occupational groups. The findings to item 46 verify the statement that a majority of the sample group strongly agree that the government should direct all primary and secondary schools. Still, differences do exist between occupational strata. It is found in table 11 on page 47

TABLE 10

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Confidence in the Limitation of Land Ownership (Q 50.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disapprove	37	28.3	25	65.9	9	32.1	1	2.2	2	10
2. Mildly disapprove	8	6.1	1	2.6	7	25.0	-	-	-	-
3. Indifferent	6	4.6	1	2.6	3	10.7	1	2.2	1	5
4. Mildly approve	10	7.6	4	10.5	5	17.8	1	2.2	-	-
5. Strongly approve	68	51.9	6	15.8	4	14.3	41	91.2	17	85
6. No vast land ownership	2	1.5	1	2.6	-	-	1	2.2	-	-



that 80% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 93.4% of the white collar and skilled manual workers declare that they strongly agree that the government should direct all primary and secondary schools; only 42.9% of the professionals, and 26.3% of the large businessmen hold such a view. The majority of the large businessmen, or 34.3% of them mildly approve of government direction of schools, 28.6% of the professionals mildly approve also; whereas nobody of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and nobody of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual expresses a mild approval attitude.

The findings related to item 46 confirm the statement that the lower the person's occupational status the more strongly he approves of government direction of schools. The attitudes of the income groups in relation to government direction of schools coincide with the attitudes of the occupational groups. The findings in table 42 of Appendix A discloses that the lower the person's status the more strongly he approves of the government direction of schools.

It has been demonstrated in this section that the data related to items 14, 46, and 50 confirm the statement that the higher the person's occupational status, the more apt he is to be opposed to the extension of government intervention. The underlying reason for such an opposition is attributed to the fact that the Lebanese, generally speaking, distrust the government and desire to protect private property and personal rights

TABLE 11

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Government vs. Free Direction of Schools  
 (Q 46.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disapprove	10	7.6	5	13.1	2	7.1	-	-	3	15
2. Mildly disapprove	15	11.4	9	23.7	4	14.3	2	4.4	-	-
3. Indifferent	5	3.8	1	2.6	2	7.1	2.2	1	-	-
4. Mildly approve	21	16.1	13	34.3	8	28.6	-	-	-	-
5. Strongly approve	80	61.1	10	26.3	12	42.9	42	93.4	16	80
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

against encroachment by the state.<sup>1</sup> Since the upper occupational strata enjoy more privileges than the lower strata, they are more opposed to the extension of government intervention. The lower occupational strata are discontented, and they believe that reform might accompany change.

c. Attitudes toward unions

Items 18, and 48 of the interview schedule inquire about the subjects attitude with regard to unions. The subjects are asked by item 18 whether they think that belonging to a union usually hurts people's chances for advancement in their jobs. Table 12 on page 49 shows that the two upper strata have moderate views regarding Unions. The majority of the large businessmen, that is 47.7% of them, and 50% of the professionals believe that unions somewhat help people's chances for advancement in their jobs; whereas only 8.9% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and 10% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers believe that unions somewhat help people's chances for advancement in their jobs. Most of the white collar and skilled manual workers, that is 73.3% of them, and 80% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers believe that unions greatly helps people's chances for advancement in their jobs. The large businessmen who say that unions greatly help people's chances for advancement in their jobs are 18.4%

---

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Mills, Private Enterprise in Lebanon, (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1959), p. 46.

TABLE 12

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Confidence in Unionism (Q 18.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.Greatly hurts	1	.7	1	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.Somewhat hurts	5	3.8	4	10.5	-	-	-	-	-	5
3.Indifferent	21	16.0	6	15.8	6	21.4	8	17.8	1	5
4.Somewhat helps	38	29.1	18	47.4	14	50.0	4	8.9	2	10
5.Greatly helps	64	48.9	7	18.4	8	28.6	33	73.3	16	80
6.No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.Cannot be applied here	2	1.5	2	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-

and 28.6% of the professionals express such an attitude. Item 48 differs somehow from item 18 for subjects, here, are asked whether they believe that the government should help strengthen labor unions. The findings in table 13 manifest differences in attitude among the occupational strata; 95% of the semi-skilled manual workers and unskilled manual workers, and 88.9% of the white collar and skilled manual workers strongly approve that the government should help strengthen labor unions; only 25% of the professionals and 15.8% of the large businessmen hold such a view. The large businessmen who mildly approve that the government should help strengthen labor unions are 42.1%, and the professionals are 39.3%, whereas only 8.9% of the white collar, and nobody of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers state such an attitude.

It can be inferred from the empirical data presented that the lower the occupational level of the person is, the more likely he is to hold the view that the government should help strengthen labor unions. This inference is asserted by findings associated with attitude differences in relation to income groups. Table 43 in Appendix A suggest that the lower the person's income, the more strongly he approves of the strengthening of labor unions of the government. The upper occupational strata, especially employers, refuse to acknowledge the right of workers to organize themselves in trade unions, for they believe that trade unions are a threat to their superior

TABLE 13

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:

Attitude Towards the Strengthening of Labor

Unions by the Government (Q 48.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disapprove	4	3.0	4	10.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Mildly disapprove	12	9.2	7	18.4	5	17.8	-	-	-	-
3. Indifferent	12	9.2	5	13.2	5	17.8	1	2.2	1	5
4. Mildly approve	31	23.7	16	42.1	11	39.3	4	8.9	-	-
5. Strongly approve	72	54.9	6	15.8	7	25	40	88.9	19	95
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

rights. Furthermore, the relevant findings manifest the remnant of feudal attitudes.<sup>1</sup>

### Summary

Relying upon the findings associated with political views, the hypothesis which states that the higher the person's occupational status the more conservative are his political views is born out. The factors underlying the conservative versus liberal political attitudes of the occupational strata will be clarified when the findings related to attitudes toward occupation and pay are presented in the following part of Chapter III.

#### 2. Attitudes toward satisfaction with occupation and pay.

The hypothesis to be verified in the present section of Chapter III is that there is a direct relationship between occupational status and satisfaction with occupation and pay.

Three types of questions are asked to verify the hypothesis:

1. Item 16 is concerned with the extent of satisfaction with income.
2. Item 17 is associated with the extent of satisfaction with opportunities for advancement.
3. Item 19 centers around the attitudes toward the success

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

of children.

The findings related to satisfaction with income explain why the lower occupational strata want the change in the economic as well as political sphere. Table 14 on page 54 shows that the higher the person's occupational status, the more likely he is to be satisfied with his income: 2.6% of the large businessmen say that their income is much less than they need; whereas 50% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 53.3% of the white collar and skilled manual workers say that their income is much less than they need. Other answers to question 16 assert the statement that the higher the person's occupational strata the more apt he is to be satisfied with his income: 60.5% of the large businessmen, 50% of the professionals say that their income is just about right; only 20% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and 10% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers say that their income is just about right. When the subjects were asked whether they think that their income is somewhat more than the need: 15.8% of the large businessmen, 7.1% of the professionals, nobody of the four lower occupational strata declare such an attitude. Thus, it can be inferred from table 14 that the majority of the large businessmen and the professionals say that their income is about right. On the other hand, the majority of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and the semi-skilled and



TABLE 14

## Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:

## Satisfaction with Income

(Q 16.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Much more than I need	5	3.8	2	5.3	3	10.7	-	-	-	-
2. Somewhat more than I need	8	6.1	6	15.8	2	7.1	-	-	-	-
3. About right	48	36.6	23	60.5	14	50.0	9	20	2	10
4. Somewhat less than I need	33	25.2	4	10.5	9	32.2	12	26.7	8	40
5. Much less than I need	35	26.8	1	2.6	-	-	24	53.3	10	50
6. No answer	2	1.5	2	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-

unskilled manual workers say that their income is much less than they need.

The next "satisfaction" question is concerned with the extent of satisfaction with opportunities for advancement. The results in table 15 on page 56 indicate that the group which is most optimistic with regard to advancement is the professional group: 53.7% of them say that they have excellent chance for advancement, and 7.1% of them say that they have reached the top already. The large businessmen, too, are greatly satisfied with opportunities for advancement for 44.7% of them say that they have excellent chance for advancement, and 15.8% of them say that they have reached the top already. This finding supports the inference that the lower occupational strata desire change, for in addition to being dissatisfied with income, their jobs don't hold any interest for them. They are dissatisfied with income, as well as with their occupation.

