SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AS A FACTOR
IN DETERMINING
THE ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF ADOLESCENTS IN
CEDARSTOWN

BY
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Social Stratification and Academic
Performance of Adolescents

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ABSTRACT

In a north Lebanese community, whose status groups had been previously established by a judgmental (reputational) study, research was undertaken to test the hypothesis that the academic performance of the community's (Cedarstown) adolescents is functionally related to the position their families occupy in the status system of their community.

To test this hypothesis the following indices of academic performance were used: general average grade, pass-fail decisions, and principal's evaluation of deportment. Besides studying the main independent variable of family position, some attention was directed to the possible modifying effects of sex, type of school and residence pattern.

The research findings tended to support our hypothesis. However, the performance of the lowest status group revealed an interesting and somewhat unexpected pattern. Sex as well as status position were found functionally related to academic performance.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Increasingly social scientists have begun to direct
their attention to the study of social stratification. So
far, most of the research has been directed to the American
context, and until very recently, there has been little
effort to establish agreement in the conceptual frame of
work. However, what has been done indicates that social
stratification plays an important role in any complex
society. This thesis proposes to study a minor aspect of
social stratification in a northern Lebanese community.

It will be necessary to reach some agreement about
the conceptual framework.

Social stratification refers to a differential
ranking of groups viewed as qualitatively distinct. These
groups, occupying as they do a position of differential
rights and obligations, are by necessity unequal.[1] In a
sense, there are rewards "built into" the position. These
rewards may be economic, aesthetic, or symbolic. Thus,
social inequality is an unconsciously evolved device by
which societies ensure that the most important positions
and "offices" (specifically created positions in the society)
are conscientiously filled by the most able persons. Every
society, no matter how simple or complex must differentiate
persons in terms of both "prestige" (invidious value attached

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[1] "It is basically a system of inequality featuring strata
culturally recognized as qualitatively distinct"
F. Lynch, Social Class In A Bikol Town. Chicago,
University of Chicago. 1959, p. 6.

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to a position <u>per</u> <u>se</u>) and "esteem" (invidious value attached to individual's performance of his position). Therefore, every society must of necessity possess a certain element of inequality.[2]

Systems of social stratification have been conventionally classified on the basis of mobility theoretically permitted in the society. If vertical mobility is theoretically impossible for an individual and his descendants, the society is said to possess a "caste" system of stratification. If social mobility is theoretically impossible for the individual and virtually impossible for his descendants, the society is described as possessing an "estate" system. If mobility is theoretically possible for the individual and his descendants, the system is described as a "class" society. Most modern societies are "class" societies with differential amounts of "openness" (terminologically however, as we shall see, "class" has had other meanings in sociological literature).

Max Weber was the first to demonstrate that social stratification possesses three elements: power, status honor and class. Power is to be found in the legal order, status in the social order, while the third in the economic order. These three dimensional aspects provide the basic conceptual framework of the modern theory of social class.[3] Unfortunately, his terminology proves to be confusing to many sociologists. His use of the term "class" for the economic objective

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[2] For a lengthy discussion of the theoretical basis of social stratification, see K. Davis, and W.E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification". in L. Coser and B. Rosenberg (eds.) <u>Sociological Theory</u>, New York, The Macmillan Company. pp. 408-420.

[3] Max Weber, "Class Status and Party" in R. Bendix and S. Lipset (eds.) <u>Class</u> <u>Status</u> and <u>Power</u>. Illinois, Glencoe. The Free Press, 1953. pp. 63-75.

aspect of stratification, restricted the use of this term in its broader sense. Nevertheless, his diagnosis provides the most fruitful conceptual framework for an understanding of social stratification.

Mayer, by adapting Weber's theory to the accumulated knowledge of social stratification, develops a well-defined and clearly stated system of concepts that does not suffer from terminological confusions. The stratification of society is conceived as a crucial factor that determines the "life chances" of the individual. In modern system these "life chances" arise from three types of ranked orders: the economic class, prestige class and the power class.[4]

The economic class is measured objectively by such criteria as amount of income, type of income, steadiness of employment, ownership of various kinds of property and similar indices.

