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EDUCATION AS A FUNCTION
OF
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION
IN
CEDARSTOWN

BY
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Education and Social Class

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ABSTRACT

Background.

Many studies done in America by Warner, Hollingshead and others, indicate that education affects the social position of a family, and that also the social position of a child's family influences the type and level of education he achieves.

There is need to study systematically the reciprocal relationship between education and social class in the Arab World. This study aims to examine this relationship in Lebanon as represented in Cedarstown.

Problem and Hypothesis

The problem is to investigate the forces in each social class that prompt one to go or not to go to school. Hypothetically, we say: the type and level of education a child achieves is related to the position his family occupies in the social structure of the community.

This hypothesis is tested in terms of, first, the proportion of children who actually go to the elementary and the secondary school in each social class; second, the extent to which each social class is concerned with education; third, the proportion of children enrolled in the academic as compared with the vocational type of education; and finally, the proportion of girls and boys in various social classes, attending the elementary and the secondary school.

Field Procedures

The Study Group

The study group includes all Cedarstown children of the two sexes who are eligible by age to go to the elementary and the secondary schools, and those who are already enrolled in these schools regardless of age.

Stratification Process

In line with Warner's definition of social class, the Method by Matched Agreement is used. This method relies on members of the community themselves in ranking one another in the social ladder. A representative group of informants were selected and were asked to rank a sample of families into as many social classes as they thought there were. The number of social classes in Cedarstown was thus determined by a significant majority of informants and was found to be four. Then, ten judges were selected to assign the 180 families included in the study to their respective social classes. The agreement among judges in assigning people to the different social classes was tested by the chi-square method which yielded a value of .29, indicating that there was no evidence of significant disagreement among the judges. The validity of the stratification process was examined in terms of the correspondence between the ranking made by the judges and the possession or non-possession of certain social characteristics. The agreement of the two criteria was measured by the "t" test which yielded for the four classed cross-compared

values significant at beyond the .01 level, indicating that the social classes in Cedarstown significantly differed in the amount of their possession of social characteristics.

Results

It was found that classes I and II had similar attendance in the elementary and the secondary school, while classes III and IV concentrated more in the elementary than in the secondary school. Moreover, classes I, II and III show no significant differences in elementary school attendance, while class IV has significantly lower attendance in this respect than any of these three classes. Classes I, II and III are thus probably equally concerned about education, while class IV does not seem to have the same concern with education as the other classes, assuming that school attendance is a relatively good measure of concern with education.

Also, all classes were found to concentrate equally in the academic type of education. This means that the various social classes prefer academic education to vocational education.

As to the education of the sexes, it was found that in the four classes there were no significant differences in the school attendance of boys; and that in the first three classes, there were no significant differences between the school attendance of boys and that of girls. Only in class IV was the school attendance of boys significantly greater than that of girls. Therefore, the first three classes seem to have the same concern about the education of the two sexes, while class IV seems to have preference for the education of boys.

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CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The peoples of the Arab World are becoming increasingly aware of the effect of education on the betterment and development of their lives. This awareness is manifested in the efforts spent by Arab educators to reconstruct the prevailing systems of education.

It has long been recognized that traditional systems of education fall short of meeting emerging needs of growing societies. To meet these new needs education should be reconsidered in the light of the changing social phenomena. To reconsider an educational system is not to eradicate it and replace it by a completely new one, but to revise it, preserve its workable elements, dispose of its blemishes, introduce adaptable and suitable components, and form a new synthesis that may cope with the demands of the growing society.

Any constructive endeavor, therefore, to change the status-quo of any institution, if it is to last, should contain important and vital elements of the past and at the same time meet the growing needs of people. Hence, the problem Arab educators face, is how to preserve the important and good elements of the past and at the same time meet the newly emerging needs of Arab society.

The solution to this problem should not be done haphazardly; it demands a keen understanding and genuine probing

into the main social forces and institutions constituting the backbone of our society. Ideally, we ought to study these social forces simultaneously, examining their inter-relationships within the total context of social operations. However, this undertaking is ambitious and requires the concerted efforts of a team of researchers, which is not possible at the present. A possible alternative is to isolate the various forces affecting the social process, and study them singly, provided that sight is not lost of the need eventually to view these forces in relation to one another. Accordingly, the present research will restrict itself to only one of these forces, namely the relationship between education and social class. This relationship will be studied from two angles, first, the extent to which membership in a social class influences one's education; and second, the extent to which education affects membership in a social class. This will include the examination of the social forces in each social class which may prompt people to go or not to go to school. It is hoped that this kind of study and other related studies will be of service to the community in the reconstruction and reconsideration of the systems of education in Lebanon.

BACKGROUND

This research is directed towards the study of the general relation between type and level of education, and social stratification in Lebanon as represented in

Cedarstown.*

As a matter of fact, the attention of social scientists is increasingly drawn to the examination of the reciprocal relationship between education and social class.

Studies Done in America

The studies done in America will be studied under various headings.

Educational Level Achieved and Occupational Career

A Special Report based on 1950 census data indicates a strong relationship between the formal education a person achieves and his occupational career. Ninety per cent of persons with less than five years of elementary education and eighty-three per cent of persons with elementary schooling are engaged in unskilled labor work. High school graduates fall in an intermediate position between manual work and white-collar occupations. Students who went to school but did not finish college, are found to be concentrated in clerical and managerial positions and other skilled crafts, while college graduates are concentrated in professional and technical occupations.

The same report shows the following relationship between education and income.

* Cedarstown is a fictitious name to conceal the identity of a real town in North Lebanon. I acknowledge with pleasure Hollingshead for the analogy. See Hollingshead, A.B., Elmtown's Youth, New York, John Siley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

TABLE I
 LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED AND AVERAGE INCOME MONEY
 OBTAINED BY MALES 22-24 YEARS OLD IN 1949¹

Level of education	Average income of males 22-24 years old in 1949
No school years completed	\$1,359
1-4 years elementary school	1,625
5-7 years elementary school	2,135
8 years elementary school	2,685
1-3 years high school	3,103
4 years high school	3,156
1-3 years college	3,878
4 years college or more	5,724

The relationship between formal education and the amount of income is strikingly indicated with a sharp difference between people with one to three years of college education and people with four years of college education or more.

Another attempt was made to estimate the total money value of schooling. This was done by calculating an estimated life-time income of the educational level a person had achieved. The findings are shown in the following table:

1. Mayer, B. Kurt, Class and Society. New York, Random House Inc., 1955, p. 35.

TABLE II

LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED AND THE ESTIMATED
LIFE-TIME INCOME FOR MALES IN 1949²

Level of education	Estimated life-time income resulting from prevailing 1949 income levels of males
Average	\$132,522
No school years completed	57,788
1-4 years elementary school	71,717
5-7 years elementary school	93,184
8 years elementary school	116,477
1-3 years high school	135,095
4 years high school	165,000
1-3 years college	190,310
4 years college or more	267,739

It is clearly shown that the earning power of education increases with the advancement of the educational level. Again, there is a striking difference between people in one to three years of college education and people with four years of college education or more. ✓ Formal education, therefore, is highly related to the occupational careers of people and consequently to the income achieved.

Such a situation gives one a clue to the importance of equality of educational opportunity in promoting a democratic spirit and a real equality of men. Nevertheless, in actual life, educational opportunities are not granted equally. The socio-economic position of children, to a large extent, affects their going or non-going to school,

2. Ibid., p. 35.

especially on the college level in the American communities.

This is substantiated by the findings of the research which was made in 1934 by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction. In this research three items, the highest grade attained at the time of the survey, intelligence quotient, and father's occupation, were recorded for some 3,000 boys and were correlated with school going. It was found that almost all boys with I.Q.'s of 100 or more reached as far as one year of high school regardless of the socio-economic status of the father, while the chances of boys completing at least one year's schooling beyond high school are more correlated with their own father's occupation than with their intelligence quotients. At the college level the situation is severely manifested where the sons of men in the highest occupational level are ten times more numerous than the sons of those in the lowest occupational level.³

Very similar results were obtained from a study of 1,023 graduates from Milwaukee high schools in 1937 and 1938. These students had I.Q.'s of 117 or above, indicating that they potentially have the aptitude for college education. However, it was found that their college attendance was dependent on the amount of their parental income as shown in the following table:

3. Sibley, Elbridge, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," American Sociological Review. V. 7, Pp. 322-330, (1942).

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF THE FULL-TIME STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE
AND THEIR PARENTAL INCOME⁴

Parental income	Percentage of full-time students in college
\$8,000 and over	100.0
5,000-7,999	92.0
3,000-4,999	72.9
2,000-2,999	44.4
1,500-1,999	28.9
1,000-1,499	25.5
500-999	26.8
Under \$500	20.4

It is clearly shown that the higher the parents' income the greater the proportion who went to college, and that school attendance increases remarkably with an increase in parental income.

Level of Education Achieved and Socio-economic Status

A study of youth was made in Pennsylvania by the State Department of Public Instruction and the American Youth Commission. The group consisted of 910 students with intelligence quotients of 110 or above, and was divided into two socio-economic groups. Ninety-two per cent of the upper socio-economic group graduated from high school and fifty-seven per cent attended college, while seventy-two per cent of the

4. Mayer, op.cit. p. 36.

lower socio-economic group graduated from high school and thirteen per cent attended college. Although both groups were about equal in intellectual ability, they did not have the same school attendance. The upper socio-economic group had a higher rate of attendance.⁵

Similarly, another study was conducted in 1949 on 16 and 17-year-old children who reside in New Haven. The Children were divided into six social classes. It was reported that forty-three per cent of the lowest class had already dropped from school, while ninety-eight per cent of the highest were still attending school. The higher social classes were mostly concentrated in private and post-secondary schools and were under-represented in vocational schools. Just the reverse was true of the lower classes.⁶ This gives substantial evidence of the fact that membership in a social class influences duration and type of education.

Further studies were made in America. In the study on "Georgia Town", for instance, it was found that college and professional education is highly associated with the upper status level, and correspondingly that education appears to be limited to academic schooling whereas the education of the lower status groups is limited on the average

5. Warner, L.W. et.al. Who Shall Be Educated? New York, Harper & Brothers, 1944, Chap. 6.

6. Mayer, op.cit. p. 37.

to the seventh grade.⁷

Similarly, the study on 191 graduates from Old City High School reveals that of all those who go to college, fourteen per cent belong to the upper class, while none of the lower class students attended college during the period that the study covered, that is, between 1935 and 1936.⁸

In the study on "Jonesville" carried out by Warner and his associates, the data collected showed a high correlation between class position and duration of school attendance substantially agreeing with the findings reported by Mayer. All young people who belonged to classes Above the Common Man Level were in school. Over nine out of ten in the lower-middle class; six out of ten in the upper-lower class; but only one out of ten in the lower-lower class were in school. This situation can be explained by the fact that the class culture of the child furnishes him with particular attitudes about the high school and what it may offer. Also, the institutional values of the school help develop differential attitudes toward persons belonging to different social classes. These values play a dual role: as attractive or repellent forces to keep the child in, or to force him out of school depending on the social stratum he comes from.⁹

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7. Mozell, C.H. et.al. "Strafification in Georgia Town", American Sociological Review, V. 15, Pp. 721-729. (1960)
 8. Warner, op.cit. Chap. 5.
 9. Warner, L.W., Democracy in Jonesville. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1949, Chap. 12.