Item 19 inquires about the chances the subjects' children have to rise in the world as compared to other people's children. The results in table 16 signify that 38.2% of the cases believe that their children have a somewhat better chance, and 23.6% of the cases say that their children have about the same chance. Those who say that their children have somewhat poorer chance are mostly of the four lower occupational strata, for 13.3% of the skilled manual workers, and 75% of the semi-skilled

TABLE 15

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Satisfaction with Opportunities for Advance-  
ment (Q 17.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Excellent chance	33	25.2	17	44.7	15	53.7	1	2.2	-	-
2. Fairly chance	23	17.5	12	31.6	6	21.4	5	11.1	-	-
3. Moderate chance	9	6.9	2	5.3	3	10.7	4	8.9	-	-
4. Slight chance	23	17.6	-	-	2	7.1	15	33.3	6	30
5. No chance	34	26.0	-	-	-	-	20	44.5	14	70
6. Reached top already	8	6.1	6	15.8	2	7.1	-	-	-	-
7. No answer	1	.7	1	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 16

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Opportunities for Children  
 (Q 19.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Much better chance	15	11.4	7	18.4	5	17.8	3	6.7	-	-
2. Somewhat better chance	50	38.2	12	31.6	11	39.4	23	51.1	4	20
3. About the same chance	31	23.6	12	31.6	6	21.4	5	11.1	8	40
4. Somewhat poorer chance	11	8.4	2	5.3	-	-	6	13.3	3	15
5. Much poorer chance	4	3.1	-	-	-	-	3	6.7	1	5
6. No answer	8	6.1	2	5.3	-	-	3	6.7	3	15
7. No children	12	9.2	3	7.8	6	21.4	2	4.4	1	5

and unskilled manual workers state such an opinion. Similarly, 6.7% of the skilled manual workers, and 5% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers declare that their children have a much poorer chance to rise in the world as compared to other people's children. Those who say a "much better chance" are mainly of the two upper occupational strata for 18.4% of the large businessmen, 17.8% of the professionals, nobody of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and only 6.7% of the skilled manual workers say that their children have a much better chance to rise in the world as compared to other people's children. Most of the cases are somewhat optimistic about their children's future. The underlying basis for the prevalence of such an optimistic attitude is the belief that education is the key for advancement. Any obstacle to advancement and mobility, such as a rigid social structure, cannot hinder them from progressing. Those who cannot afford to educate their children are the least hopeful for their children's chances of advancement.

#### Summary

The data pertinent to the subject of "job-pay satisfaction" support the hypothesis that the higher the person's occupational status the more apt he is to be satisfied with his occupation and pay.

Relying upon the findings concerned with attitudes toward

the success of children, it cannot be confirmed that the higher the person's occupational status the more confident he is about his children's future. The underlying assumption for such a finding is the fact that most of the Lebanese cases interviewed, believe that Lebanon is a land of opportunity and people get pretty much what is coming to them in this country.<sup>1</sup>

Living in such a liberal environment promotes and facilitates adjustment to change, whether social or technological. However, the writer's assumption is that the higher the person's status, the more liberal are his views toward social change. It will be the purpose of part C to elaborate on the relationship of status to attitudes concerning social change in areas other than the politico-economic.

### 3. Attitudes toward Social Change

The hypothesis to be tested, in this section, is that there is a direct relationship between occupational status and liberal views toward social change in areas other than the politico-economic.

Item 24, and 28 of the interview schedule are set to test the attitudes toward social change. When respondents are asked what they think would be the effect of social change on society,

---

<sup>1</sup> For further explanation see findings in table 6.

the attitudes do not greatly vary from one occupational strata to another. It can be generalized that most of these Lebanese cases don't have a rigid orientation, for with the exception of one person, none of them say that social change would greatly harm the society. To them, social change means improvement of conditions, and that is why change is welcomed.

Findings in table 17 on page 61 state that 52.7% of the large businessmen, 50% of the professionals, 48.9% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, 45% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers say that social change would somehow improve the society. Most probably, the poorly educated subjects do not comprehend the question, for 35% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 8.9% of the skilled manual workers say that social change will make no difference. Nobody of the professionals, and only 2.6% of the large businessmen support this point of view.

Item 28 investigates the attitude of the respondents with regard to the application of western technology to Lebanese society. Findings in table 18 shows that although 1.5% of the whole sample say that western technology would greatly harm the society, yet 57.8% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and 35% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers say that western technology would somehow harm the society; nobody of the professionals, and only 2.6% of the large businessmen agree with this point of view. It is assumed by the writer that such a

TABLE 17

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Conservative vs. Liberal Outlook with Respect to  
 Social Change (Q 24.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Greatly harm the society	1	.7	1	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Somehow harm the society	7	5.3	-	-	2	7.1	3	6.7	2	10
3. Make no difference	12	9.2	1	2.6	-	-	4	8.9	7	35
4. Somehow improve the society	65	49.7	20	52.7	14	50	22	48.9	9	45
5. Greatly improve the society	39	29.8	12	31.6	11	39.4	15	33.3	1	5
6. No answer	7	5.3	4	10.5	1	3.6	1	2.2	1	5



finding is attributed to the fact that the skilled manual workers resist technological advancement for it causes a threat to their jobs, not because of a conservative mentality. This apprehensive reason was admitted by many subjects.

Those who say that western technology would have a far beneficial effect on society are mainly of the two upper occupational strata; 76.3% of the large businessmen, and 57.2% of the professional support such a view.

#### Summary

Findings related to the hypothesis that the higher the person's status the more liberal are his views on social change indicate that the different occupational groups hold similar attitudes. Such a finding is ascribed to the fact that the geographical location of Lebanon has helped its people develop an extraordinary facility for adjusting to new situations.<sup>1</sup>

Findings identified with attitudes toward technological advancement confirm the hypothesis that the higher the person's status the more liberal are his views with regard to social change.

Several aspects of social change are not exhausted in this treatise. It will be the task of sections D, E, and F of this chapter to present an exhaustive treatise of attitudes that are associated with various aspects of social change.

---

<sup>1</sup> Samir Khalaf, Managements' Attitude Toward Human Relations In Lebanese Industry, (Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut, 1957) p. 41.

TABLE 18

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Reaction to Western Technology in its Application to the  
Lebanese Society (Q 28.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Greatly harm the society	2	1.5	-	-	-	-	1	2.2	1	5
2. Somehow harm the society	34	26	1	2.6	-	-	26	57.8	7	35
3. Make no difference	2	1.5	-	-	-	-	2	4.4	-	-
4. Fairly beneficial effect on society	39	29.8	8	21.1	12	42.8	7	15.6	12	60
5. Far beneficial effect on society	54	41.2	29	76.3	16	57.2	9	20	-	-
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

#### 4. Attitudes toward change of family customs

The writer's task, in this section, is to analyze attitude differences of the occupational strata with regard to change of family customs. Six items are established to test the hypothesis that there is a direct relationship between the person's occupational status and liberal views toward change of family customs. They are items 30, 31, 35, 41, 42 and 43.

Item 30 states that a family should stick strongly to family customs. Table 19 on page 65 confirms that 100% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 88.9% of the white collar and skilled manual workers strongly agree that the family should stick strongly to family customs. The two upper occupational strata are more liberal in their attitudes toward family customs: 7.1% of the professionals and 15.9% of the large businessmen strongly believe that a family should stick strongly to family customs. The majority of the large businessmen, or 44.7% of them, and 35.7% of the professionals mildly agree that a family should stick strongly to family customs; only 6.7% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and nobody of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers mildly agree with this point of view. The lower occupational group want to keep the family the way it is, for it is the only source of security to them. Their occupations do not hold any interest to them, nor their income. The only source of security is their family, where they find great gratification.