The second dimension of stratification in modern society arises from the subjective evaluation of prestige related to the reputational aspect of the individual. Such evaluations are conceived by members of the community, as crucial in rating each other in a system of superior and inferior orders. It is this aspect that has been most useful in communal studies of stratification.

Power refers to the control of others' behavior and "life chances". Thus, this third dimension stratifies the society in terms of the inequality in the distribution of political, civic or economic control of others.[5]

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[4] Kurt B. Mayer, Class and Society. New York, Random House, 1955, pp. 22-27.

[5] ibid., p. 26.

Needless to say, the three dimensions describe three aspects of the same reality, though each differs in the type and amount of influence upon individual "life chances". Moreover, each aspect lends itself differentially to methodological usage.

In a stable society the three dimensions of social stratification coincide, producing rigid social strata that permit very few chances of vertical mobility. However, in developing societies and unstable modern complex social systems, these three dimensions are liable not to coincide. The most wealthy are not necessarily the most esteemed or even the most powerful.

Relative to its own past, modern Lebanese society exhibits to a certain extent the characteristics of an unstable, rapidly changing society. The expectations of mobility, is a decisive factor for minimizing or exaggerating the social inequalities observed in the Lebanon. Education has been always found to be an effective method for enhancing or reducing the rate of mobility.

It is the aim of this study to reveal some of the sociological aspects that are encountered by adolescents in their school activities. Therefore this thesis proposes to relate academic performance of adolescents to the social class structure of their community. The major interest is sociological though the implications are inseparable from the problem of education per se.

RELATED STUDIES

Despite the importance attributed to education in determining the "life chances" of individuals, few studies deal with the relationship of academic performance and social class. Indeed, most of the studies in this respect

deal with the level of education and type of education,
as related to social, economic or prestige classes.[6] The
relevant findings of two studies are summarized in the
following sections.

Findings in Elmtown

August Hollingshead's study of Elmtown's Youth
is probably the most stimulating and scientific research
that has a direct bearing on the problem of this thesis.
His hypotheses and findings with respect to the ado-
lescents' behavior, provide the basic theoretical back-
ground for this study.

The academic performance of students was analyzed
by Hollingshead with respect to three major criteria: the
students' final average, pass-failure decisions and conti-
nuance or withdrawal from school.

The mean grades of the students were compared with
their social class. The result indicated that: "high grades
went to "better" homes and low ones to the pupils of
"inadequate" and "unfortunate" families.[7] Table 1-1 indi-
cates this relation.

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[6] For discussions of the American studies on the level and
the types of education see (1) W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J.
Havighurst and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated?,
New York and London, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944.
(2) K.B. Mayer, op.cit., (3) Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt,
The Social Life of a Modern Community, New Haven, Yale
University Press, 1950. (4) Lloyd Warner, ed. Democracy
in Jonesville, New York, Harper Brothers Publishers, 1949.

[7] August G. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth. New York,
John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1949 p. 172.

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TABLE 1-1

PROPORTION OF EACH CLASS WITH RESPECT
TO THREE GRADE INTERVALS[8]

Percent with Mean Grade of

Class	85-100	70-84	50-69
I and II	51.4	48.6	00.0
III	35.5	63.2	1.3
IV	18.4	69.2	12.4
V	8.3	66.7	25.0

The relationship was clearly revealed when the frequency of failure was studied against students' social class. It was found out that failure was more frequent among those who belong to the lower social strata. Thus the author concludes that "failures are biased toward lower class pupils".[9]

This striking relationship is clearly demonstrated in Table 1-2.

TABLE 1-2

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FAILURES IN EACH OF
THE FOUR CLASSES[10]

Class	Number of Students	Number of Failures	Percent of Failures
I and II	35	1	2.9
III	146	4	2.7
IV	183	18	10.0
V	26	6	23.1
Total	390	29	7.4

$$X^2 = 13.4154 \qquad P < 0.01$$

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8 ibid., p. 172.

9 ibid., p. 173.

10 ibid., p. 175.