This two-way relationship between education and social position is not confined to the West, but exists also in the East. In 1942 a study was made on the social life in six villages of Bengal in which nineteen per cent above ten years of age of the population were literate; fifty-six per cent of them belonged to the upper social rank, thirteen per cent to the middle rank and nine per cent to the lower.¹⁰

Type of Education Achieved and Social Class

Another phase of this reciprocal relationship between education and social class is manifested in the way a type of education is chosen. It was found in the Yankee City High School that social class membership is strongly related to the course of study chosen. As the social hierarchy is descended there is a progressive drop in the percentage of pupils who take courses preparing for college, and there is a progressive increase in the percentage of pupils who take the commercial and the general course. Eighty-eight per cent of upper-middle class, forty-five per cent of the lower-middle class, twenty-eight per cent of the upper-lower class, and twenty-six per cent of the lower-lower class students were found in courses which prepare for college; while twelve per cent of the upper-middle, forty-five per cent of the lower-middle, seventy-two per cent of the upper-lower and seventy-four per cent of the lower-lower class students were enrolled in the

10. Mukherjee, Ramkrishna, "The Economic Structure and Social Life in Six Villages of Bengal", American Sociological Review. V. 14, (1949)

commercial and the general course. All upper-upper class were enrolled in courses preparing for college.¹¹

Similarly, a study on the high school of Jonesville reveals that enrollement in the different three courses, college preparatory, commercial and general studies, was related significantly to class position. The first two upper classes were concentrated in the college preparatory courses, the two middle classes in the general course, and the two lower classes in the general and commercial courses. These social class concentrations in different types of education chosen were found to be most pronounced among girls' school population.¹²

General Behavioral Patterns in Schools and Social Class

Children coming from high socio-economic status are encouraged and more cared for, while children coming from lower-economic groups are discouraged and discriminated against by principals, teachers, superintendents and more fortunate classmates. This is evidenced by an investigation on the High School of "Elmtown"^{* XE}, a middle western town of the United States, where teachers are much interested in the work of the children in social classes II and III. In general these students receive better grades than children belonging to the lower classes. The parents of children of the lower

11. Warner, L.W. et.al. The Social Life of a Modern Community. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, Pp. 356-365.

12. Hollingshead, A.B., Elmtown's Youth. New York, John Siley & Sons, Inc., 1949. Chap. 8

* Elmtown is a fictitious name for Jonesville, the same town which was studied by Warner.

classes are more frequently consulted on disciplinary problems than on academic work. Furthermore, this biased attitude on the part of teachers and school administrators was not confined to grades, but included the way students' offices and school prizes were granted. Extra-curricular activities except athletics were found also to be affected by social class membership.¹³ X

A very similar study on the Yankee City schools indicated deliberate efforts of a grammar school principal to persuade lower class students not to select college preparatory high school courses.¹⁴

However, early withdrawal of lower class children from school is not entirely attributed to undesirable experiences, lack of recognition and unfortunate financial situations of the family. The social milieu and the class culture in which a child lives affect his educational behavior. Higher classes tend to encourage and train their children to respond positively to competitive situations such as those presented by examinations. Lower class children are not usually taught that good grades correspond to success in life; instead they are encouraged to quit school and go to work to contribute to the welfare of the family. A study of high school students in the Boston area reveals that highly intelligent boys from working class homes are

13. Hollingshead, op.cit. Chap. 8

14. Warner, Who Shall Be Educated? op.cit. Chap. 6

strongly influenced by their parental pressures in choosing their occupational careers. It is also indicated that working class families who are not satisfied with their living encourage their children to go to college, while those who are satisfied with what they already have encourage the philosophy of "getting by" rather than "getting ahead."¹⁵

The previous studies done in the different communities in America indicate, though in varying degrees, a strong relationship between level and type of education, and social class membership. This relationship, however, was not confined to the differential maintenance of some specific levels of education, or the choice of some specific types of education; it also included motivational forces, either at home or at school, which help keep the child in, or force him out of school. The findings tend to agree that large numbers of able children from lower classes do not take advantage of educational opportunities, especially at the college level, even though the financial situation of their parents may permit them to do so. No matter how true this view is, it is still a point that parents' ignorance of the effect of education on the betterment of their lives has a great influence on the attitudes of their children. It is a vicious circle; lack of educational experiences on the part of the parents leads to their ignorance of the value of education for social mobility, which in turn encourages the children to miss out on chances for higher education in particular, and educational opportunities

15. Mayer, op.cit., p. 38.

in general.

Studies Done in the Arab World

Concerning the Arab World, there are a few indications that Arab educators are growing aware of the relationship between education and social class. Writing about educational institutions that prepare teachers in Lebanon, Naim Atiyeh says that, "most of the elementary teachers come from suppressed social classes situated under the middle stratum. To change these teachers into proud and self-confident persons who love and respect people, is a slow process that needs more time than is now afforded."¹⁶

Muhammad Abu-Hadid in his article about a new educational philosophy and its applicability on methods of teaching, curriculum and evaluational processes in the Arab World says that, "Arab students attending school today are more heterogeneous than ever; they come from different social strata and different social milieus with different patterns of life." He adds that this calls for "the provision of different methods of teaching and different curricula in order to meet the needs of the emerging variety in school population."¹⁷

Moreover, this interest in the reciprocal relationship between education and social class is beginning to permeate research work in education. For instance, the pedagogical center at the high school of Junia is now undertaking a significant research on the relationship between marks in school and

16. نعيم عطية ، " اعداد المعلمين في لبنان " اعداد المعلم العربي ، الجامعة العربية ،

17. لجنة التأليف والتربية والنشر : القاهرة آب (١٩٥٧) ص ١٩١ - محمد فريد ابو حديد ، " فلسفة تربوية متجددة وكيفية تطبيقها في المنهج والاسلوب والتقييم والامتحان " فلسفة متجددة لعالم عربي متجدد ، دار الكتب ، بيروت تموز (١٩٥٨) ص ٩٣

social class membership.

These indications show that the Arab educator is beginning to realize the motivational importance of social class membership in school achievement and in teaching.

It is clearly indicated that some Arab educators contemplate a general relationship between education and social class. This, however, lacks disciplined, systematic and specific researches that examine the composition of school population and social class. The lack of such empirical researches is unfortunate, because there is abundant evidence that the study of the social structure as related to education is of great importance for the improvement of the educational situation in a country, since this relationship manifests itself in every form of organized communal living, whether simple or complex. However, the form this relationship takes on varies with the development of the society concerned.

People in different societies are classified into social classes on the basis of what they have, or what they have not. This classification is derived from the relative possession of a number of traits which are translated into a way of life. A definite way of life requires definite qualifications, material and non-material. These qualifications are distributed and maintained in different variations in a community. Being unequally distributed among members of a community, these qualifications help develop different

patterns of behavior, the manifestation of which makes a community fall into a number of social strata. This implies that the general stream of one's behavior determines one's membership in a certain social class.

The general stream of behavior of any individual is formed through the interaction of many social and cultural aspects in which formal education plays a considerable role. Formal education constitutes many levels and is divided into many types, the pursuit of which requires different amounts of material and non-material possessions which are maintained differently in different social classes. Certain types and levels of education could be achieved, therefore, only by certain social classes. This is why there is need to begin studies on the Lebanese society, which attempt to find out what types and levels of education are achieved by each social class. This thesis aims to open the way for such studies.

DEFINITION OF TERMS¹⁸

Social Stratification

It is a system of social inequality based on the possession, in varying degrees, of socio-cultural symbols differentially evaluated in terms of social power. A social class is the unit of such a system.

18. The writer is particularly indebted to Father S.F. Lynch for the definition of some of these terms. See Lynch, S.F. Social Class in Bikol Town. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1959.

Position

This term refers to the place a person occupies in any or all of the general institutional systems of a society such as the economic, political, religious, educational and the familial system.

Prestige

It is the relative value attached to a certain position in the community.

Type of Education

It indicates the qualitative difference between fields of specialization in the educational system. For example, vocational education is one type as compared with academic education.

Level of Education

It indicates the number of academic years reached in school. It ranges from non-attendance to as many years as one may stay in school.

PROBLEM

Many families in the Arab World send their children to school to learn and acquire the traits which may enable them to live a better life.

Up to the present, no study has been made to explain the forces that prompt people either to go or not to go to school. Furthermore, there is need to examine the forces which make students beyond the elementary level choose one

course of study rather than another.

The present study assumes that one chooses a course of study because of its anticipated value, and that the value of a course is mostly influenced by the family's position in the social structure of the community. It is here maintained, therefore, that the type of education one receives is related to the position his family occupies in the social structure of the community.

Besides, the opportunities for school attendance are not equal to all children and young people exceeding a given level of intellectual ability. One factor that may account for this inequality of opportunity for school attendance is the position a child's family occupies in the social structure of the community. This may be more true in a country where education is a privilege and not a right, that is, where compulsory school attendance is not enforced.

Our purpose in this research, therefore, is to examine the relationship between the type and level of education on one hand, and membership in a social class, on another. Putting it in the form of a hypothesis, we may say: the type and level of education a child achieves is functionally related to the position his family occupies in the social structure of the community.

This hypothesis will be examined in terms of a number of questions.

First, beside intellectual ability, the attainment of a certain level of education requires some other qualifications,

uppermost among which are the social and economic conditions of the child's family. It is assumed that this factor is not equally distributed among the various social strata of the community. Other things being equal, it is expected to find that some children of school age may or may not go to school depending on what social class they belong to. Our purpose is then to find:

I. WHAT PROPORTION OF CHILDREN ELIGIBLE TO GO TO SCHOOL IN EACH SOCIAL CLASS ACTUALLY GO INTO: (A) THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, (B) THE SECONDARY SCHOOL?

Second, in order to examine the interest for acquiring education in terms of social stratification, we put forth the following question:

II. WHICH SOCIAL CLASSES ARE MOST CONCERNED ABOUT EDUCATION?

Third, graduating from the elementary school, students capable of pursuing their scholastic work are faced with the problem of choosing the right type of education. Two main types are opened to them, vocational and academic. Vocational education in turn consists of a number of specializations, technical, hotel management, agriculture and teacher training. It is expected, therefore, that differences in interests of the various social classes may be expressed in terms of the choice of the type of education. Hence, the following question is raised:

III. WHAT PROPORTION OF CHILDREN FROM EACH SOCIAL CLASS ALREADY ENROLLED IN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION ACTUALLY GO INTO: (A) THE ACADEMIC TYPE, AND (B) THE VOCATIONAL TYPE OF EDUCATION?

It is believed that the peoples of the Middle East are differentially biased towards the sexes. This implies that there may be differences in the proportions of the two sexes attending school. Such a difference may be on a one-class level as compared with the other, or within the same social class. Therefore, differences in school attendance of boys and girls, in general, are examined in terms of the following question:

IV. WHAT PROPORTION OF GIRLS AND BOYS ELIGIBLE TO GO TO SCHOOL IN EACH SOCIAL CLASS ACTUALLY GO INTO: (A) THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL, AND (B) THE SECONDARY LEVEL?

Limitations to the Study

This study possesses various limitations:

First, Cedarstown represents the newly emerging community in Lebanon. One of the main characteristics of these communities is their close and intensified contacts with the city. They are neither rural nor urban. Further, what is true of Cedarstown may not be so even in other newly emerging communities. For example, a community of different religious affiliation may present different findings.