TABLE 19

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Conservative vs. Liberal attitude Towards Family Customs  
 (Q 30.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly agree	68	51.9	6	15.9	2	7.1	40	88.9	20	100
2. Mildly agree	30	22.9	17	44.7	10	35.7	3	6.7	-	-
3. Indifferent	8	6.1	4	10.5	4	14.3	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly disagree	13	9.9	3	7.8	8	28.6	2	4.4	-	-
5. Strongly disagree	9	6.9	6	15.8	3	10.7	-	-	-	-
6. No answer	3	2.3	2	5.3	1	3.6	-	-	-	-

Item 31 of the interview schedule is concerned with the extent to which a family should exercise control over the individual. The question asks whether the subjects agree that a child should be left to determine his own occupation rather than have his occupation determined by paternal authority. Table 20 on page 67 indicates that the difference in attitude among the occupational strata is just discernable: 20% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, 11.1% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, 3.6% of the professionals, and 5.4% of the large businessmen strongly disagree with this statement. The majority mildly agree, or strongly agree that a child should be left to determine his own occupation rather than have his occupation determined by paternal authority.

Question 35 asks the subjects whether they prefer arranged marriages of convenience to marriages based on personal choice and liking. Not any of the occupational strata supports such a view, although the four lower occupational strata are more in favor of arranged marriages than the upper occupational strata.

Table 21 on page 69 points out that 30% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, 22.2% of the white collar and skilled manual workers strongly agree with the idea of marriage of convenience; the same percentages mildly agree with this opinion. Only 7.1% of the professionals, and 7.9% of the large businessmen strongly agree with the idea of marriage of convenience. Likewise, 7.9% of the large businessmen, and nobody of

TABLE 20

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Liberal vs. Conservative Attitude with Regard to a Child's  
 up-Bringing (Q 31)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disagree	12	9.2	2	5.4	1	3.6	5	11.1	4	20
2. Mildly disagree	16	12.2	3	7.8	2	7.1	8	17.8	3	15
3. Indifferent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly agree	41	31.3	14	36.8	7	25	13	28.9	7	35
5. Strongly agree	62	47.3	19	50	18	64.3	19	42.2	6	30
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

the professionals mildly agree with this opinion. Those who strongly disagree with the idea of marriage of convenience are mostly of the two upper occupational strata: 57.9% of the large businessmen, and 60.7% of the professionals strongly disapprove of the convenient marriage. The disapproval drops down as one reads down the occupational level - only 35.6% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and 15% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers declare such an attitude.

Respondents are further asked by question 41, "Do you think that the father's will should be followed when his advice is sought?" The findings in table 22 points out that attitudes vary: 75% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, 100% of the white collar and skilled manual workers strongly approve of this statement; only 25% of the professionals, and 18.4% of the large businessmen strongly agree with the statement that the father's will should be followed when his advice is sought.

The majority of the large businessmen and professionals mildly agree with this statement: 60% of the large businessmen, 53.6% of the professionals mildly agree. On the other hand, nobody of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and 25% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers mildly agree with this attitude.

There is slight degree of difference between strong agreement and mild agreement, but the question as it is put did not

TABLE 21

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Preference of Marriage of Convenience to Marriage Based  
 on Personal Choice and Liking (Q 35.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly agree	21	16.0	3	7.9	2	7.1	10	22.2	6	30
2. Mildly agree	19	14.5	3	7.9	-	-	10	22.2	6	30
3. Indifferent	13	9.9	3	7.9	4	14.3	3	6.7	3	15
4. Mildly disagree	20	15.3	7	18.4	5	17.9	6	13.3	2	10
5. Strongly disagree	58	44.3	22	57.9	17	60.7	16	35.6	3	15
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



give the chance to the most liberal respondent to vary the answer.

Findings to item 41 assert the statement that the higher the person's occupational status the more democratic are his views with regard to family.

"Do you think that social activities should be centered within the family"? is another question that the subjects are asked to answer in item 42. The findings in table 23 on page 72 confirm the inference that people of the lower occupational strata more strongly support the centralization of social activities within the family: 95% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 93.4% of the white collar and skilled manual workers strongly agree with the notion of centralization; whereas, only 14.3% of the professionals, and 26.3% of the large businessmen proclaim such a conservative attitude. As to those who strongly disagree with the idea of centralization of social activities, they are mainly of the two upper occupational strata: 15.8% of the large business, and 17.9% of the professionals proclaim that they strongly disagree with the attitude of centralization of social activities within the family. Most of the two upper occupational strata mildly agree with the centralization of social activities within the family: 39.5% of the large businessmen, and 32.1% of the professionals express such a view.

Findings related to item 43 support also the statement that most of the four lower occupational strata strongly agree with

TABLE 22

## Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:

## Father's Role (Q 41.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly agree	74	56.5	7	18.4	7	25	45	100	15	75
2. Mildly agree	43	32.8	23	60.6	15	53.6	-	-	5	25
3. Indifferent	2	1.5	1	2.6	1	3.6	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly disagree	11	8.4	6	15.8	5	17.8	-	-	-	-
5. Strongly disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. No answer	1	.8	1	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 23

Attitude Differences of Occupation Strata:  
 Conservative vs. Liberal Attitude Towards the Centrali-  
 zation of Social Activities Within the Family  
 (Q 42)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-Skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly agree	75	57.2	10	26.3	4	14.3	42	93.4	19	95
2. Mildly agree	25	19.1	15	39.5	9	32.1	1	2.2	-	-
3. Indifferent	2	1.5	1	2.6	1	3.6	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly disagree	17	13	6	15.8	9	32.1	1	2.2	1	5
5. Strongly disagree	12	9.2	6	15.8	5	17.9	1	2.2	-	-
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

the attitude that economic and recreational activities should be centered within the family.

The relevant findings prove that to the upper occupational strata, the purpose of the family, as an institution, is changing. It is no longer serving as a center for social and economic activities, as it used to be. However, family loyalty is still very powerful, especially among the lower occupational strata. Among the lower occupational strata, family loyalty is prior to other loyalties.

#### Summary

Findings associated with items 30, 35, 41, 42, and 43 confirm the hypothesis that the higher the person's status the more liberal are his attitudes toward change of family customs. It can also be inferred that the two upper occupational strata are more for individualistic attitudes than the lower occupational strata. This phenomenon is ascribed to the fact that the lower occupational strata still hold the traditional point of view that the family is the basic social unit around which the individual's life should center.

#### 5. Attitudes toward Women's Status

The second aspect of social change is the one concerned with the changing status of woman. To verify the hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between a person's occu-

TABLE 24

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Conservative vs. Liberal Attitude Towards the Centrali-  
 zation of Economic Activities Within the Family  
 (Q 43.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.Strongly agree	49	37.5	2	5.3	3	10.7	28	62.2	16	80
2.Mildly agree	20	15.3	9	23.6	3	10.7	7	15.6	1	5
3.Indifferent	10	7.6	8	21.1	-	-	2	4.4	-	-
4.Mildly disagree	24	18.3	8	21.1	10	35.7	4	8.9	2	10
5.Strongly disagree	27	20.6	10	26.3	12	42.9	4	8.9	1	5
6.No answer	1	.7	1	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-

paternal status and conservative attitudes toward egalitarianism ✓  
in women's equality, subjects are questioned items number 20,  
25, 27, 36, 38, 39 and 40.

The findings to item 20, presented in table 25 on page 76 reveal that large differences exist between the occupational strata with respect to attitude toward the role of the women. As a general phenomenon, the lower the occupational status of the person is, the more likely he is to be against the idea of women holding jobs outside the home. The semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers who strongly disagree with the idea of women holding jobs outside home are 90%; the white collar and skilled manual workers are 75.6%; only 10.5% of the large businessmen, and nobody of the professionals hold such a view.

If proportion those who strongly agree that the women should be free to take jobs outside the home are taken, it will be found that 55.3% of the large businessmen, 53.7% of the professionals hold such a liberal attitudes; only 4.4% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and nobody of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers strongly approve of this attitude.

Centers attributes such a finding in the United States to the fact that recently women have in considerable numbers invaded industries and jobs that have long been the stronghold of the male.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>.Richard Centers, "Attitude and belief in relation to occupational stratification". Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 27, (June, 1948) p.161.