Since such academic relationship may be explained
by inherent differences in the mental capacity of the
different classes, Hollingshead administered an I.Q. test
on his universe. The result indicated that lower classes'
I.Q. scores were significantly lower than those of the upper
ones. But the difference in I.Q. between social classes was
smaller than the difference in academic performance. The
author comes to the following conclusion: "Although intel-
ligence was associated significantly with class position,
the degree of association was not high enough to account
for the concentration of failures in Class V. Neither was
it great enough to attribute the high grades in Classes I
and II to the intellectual capacity of this prestige
level".[11]

Attendance at parties, athletic games, evening plays
and other social functions sponsored by the school form the
remaining indices of class bias. Lower classes tend to avoid
these activities. Their leisure time is mostly spent outside
the school with a clique derived mostly of their own class
members.[12]

Upper class families were found to exert a great
pressure on the high school board so that their children
may get the highest grades, utmost attention, and least
punishment.[13] Teachers felt the pressure and surrendered to
it. This trait was clearly manifested in the rate of at-
tention given to students of different classes. Although
the work of lower class students was poorer and although

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[11] ibid., p. 175.
[12] ibid., p. 217.
[13] ibid., pp. 185-192.

their behavior entailed more frequent disciplinary measures,
their parents were consulted the least. Thus the following
inferences were derived by A. Hollingshead: "First,
class II boys and girls are more interested in their work
than the lower classes, and they receive more help; also
they may ask for the help they receive; likewise, the
teacher may volunteer. Second, the class V adolescents may
have little interest in school; therefore, they may not
ask for help, and the teacher does not give them any
voluntarily".[14]

The author analyzed the relationship between class
position and continuance or dropping from school. The
result showed that dropping from school is significantly
biased toward lower classes, while continuance is highly
associated with upper ones.[15]

Finally, A. Hollingshead concludes that "the social
behavior of adolescents is related functionally to the
position their families occupy in the social structure of
their community".[16]

Findings in Cedarstown

Very few social stratificational studies have been
done in Lebanon, least of all, concerning the type of
variables analyzed in this thesis. It has been mentioned
to me, that a study was performed in Junia relating "grade"
to class. Unfortunately, the records of this study were not
available.

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[14] ibid., p. 180.
[15] ibid., p. 330.
[16] ibid., p. 439.

F. Khouri studied the social stratification in Cedarstown relating it to school enrollment and families' attitude towards education.[17] The result of his findings will be referred to in the coming chapters.

PROPOSED HYPOTHESES

This research proposes to study the minor aspect of social stratification as related to academic performance of the adolescents. Adopting Hollingshead's findings, the following hypothesis has been proposed with respect to students' grade attainments and pass-failure decisions: The academic performance of Cedarstown adolescents is functionally related to the position their families occupy in the status system of their community.

Another phase of the adolescents' scolastic activities that influence their academic performance is their in-school conduct, as measured by the principals' deportment evaluation. A similar hypothesis was formulated with respect to the two variables: The deportment evaluation of the adolescents' in-school behavior is functionally related to the position their families occupy in the status system of their community.

This study does not undermine the influence of other factors that may effect the adolescents' behavior. Naturally, it is not possible to measure the effect of all possible factors. The influence of sex, school environment and residence, are the only factors being analyzed.

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[17] F. Khouri, Education as a Function of Social Stratification in Cedarstown, (unpublished thesis), Education Department, American University of Beirut, Beirut Lebanon, 1960.

The cultural context of the Lebanese society assigns different statuses and roles for males and females. Since the individual's pecuniary emulation is influenced by his education, then males are expected to be motivated to attain higher academic performances than females. Males are also expected to be the supporters of their families. Accordingly, the following hypothesis is proposed: The academic performance of Cedarstown's adolescents is correlated with sex; males are expected to attain higher grades than females. However, a reverse condition is to be found with respect to behavior. Females are expected to conform to the comparatively rigid moral codes imposed by their society, while males are allowed a certain degree of freedom. Since in-school behavior may reveal this social characteristic then it is expected that the deportment evaluation of the adolescents' in-school behavior is correlated with sex: Females are expected to attain higher evaluations than males.

The public school system does not necessarily entail drastic financial demands from poor families, nor does it give undue privileges to the wealthy ones. On the other hand, the private school system may accentuate these differences through its financial demands and through its direct involvement with upper status groups families. Consequently, the study proposes the following hypothesis: The private school intensifies the effect of Cedarstown's status system in the academic performance of adolescents, while the public school tends to reduce such effect.