Second, in testing the differential attitudes in each social class towards the type of education chosen, the vocational population included the students who, by application, expressed their intention or desire to join a vocational school. This was based on the assumption that admissions to vocational schools are very limited by law, in the sense

that only a specific number of students are admitted every year. This certainly, it was assumed, forces some of those interested in vocational education to join an academic program which may unduly inflate enrollements in it. However, it is in that assumption that the limitation to the findings of this question lies. It is very probable that people of Cedarstown, knowing the limited admissions to vocational schools, would refrain from even applying to these schools.

Third, in establishing the reliability of the stratification procedure, perfect consistency in scoring the randomly chosen sixty families was obtained from the judges who reranked these families. The limitation to this procedure is the fact that perfect consistency was probably obtained as will be shown later, because the judges were asked to rerank the sixty families only one week after they had ranked all these families among one hundred and eighty families.

Fourth, although subjectivity is an essential part of the method, it may present disadvantages in terms of inaccuracy and lack of stability in the definition of social class concept.

CHAPTER II

FIELD PROCEDURES

This chapter discusses the technical procedures followed in collecting the data needed to test the hypothesis. The data were collected between October 1959, and May 1960. The acquaintance of the researcher with Cedarstown community is not limited to this nine-month period; previous friendship with former classmates gave the researcher the opportunity to make important contacts in the town, which would have been otherwise impossible. Besides, Cedarstown and the researcher's village have a common meeting ground in religion, both adhere to the Eastern Greek Orthodox Church and thus this has facilitated inter-marriage between the two communities. Such family connections were relied on quite often in starting conversations.

During the nine-month period, the researcher lived in Cedarstown for about ten days, spent about ten week-ends and paid frequent visits to various sections of that community. The purpose of these contacts was, first to get acquainted with the community and to interview some randomly chosen families about the general conditions of the town; second, to study the social composition of the community; and third, to obtain responses to the questionnaires used in the study.

The first two jobs were done mainly by the researcher, often accompanied by the former mukhtar of the town, a dignified man of 70. The former mukhtar was of great help because of the confidence he enjoys among the people of Cedarstown; when the town was divided into two rival groups, he refused to run for the office of Mukhtariyah. The third aspect was mainly done by the interviewer, the daughter of the former mukhtar. She knows and is known by practically everybody, and is well respected, serious and trustworthy. Before starting, she got acquainted with the purpose of the study and its nature and above all with the meaning of the terms used in the questionnaire such as level of education, type of education, social class and others..

Sources of Data

The data were collected from civil official records, enrollements in elementary and secondary schools, participant observations, interviews, questionnaires, and frequent visits to various families. The data were sometimes recorded during the conversation or immediately after it, depending on the consent of the interviewee. Some people took pride in having their words recorded.

The research problem necessitated the collection of data from two main sources: families of the children included in the study group and school enrollement records. The information collected from official records of enrollement was

used to check the authenticity of the information collected from the families, which were the principal sources of information. Questions were directed to the father, who is automatically the spokesman in a patriarchal authoritarian family such as those with which this study is concerned.

The Study Group

The study group for testing the main hypothesis of this research included all children already enrolled in the elementary and the secondary schools regardless of age, and all those who are eligible to go to these schools. Eligibility to go to the elementary schools was determined in terms of age, and included children whose ages range between 6 and 11 years. Eligibility to go to the secondary school included all children from 12 to 18 years of age and all those already enrolled regardless of age. Children of elementary age or secondary age come from families living in, and considered as belonging to Cedarstown. Children who are studying in the town, but who come from other communities were excluded from the research.

One hundred eighty families had children who were either enrolled in the elementary and secondary schools regardless of age, or whose children, by virtue of their age, were eligible to go to these schools. The total number of eligible children in these families is 588, and they constitute the study group.

TABLE IV

THE STUDY GROUP BY SEX AND AGE

Age	Males	Females	Total
6	17	19	36
7	21	15	36
8	18	21	39
9	28	13	41
10	26	21	47
11	34	15	49
12	31	24	55
13	26	27	53
14	18	20	38
15	20	25	45
16	26	13	39
17	15	14	29
18	18	29	47
18 plus	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>34</u>
Totals	316	272	588

The category, "18 plus" indicates the number of students already enrolled in the secondary schools, but whose ages exceed 18. Those whose ages exceed 11 and are enrolled in the elementary school, are considered to belong to the elementary population. It is worth mentioning, however, that no student below 6 is in the elementary school.

To be able to answer the questions in terms of which the hypothesis is to be tested, the social composition of the study group should be established.

THE STRATIFICATION PROCESS

For purposes of this study it was necessary to assign each family included in the study to a particular social class in the community.

Theoretical Background

The method of stratifying a community depends on the way the phenomenon of social class is conceived. According to Warner, "a social class is 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."¹⁹

The term 'order of people' indicates that social class members are bound by a certain common rule of life, and are classified according to their general behavior and not merely by agreeing on single characteristics. This implies that a specific social class is exemplified by collective and interconnected manifestations of particular tendencies qualitatively recognized to be different. Technically, social class membership is determined through the evaluation of these manifested traits of behavior. In other words, the assignment of people to different social classes depends on the way social class characteristics are valued by the community, and not on values inherent in these characteristics. This means that a person belongs to a specific social class because he is so ranked

19. Warner, L.W., et al. The Social Life of a Modern Community. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, p. 82.

by the members of his community.

Social values may vary from one community to another within the same space of time, and from time to time within the same community. Therefore, any method of stratifying a community should consider the consent of its members at a definite time.

Another concept of social class views it as "(1) a number of people (who) 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 markets. (These points refer to 'class situation', which we may express more briefly as the typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences, in so far as this chance is determined by the amount and kind of power, or lack of such, to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order. The term 'class' refers to any group of people that is found in the same 'class situation'."²⁰

Warner treats social class as 'an order of people' - a part of the whole 'fabric'. Weber, on the other hand, views social class as 'a number of people' -- an entity in a mathematical series. What distinguishes one number of people from

20. Mannheim, Karl, ed. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1947, p. 181.

another, is the extent to which they have the privilege of possession goods and opportunities for income. These privileges command particular external living conditions and personal life experiences which are ultimately translated into power. Power to Weber means, "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action".²¹ The social class membership of an individual, therefore, is determined by the amount and kind of power he exerts. A group of people belong to a specific social class because they enjoy similar privileges, and not because they are so ranked by the members of the community. Here, the emphasis seems to be placed on values inherent in these privileges, and not necessarily on the way these privileges are arbitrarily valued by the members of the community.

Weber's definition of social class seems to suggest a different method of stratification from that suggested by Warner. Warner's definition suggests a procedure based on the judgements of the members of the community, while Weber suggests the use of a scale exhibiting the distribution of chances for the supply of goods, external living conditions and personal life experiences. These symbols are to be arranged in a hierarchical order, the construction of which depends on the analyst himself without the consent of the members of the community.

21. Ibid. p. 180.

A third conception of social class, according to Bukharin, visualizes it as "an aggregate of persons playing the same part in production, standing in the same relation toward other persons in the production process, these relations being also expressed in things (instruments of labor)."²²

Bukharin seems to agree with Weber that social class is 'an aggregate of people', and to disagree with Warner's conception of social class as 'an order of people'. However, Bukharin disagrees with Weber on what might be the characteristics of social class. To him, membership in a social class is determined by the amount and kind of the instruments of production possessed. Further, Bukharin's concept implies that the mere possession of similar means of production is not causally related to membership in a specific social class. But when people with similar means of production function as one unit against another in the struggle for survival, social classes begin to shape up into independent structures.

Weber's concept of social class phenomenon does not necessarily contradict or complement Bukharin's. In industrial societies, there is enough reason to believe that both definitions complement each other in the sense that he who controls 'more' means of production exerts 'more' power. The same thing may not be true in religiously oriented societies where the priest exerts more power. Therefore, Bukharin's definition of social class and that of Weber,

22. Bukharin, Nicolai, Historical Materialism. London, 1926, p. 276.

could be complementary as well as contradictory depending on the nature of the community concerned.

According to Bukharin, members of the same social class possess similar means of production and stand in the same relation toward other persons who possess a different class of means. Such a conception requires the existence of conflict between one group of people with similar means of production against another group possessing different means of production before society crystallizes itself in social classes.

Suppose there is a society where people with different means of production are satisfied with their lots, would this necessarily eliminate social stratification. The anthropological and the social studies of primitive societies, let alone modern and complex societies, indicate that people always rank one another differentially although there is no conflict or struggle between classes. Of course, the social class in such societies tends to become identified with the caste system.

Weber, on the other hand, believes that members of the same social class have similar interests in the possession of goods, and similar chances for life experiences. In other words, what determines a social class is the possession of goods and the power to utilize these goods for living purposes. To him, the evaluation of social classes will remain dependent on the thinking of the analyst of the situation as to what constitutes the power to dispose for these goods. Of course, differential evaluation of different lots in society is not eliminated, but it lacks objectivity.

Warner resolves this difficulty by examining how the possession of means of production and the power of disposing of goods and perhaps other factors, affect the outlook of people within the community towards one another. The community as such is, therefore, at a given time and space, a more stable judge of the social situation.

This conclusion favours Warner's concept of social class where social, economic, political and cultural manifestations then prevailing in a particular community are encompassed. The evaluation of these manifestations will involve a hierarchical arrangement of socially inferior or superior positions as judged by the members of the community.

Method of Stratification

There is no one single method of stratification that is applied universally. As to Cedarstown, at least three approaches appeared to be possible.

Single Factor Index

This approach required the use of a single factor index, such as occupation, means of production, exertion of power, education, type of house dwelling area or any other such factors as warranted by the particular conditions of the community. This approach is objectionable on account of its reliance on a single factor. It is rare to find a community where the social status of people depends on a single factor. It was rejected in view of a preliminary

work which showed that the social position of a family is derived from the possession of a number of socio-cultural characteristics rather than from a single factor.

Index of Social Characteristics

This second approach was to take all these factors mentioned before, namely education, occupation, type of house, dwelling area and the like, and adopt a numerical scale for each one such as from 0 to 4. For example, a person with no education would receive a score of 0, while a person of elementary education would receive a score of 1, and a person of secondary education a score of 2 and so on. The score received by a person for each factor is a partial score. Then, the sum of the partial scores for all factors would give the total socio-economic score of the person. These total scores are put in a frequency distribution and the social class of a person will be determined in relation to the average of the distribution.

This method presents several advantages. First, it meets the objection to the first method in taking several factors into consideration; thus it accounts for the totality of the social life rather than a part of it. Second, it suggests a precise numerical rating. Third, it tries to avoid the subjectivity involved in the judgements of the experts of the community in ranking people.

However, it is in the third advantage that the weakness of this method lies. A person may receive a high score for the several factors studied, but may not actually enjoy

the same social recognition that his score has implied. While, on the contrary, high standing on one single factor may outweigh low standing on other factors, and thus entitle the person to high social rank in the eyes of the community in spite of a possible low total score as derived by the weighing procedure.

For these reasons, it was felt that reliance on the judgements of some well-informed local persons would lead to more realistic results. This method is referred to hereafter as the Method by Matched Agreement.