TABLE 25

## Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:

## Role of the Women

(Q 20.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disagree	56	42.8	4	10.5	-	-	34	75.6	18	90
2. Mildly disagree	9	6.9	1	2.6	5	17.8	2	4.4	1	5
3. Indifferent	7	5.3	4	10.5	2	7.1	-	-	1	5
4. Mildly agree	21	16.0	8	21.1	6	21.4	7	15.6	-	-
5. Strongly agree	38	29.0	21	55.3	15	53.7	2	4.4	-	-
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Such an explanation cannot be applied to Lebanon. It is generally thought that it is better for a woman to stay at home, so as not to create various kinds of problems for herself as well as for others. Of the other explanations to which such a finding is attributed is the lack of confidence in the ability of women holding jobs of the same responsibility as men. The findings in table 26 on page 78 show the answers to the question which says that women should hold jobs of the same responsibility and pay as men.

The results support the proposition that most of the cases who want to keep the woman at home have no confidence in her ability to hold jobs of the same responsibility as men. Those who strongly disagree with the idea of women holding jobs outside the home are the ones who have the least confidence in her ability to hold jobs of the same responsibility and pay as men. The semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers have the greatest majority of respondents strongly disagreeing with the opinion of women holding jobs of the same responsibility and pay as men: 85% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 73.3% of the white collar and skilled manual workers state such an attitude; whereas, only 7.1% of the professionals, and 5.3% of the large businessmen say that they strongly disagree with this point of view. Those who have the greatest confidence in the ability of women holding jobs of the same responsibility and pay as men are the two upper groups, the large businessmen and



TABLE 26

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Confidence in the Ability of Women Holding Jobs of the  
 same Responsibility and pay as men  
 (Q 25.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disagree	54	41.2	2	5.3	2	7.1	33	73.3	17	85
2. Mildly disagree	11	8.4	7	18.4	4	14.3	-	-	-	-
3. Indifferent	5	3.8	3	7.8	2	7.1	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly agree	23	17.5	10	26.3	6	21.5	5	11.1	2	10
5. Strongly agree	38	29.1	16	42.2	14	50	7	15.6	1	5
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

the professionals: 42.2% of the large businessmen, and 50% of the professionals say that they strongly approve of women holding jobs of the same responsibility and pay as men; whereas only 15.6% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and 5% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers strongly agree with this point of view. It is manifested that those who have the least confidence in the woman's ability, want to keep her at home.

Of the other items that are set to test the hypothesis that the higher the person's status the less conservative are his attitudes toward egalitarianism in women's status is item 27.

The findings to item 27 are presented in table 27 on page 80. The table reveals that the majority of the respondents strongly approve of the liberty of a girl to have as much education as she wants. This majority is 68.7%. Although most of the occupational strata strongly approve of the liberty of a girl to have as much education as she wishes, the two upper occupational strata stress the importance of such a belief more than the four lower ones: 81.6% of the large businessmen, 82.1% of the professionals, 60.0% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and 45% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers say that they strongly approve of girls receiving education. A word should be mentioned with regard to the conception of education by the various occupational strata. A person in the lower

TABLE 27

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Belief in the Liberty of a Girl to have as much Education  
 as she wants (Q 27.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disapprove	2	1.5	2	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Mildly disapprove	12	9.2	2	5.3	2	7.1	7	15.6	1	5
3. Indifferent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly approve	27	20.6	3	7.8	3	10.7	11	24.4	10	50
5. Strongly approve	90	68.7	31	81.6	23	82.1	27	60.0	9	45
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

occupational strata believes in the liberty of a girl to have as much education as she wants within the limit of the elementary school. A person in the upper occupational strata conceives of education in a broader outlook.

When the respondents are asked in item 36, "Do you believe that the women should be subordinate to the men at home", the attitude varies between the upper occupational strata and the lower occupational strata. Table 28 on page 82 shows that only 5.3% of the large businessmen, and nobody of the professionals say that they strongly agree that the women should be subordinate to the men at home; whereas 71.1% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and 90% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers admit this conservative attitude. The same table states that 68.4% of the large businessmen, and 71.4% of the professionals strongly disapprove of the opinion that the women should be subordinate to the men.

The lower occupational strata are the ones that strongly disagree with the idea of women holding jobs of the same responsibility and pay as men. They are the groups that believe that women should be subordinate to the men. They lack confidence in woman's ability, and they think that they have to guide the woman's steps. If probing a little bit further is attempted such findings may be attributed to the reason that the parents of the lower occupational strata cannot afford to send their

TABLE 28

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Conservative vs. Liberal Attitude Towards the Position of  
 a Woman (Q 36.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly agree	52	39.7	2	5.3	-	-	32	71.1	18	90.0
2. Mildly agree	21	16.0	4	10.5	6	21.4	9	20.0	2	10.0
3. Indifferent	3	2.3	3	7.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly disagree	6	4.6	3	7.9	2	7.1	1	2.2	-	-
5. Strongly disagree	49	37.4	26	68.4	20	71.4	3	6.7	-	-
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

girls to schools, consequently, they remain ignorant and in need of men's guidance. Furthermore, the man of the lower occupational strata enjoys the subordination of women, for his home is the only place for security, and that is why he wants to keep the status quo. The lower occupational strata still believe that if the girl takes her liberty and freedom, she will misbehave and bring shame to her family. That is why they want to shut her away from activities outside the home and from mixing with persons of the other sex.

Table 29 on page 84 indicates that a majority of the subjects strongly believe that high education is necessary for girls: 71.1% of the large businessmen, 71.4% of the professionals, 51.2% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, 50% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers strongly agree that high education is necessary for girls. This finding indicates that adjustment to modern tendencies is easily accomplished and accepted. However, when subjects are asked whether they approve of co-educational schools, table 30 on page 85 shows that 100% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, 86.7% of the white collar and skilled manual workers strongly disapprove of co-educational schools; whereas, nobody of the professionals, and only 7.9% of the large businessmen state such an attitude. The upper occupational strata have a large majority that strongly agree with the idea of co-educational schools; 60.5% of the large businessmen, and 53.6% of the professionals strongly agree

TABLE 29

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 The Necessity of High Education for  
 Girls (Q 38.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disagree	4	3.1	1	2.6	-	-	2	4.4	1	5
2. Mildly disagree	17	13	1	2.6	4	14.3	9	20	3	15
3. Indifferent	1	.7	1	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly agree	29	22.1	8	21.1	4	14.3	11	24.4	6	30
5. Strongly agree	80	61.1	27	71.1	20	71.4	23	51.2	10	50
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 30

## Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:

## Approval of co-Educational Schools

(Q 39.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disagree	62	47.3	3	7.9	-	-	39	86.7	20	100
2. Mildly disagree	4	3.1	-	-	3	10.7	1	2.2	-	-
3. Indifferent	3	2.3	-	-	3	10.7	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly agree	24	18.3	12	31.6	7	25	5	11.1	-	-
5. Strongly agree	38	29.0	23	60.5	15	53.6	-	-	-	-
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



with this point of view.

Subjects are further asked whether they believe that mixing between the sexes should be carried on more freely, especially at social activities and parties. Table 31 on page 87 informs us that those who strongly agree with this notion are the two upper occupational strata: 57.9% of the large businessmen, 46.4% of the professionals, nobody of the four lower occupational strata strongly approves of more mixing. Those who strongly disapprove of this point of view are the four lower occupational strata: 82.2% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, 100% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers hold such a view.

#### Summary

Findings related to items 20, 25, 36 and 40, confirm the hypothesis that the higher the person's status the less conservative are his attitudes toward egalitarianism in women's equality.

In section D, and E the writer discussed attitude differences with respect to two aspects of social change, namely, change within the family institution and change in woman's status. Sacred versus secular orientation is the third aspect associated with attitudes toward social change. It will be the task of section F to analyze the relationship of occupational status to sacred versus secular orientation.

TABLE 31

## Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:

Attitude Towards more mixing (Q 40.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disagree	59	45.0	1	2.6	1	3.6	37	82.2	20	100
2. Mildly disagree	12	9.2	3	7.9	3	10.7	6	13.3	-	-
3. Indifferent	7	5.3	5	13.2	2	7.1	-	-	-	-
4. Mildly agree	18	13.8	7	18.4	9	32.2	2	4.4	-	-
5. Strongly agree	35	26.7	22	57.9	13	46.4	-	-	-	-
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## 6. Sacred Versus Secular Orientation

The hypothesis to be verified is that there is a direct relationship between occupational status and secular orientation. The type of information for the verification of the hypothesis is drawn from the findings related to items 29, 44, 51 and 52.