Finally, when the data was being analyzed with respect to students' residence, it was assumed that Cedarstowners occupy a higher status than the non-Cedarstowners; since the latter are mostly villagers. Relevant to this point, the study adopted the following hypothesis: The academic performance of a student is correlated with his community's residence. Cedarstowners are expected to attain higher grades than non-Cedarstowners.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The nature of the hypotheses has, to a great extent,
predetermined the methodological procedures undertaken in
the research. Thus, the field work was strictly confined to
the acquisition of data, which was possible through social
contacts with very few persons. My acquaintance with these
people, who assisted in collecting and providing the data,
was established through nine visits to the area since the
summer of 1960. A status group II former _mukhtar_ and his
family introduced me to the four principals of the schools
included in the study. These principals were mostly coope-
rative and helpful. Needless to say, my participation in
the community was marginal and mostly restricted to status
group II and III members.

SOURCES OF DATA

The final average of the student's grades in 1959-
1960 was chosen as a measure of his academic performance.
Of course, the grades do not reveal the student's innate
capacity, but the combination of both his inherent abili-
ties and the social circumstances which influence his
chances of revealing and developing these abilities. Also,
included is the possible effect of the grader's (teacher's)
social bias towards members of various status groups. Since
the study proposes to measure the student's performance as
determined and influenced by these factors, grades seem to
be the most convenient and almost the only index available
to any researcher interested in the relationship of the
student's academic performance to his social status position.

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The records of the four schools involved in the
sample area were available. Only one, the Church School,
does not keep complete records of its students' grades.
Accordingly, of the students attending the Cedarstown area,
the records of only eight were not available.[1]

The record of each student provided the following
information: (a) the student's name as well as that of his
father, (b) sex, (c) age, (d) his final grade in each major
subject, (e) the result of his attainment as indicated by
pass-failure decisions, and (f) the principal's estimation
of the student's behavior based on a three point scale.

The social status position of the student's family
was obtained from Fuad Khouri's study of social stratifi-
cation[2] in Cedarstown.

PROCEDURE

The collection of data was followed by a prelimi-
nary study in which the tabulation and assortment of data
was performed, so as to build a systematic approach for
analyzing the material. These early investigations seem
to indicate a functional relationship between social status
and academic performance. Subsequently, the following steps
were instituted:

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[1] For a description of the schools and the composition of
the study group see Chapter III. In the same chapter there
is a discussion of the unique situation at Church School.

[2] The status position of one hundred and eighty families was
obtained through the courtesy of Dr. G.H. Weightman of the
Sociology Department, American University of Beirut. For a
discussion of these status groups see Chapter III.

(a) A comparison with reference to sexual composition and social status of those students whose records were available, and those whose families were studied by Khouri (referred to as the population).

(b) A study of the distribution of various status groups among the four schools.

(c) A detailed analysis of the relationship between social status and academic performance as revealed by grades, and pass-failure decisions.

(d) A modification of the above (c) with respect to the sexual composition of the study group.

(e) A comparison with reference to grades between public and private school students.

(f) A comparison with reference to grades, between Cedarstown's adolescents and non-Cedarstowners who study at the Government School in Cedarstown.

While Chapter III includes the first two steps, Chapter IV covers the last four.

MATHEMATICAL MEASUREMENT

The chi-square test, due to its wide applicability, was selected to test the significance of difference[3]. Whenever social status groups were compared with respect to a variable, a null hypothesis was assumed. If the chi-square computations yielded a value of P greater than 0.05, the null hypothesis was not disproven. But, if the value of P was lesser than 0.05, the null hypothesis was abandoned and the alternate hypothesis remained tenable. The chi-square test does not prove the presence or absence of a relationship; it simply indicates whether there is a fair chance to consider that a difference is due to chance factor, or that it cannot be solely attributed to chance alone.

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[3] The fact that the chi-square test is applicable for testing non-parametric samples, favours its use; since the different status groups are considered as independent from each other.