The Method by Matched Agreement

This method is in line with the work of the three sociologists, Warner, Hollingshead and Father Lynch. However, few modifications were made, due to the special composition of Cedarstown. These modifications will be pointed out at the appropriate places.

The steps followed in the study of the social composition of Cedarstown will include, (1) the determination of the number of social classes, (2) selection and training of a group of judges to carry out the final allocation of the families included in the study to the different social classes, and finally reliability and validity studies of the stratification.

Determination of the Number of Social
Classes in Cedarstown

The first step towards the study of the social composition of the town was to inquire about the possibility of undertaking such a research. Inquiry had affirmed that people of Cedarstown would not object to such an endeavour, although several people were suspicious about the intentions of the study.

In the second place, it was important to get a general idea about the physical setting of Cedarstown; its roads, means and places of recreation and the like.

To establish the number of social classes in Cedarstown, two informant groups were consulted.

The First Informant Group

This group of informants represented different social backgrounds, sexes and ages. Several informants among them seemed to be aware of the existence of social inequalities in Cedarstown. However, it did not seem that the conception of social class per se was sharply perceived. For although people in their daily communal life react differently to different people, the translation of these different reactions in terms of social distinctions remains unconscious. Social inequalities may be actually lived, while they are not thought of as such. Only after the analysis of certain social situations was done by the researcher, did the people of Cedarstown begin to realize the social significance of different types of

interpersonal relations, and consequently, the meaning of social class as a concept.

Thus the people of Cedarstown began to realize the social-class implications of the many stereotypes that they use in their daily language in referring to each other.

The upper classes were spoken of as - "the residents of down-town" (sukkan harit el-tahta), "the notables" (elminshafeen), "men of high morality", "they always take the initiative in saluting", "the election keys", "men of political influence", "they make the government turn to them the unbroken ear",²³ "men of high eloquence",²⁴ "they put us in a good light" (bibaydu wajhana), and other similar stereotypes, the full interpretation of which will appear in the section on social class characteristics.

The middle classes were spoken of as - "the comforts" (elmirtaheen), "they have surplus", "they are clean but not elegant", "they are managing", "they represent the spirit of Cedarstown". Other stereotypes were used also to characterize these people. A full account of these stereotypes will appear in describing the characteristics of these people in a later section.

The lower classes were spoken of as - "the people who live from hand to mouth" (khubzāna kafat youwmana), "they are

23. This stereotype indicate that these persons are influential in the government.

24. People of Cedarstown emphasize and value the clarity of the spoken word.

not heard of except when their vote is needed in elections", "they put us in a bad light" (bissawdu wajhana), "they kneel easily" (mutassalimeen), and "they are always in debt".

These stereotypes seem to refer to characteristics which are associated in the thinking of this group of informants with the different social classes in Cedarstown. These characteristics may be classified as follows: the educational preparation achieved, the extent to which a family has access to modern luxuries like cars, radios, refrigerators, electric washing mashines and other furnishings, dwelling area, type of house construction, the extent to which a person participates in the promotion of the general good of the community and to which he helps build not only his reputation but also that of the town as a whole.

The tentative results obtained from this first group of informants are shown in the following table:

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FIRST GROUP OF INFORMANTS AS TO THE NUMBER OF STRATA IN CEDARSTOWN

No. of informants	No. of strata
13	4
3	5
2	3
1	6

This table shows that of the nineteen informants included in the first group, thirteen stratified Cedarstown into four strata, three into five strata, two into three strata, and one into six strata.

The Second Informant Group

One of the purposes of questioning this group was to check on the number of strata. The persons included in this group were deliberately selected to represent differing social backgrounds and differing geographical sections of the town.

Twenty names were selected at random in such a way that the different social backgrounds were equally represented. Each name of these families was written on a separate 5" by 7" card. Sixteen sets of such cards were made and were given to sixteen well-informed persons not included in the first group of informants.

Each informant was asked to do three things: (1) sort out the cards into as many piles as was judged necessary, each including those families which he thinks would belong together socially, (2) rank the piles and (3) explain on what basis the different piles were grouped.

These informants grouped the families in the following manner:

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SECOND GROUP OF INFORMANTS AS TO THE NUMBER OF STRATA IN CEDARSTOWN

No. of informants	No. of strata
12	4
2	6
1	5
1	3

This table shows that of the sixteen informants, twelve stratified Cedarstown into four strata, two into six strata, one into five strata and one into three strata.

This distribution, combined with that of the first group of informants, is shown in Table VII:

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES IN CEDARSTOWN AS SEEN BY COMBINED GROUPS OF INFORMANTS

No. of informants	No. of strata
25	4
4	5
3	6
3	3

This table shows that of the thirty-five informants, twenty-five stratified Cedarstown into four strata, four into five strata, three into six strata, and three into three strata.

The purpose of this combination was to establish the number of strata in Cedarstown which was done by relying on the judgements of the members of the community. This reliance is in line with Warner's definition of social class which is adopted in this study. It is true that such a procedure involves an element of subjectivity, but the agreement of twenty-five out of thirty-five informants reveals a trend which needs to be statistically tested. To do so the difference between the ratio of those who stratified Cedarstown into four strata and those who stratified it otherwise, was tested through the use of the simple binomial test.

The value yielded for the simple binomial test was found to be significant at .02 level. This means that the difference between those who stratified Cedarstown into four strata and those who did otherwise could not have arisen by chance sampling. There is sound reason to believe, therefore, that in spite of the subjectivity involved, the majority of all such judges would stratify Cedarstown into four social classes.

Selection of Judges

The study of the social composition of the families included in this research, according to the Method of Matched Agreement requires the selection of a group of well-informed persons to serve as judges of the social status of people.

In Warner's and Hollingshead's studies, different groups of judges were needed for the different geographical areas of the community. Since in Cedarstown everybody knows everybody else, only one group of judges was needed. The selection of this group of judges was based on a number of criteria.

First, a judge should have lived in Cedarstown most of his life. This guarantees that the judge has thorough familiarity with the social conditions of the community, and that he is aware of changes in social mobility that may have taken place over a period of time.

Second, a judge should not be politically committed to any ideology or party that has preconceived views on the nature of the social order in society. The experience of the researcher has shown that such committed people were unable to understand the meaning of the social class concept as adopted in this study, for they insisted on viewing society from their partisan angles.

Third, a judge should not have a child or a close relative included in the study. This requirement helps to reduce possible prejudices due to kinship on the parts of the judges.

Fourth, the judges should represent different social backgrounds. It is assumed that people of different social backgrounds may have different attitudes towards the same social phenomenon. Therefore, agreement among judges of different backgrounds would give a dependable picture of the

social composition of the community.

Fifth, the judges should represent all geographical sections in the town. It was observed that each section in Cedarstown has developed a sort of a particular internal group feeling. The selection of judges from different sections of the town, therefore, was done to minimize biases which might be dependent on geographical location.

In determining the number of judges, the general practice of researchers in the field who adopt a sample of judges equivalent to five per cent or little more of the total group of families under study, was adopted. Since the study included 180 families a sample of 10 judges, or nearly six per cent of the number of families, was thus considered practical and appropriate.

Rating Procedure

Each of the ten judges was approached privately and was assured that the information sought was strictly confidential. The judges showed interest in the work and willingness to help.

Each judge was then given a set of 4" by 6" cards, each carrying the name of one of the families in the study, with a serial number on the back of the card.

The judges were instructed first to sort out the cards into four piles each representing a social stratum, and then to rank the piles according to their relative social position.

To determine the social class of each family, the weighing method of Hollingshead was adopted.²⁵ According to this method a family receives a weight of 1 for each judge who groups it in class I, a weight of 2 for each judge who groups it in class II, weight of 3 for each judge who groups it in class III, and weight of 4 for each judge who groups it in class IV. The score of each family would be represented by the average of these weights. The scores for all families were thus computed. The scores were plotted on a frequency distribution ranging between 1.00 and 4.00. The distribution is shown in Table VIII:

TABLE VIII

SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION IN CEDARSTOWN
BY AVERAGE CLASS ASSIGNED BY 10 JUDGES

Score Range	Corresponding social class	Frequency of families
1.00-1.50	I	8
1.51-2.50	II	39
2.51-3.50	III	86
3.51-4.00	IV	47

It is found that eight families belong to class I; thirty-nine families to class II; eighty-six families to class III; and forty-seven families to class IV.

25. Hollingshead, op.cit. p. 36.

However, the agreement of judges differed from one class to another and from one family to the other within the same class. This is why the mean scores of families differed within the same class, and families falling in the same social class do not necessarily have the same mean score, but are spread over average of 1. This is shown in the following table.

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF AGREEMENT AMONG JUDGES ON FAMILY RANKING
IN TERMS OF NUMBER OF JUDGES AND MEAN SCORE

Social class	No. of families	No. of agreeing judges	Mean score
I	7	10	1.00
	1	7	1.30
II	26	8-10	1.80-2.20
	5	7	1.70-2.30
	6	6	1.60-2.40
	2	5	2.5
III	52	8-10	2.80-3.20
	5	8	2.7
	4	8	2.6
	8	7	2.70-3.30
	2	7	2.6
	5	6	2.60-3.40
	10	5	3.50
IV	38	8-10	3.80-4.00
	2	8	3.7
	5	7	3.7
	2	6	3.6

This table shows that in class I, there is a full agreement among the judges on seven out of eight families

representing 87.5% of the population of class I; and that seven judges out of ten, agree on the remaining family.

In class II, eight to ten judges agree on twenty-six families which represent 66.66% of class II population, while seven out of ten judges agree on five families representing 12.82% of class II population. Therefore, seven judges and above agree on thirty-one families which represent seventy-nine per cent of the total group; while only eight families out of thirty-nine, that is, twenty-one per cent of the population receive the agreement of only five to six judges.

In class III, from eighty to one hundred per cent of the judges, that is, from eight to ten, agree on sixty-one families representing 70.92% of the population. Seventy per cent of the judges agree on ten families representing 11.62% of the population; while eighteen per cent of the population, that is, fifteen families, receive an agreement of only five to six judges.

In class IV, eight to ten judges agree on forty out of forty-seven families, that is, eighty-five per cent of the population; seventy per cent of the judges agree on 10.63% of the population, and 4.27% of the population receive an agreement of only six judges.

Thus, 87.5% of the population of class I, 66.66% of class II, 70.92% of class III, and 85% of class IV, are stratified with the concensus of a significant majority of the judges. It is noticeable, therefore, that although

classes I and IV seem to be well-consolidated as social classes in the opinion of the judges, a relatively important proportion of class II and class III seem to arouse some doubt among the judges. One may venture that this may be due to some kind of social mobility in the middle classes. Also, near-average persons do not stand out enough in anyone's eyes for sharp destinations to be made among them. The more extreme deviates are always being talked about, noticed and evaluated. They are better known to all.

Reliability of the Stratification Procedure

The reliability of the stratification procedure was done by examining the consistency of judges in assigning people to the different social classes. To do so, sixty families were randomly chosen by taking each fourth name on the alphabetical list of the 180 families.

In order to study the effect of the size of the sample of judges on the final social ranking of a person, the judges were randomly divided according to their alphabetical order of their names into two groups, A. and B. The sixty families were to be again socially rated by the group of judges, to get a social class score as described earlier and to be assigned to a social class. All these families surprisingly received exactly the same ranking that they were given before by all the respective judges. Thus the judges were perfectly consistent in stratifying people.