Item 29 of the interview schedule is the first question that is built to test secular versus sacred orientation. It asks whether a person should adhere strongly to religious observance. The findings in table 32 on page 89 shows that the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers have the largest majority of subjects agreeing that persons should adhere strongly to religious observances: 100% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and 86.7% of the white collar and skilled manual workers state such an attitude; whereas only 10.5% of the large businessmen, and 3.6% of the professionals state such a point of view.

Those who strongly disagree with this point of view are mainly composed of large businessmen and professionals: 26.3% of the large businessmen, and 35.7% of the professionals strongly disagree with the notion that persons should adhere strongly to religious observances; only 11.1% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and nobody of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers holds such a view. The indifferent group is mainly composed of the upper occupational strata: 23.7% of

TABLE 32

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Conservative vs. Liberal Attitude Towards Religion  
 ( Q 29.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.Strongly agree	64	48.9	4	10.5	1	3.6	39	86.7	20	100
2.Mildly agree	18	13.7	12	31.7	5	17.8	1	2.2	-	-
3.Indifferent	17	13	9	23.7	8	28.6	-	-	-	-
4.Mildly disagree	7	5.3	3	7.8	4	14.3	-	-	-	-
5.Strongly disagree	25	19.1	10	26.3	10	35.7	5	11.1	-	-
6.No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

the large business, and 28.6% of the professionals. Item 44 is the second question that is built to test secular versus sacred attitudes. It states whether the subjects believe that it is preferable for the owner of a private institution to employ of his own religious denomination. Table 33 on page 91 indicates that a large majority of the subjects strongly disagree with this statement.

If one takes a general look at institutions in Lebanon, he is struck by the fact that most of the employees are of the same religion as the owner of the institution. Since most of the subjects condemn confessionalism, the prevalence of this phenomenon (employers and employees of the same religion) should be attributed to the presence of other factors besides confessionalism and sectarianism. This denotes the predominance of nepotism in recruitment.

One of the questions that indicate a secular attitude is this one: "marriage should be conducted by a government official." The results are stated in table 34 on page 93. Most of the lower occupational strata strongly disagree with the above mentioned statement: 95% of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, 80% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, nobody of the professionals, and 15.8% of the large businessmen express such a conservative attitude.

TABLE 33

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Conservative Attitude Towards Confessionalism in Lebanon  
 (Q 44.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly agree	4	3.1	2	5.3	1	3.6	-	-	1	5
2. Mildly agree	2	1.5	-	-	1	3.6	1	2.2	-	-
3. Indifferent	10	7.6	3	7.9	5	17.8	2	4.4	-	-
4. Mildly disagree	9	6.9	1	2.6	4	14.3	3	6.7	1	5
5. Strongly disagree	106	80.9	32	84.2	17	60.7	39	86.7	18	90
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The majority of those who strongly agree with the statement are of the two upper occupational strata: 57.8% of the large businessmen, 64.3% of the professionals, only 4.4% of the white collar and skilled manual workers, and nobody of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers declares such a liberal attitude. There is a direct relationship between those who strongly disapprove of civil marriage and those who strongly agree that a person should adhere strongly to religious observances.

The lower occupational strata want to keep the importance of the familial and religious institutions the way it used to be. They think that these institutions should have the precedence over other institutions in offering social services.

All the respondents with no exception strongly disagree with the idea that it would be better if political parties were based on the influence of religion or the influence of a man, rather than the influence of a principle. Awareness of the deficiencies of political parties in Lebanon, led the subjects to condemn unanimously the parties that are based on the influence of a man identified with a certain family or sect.

#### Summary

Findings to items 29 and 51 of the questionnaire substantiate the hypothesis that the higher the person's status the more secular is his orientation.

TABLE 34

## Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:

## Liberal Attitude Towards Civil Marriage

( Q 51.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Strongly disagree	61	46.6	6	15.8	-	-	36	80	19	95
2. Mildly disagree	9	6.9	2	5.3	4	14.3	3	6.7	-	-
3. Indifferent	14	10.7	6	15.8	4	14.3	4	8.9	-	-
4. Mildly agree	5	3.8	2	5.3	2	7.1	-	-	1	5
5. Strongly agree	42	32.0	22	57.8	18	64.3	2	4.4	-	-
6. No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



Answers to items 44 and 52 express strong denouncement of sectarianism by most of the subjects.

## CHAPTER IV

### BASIS OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY

The preceding chapter has been devoted to the relation of objective status to attitudes. The purpose of this chapter is to identify the variables that give rise to social inequality in Beirut, Lebanon. The basis of social inequality will reflect the kind of stratification system that is prevalent in Beirut. It will also foster the apprehension of the value hierarchy held by the individuals who are selected to cite the criteria for membership in a certain class. The relevant items for this topic are: 21, 22, 23 - A, B.

#### A. Major Hypothesis

The hypothesis to be verified is that the most important basis of social inequality is the financial factor.

Before identifying the variables that give rise to social inequality, an attempt is made to disclose what class to respondents claim to be in.

##### 1. Class Identification

The cases are asked in item 22: "If you were asked to use one of these three names for your social class; which would you say you belonged in; the upper class, the middle class, the lower class?"

Table 35 on page 97 points out that most of the sample cases claim membership in the middle class, inspite of the unlikeness among them. The middle class represents, to most of the respondents, the safest class to be identified with, since modesty is a cherished value among the middle Easterners. People are afraid of claiming membership in the upper class so as not to be accused of vanity. On the other hand, identification with the lower class means, to many persons, affiliation with a morally deteriorated class.

Identification with one class or another implies that the cases are living in a class-conscious society, where the concept of "class" is significant.

The major concern of the following section will be to distinguish the variables that identify persons in the upper class of this "class-conscious" society.

## 2. Criteria for the Upper Class

The sample cases are asked in question 23/A: "What would you say places a person in Lebanon in the upper social class?"

Table 36 shows that money is the distinctive mark of upper class membership to all occupational strata. The four lower occupational strata think that wealth is an important criterion for inclusion in the upper class. Education and

TABLE 35

## Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:

## Class Identification

(Q 21.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.Upper class	36	27.5	23	60.5	12	42.9	1	2.2	-	-
2.Lower class	25	19.1	-	-	-	-	12	26.7	13	65
3.Middle class	65	49.6	15	39.5	16	57.1	27	60.0	7	35
4.Laboring class	5	3.8	-	-	-	-	5	11.1	-	-
5.No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 35

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Class Identification  
 (Q 21.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.Upper class	36	27.5	23	60.5	12	42.9	1	2.2	-	-
2.Lower class	25	19.1	-	-	-	-	12	26.7	13	65
3.Middle class	65	49.6	15	39.5	16	57.1	27	60.0	7	35
4.Laboring class	5	3.8	-	-	-	-	5	11.1	-	-
5.No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 36

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
 Criteria and Causes for Membership in the Upper  
 Class (Q 23A.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Family	15	11.4	11	28.9	4	14.3	-	-	-	-
2. Money	113	86.3	31	81.5	22	78.6	40	88.8	20	100
3. Education	45	34.3	16	42.1	7	25	14	31.1	8	15
4. Dwelling unit	1	7	-	-	-	-	1	2.2	-	-
5. Occupation	10	7.6	21	2	7.1	-	-	-	-	-
6. Other	20	15.3	1	2.6	5	17.8	11	24.4	3	15
7. No opinion	3	2.3	1	2.6	2	7.1	-	-	-	-

TABLE 36

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Criteria and Causes for Membership in the Upper  
Class (Q 23A.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1. Family	15	11.4	11	28.9	4	14.3	-	-	-	-
2. Money	113	86.3	31	81.5	22	78.6	40	88.8	20	100
3. Education	45	34.3	16	42.1	7	25	14	31.1	8	15
4. Dwelling unit	1	7	-	-	-	-	1	2.2	-	-
5. Occupation	10	7.6	21	2	7.1	-	-	-	-	-
6. Other	20	15.3	1.6	2.6	5.8	17.8	11	24.4	3	15
7. No opinion	3	2.3	1	2.6	2	7.1	-	-	-	-

personal characteristics are seconds and thirds in emphasis with much lesser frequencies than wealth. Many individuals belonging to the four lower occupational strata admit that family was a variable for identifying the upper class. There is a fair agreement in the relative importance of various criteria between the professional people and the four lower occupational strata, except that the "family origin" is introduced by the professional group. The occupational stratum that distinguish itself from the other strata is the large businessmen. To them, money is important, but education is ranked much higher by this stratum than by the other strata. The businessmen stratum ascertain that family and occupation are likewise esteemed for upper class affiliation with much lesser frequencies than wealth and education.