To measure the degree of association of two factors the coefficient of mean square contingency (denoted by the letter C), was employed.[4] Moreover, the coefficient of correlation was employed also as a measure of association, whenever the data warranted its use.

All through the study, the records presumed that the relation between social status groups and academic performance is that of an independent and a dependent variable. The social status position is the independent variable, while academic performance, pass-failure decisions and behavior are the dependent variables. Sex operates as another modifying independent variable, related to academic performance, deportment evaluation and pass-failure decisions.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research was undertaken in such a way that a minimal contact occured in the field work between the researcher and members of the community. Actually, there was not a single incident when the researcher was in contact with any of the students, whose characteristics were being analyzed. This arose from the fact that the criteria which were chosen to test the hypothesis, were obtained from external agencies (schools) with respect to these students. This procedure is advantageous in the sense that little chance for prejudice or biased interpretations is allowed. However, this method has its own inherent disadvantages. It does not permit a study of

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[4] $C = \sqrt{\dfrac{x^2}{x^2 + N}}$ where C = the coefficient of mean square contingency.
x^2 = chi-square value.
N = the number of cases.

The upper value of C is equal to $\sqrt{\dfrac{K-1}{K}}$ where K indicates the number of columns. Accordingly, (C) is never equal to 1.00. To tackle this problem, a corrected value of C is computed in which the upper value is equal to unity. This corrected value of C is denoted by the symbol: ($\bar{C}$).

depth which probes into the feelings, attitudes and social situations of the study group. This handicap reveals the first limitation of the study.

Although the study group includes all high school students of Cedarstown whose records were available, only one hundred and twenty two were embraced in the study. The distribution of these students in the four status groups revealed an inevitable statistical weakness. None of the status group I students were represented, while only twenty one students represented status group IV[5]. It is true that the complete absence of the uppermost group is sociologically significant; since it reveals an important preferential attitude of this group. However, its absence deprived the study from probing into the nature of its academic performance. Moreover, the analysis of data required, in some instances, a further subdivision of each of the remaining three status groups, so as to arrive at a deeper understanding of the relationships being studied. This led to a greater reduction in the number of students in each category. Consequently, the statistical manipulation of such cases became unreliable. This statistical dilemma points out the second limitation to the study.

The collection of data was confined to Cedarstown's adolescents who were enrolled in the high schools of the sample area in 1959-1960. However, at a latter stage, it was discovered that a substantial number of non-Cedarstowners study in these schools. The records obtained from the Government School were the only ones easily available for a cross comparison between Cedarstowners and non-Cedarstowners. The analysis with reference to this point was confined to this school. This latter restriction may represent another limitation to the study, since students who study in the Government School

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[5] For a study of the frequency of each status group see Chapter III.

may be socially different from those who study in other
schools.

The social stratification of this study group is
derived from Khouri's work which does not concern itself
with interplay between status group system and the extend-
ed family affiliation and clan. Thus, an unknown "x" factor
(sib ties) is also undoubtedly at work. Unfortunately, the
available data cannot determine objectively when, and how,
this latter factor operates.

Finally, Cedarstown represents the Greek Orthodox
community that has developed an intensified contact with
the city. It is neither rural nor urban but rather in
transition. Indeed, the unique occupational structure of
Cedarstown which is based mainly on services, may be even
more crucial than its unique religious composition. There-
fore, what is true of Cedarstown may not be true of other
Lebanese towns whose religious affiliations are different
and whose contact with urban life is of a different pattern.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL SCENE
OF
CEDARSTOWN

Cedarstown represents the small emerging Lebanese town that has developed intensified relationships with the city. In this respect it is similar to many other Lebanese towns that are dependent on urban centers in most of their economic, political and other vital spheres. However, Cedarstown has its own peculiarities which arise from two basic features that characterise it. First, its occupational structure is based on services, which probably constitute the major source of income for Cedarstowners. Secondly, its religious affiliation is homogenious.