The score of each family was then computed on the basis of five ratings instead of ten. Each person would thus receive two scores, one by group A and one by group B, and consequently, two types of social stratification would result, as summarized in the following table.

TABLE X

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF RELIABILITY SAMPLE AS SEEN BY GROUP A
AND GROUP B OF JUDGES

Social class	Group A	Group B
I	4	4
II	18	16
III	28	28
IV	10	12

This table shows that group A had four persons in class I; eighteen in class II; twenty-eight in class III; and ten in class IV, while group B had four in class I; sixteen in class II; twenty-eight in class III; and twelve in class IV.

To test the significance of the differences between proportions assigned to the various classes in group A and group B, the chi-square method was used. The value of chi-square amounted to .29, which is not statistically significant. The slight difference in ranking between group A and group B, therefore, is most probably due to mere chance sampling factors. Thus the social ranking of a person was

not significantly altered by the size of the sample of judges chosen.

Validity of the Stratification Procedure

The validity of a study is established by seeing whether it measures what it is supposed to measure. Ideally, therefore, the validity of the stratification procedure can be established by observing and evaluating the interpersonal reactions of the people of Cedarstown in various social situations; and comparing the outcome of these observations with the assessments of the judges. However, this method presents insurmountable difficulties.

Warner's definition of social class suggests another possible approach through which validity can be established by examining whether the ranking of people by the members of the community, or in this case the judges, corresponds to the possession or non-possession by these people of certain significant social symbols. In other words, the "Method of Matched Agreement" will be matched with that of the "Index of Social Characteristics." Hence, the problem set forth is to select these social characteristics which enable the researcher to distinguish between one social class and another in Cedarstown community.

In a study on social status in selected Lebanese villages, it was found that the level of education, the type of house construction, group participation and surplus

belongings are the most important distinguishing criteria for social classes in Lebanon.²⁶

This study will, therefore, assume that it is relatively safe to apply these social characteristics to Cedarstown. However, the limitation in applying this approach is the difficulty in giving the appropriate relative weight to each social characteristic, in order to account for differences in importance of the various social characteristics.

Since there are four levels of education in Cedarstown, the information obtained on the educational level of parents was based on a scale from 0 to 3, as shown below:

(1) Level of Education

	None	Elementary	Secondary	College
Score:	0	1	2	3

Houses in Cedarstown are generally constructed in four forms: earth and brick, small unshaped stones, cement, and well-shaped stones. Each of these forms is generally associated with a definite social class as will be indicated in the next chapter. Therefore, the following scale of house construction is used:

26. Abul-Husn, Latif, Consumption Expenditure Patterns Among Selected Lebanese Villages. Beirut, 1959, pp. 66-67.

(2) Type of House Construction

	Earth & Brick	Small un- shaped Stones	Cement	Well-shaped stones
Score:	0	1	2	3

Some stereotypes mentioned in an earlier section of this study convey the importance of the role played by a person in promoting or retarding the general welfare of the community. The extent to which a person participates in the affairs of the community, therefore, is one criterion by which people of Cedarstown evaluate the social position of each other.

(3) Group Participation

	Inactive	Active	Very active
Score:	0	1	2

The possession or non-possession of luxuries such as cars, radios, telephones, and refrigerators also seem to indicate the social prestige a person holds in Cedarstown. Though a telephone is much cheaper than a car, it was given an equal weight because evidence indicates that the possession of a telephone is associated with other economic privileges. A telephone is generally possessed by those who have relatively large use for it; otherwise it is mere snobbery to secure one. This is why people tend to buy a car before a telephone. Radio ownership will not be included as a criterion because almost everybody owns one, and thus it is a non-discriminating factor. The scale is as follows:

(4) Surplus Belongings (covering cars, telephones refrigerators, ...)

	None	Any One Item from the list	Any Two Items from the list	3 or more Items from the list
Scores:	0	1	2	3

Each family thus received a score on each of the above scales, which is a partial score. The sum of these partial scores gave the total score of a family on social characteristics. The distribution of these scores is shown in the following table:

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS IN TERMS OF SOCIAL CLASS

Social class	Score	No. of families
I	11	3
	10	4
	9	1
II	9	4
	8	4
	7	8
	6	8
	5	7
	4	6
III	3	2
	8	1
	7	0
	6	5
	5	17
	4	28
	3	20
	2	7
	1	7
	0	1

(con't)

Social class	Score	No. of families
IV	4	5
	3	6
	2	13
	1	16
	0	7

This table clearly shows that the scores on social characteristics decrease while descending the social ladder. However, there is much overlapping of classes, which substantiates the earlier criticism made of the method of Index of Social Characteristics, that a score on this index may not correspond to the social rank given to a person by the method of evaluating by judges.

In order to test whether the various social classes as stratified in this study differ with respect to social class characteristics, the median on social characteristics was calculated, and found to be 3.78. Then, the number of families in each social class who fell above or below the median was determined. The distribution is shown in Table XII.

TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH RESPECT TO SOCIAL CLASS IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Above the median	Below the median
I	8	0
II	37	2
III	52	34
IV	5	42

To test the significance of the differences of the social class on social characteristics, the chi-square method was used, the chi-square value was found to be 56.8, which is highly significant for three degrees of freedom. There is enough reason to believe, therefore, that the assignment of people in Cedarstown to the different social classes could not have arisen by chance. Apparently, a social class must imply the possession of certain objective social symbols or the relative lack of such.

At this point, the question of examining the significance of the differences among the adjacent classes arises. The mean scores for each social class on social characteristics are shown in the following table.

TABLE XIII¹

DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN SCORES FOR EACH SOCIAL CLASS ON SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Mean score
I	10.25
II	6.07
III	3.66
IV	1.70

This table shows that the mean score decreases while descending the social ladder, indicating that the ranking of the various social classes as made by the judges seems to be realistic.

To test the significance of these differences, the "t" test for testing the significance between means was used.²⁷ The results are shown in the following table:

TABLE XIV

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS OF ADJACENT SOCIAL CLASSES ON SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS IN CEDARSTOWN

Social classes compared	Difference in Means	Value of "t"	Level of Significance
I & II	4.18	5.12	beyond .01
II & III	2.41	8.15	" .01
III & IV	1.96	8.19	" .01

All of the differences between the mean score on social characteristics for adjacent social classes were found to be significant at the .01 level or better. These differences could not have arisen through chance sampling factors for the respective degrees of freedom. Thus the ranking of people by the judges of this community corresponded closely to whether these people possess or do not possess important social symbols. To the extent that this is acceptable as a criterion of validity, the stratification procedure followed in this study is valid.

27. "t" for the test of a difference between means, when means are uncorrelated. See Guilford, op.cit. p. 228.

RESULTS

This section examines the significance of the general relationship between education and membership in a specific social class. To do so, the data collected about the educational achievement of each social class was computed in such a way as to lend itself to statistical comparison. This comparison was done with reference to the four questions of the thesis:

I. WHAT PROPORTION OF CHILDREN ELIGIBLE TO GO TO SCHOOL IN EACH SOCIAL CLASS ACTUALLY GO TO: (A) THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, AND (B) THE SECONDARY SCHOOL?

This question tries to examine the extent to which achievement of formal education at the elementary and the secondary levels varies from one social class to another. To answer this question, the proportion of school goers at the elementary and the secondary level over the total eligible number of children in each social class was computed. These proportions are expressed in terms of ratios in the following table:

TABLE XV

RATIOS OF SCHOOL GOERS TO THE ELEMENTARY AND THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF SOCIAL CLASS IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Elementary level			Secondary level		
	Eligible	Enrolled	Ratio	Eligible	Enrolled	Ratio
I	9	9	1.00	7	6	.86
II	56	48	.86	67	60	.89
III	110	96	.87	167	111	.66
IV	72	53	.74	98	35	.36

This table shows that the ratios of school goers in each social class differ more among themselves at the secondary level, where the number of school goers decreases while descending the social ladder.

To test the significance of the differences in ratios between the elementary school goers and the secondary school goers in each social class, the "t" test was used. The results are shown in the following table:

TABLE XVI

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES IN RATIOS BETWEEN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL GOERS AND THE SECONDARY SCHOOL GOERS FOR EACH SOCIAL CLASS IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Elementary ratio	Secondary ratio	Differences in ratios	Values of "t"	Degrees of Freedom	Level of Significance
I	1.00	.86	.14	.13	14	Not sig.
II	.86	.89	.03	.6	121	Not sig.
III	.87	.66	.21	3.81	275	.01
IV	.74	.36	.38	4.93	168	.01

This table shows that the value of "t" yielded for class I is insignificant. This means that the difference between the proportions of elementary school goers and secondary school goers in social class I could have arisen from chance. Thus there is no evidence to deny that children belonging to class I enjoy equal school-going privileges at the elementary and at the secondary level.

Also, the value of "t" yielded for class II is insignificant. Therefore, the difference between the proportions of elementary school goers and secondary school goers in this class lies within chance expectation. It is concluded, therefore, that there is no evidence that children of class II do not have similar chances for attending elementary and secondary school.

As to class III, the value of "t" was found to be significant at the .01 level. This means that the difference between the proportions of elementary school goers and secondary school goers in this class lies beyond chance expectation. It is therefore concluded that a greater proportion of class III's children go to the elementary school than to the secondary school.

Similarly, the value of "t" yielded for class IV was also found to be significant at the .01 level. This implies that the difference between the proportion of elementary school goers and secondary school goers in this class is most probably not due to chance. In other words, class IV's children also concentrate more in the elementary school than in the secondary school.

II. WHICH SOCIAL CLASSES ARE MOST CONCERNED ABOUT EDUCATION:

This question investigates the differential concern for education in each social class in Cedarstown.

The answer to this question was attempted only at the elementary level. This was based on the following assumptions: First, elementary education in Cedarstown is free; and second, the age group of the elementary level is not expected to be economically productive, so there is no systematic outside pressure on elementary children to leave school. Secondary education, on the contrary, is not free, and there is pressure on children of the secondary school age level to leave the school and work for their families.

Therefore, to answer this question, the ratios of students attending the elementary school over the total number of students eligible to go to the elementary school in each social class, were computed. Each ratio was assumed to be a measure of each social class's concern for education.

It was observed in table XV that the ratios of school attendants at the elementary level differ from one social class to another. To test the significance of these differences, the "t" test was used. The results are shown in the following table:

TABLE XVII

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDANTS
FROM ONE SOCIAL CLASS TO ANOTHER

Social classes compared	High Ratio	Differences in ratios	Values of "t"	Degrees of Freedom	Level of significance
I vs. II	I	.14	1.20	63	Not significant
I vs. III	I	.13	1.18	117	" "
I vs. IV	I	.26	1.73	79	" "
II vs. III	II	.01	.20	164	" "
II vs. IV	II	.12	1.71	126	" "
III vs. IV	III	.13	2.26	180	.05

This table shows that the value of "t" yielded for class I and class II is insignificant. This means that the differences in proportion of school goers between class I and class II at the elementary level, are most probably due to chance. It is believed, therefore, that these two classes probably have similar concerns with education.

Similarly, the value of "t" yielded for class I and class III was also found to be insignificant. This implies that the differences between proportions of children attending the elementary school in class I and those attending the elementary school in class III lie within chance expectation. Class I and class III, therefore, have not exhibited any real difference in the amount they are concerned about the education of their children.