### 3. The Criteria for the lower class

Item 23/B poses the following question: "What would you say puts a person in Lebanon in the lower social class?" The most obvious and frequent answer is lack of money. Table 37 indicates that the four lower occupational strata, in particular, lay very much stress on the "lack of money" factor for the lower class affiliation. The professional and large business strata emphasize lack of money as well as lack of education.



TABLE 37

Attitude Differences of Occupational Strata:  
Criteria for Membership in the Lower Class (Q 23 - B.)

	Total		Large Business		Professional		White collar and skilled manual worker		Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	131	100	38	29	28	21.4	45	34.3	20	15.3
1.No Family	2	1.5	1	2.6	1	3.6	-	-	-	-
2.No Money	107	81.6	28	73.6	18	64.3	41	91.1	20	100
3.No Educat.	39	29.7	19	50	15	53.5	4	8.8	1	5
4.No Dwelling unit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.No Occupation	5	3.8	2	5.3	2	7.1	1	2.2	-	-
6.No Other	11	8.4	4	10.5	2	7.1	5	11.1	-	-
7.No Opinion	2	1.5	-	-	2	7.1	-	-	-	-

#### 4. Criteria for inclusion in one's class

It should not be inferred from the preceding parts 2 and 3 that the criteria one uses to assign persons to other classes are identical with those used to determine the membership of one's own class. Item 22 is proposed to discover what people use as criteria for inclusion in one's own class. This item is posed to seek a definition of the several classes. The sample cases claiming membership in one class or another are asked: "In deciding whether a person belongs to your class or not, which of these things do you think is most important to know; who his family is, how much money he has, what sort of education he has, what kind of dwelling he is living in, what his occupation is?"

The findings in table 38 on page 102 suggests that the primacy of occupation and education as criteria of class membership are general among the upper class and the middle class. This finding implies that occupation and education can be employed as indices of social classes. It should not be forgotten that the criteria vary in importance from class to class. For instance, the people claiming membership in the upper class emphasize occupation more than any other criterion and more frequently than people in the middle class and lower class. Education is ranked by this group as second in importance along with family origin. The people in the middle class more frequently

TABLE 38

Criteria for own class Membership used by Persons  
 Claiming Membership in the Several Classes  
 (Q 22.)

Total	Family		Money		Educat.		Dwell.		unit		Occup.		Other		N.A.		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Total	131																
1.Upper class	36	27.5	18	50	2	5.5	24	66.6	-	-	26	72.2	-	-	3	8.3	
2.Lower	25	19.1	-	-	1	4.0	1	4.0	-	-	2	8.0	-	-	22	88.0	
3.Middle	65	49.6	1	1.5	1	4.0	27	41.5	-	-	17	26.1	2	3.1	29	44.6	
4.Labor	5	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	100

emphasize education than occupation, which comes here as second in importance. Nearly all of the lower class people were not able to respond either for difficulty of grasping the question, or, for its irrelevancy to them. The inferred generalization from the relevant findings is that people, here, define social classes in terms of occupation, education, and to a considerably lesser degree, in terms of family.

#### Summary

The findings reveal that the cases are living in a class-conscious society where the financial asset is highly esteemed. Therefore, our hypothesis that the most important basis of social inequality is the financial factor is confirmed. The emerging awareness of the significant value of education is manifested by the answers of 34.3% of the cases who stress the importance of education for upper class membership. The cases are, likewise, aware of the dynamic class structure where upward and downward mobility are present. They believe that status could be achieved, for only 11.4% of the sample cases are conscious of the importance of the ascribed value - family origin. The significance of family origin is being undermined by the emergent value of education in a modern urban life.

## PART II

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main purpose of the study was to attempt to demonstrate that status produces and corresponds with certain predictable attitudes of the individual. The study confirmed that status affects one's social perspective. People in different positions in society tend to have different views of social change. Members of different status groups view life and its implications differently. Their opinions and their notions of propriety are diverse. Regarding the role that the government should play in the life of the body politics, and the role of sex, status groups differ. One cannot analyze the evidence presented in Chapter III without becoming aware of the fact that class membership does involve different evaluations of social situations.

The study substantiated the following hypotheses:

1. The higher the person's status the more apt he is to be satisfied with his occupation and pay.
2. The higher the person's status the more conservative are his political views.
3. The findings related to the hypothesis that the higher the person's status the more liberal are his views on social change (in areas other than the politico-economic) indicated that the different occupational groups hold similar attitudes. The

hypothesis that the higher the person's status the more liberal are his views on social change was confirmed by the findings related to attitudes toward technological advancement.

4. The higher the person's status the more liberal are his attitudes toward change of family customs.

5. The higher the person's status the less conservative are his attitudes toward egalitarianism in women's status.

6. The higher the person's status the more secular is his orientation.

The study indicated the existence of diverse attitudes and opinions on major conservative - liberal questions in accordance with class membership. Therefore, the empirical data assembled have supported the evidence that there exist a relationship between conservatism and social status among the sample cases. Status difference is more important in the formulation of opinion than age or religious differences.

The study demonstrated that the life orientation of some individuals is undergoing tremendous change. Modern tendencies such as education is giving rise to new attitudes, new types of loyalties. Attitudes toward the family that it is the basic social unit around which the individual's life should center is fading away. Other features of the social pattern, for instance, the social subjection of women, are no more as prominent as before.

Individuals, affiliated with the higher status groups, are the ones who are initiating this change along with the middle group.

The implications of such relationship have significant bearing on existing theories of stratification. Sorokin's theory that the objective basis of mental, moral, and behavioral similarities is the similar occupational, economic, and legal position of the members was substantiated by the confirmed relationships.

Centers' theory which states that a person's status and role with respect to the economic processes of society imposes upon him certain attitudes, values and interests relating to his role and status in the political and economic sphere was substantiated.

The second part of the research was concerned with the subjective evaluation of class and status. This part, too, has significant bearing on existing theories of stratification. Goldhamer and Shils'<sup>1</sup> theory that the study of status demands the recognition of the value hierarchy held by the members of the society was confirmed. Thus, if members of a certain society rank wealth very high in their hierarchy of values, a wealthy person is accorded a high status. The study demonstrated that

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Goldhamer and E. Shils, "Types of Power and Status", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 45, (September, 1939), pp. 171-182.

wealth is ranked very high in the value hierarchy of the subjects. The findings imply that Warner's theory which proposes that a system of classes provides in its mechanism for movement up and down the social ladder was confirmed. The findings proved that the monetary assets supplemented by the educational attainment provide a person with the necessary qualifications to be affiliated with the upper class.

The study reflected the type of society that the sample cases are living in. One of Monachesi and Martindale's structural features of secular societies is that they are rarely organized on the basis of a system of age-grading.<sup>1</sup> The findings imply that the individuals are living in a secular society, for class and status lines cut across the age groups.

#### B. Limitations of the Study

The study has limitations in the following areas: sampling, index of status, tests of significance, discrepancy between attitudes and aspects of behavior, relationship of empirical findings to theory.

##### 1. Limitations due to the method of selection of the sample

Due to the fact that the writer undertook the research by herself, a random sample was impossible. Furthermore, residential areas confined to special status groups are absent in Beirut.

---

<sup>1</sup> Martindale and Monachesi, Elements of Sociology, (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 211.



Churchill found that the distribution of income in the various census districts is very even.<sup>1</sup> Upon the experts advice the sample was chosen purposively. This means that the sample group may not be representative of the universe. The power of generalizations is limited to the sample group.

2. Limitation due to the lack of a reliable indicator of the person's social level.

One index of socio-economic stratification was used, namely, the occupational index. It was, sometimes, supplented by the economic index. The establishment of an index of status in labelling and grading a person. The establishment of such an indicator requires a separate study by itself.