Cedarstown is situated on two low east-west hills, fifteen kilometers south, south east of Tripoli. It is surrounded by olive gardens that extend westerly towards the Mediterranean shores. The climatic variations of Cedarstown are quite similar to those of the Lebanese coast.[1]

The administrative system in Lebanon divides the country into five major districts (muhafazat). Each in turn is sub-divided into sub-areas (aqdiyat). Cedarstown is the seat of a qada which belongs to the nothern district (muhafazat al-shamal) whose capital is Tripoli. This political privilege is probably a decisive factor in determining the type of economy which the town exhibits. Cedarstowners are able to extend a variety of services to the surrounding areas, such as: political-administrative, medical, educational and, to a lesser degree, recreational.

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[1] For an elaborate description of the geographic disposition of the town, see Khouri, op.cit., pp. 70-72.

Half of Cedarstown's population resides in the town proper, while the remaining half is scattered in other areas of Lebanon, or else abroad. Some of its inhabitants spend the winter season in the northern capital, to be near their work. In the summer, most of those who live out of Cedarstown, within Lebanon, return to their place of birth either to spend their annual vacation, or to stay throughout the hot season.[2]

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF
CEDARSTOWN

The social stratification, performed by Khouri in 1959-1960, revealed the existence of four social ranks in Cedarstown. These social strata were found to be different in terms of income, occupation, prestige and power. In his study, were included one hundred and eighty families, whose children were of school age, whether enrolled or not. The rating procedure as developed and used by A.G. Hollingshead,[3] and F. Lynch[4] was used in stratifying these families.

The stratification analysis of Cedarstown revealed that "a position in class I is to a large extent obtainable through one's own efforts".[5] Indeed, half of class I come from families of modest background. Moreover, the same study revealed that the basic difference between class I and class II lies in the distribution of power; otherwise these two groups are very similar.[6] We must add to these two important findings, the fact that Cedarstown is a town in transition; a condition which stimulates the redistribution of power, prestige and

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[2] ibid.,pp. 74-75.

[3] A. Hollingshead,op.cit.p. 27.

[4] F. Lynch, op.cit., pp.56-80.

[5] F. Khouri, op.cit., p. 76.

[6] ibid., p. 79.

money in the community. Accordingly, status, power and
economic control in Cedarstown community do not necessarily
coincide. Indeed, the description of these four groups by
Khouri, enable us to reconstruct an approximation of the
economic and power hierarchies in Cedarstown.[7] These two
types of classes overlap with what Khouri calls "social
classes". The following illustration shows the pattern of
these relationships.

KHOURI'S SOCIAL HIERARCHY
WITH NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN EACH

	I (8)	II (39)	III (86)	IV (47)
Prestige Categories	Status Group I (8)	Status Group II (39)	Status Group III (86)	Status Group IV (47)
Economic Categories	Class I (8 + 39)		Class II (86)	Class III (47)
Power Categories	Leaders (8)	Followers (39 + 86 + 47)		

Consequently, the usage of the term "social class" to denote
the four ranks of Cedarstown is abandoned. Instead, the term
"status group" is used, which is in accordance with the cur-
rent concepts of class. Moreover, the use of the term status
group instead of social class avoids the controversy about the
definition of the latter. Accordingly, this thesis considers
that Khouri had revealed in his study the presence of four
prestige classes or status groups rather than four social
classes. In recent conceptual schemes, the stratification
system is conceived as consisting of three dimensions that
give rise to three types of classes: the economic classes, the
prestige classes or status groups and the power classes. "Each
of these constitute a separate rank order with reference to
specific opportunities by which certain values and advantages
may be obtained, though these rank orders are inter-related".[8]

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[7] ibid., pp. 75-83.

[8] Kurt B. Mayer, op. cit., p. 23.

These three dimensional aspects of stratification coincide only in stable societies which form rigidly separated ranks or differential groupings. However, in transitional societies, which are characterised by change and instability, these three dimensional aspects do not necessarily coincide, and consequently the terminological usage of social class is unwarranted.