The value of "t" yielded for class I and class IV was also found to be insignificant. There is reason to assume,

therefore, that the differences between children attending the elementary school in class I and those attending the same school in class IV, may be due to chance. This means that there is no statistical evidence to believe that class I is more concerned about education than class IV. However, it is quite likely that the small N of class I is operating to conceal a real difference. Therefore, class I is lumped with class II, being adjacent and compared with class III and class IV, as shown in the following table:

TABLE XVIII

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDANTS FROM ONE SOCIAL CLASS TO ANOTHER WITH CLASS I AND CLASS II LUMPED.

Social classes compared	Higher Ratios	Differences in ratios	Values of "t"	Degrees of Freedom	Level of significance	
I&IIvs.III		$(.87-.87)$.00			
I&IIvs.IV	I&II	$(.87-.73)$.14	2.05	135	.05

This table indicates that the ratio of class I and class II combined and the ratio of class III are equal. The difference between the ratio of the lumped classes and that of class IV is significant at the .05 level. Class I and class II combined are probably more concerned about education than class IV.

However, when class II is taken singly and compared with classes III and IV, no significant differences are found.

The value of "t" for class III and class IV, as shown in table XVI, was found to be significant at the .05 level. The difference between the proportion of children attending the elementary school in class III, therefore, and of those attending the elementary school in class IV, is probably not due to chance. Thus there is evidence to believe that class III is more concerned with education than class IV.

III. WHAT PROPORTION OF CHILDREN ALREADY ENROLLED IN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION ACTUALLY GO INTO: (A) THE ACADEMIC TYPE AND (B) TO THE VOCATIONAL TYPE, IN EACH SOCIAL CLASS?

The answer to this question dealt only with the student population already enrolled in the secondary schools. Therefore, children eligible for but not enrolled in secondary education were excluded.

Admissions to vocational schools are strictly limited by law. Only a specific number of students are admitted every year. This forces some of those interested in vocational education to join an academic program which may unduly inflate academic enrollements. For this reason, the vocational population included all those who had, by application, expressed their intention or desire to join vocational school. Including the applicants in the vocational population, the ratios of students actually attending a certain type of education over the total number of students belonging to that class, were computed for each social class. These ratios are shown in the following table:

TABLE XIX

RATIOS OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN THE ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL
SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY SOCIAL CLASS

Social class	Students in academic school	Ratio in academic school	Students in vocational school	Ratio in vocational school
I	6	1.00	0	.00
II	59	.98	1	.02
III	101	.91	10	.09
IV	31	.88	4	.12

This table shows that the ratios of students attending the academic school differ from one social class to another. To test the significance of these differences, the "t" test was used. The results are shown below:

TABLE XX

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES IN ENROLLEMENT IN ACADEMIC
SECONDARY SCHOOL FROM ONE SOCIAL CLASS TO ANOTHER IN
CEDARSTOWN

Social classes compared	Higher ratios	Differences in ratios	Values of "t"	Degrees of freedom
Ivs. II	I	.02	.34	66
Ivs. III	I	.09	.77	115
Ivs. IV	I	.12	.92	39
IIvs. III	II	.07	1.75	169
IIvs. IV	II	.09	1.80	93
IIIvs. IV	III	.03	.52	144

This table shows that all of the values of "t" yielded are insignificant. This means that the apparent differences among the ratios of students attending the academic school

in the social classes in Cedarstown may be due to chance. The same significant differences are found with classes I and II combined. Therefore, the academic type of education is not valued differently by the different social classes in Cedarstown. The findings about the academic type of education were assumed to be true of the vocational type of education.

However, there is another point related to the same question, that is, the differential attitudes towards academic and vocational education within the same social class.

To test this point, the students attending the academic school were found to be significantly greater than those attending the vocational school for all social classes at beyond the .01 level as shown by the binomial test.

There is enough evidence to believe that the social classes in Cedarstown prefer academic education for their children.

IV. WHAT PROPORTION OF GIRL-CHILDREN AND BOY-CHILDREN ELIGIBLE TO GO TO SCHOOL IN EACH SOCIAL CLASS ACTUALLY GO TO: (A) THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL, AND (B) THE SECONDARY LEVEL?

This question involves the comparison of the attitudes towards the education of both sexes; first, from one social class to another, and second, within the same social class. This comparison was done on two levels, elementary and secondary.

Elementary

To examine the attitudes towards the education of both sexes at the elementary level from one class to another, the ratios of girls and those of boys going to the elementary school in the various social classes were computed. The following table shows the results in connection with girls.

TABLE XXI

RATIOS OF GIRLS GOING TO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN EACH SOCIAL CLASS IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Eligible	Enrolled	Ratio
I	4	4	1.00
II	24	23	.96
III	52	46	.88
IV	25	13	.52

This table shows that the ratios of girls going to elementary school differ from one social class to another. To test the significance of these differences, the "t" test was used. The results obtained are shown in the following table:

TABLE XXII

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES IN ELEMENTARY ATTENDANCE OF GIRLS
FROM ONE SOCIAL CLASS TO ANOTHER IN CEDARSTOWN

Social classes compared	Higher ratios	Differences in ratios	Values of "t"	Degrees of Freedom	Level of significance
I vs. II	I	.04	.40	26	Not significant
I vs. III	I	.12	.70	56	" "
I vs. IV	I	.48	1.84	27	" "
II vs. III	II	.08	1.09	74	" "
II vs. IV	II	.44	3.52	47	.01
III vs. IV	III	.36	2.39	25	.01

This table shows that the values of "t" yielded for class I, class II and class III as cross-compared, were insignificant. This means that the observed differences in the ratios of girls going to the elementary school in social class I, II and III, may have arisen by chance. There is no evidence to indicate, therefore, that the attitudes towards the education of girls at the elementary level is different in classes I, II and III.

The value of "t" yielded for class II and for class III when compared with class IV were found to be significant at the .01 level. The differences between the proportions of eligible girls attending school in classes II and IV and in classes III and IV are beyond chance expectation and are most probably real differences. The smaller ratio of girls going to school in class IV seems to indicate less parental concern

for their education.

When class I is lumped with class II, being adjacent, and compared with class IV, it is found that the ratio for the combined classes of .96 is significantly greater than the ratio for class IV of .52. The value of "t" is 3.66.

To examine the attitudes towards the education of boys from one social class to another, the ratios of boys going to the elementary school in the various social classes were computed. The results are shown below:

TABLE XXIII

RATIOS OF BOYS GOING TO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN EACH SOCIAL CLASS
IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Eligible	Enrolled	Ratio
I	5	5	1.00
II	32	25	.78
III	58	50	.86
IV	47	40	.85

This table shows that ratios of boys attending the elementary school differ from one class to another. To test the significance of these differences the "t" test was used. The following results were obtained:

TABLE XXIV

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE
OF BOYS FROM ONE SOCIAL CLASS TO ANOTHER IN CEDARS-
TOWN

Social classes compared	Higher ratios	Differences in ratios	Values of "t"	Degrees of freedom
Ivs.II	I	.22	1.15	35
Ivs.III	I	.14	.88	61
Ivs.IV	I	.15	.76	50
IIvs.III	II	.08	.96	88
IIvs.IV	II	.07	.81	77
IIIvs.IV	III	.01	.14	103

All the values of "t" yielded are insignificant. The apparent differences among the ratios of the various social classes in relation to the education of the boys are not beyond chance expectation. In other words, there is no statistical evidence to indicate that the attitude towards the education of the boys varies significantly among the four social classes in Cedarstown.

Another aspect of this question is to examine the differential attitudes within the same social class towards the education of both sexes. Do certain classes tend to care more for the education of one sex rather than the other? To answer this question, the ratios of boys and of girls going to the elementary school in each social class are compared through the use of the "t" test. The results appear in the following table:

TABLE XXV

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF BOYS AND THAT OF GIRLS WITHIN THE SAME SOCIAL CLASS IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Ratio of Boys	Ratio of Girls	Differences in ratios	Values of "t"	Degrees of freedom	Level of significance
I	1.00	1.00	0	0	7	Not significant
II	.78	.96	.18	1.50	54	" "
III	.86	.88	.02	.31	108	" "
IV	.85	.52	.33	3.09	70	.01

The values of "t" yielded for class I, class II and class III are insignificant. This means that the differences between proportions of eligible girl-attendants and boy-attendants at the elementary level in these social classes are not beyond chance expectation. There is no evidence to indicate that either class I, class II or class III has a preferential attitude towards the education of the two sexes.

The value of "t" yielded for class IV is significant at the .01 level. This means that the differences in proportions of eligible girls and boys attending the elementary level in class IV are significantly beyond chance expectation. Thus class IV has a preferential attitude towards the education of the boys.

Secondary

To examine the attitudes towards the education of both sexes at the secondary level in each social class, the

ratios of girl-attendants and boy-attendants at this level were computed. The results are shown below:

TABLE XXVI

RATIOS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS ATTENDING SECONDARY SCHOOL IN THE VARIOUS SOCIAL CLASSES IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Girls			Boys		
	Eligible	Enrolled	Ratio	Eligible	Enrolled	Ratio
I	3	3	1.00	4	3	.75
II	31	25	.81	38	35	.92
III	85	54	.63	82	57	.69
IV	45	13	.29	53	22	.41

This table shows that the ratios of eligible boys and girls attending the secondary school differ from one class to another, and within the same class.

These results present two things, first, the nature of the attitude towards secondary education for the different sexes within the same social class, and second, in one class as compared with another. The first case was studied by comparing the ratio of the girl-population in one social class, with that of the boy-population in the same class; this was considered to be a valid measure of attitude towards the education of the sexes, because it is assumed that members of the same class enjoy similar privileges.

In the second case, the comparison of ratios of the same sexes for different social classes, was not attempted,

because, as was mentioned earlier, factors other than concern for education are involved at the secondary level.

To test the significance of the differences between the ratios of boys and girls attending the secondary school within the same social class, the "t" test was used. The results are shown below:

TABLE XXVI I

"t" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDANTS OF BOYS AND GIRLS WITHIN THE SAME SOCIAL CLASS IN CEDARSTOWN

Social class	Ratio of boys	Ratio of girls	Differences in ratios	Values of "t"	Degrees of freedom
I	.75	1.00	.25	.73	5
II	.92	.81	.11	1.46	67
III	.69	.63	.06	.82	165
IV	.42	.29	.13	1.26	96

All the values of "t" yielded are insignificant. It is concluded, therefore, that the observed differences between the proportions of eligible boys and girls actually enrolled at the secondary level may be due to chance. In other words, no social class gave evidence of a sex preference in the children it sent to the secondary schools.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FOUR SOCIAL CLASSES IN CEDARSTOWN.

This chapter explains the nature of the characteristics that make a specific social class differ from another. Such an attempt demands a general survey of the community. This general survey was done by the researcher simultaneously while the stratification process was conducted. The techniques used consisted of participant observations, frequent visits to various families and interviews with the mukhtar, the sub-governor of El-Kura area, the mayor and some other well-informed people of Cedarstown.