3. Limitation due to the discrepancy between attitudinal answer and actual behavior.

A study of the discrepancy between attitudinal answers and actual behavior would have been of significant relationship to the study. Such a study would manifest that attitude differences go beyond speculation to include aspects of behavior. A manifestation of the presence or absence of the discrepancy between attitude and actual behavior serves as a reliable check on attitudinal answers.

---

<sup>1</sup> Charles Churchill, The City of Beirut, (Lebanon, Dar-El-Kitab), p. 24.

#### 4. Tests of the level of significance

Margaret Hagood advises sociologists to make tests of significance where there is random sampling from an existent universe, and where there is complete enumeration of all units of a sort which exist at one time. It was very awkward to handle the situation since it is difficult to construct a description of the counterpart of the mathematical model which would have served to tell us what fluctuations to expect from chance variation. Hagood is of the opinion that there seems to be little need for going through the procedures of making tests of significance unless the results can be interpreted meaningfully for some universe.<sup>1</sup> The current limitation is that the writer had to submit to experts' advice and use personal judgment to compare the selected groups.

#### 5. Relationship of empirical findings to theory

The writer feels that there is a small gap between the general theoretical background of this study and its empirical results. This is due to the fact that a theory of stratification has been accounted for in which major works of experts in such a field were articulated to guide this study. However, sociological theory, in general was used as the frame of reference in evaluating this work. Such a theory helps in inter-

---

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 329-331.

preting the relationship of the attitude differences in the political and economic sphere to attitude differences in the overall area of social change, other than political and economic institutions. The findings along this line indicated that a direct relationship exists between occupational status and conservative political and economic views. Interpreting conservative politico-economic views as opposed to liberal views of social change other than politico-economic spheres in terms of "vested interests", we find out that the upper class is bitterly opposed to political and economic reform, for any such change could be at its expense. On the other hand, the conservative attitude of the lower occupational strata with regard to social change other than the change in the politico-economic fields, could be interpreted in terms of the "functional approach". This approach states that each institution carries out at least one social function. To the upper occupational strata, the function of the family is changing. It is no longer the sole institution satisfying the needs of its members. However, to the lower occupational strata, family and religious institutions still perform the primary function of providing security and gratification which the economic and political institutions somehow fail to provide. As alluded to earlier, the lower occupational strata were inclined to reveal tendencies of sacred orientation more than the upper occupational strata. This again reaffirms the well

established contention that religious activities provide the indispensable function of offering security and peace of mind in periods of stress and anxiety.

Furthermore, findings assert the strength of paternalistic authority among all occupational strata. The prevalence of such authoritative family types have repercussions on the existing type of loyalties in the Arab society in general. The presence of ethnocentrism could also be attributed to authoritative family patterns where the initiative and interests of wife and children are subordinate to those of the father. As a result the individual becomes subserviant to the group and sacrifices personal interests to others, such as family, clan, and sect.

TABLE 39

Attitude differences of the different income groups: Satisfaction with political participation (Q. I3).

Appendix A

	I-2000		200I-		400I-		600I-		700I-		2I,000-		4I,000		6I,000		8I,000		10I,000		50I,000		No answer	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	36	27.5	24	18.3	3	2.3	I	.7	I0	7.6	2I	16.0	I2	9.2	2	I.5	3	2.3	3	2.3	4	3.1	I2	9.2
Strongly agree	4	3.1	I	2.8	I	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	I	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mildly agree	8	6.1	2	5.5	I	4.2	-	-	-	-	2	9.5	-	-	-	-	2	66.7	-	-	I	25	-	-
Indifferent	9	6.9	4	11.1	I	4.2	3	I00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	33.3	-	-	-	-
Mildly disagree	22	16.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	10	5	23.8	4	33.3	2	100	-	-	2	66.7	2	50	6	50
Strongly disagree	88	67.2	29	80.5	2I	87.5	-	-	I	100	9	90	7	58.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	25	6	50





TABLE 42

Attitude differences of the different income groups: government  
versus free direction of schools. (Q. 46).

	Total		I-2000 L.L. per year		200I- 4000		400I- 6000		600I- 7000		700I- 20000		2I,000 40,000		4I,000 60,000		6I,000 80,000		8I,000 100,000		10I,000 500,000 and above		No answer			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Total	131	100	36	27.5	24	18.3	3	2.3	1	.7	10	7.6	21	16.0	12	9.2	2	1.5	3	2.3	3	2.3	4	3.1	12	9.3
Strongly disapprove	10	7.6	3	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20	1	4.8	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	3	25
Mildly disapprove	15	11.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	3	30	5	23.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	50	4	33.3
Indifferent	5	3.8	2	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mildly approve	21	16.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20	3	14.3	7	58.3	1	50	2	66.7	2	66.7	1	25	3	25
Strongly approve	80	61.1	31	86.1	24	100	3	100	-	-	3	30	11	52.4	4	33.3	1	50	-	-	-	-	1	25	2	16.7



TABLE 43

Attitude differences of the different income groups: attitude toward the strengthening of Labor Unions by the government; (Q.48).

	I-2000 L.I. per year		200I-4000		400I-6000		600I-7000		700I-20000		2I,000 40,000		4I,000 60,000		6I,000 80,000		8I,000 100,000		10I,000 500,000 and above		No answer				
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
Total	36	27.5	24	18.3	3	2.3	I	.7	I0	7.6	2I	16.0	I2	9.2	2	I.5	3	2.3	3	2.3	4	3.I	I2	9.2	
Strongly disapprove	4	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	I0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	33.3	I	25	I	8.3	
Mildly disapprove	I2	9.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	I0	5	23.8	2	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	33.3	
Indifferent	I2	9.2	I	2.8	-	-	-	-	I	I0	3	14.3	I	8.3	2	I00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	25
Mildly approve	3I	23.7	-	4.2	2	33.3	-	-	4	40	8	38.I	6	50	-	-	2	66.7	I	33.3	3	75	4	33.3	
Strongly approve	72	55	35	97.2	22	91.6	I	I00	3	30	5	23.8	3	25	-	-	I	33.3	I	33.3	-	-	-	-	

APPENDIX B

Name	_____	_____			
	Personal	Family			
1. Religion:	_____	_____			
	Moslem	Christian			
2. Present Occupation:	_____				
3. Father's Occupation:	_____				
4. Years of residence in Beirut:	_____				
5. Age:	_____				
6. Years of education:					
_____ 1. Elementary.					
_____ 2. Elementary Graduate.					
_____ 3. Secondary.					
_____ 4. Secondary Graduate.					
_____ 5. College.					
_____ 6. College Graduate					
_____ 7. Post Graduate					
_____ 8. None.					
7. Present Marital Status:	_____	_____			
	Single	Married			
8. Number of Children:	_____	_____			
	Males	Females			
9. Quality of Residence:	_____				
	A	B	C	D	E
10. Number of rooms:	_____				

11. Total income per year: \_\_\_\_\_

12. Lebanon is a land of opportunity and people get pretty much what's coming to them in this country:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

13. Everybody has equal power and influence in government:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.

14. Wages and salaries would be fairer, jobs more steady, and we would have fewer people out of work if the government took over and ran our factories and industries in the future rather than having things done under private ownership:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.

\_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.

15. The most important job for the government is to guarantee every person a decent and steady job and standard of living.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.

\_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

16. How do you feel about the income you receive?

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. It is much more than I need.

\_\_\_\_\_ 2. It is somewhat more than I need

\_\_\_\_\_ 3. It is about right.

\_\_\_\_\_ 4. It is somewhat less than I need.

\_\_\_\_\_ 5. It is much less than I need.

\_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

17. What chance do you think you have to get ahead in your present line of work?

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. No answer.

\_\_\_\_\_ 6. Reached the top already

\_\_\_\_\_ 5. No chance.

\_\_\_\_\_ 4. Slight chance.

\_\_\_\_\_ 3. Moderate chance.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Fairly chance.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Excellent chance.

18. Do you think belonging to a union usually hurts people's chances for advancement in their jobs?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Greatly hurts.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Somewhat hurts.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Somewhat helps.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Greatly helps.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Cannot be applied in our country.