Geographical Disposition

The centralized administrative system in Lebanon divides the country into five districts called muhaphazat each of which is headed by an official called muhaphiz. Each muhaphaza* is sub-divided into many aqdiyāt* each is governed by a kaim-makam appointed by the central government. The resident place of the muhaphiz is the capital of the muhaphaza, and so is the resident place of the kaim-makam. Such places enjoy a central position which offers many services to the surrounding area.

*Muhaphaza is the singular of muhaphazat.

*Aqdiyāt is the plural of qada.

Cedarstown is the center of qāda El-Kura, situated on two East-West hills, 15 kilometers to the Southeast of Tripoli, North Lebanon. Over-passing a low hill Southeast of Tripoli, a relatively large ever-green flat landscape located at the foot of a range of mountains is seen. This plain is the El-Kura/^{area} implanted with many villages scattered here and there amidst the fields of olive trees. After passing some villages, Cedarstown appears with its distinctive watch-tower and relatively numerous churches surrounded by different shapes of white stone-constructed houses. Some houses are roofed with red brick, and these give the town a special color when viewed from the outside.

The town lacks planning especially in the older part of Cedarstown, that is, the upper part of the hill. Here, houses are so crowded that they make it possible for one to tour a whole section by jumping from one roof to another. Such a design, it is believed, used to provide protection when security was at stake, at least, before the introduction of the El-Mutassarifiyah system* of 1864.

The relatively new part of Cedarstown, the lower part of the hill, is not as crowded as the former. Looking at the town from the eastern side, a church built at the edge of the

* It is a political and an administrative system applied in Lebanon after the crises of 1860, whereby the country enjoyed interial autonomy under the Ottoman rule.

Eastern hill stands between both parts. Superficially, some of the interviews tend to identify residents in the lower part with high social standing. However, some members of class I and class II are found in the upper part. This situation is explained by the fact that people began to move from the crowded original part of Cedarstown, the upper part, when they accumulated enough money to build a new house. Thus, the relatively well-to-do people moved downward.

Cedarstown enjoys a Mediterranean climate: mild winters and dry breezy summers. The average annual precipitation amounts to 32 inches, mostly falling in the winter season, when the westerlies blow into the area. In summer, the area receives no rain because the trade winds blow over the land from the northeast.

The temperature ranges from an average of 2 degrees Centegrade in January to around 25 degrees in July with an all-year average of 15 degrees. Because of its dry summers and lack of a developed irrigation system, El-Kura is mostly planted with olive trees.

Transportation and Communication

A glance at the map reveals the important position the town enjoys in communication; it forms a communicative link that ties most of El-Kura villages with each other and with the two neighbor market places: Tripoli and Chekka. Either of these two market places can be reached in 20 minutes from Cedarstown. Transportation is available at any time

because of the numerous taxies working on both lines and amounting to 30 small cars and 2 buses. A small car charges 50 piasters and a bus 25 piasters. Easy contacts with Tripoli have been helping the town to develop into a service-rendering community, thus the only court in the area, and consequently the police station, are located in Cedarstown.

All roads within and surrounding the town are asphalted. The municipality takes care of the inside roads, and the central government looks after the outside ones. Cedarstown also has a telephone center which acts as a link in the whole area; fifty-seven Cedarstown families own private telephones. In addition, the town receives its mail daily while mail is delivered only three times per week to some surrounding villages.

Economic Base

Though olive plantations in Cedarstown form the backbone of the agricultural economy, it constitutes a small proportion of the community's income. The town depends largely on services and to a lesser extent on agriculture. This is a kind of microcosm of the Lebanese economy as a whole, where two thirds of the national income comes from services and one third comes from production.²⁸

28. Badre, Y.A. "The economy of contemporary Arab World" Middle East economic papers, Lebanon, Dar-el-Kitab, (1955), pp. 17-26.

Services are done by Cedarstowners both outside Cedarstown and in the town itself. There are around 30 taxies, 2 buses, 5 trucks, 7 tractors, 16 olive oil presses, one socks factory, six carpenters, 5 tailors, and 2 oil stores. There are two hospitals that serve the whole area; one with 22 beds and the other with 16 beds. In addition, there are 7 resident lawyers, 5 resident medical doctors and an officially appointed nurse who runs the only public clinic in El-Kura. It is interesting to note that this clinic is scarcely ever consulted. It is apparent that these services, whether offered locally or not, help develop the town into a service-rendering community, thus affecting its social structure.

Population

The population of Cedarstown amounts to around 3000 people who live in Cedarstown and around 3000 people who belong officially to the town but do not live in it.* This study deals only with those people who live in the town. All the people adhere to the Eastern Greek Orthodox Church. The people of Cedarstown have a reputation as the defenders of the Orthodox Church in the district of North Lebanon. Western costumes are usually worn; those who wear the traditional dress are considered to belong to "the old generation."

* A Lebanese gets his identity card from the place he is born in, and not from the place he lives in; it is possible for one to live outside his town and still officially belong to the place he is born in.

Traditional dress is sometimes associated with low status. The people of the town are easily distinguished from those of other areas because of the distinctive dialect they speak.

Characteristics of Social Class in Cedarstown

This section explains the socio-cultural traits which characterize each social class. The information was gathered through interviews, questionnaires, participant observations, and frequent visits to various families. Concerning the interviews, the first informant group, the second informant group, and the ten selected judges were respectively asked to justify their rankings by giving the criteria for ranking people in different social classes. Also in the questionnaire, the 180 families were asked about their occupations, the extent to which they participate in promoting the general good of the community, the type of their house construction, their surplus belonging and their educational preparation and that of their parents. All these form the basis from which social characteristics of each social class were derived.

Class I

Persons belonging to class I are relatively few in number. They are the actual competitors for civic and political leadership. Such a competition supposes particular privileges which are, in essence, the characteristics associated with this class.

A position in class I is to a large extent obtainable through one's own efforts; nevertheless, to come from a family with a similar background makes it easier to become a member in class I. This is substantiated by the fact that four out of eight persons in class I obtained their social position through their own efforts inspite of the relatively modest family background that they come from. Besides, persons of notable family background were ranked in lower classes depending on other criterion. However, such a connection does not inevitably assure membership. People refer to persons coming from a notable family (a'li ma'rufi) as 'sons of families', the singular of which (ibin a'li) indicates a person whose parents have been enjoying an economic and social success for at least two generations.

Prosperity and economic success are not enough; money should be translated into a particular way of life so as to ensure the role of "notable". Such a role can be played only by persons respected by the bulk of the population, and politically supported by at least one segment of the population. Therefore, the political support of at least one segment of the population, and the respect of the bulk of the population characterize membership in class I.

What distinguish class I from class II is not the amount of income earned, or the material possessions owned, but the way such income and possessions are manipulated to yield popularity, civic leadership, and political power.

Political power is manifested in two forms: first, political influences in the town itself, and second, influences in the central government. It is expected that the members of class I will intercede in favor of their followers whenever they are asked to do so. This expectation is evidenced by many statements meant to describe the nature of the relations existing between this class and the governmental officials on one hand, and between this class and other classes on the other hand. "The government turns to him the unbroken ear". "He is frequently consulted for interceding and backing". "He entertains and is entertained by important people".

To maintain his popularity, a member of class I should be sociable, ready to serve, and to take the initiative in civic affairs. One form of this sociability is to take the initiative in saluting. He is also supposed to follow certain expected ways of behavior such as attending funerals, congratulating in weddings and repaying visits. However, these manners, especially repaying visits, were observed to be followed mostly among members of classes I and II, to a lesser extent in class III, and rarely with class IV.

The family's income in class I is earned largely by the male head through professional practice such as law, medicine, engineering... etc. Seven out of eight persons in class I are in the professions. However, income in this class is not limited to that of the profession, most members also having investments in private enterprises. These enterprises

provide these families with the highest incomes in the community.

A family car, a private telephone, a refrigerator, and a radio are expected to be owned by class I's members. Clean western-styled clothes are worn. The home is run by the wife, assisted usually by one servant. Houses are large and constructed of well-shaped stones; they are so designed as to provide space, comfort and general beauty. The reception room is furnished with armchairs and rugs of good quality. Some of the furniture often seems to have been used for a considerable time, but is usually still in very good condition.

Education is regarded by class I as indispensable for success; thus, all parents have educational plans for their children who are considered and expected, especially the boys, to go on to professional education. Though professional education is desired and expected for children, and though the majority of class I members are professionals, the educational backgrounds of their families is poor and very similar to that of class II and class III. One hundred per cent of the parents' fathers and eighty-seven per cent of the parents' mothers had achieved some elementary education. In addition, there is a sharp difference between the educational level achieved by the class I fathers and that achieved by the mothers; only one mother had had a college education, and only fifteen per cent of the rest had completed secondary education while 7 out of 8 of the fathers were found to be college graduates.

Class II

A position in class II can be achieved through one's own efforts; most families in this class are self-made and have acquired their wealth recently. They enjoy, to a large extent, an economic success equal to those in class I, but they generally lack influence, political power and civic leadership. However, it is in this ambitious class that the future potential leaders of the community are to be found. Their offspring will be called in future 'sons of families' (abna' a'yal)* provided that they live up to the qualifications of this term as it is described in class I.

The family's income is earned largely by the male head. Enough money is provided for the conveniences and comforts of life. In addition, they may have surplus money for investment on a small scale. Income comes primarily from commerce. About forty-five per cent of class II engage in commercial work of different forms. The rest are either proprietors, and in this respect they constitute the lesser portion of class II population, or wage and salary-earning people who work for the government or for certain private institutions.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the sources of income in class II are similar to those of class III where the majority are traders; what distinguishes one from the other is the amount of money earned. However, the way it is earned makes a difference; this means that source of income

*The plural of (ibin a'li).

in Cedarstown is as important as the amount of income - both quantity and quality are crucial.

Class II families live for the most part in relatively wide and comfortable houses constructed of well-shaped stones. The furniture, except for its newness, is, to a large extent, similar to that of class I. A family car and a private telephone are appreciated but are not considered essential. Other conveniences such as refrigerators, radios, running water, and electric appliances are expected to be owned by class II. The home is usually run by the wife.

Adults of class II are not as well educated as those in class I. Only one person of the forty-seven was found to have completed college education; twenty-six per cent had had some secondary education. Most of the remainder had had some elementary education. The educational background of the forebears of these parents is as poor as that of those of class I. Most of the parents' fathers had had only some elementary education, and most of the parents' mothers had had no education at all.

Class III

It is generally believed that class III families are the carriers of Cedarstown's heritage; they are referred to as "people of the way", (jeel kadim). They constitute the bulk of the population. Politically, they are not powerful. They follow, and are not followed. They look to class I

for leadership, direction and policy-making. Civic and community organization are largely outside the experience of these people. In contrast to class I and class II, it is believed in this class that the present social order is not a result of the ability and competence of the successful, but a result of chance or family prestige. Such a belief explains the socio-economic discontent of this class, which is reflected in the adherence of many of this class to ideologies which call for radical changes in the social order.

Members of this class have no savings; they are referred to as "el-mastureen" meaning that they are just managing to meet their economic needs. They accept no charity and refuse to be looked upon as needy people. It was observed that class III imitates class II, especially in the various forms of conspicuous consumption.

Class III constitutes the bulk of the skilled labourers. They are the small traders whose trade is mostly limited to the town, the small land holders, the carpenters, the shoemakers, the stone-cutters, the masons, the butchers and the taxi-drivers who own their taxis. Most services in this class are rendered within the town, while those of class II usually extend outside Cedarstown. There is more unemployment than in class II, and less than in class IV.

Women do gainful work if the opportunity presents itself, but, as in the first two classes, they are expected to stay at home. Houses are clean but crowded. Usually there

is no special room for the kitchen. The homes are constructed of unshaped stones, roofed mostly with cement. The furniture is simple and inexpensive. The reception room is usually furnished with mats and home-made benches covered with clean home-made cushions. Wicker chairs may be found, but no upholstered furniture. Except for radios, luxuries such as refrigerators, telephones and the like are not to be found. Around 97 per cent of the houses are provided with electricity which is used for lighting only; while 74 per cent are provided with running water.

The educational experiences of these people are limited. Most of the parents had had only some elementary education; only two had completed secondary education, and none had gone to college. The educational background of the parents' forbears is slightly poorer than that of class I and class II. Almost half of the parents' fathers had had some elementary education and 75 out of the 86 parents' mothers had had no education at all.

Class IV

Class IV people are the people "who are not heard of except on election days." They are largely neglected, and are isolated from organized community activities, "but they are not refugees", exclaimed a Cedarstowner. Projects are established to serve these people. Though they refuse to be pitied for their misfortune, it is generally believed

that nothing beyond charity can be done for them. Economically, they are always in debt. Income from wages provides them with enough money to obtain only the barest necessities of life.

This class constitutes the bulk of the unskilled laborers. They are the peddlers, the municipality cleaners, the shoe-repairers, the shoe-shiners, the hired agricultural laborers, the hired taxi-drivers who do not own their taxis, and the very small land holders. Unemployment, especially seasonal, is at a maximum in class IV.

Class IV families live in box-like houses usually constructed of unshaped stones. Privacy in the home is almost non-existent. The furniture is very simple, mostly home-made. The reception room, if any, is furnished with home-made benches covered with old and mostly unclean home-made cushions. Most houses are provided with electricity but not with water. Worn-out and dirty clothes are worn. Luxuries (except for radios) are not to be found.

Educational achievement in this class is very poor; half of the parents had had no education at all. Not a single person had obtained formal education beyond some elementary. The educational background of the parents' forbears is even poorer; almost all parents' mothers and seventy per cent of the parents' fathers had had no education at all.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between education and membership in a social class. To be more specific, it was intended to study the forces that prompt one to go or not to go to school in each social class in Cedarstown.

In the first place, the proportions of children who attended the elementary school and those who attended the secondary school were examined. The results showed that the proportion of the elementary school attendants decreases as one descends the social ladder. This decrease was more pronounced and distinct at the secondary level than at the elementary level for classes III and IV. The differences in ratios between the elementary school attendants and the secondary school attendants were compared for each social class. It was found that the differences in ratios between the elementary school attendants and the secondary school attendants for class I and class II were insignificant; while those for class III and IV were significant at the .01 level. This means that students of class I and class II have nearly the same proportion of attendance at both the elementary and the secondary levels, while a greater proportion of students from classes III and IV discontinue their schooling after the elementary level.

Does this necessarily indicate that classes I and II are more concerned with education than classes III and IV?

Before one can answer this question, it is necessary to examine the circumstances which surround school attendance in Cedarstown. First, secondary education in Cedarstown is not free. It is true that there is a government school which provides for the first four years of secondary education, but the conditions of teaching in that school do not seem to be, in the judgement of the people there, very encouraging. It is possible, therefore, that attendants of classes III and IV, when faced with the alternative of attending either a private school or a poor public one, prefer to drop out of school entirely at the termination of their elementary education. Furthermore, it was indicated in chapter III that the economic condition of a family is one of the main factors affecting its social position. The economic conditions of classes III and IV were found to be lower than those of classes I and II. Class III was found to be just self-supporting, and class IV was found to be in debt. Therefore, it is strongly suggested that an important underlying force causing class III and class IV to concentrate less in the secondary school lies in their economic conditions. Thus it is not in order to state that differences in secondary school attendance indicate differences in the amount of concern with education among the various social classes.

A better measure of concern with education is to be found in examining the differential enrollements in the elementary school. This is based on the assumption that elementary education in Cedarstown is free, and that the age group of the elementary level is not expected to be economically productive, so there is little or no economic reason for students to leave school.

It was found that the differences in ratios of children attending the elementary school for classes I, II, and III, cross-compared, were insignificant, while those of class IV compared with classes I and II lumped together, and with class III, yielded significant differences at the .01 level. This means that proportion of attendance in the elementary school for class III does not differ significantly from that in class I and II. Since ratios of children attending the elementary school are taken as a reasonable measure of "concern with education", class III has not shown significantly less concern for education than classes I and II.

On the other hand, the proportion of attendance of children in the elementary school in class IV was found to be significantly below that of classes I, II and III. This difference, at its face value, seems to suggest that class IV is less concerned with education. However, an analysis of the factors that force the children of class IV to leave school reveals a different interpretation.

In examining the differential attitudes towards the education of the sexes, it was found that there are no significant differences in the proportion of the boys attending the elementary school among the various social classes in Cedarstown, while the proportion of girls attending the elementary schools was found to be significantly lower at the .01 level for class IV compared with classes I and II lumped together, and with class III. This raises the question of why class IV parents tend to send a greater proportion of their boy-children than of their girl-children to the elementary school.

Although elementary education is free, it still demands some money for the purchase of books, the settlement of an admission fee, and fees for social activities in the school. These expenses may be beyond the financial possibilities of a significant number of families in class IV.

Since men and not women are expected to take care of the economic needs of their families in the Lebanese society, class IV parents seem to be more willing to invest their modest means in the education of their boy-children than they are in the education of their girl-children.

There are no significant differences between the ratios of boys attending the elementary school in the first three classes and class IV. It is thus probable that the

significant differences in ratios of the elementary school attendants between the first three classes and class IV are due to economic reasons rather than to concern with education. This interpretation is further supported by the following findings: The 180 families included in the study were asked about three things: first, the business or professional career they would prefer for their children, second, the extent to which they feel that the success of their children's future career or occupation is dependent on their school training, and third, the extent to which they think that what their children were taught in school is a waste of time. The data show that the different social classes, to a large extent, have similar desires concerning educational outcomes. One hundred per cent of class I, ninety-five per cent of class II, seventy-seven per cent of class III and seventy-one per cent of class IV desire professional education for their boy-children. Eighty-seven per cent of class I, ninety-four per cent of class II, eighty-four per cent of class III and eighty-two per cent of class IV think that school training will to some extent, at least, improve their children's future career or occupation. Eighty-seven per cent of class I, eighty-five per cent of class II, seventy-six per cent of class III and seventy per cent of class IV believe that what their children were taught in school is not a waste of time. The desire for professional education, and the belief that school training is not a waste

of time, but that it is an indispensable force for the improvement of future careers or occupations most probably mean that education is not valued even in the upper classes for its own merits, but as a factor of socio-economic mobility. One would therefore, expect class IV like other classes to be highly concerned about education. The reason why class IV sends a relatively smaller proportion of its children to school than do the other classes, could then be their economic condition as suggested earlier.

Another aspect of this research is the differential attitudes in each social class towards the type of education chosen.

The results obtained in examining this aspect show that all social classes in Cedarstown tend to prefer the academic rather than the vocational type of education. The concentration of students belonging to different social classes in the academic school can be interpreted in terms of the underlying economic and cultural motives prevailing in the Lebanese society. The educational development of a country is related to its economic system. Two thirds of the Lebanese national income come from services and one third comes from production.²⁹ Vocational training is directed towards the promotion of production. Since production is not the basis of the Lebanese economic order, vocational

29. Badre, Y. A. op. cit., pp. 17-26.

training then becomes less important.

Furthermore, there is a cultural value affecting enrollement in the vocational school. Manual work is looked down upon, while more value is attached to white-collar jobs.

On the other hand, admissions to vocational schools are strictly limited by law. Only a specific number of students are admitted every year. This certainly forces some of those interested in vocational education to join an academic program, and this in turn may unrealistically inflate academic enrollements. It is very probable that many people in Cedars-town, knowing the limited admissions to vocational schools, refrain from even applying to these schools.

Finally, this research examined the differential attitudes in each social class towards the education of the sexes, referred to earlier. It was found that classes I, III and IIII have to a large extent, a similar concern for the education of both sexes. Only in class IV does there occur a significant preference for the education of the boys.

It was indicated in another place of this section that class IV's preference for the education of the boys has its economic reasons. Further information was collected about the preference of each social class as concerning the future careers of their girls. It was found that sixty-eight per cent of class IV desire vocational apprenticeship in women's occupations such as sewing, embroidery and the like, twenty-five per cent desired that their girls have no education,

but be good house-wives, and the remaining seven per cent desired that their girls become professionals. These desires imply that people of class IV are realistic in their approach. Being aware of their economic shortcomings in educating their girls, they preferred those occupations that would be of immediate use to them.

This study suggests a few generalized ideas related to the educational setting in Cedarstown as conditioned by the phenomenon of social stratification.

One idea is related to the provision of equality of educational opportunity. It is possible to speak of educational opportunity in two senses: first, in the sense that all children go to different types of schools of their own choosing as long as they, or their parents please; second, in the sense that all children with relatively high intellectual ability are enabled to attend schools up to some level which is identical for all.

As to the choosing of the type of school, it seems that people of Cedarstown are generally offered only one alternative, namely the academic program.

Concerning the level of education achieved, the educational experience of Cedarstown gives unmistakable evidence that school attendance is not equal for all children. This research evidences that the social position of the child's family in the social structure of the community affects his going or non-going to school. Staying in school or leaving

it seems to be determined by the social class milieu as conditioned by the economic situation of the social class. This is supported by the fact that the proportion of attendants in the elementary school in class I and class II does not differ significantly from that in the secondary school, while the proportion of attendants in the elementary school in classes III and IV is significantly higher than that in the secondary school.

Further, it is suggested by this study that people in Cedarstown value education primarily as a factor contributing to the general improvement of their socio-economic situation. Therefore, any system of education, or any proposed innovation in the educational system, if it is to succeed, should promise economic advancement and should therefore, be closely related to the economic conditions of the country.

6. How old is each child?

Boys	Years	Girls	Years
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

7. How many boys in school? _____

Elementary: _____ (level) _____ (type) _____
 Secondary: _____ (level) _____ (type) _____

8. How many girls in school? _____

Elementary: _____ (level) _____ (type) _____
 Secondary: _____ (level) _____ (type) _____

9. Did those enrolled in the academic secondary school apply to the vocational school?

Yes _____ No _____
 If yes, how many? _____ and which type? _____

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Name: _____

II. Occupation: _____

1. What business or professional career would you most like your children to go into?

Sons: _____ Daughters: _____

2. To what extent do you feel that your children's future career or occupation is going to be more successful as a result of their school training?

Very little change _____
Moderately improved _____
Greatly improved _____

3. Do you think that what they are being taught in school is a waste of time?

Yes _____
Often _____
Sometimes _____
No _____

4. To what extent do you participate in promoting the general good of the community?

Very active _____
Active _____
Inactive _____

5. What is the type of your house construction?

Earth and brick _____
Small unshaped stones _____
Cement _____
Well shaped stones _____

6. Do you own a car, a telephone and a refrigerator?

All of them _____
Any two _____
Any one _____

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