19. How do you feel about the chances your children have to rise in the world as compared to other people's children?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. a much better chance.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. a somewhat better chance.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. about the same chance.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. a somewhat poorer chance.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. a much poorer chance.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 7. No children.

20. Women should be free to take jobs outside the home?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.

21. If you were asked to use one of these three names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in; the upper class, the middle class, the lower class.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. the upper class.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. the lower class.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. the middle class.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. labouring class.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. no answer.

22. In deciding whether a person belongs to your class or not, which of these other things do you think is most important to know; who his family is, how much money he has, what sort of education he has, what kind of dwelling he is living in, what his occupation is?

- |                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| _____ 1. Family.    | _____ 4. Dwelling unit. |
| _____ 2. Money.     | _____ 5. Occupation.    |
| _____ 3. Education. | _____ 6. Other.         |
| _____ 7. No answer. |                         |

23. A. What would you say puts a person in Lebanon in the upper social class? \_\_\_\_\_

B. What would you say puts a person in the lower social class?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

24. What do you think would be the effect of social change on society?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. It will greatly improve the society.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. It will somehow improve the society.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. It would make no difference.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. It would somehow harm the society.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. It would greatly harm the society.

25. Women should hold jobs of the same responsibility and pay as men:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

26. Women should receive education:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly approve.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly approve.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disapprove.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disapprove.

27. A girl should have as much education as she wants:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disapprove.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disapprove.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly approve.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly approve.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

28. In your opinion Western technology would have which of the following effects on Lebanese society?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. It will have far beneficial effect on society.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. It will have fairly beneficial effect on society.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. It will make no difference.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. It will somehow harm the society.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. It will greatly harm the society.

29. A person should adhere strongly to religious observances:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.

30. A family should stick strongly to family customs:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.



- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

31. A child should be left to determine his own occupation rather than have his occupation determined by paternal authority:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

32. An individual should be valued for his achievements rather than his line of descent:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.

33. Marriages should be arranged with members of families of equal status in wealth, name and origin:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.

34. Marriages should be arranged not on the basis of equality in status, wealth and origin but on the basis of the education of the individual and the success he has achieved.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.

35. Arranged marriages of convenience are preferable to marriages based on personal choice and liking:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.

36. Women of the family should be subordinate to the men:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

37. Women should participate in social gatherings with men on an equal basis:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

38. A high degree of education is necessary for girls.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.

39. Do you approve of co-educational schools?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. On university level only.

40. Mixing between the sexes should be carried on more freely,  
especially at social activities and parties?

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. They already have it in my environment.

\_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

\_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.

\_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.

41. The father's will should be accepted and followed when his  
advice is sought.

\_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

\_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.

\_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.

42. Family members should consider the family as the social unit  
around which the individual's life is centered:

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.

\_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

43. Economic and recreational activities should be centered within the family.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.

44. It is preferable for the owner of a private institution to employ employees of his own religious denomination:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

45. (Addressed to upper class only).

- a. Which of the following best describes the main characteristic of the lower class.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Careless and lazy
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Undeserving.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Underprivileged.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Deserving.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. In need of much help.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

b. The lower class should be encouraged to obtain more education:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

c. (Addressed to lower class only).

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Predatory.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Privileged.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent to others' need.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Somewhat sympathetic.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Try to help others as much as possible.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

46. The government should direct all primary and secondary schools:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly approve.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly approve.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disapprove.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disapprove.

47. Civil servants should be recruited by impartial examination:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.

48. The government should help strengthen labor unions:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No answer.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly approve.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly approve.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disapprove.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disapprove.

49. The government should reduce the strength of labor unions:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disapprove.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disapprove.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly approve.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly approve.

50. Everybody would be better off if the lands were more equally distributed among the farm people:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. No vast land ownership.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly approve.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly approve.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disapprove.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disapprove.

51. Marriages should be conducted by a government official:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.

52. It would be better if political parties were based on religious basis or the influence of a man rather than upon a principle:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.



53. Religious leaders should participate fully in politics:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly agree.

54. Religious leaders should not be permitted to participate  
in politics at all:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Strongly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Mildly agree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Indifferent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mildly disagree.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Strongly disagree.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

1. Aristotle, Aristotle's Politics, tr. by Benjamin Jowett, (New York: Modern Library, 1943).
2. Bendix, R., and Lipset, S., Class, Status and Power, (Illinois, The Free Press, 1953).
3. Berger, M., Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).
4. Bonne, A., State and Economics in the Middle East, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1948).
5. Centers, R., The Psychology of Social Class, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).
6. Churchill, W.C., The City of Beirut, (Beirut, Dar el-Kitab, 1954).
7. Goode, W., and Hatt, P., Methods in Social Research, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952).
8. Haddad, G., Fifty Years of Modern Syria and Lebanon, (Beirut, Dar el-Hayat, 1950).
9. Hagood, M., and Price, D., Statistics for Sociologists, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1952).
10. Hollingshead, Q., Elmtown's Youth, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949).
11. Hourani, A.H., Syria and Lebanon, (London: Oxford University Press, 1946).
12. Hyman, H., The Psychology of Status, (New York: R.S. Woodworth, 1942).
13. Laqueur, W.Z., ed., The Middle East in Transition, (London: Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1958).
14. Lerner, D., The Passing of Traditional Society, (Illinois: The Free Press, 1958).
15. Martindale, D., and Monachesi, E., Elements of Sociology, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951).

16. Marx, K., and Engels, F., Manifesto of the Communist Party, (New York: International Publishers, 1932).
17. Weber, Max, Essays in Sociology, tr. by Gerth and Mills, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1947).
18. Merton, R., Social Theory and Social Structure, (Glencoe, III.: The Free Press, 1949).
19. Mills, A.Ed., Private Enterprise in Lebanon, (Beirut, The American University of Beirut, 1959).
20. Mills, C., W., The Power Elite, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957).
21. Packard, U., The Status Seekers, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1959).
22. Sorokin, P., Social Mobility, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927).
23. \_\_\_\_\_, Society, Culture, and Personality, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947).
24. Walker, H., Elementary Statistical Methods, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1955).
25. Warner, W., L., and Lunt, P., The Social Life of a Modern Community, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).
26. Warner, W. L., and Associates, Democracy in Jonesville, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949).
27. West, J., Plainville, U.S.A., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).
28. Young, C., Near Eastern Culture and Society, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950).
29. Ziadeh, N., Syria and Lebanon, (London, Ernest Benn, 1957).

#### Reviews and Periodicals

1. Centers, R., "Attitude and Belief in Relation to Occupational Stratification", Journal of Social Psychology, V. 27, (1948).
2. Davis, K., "Conceptual Analysis of Stratification", American Sociological Review, V. 7, 309, (1942).

3. Davis, K., and Moore, W., "Some Principles of Stratification", American Sociological Review, V. 10, 242, (1945).
4. Dowson, V.H.,W., "The Lebanon", Royal Central Asian Society Journal, V. 37, 67, (1950).
5. Duncan, O., and Artis, J., "Some Problems of Stratification Research", Rural Sociology, V. 16, 17 (1951).
6. Fish, W., "The Lebanon", Geographical Review, Vo. 37, 235, (1944).
7. Goldhamer, H., and Shils, E., "Types of Power and Status", American Journal of Sociology, N. 45, 171, (1939).
8. Harrison, J., "Middle East Instability", Middle Eastern Affairs, V. 5, 73, (1954).
9. Hayner, N., "Differential Social Change in a Mexican Town", Social Forces, V. 26, 381, (1948).
10. Hess, Clyde, G., and Bodman, H., "Confessionalism and Feudality in Lebanese Politics", Middle East Journal, V. 8, 10, (1954).
11. Hill, M., and McCall, B., "Social Stratification in Georgia Town", American Sociological Review, V. 15, 721, (1950).
12. Lenski, G., "American Social Classes", American Journal of Sociology, V. 58, 139, (1952).
13. Mills, A.E., "Economic Change in Lebanon", Middle East Economic Papers, (Beirut: Economic Research Institute, 1956).

#### Unpublished Material

1. Fayyad, H., "The Effects of Sectarianism on the Lebanese Administration". Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, American University of Beirut, 1956.
2. Khalaf, S., "Management's Attitude toward Human Relations in Lebanese Industry". Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut, 1957.