A further support for the use of "status group" instead of "social class" arises from methodological considerations. Cedarstown was stratified by the use of the rating technique which is a subjective method that envolves all the weaknesses of the Warner's approach to stratification. This approach claims that it studies social class systems while actually it is dealing with the systems of prestige classes.[9]

The following section is a summary of the characteristics of the four status groups as described by Khouri. Needless to say, the disagreement over terms does not prevent the use of his findings:

The Profile of the Four Status Groups

Status group I derives its prominant position from the political control and civic leadership in the community. The background of the eight families that constitute this status group indicates that four of these families acquired their positions through their successful efforts, in spite of their comparatively modest family background; while the other four inherited and retained the position held by their parents. All members of this status group live in well shaped stone houses in the lower part of the town, where the well-to-do dwell. Their homes are decorated with expensive paraphernalia,

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[9] Ruth Kornhauser, "The Warner's Approach to Stratification" quoted from Bendix and Lipset, (eds.) op.cit., p. 245.

furnished with valuable, well taken care of furniture. Property and lucrative occupations of the heads of these families, constitute the major source of income. The high level
of income enables them to transmit money into prestige and
honor, through the conspicuous consumption of goods. All
adults of this group hold positive attitude towards education and plan the future of their children along professional lines similar or equivalent to their own.[10]

Status group II (39 families) has the same style of
life and, almost, enjoys the same economic advantages of the
uppermost group. The only difference seems to lie in the fact
that political and civic leadership is monopolized by status
group I. Accordingly, "it is in this ambitious class that
the future political leadership of the community is to be
found".[11] Professionals, high Government officials and successful business men are represented in this group.

Status group III (86 families) represents the level
of the "common-man" of Cedarstown. Members of this group are
referred to as "el-mastureen", meaning that they are just
managing to meet their economic needs. Politically, they
constitute the file and the rank of the parties, or the followers who look to the uppermost prestige class for leadership of the country. Occupationally, the status group III
embraces: gainful Government employees, teachers, skilled
labourers, butchers, taxi drivers who own their cars, and
other similar jobs. In contrast to status groups I and II,
women of status group III do some gainful work when available,
such as teaching and sewing.

Status group IV (47 families) constitutes "those who
are not heard of except on election day".[12] Unskilled labourers, seasonal agricultural workers, peddlers and hired
drivers are to be found in this group which represents the

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[10] ibid., p. 76.
[11] ibid., p. 79.
[12] ibid., p. 82.

level below the "common-man" of Cedarstown. Financially, this
wretched group is always in debt, searching for the basic
necessities of subsistance, living mostly from hand to mouth.
Although none of the adults in this group study beyond ele-
mentary grades, their attitude towards education is positive.
They conceive education as a way to social and financial
improvement. However, their concern with the day by day
practical problems of subsistance and their need for their
children, precipitate their preferential attitude towards
vocational training. Unfortunately, such training is
completely lacking in town. The withdrawal of their female
children becomes necessary, and only few of their boys are
given a chance to continue their academic studies.[13]

The foregoing picture indicates that Cedarstown's
community is built on the coexistence of four status groups
that are different in terms of income, education, prestige
and power hierarchy. All members of these four groups hold
favourable and optimistic attitudes towards education. But
prestige inequality seemingly, decides who shall be edu-
cated and who shall not.

While the members of the upper two status groups
consider that their personal efforts and success are res-
ponsible for their comfort, members of status group III
consider that the present social order is a result of
chance and family prestige. This may partially explain the
radical tendencies among some of the members of this latter
group.

THE STUDY GROUP

The sample of this research includes all high school
Cedarstowners who study in the schools of their own town.

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[13] See F. Khouri for a more elaborate description of these
four status groups. ibid., pp. 75-83.

Therefore, all adolescent Cedarstowners who study in schools outside their town were excluded; because it was assumed that the status system of their community does not operate on them, or influence their academic behavior. However, only one group of students who study in the school of a very near-by village, was exempted from this exclusion. Accordingly, this group was included in the sample. Apart from the fact that this village is very near to Cedarstown, a condition which does not involve transport problems or expenses, it is socially inter-connected with Cedarstown through the face-to-face relationships between its inhabitants and those of Cedarstown. Accordingly, it was assumed that high school Cedarstowners, whether studying in this village or in their town, are equally exposed to the forces of their community's status system.

The grades of one hundred and thirty-two students were collected from the four schools. Ten students were disregarded because the social status positions of their families were not identified. With the exception of eight students in the fourth year of the Church School whose records were missing, all High School adolescents (Cedarstowners) enrolled in the four schools, were included.

When the students' families' status positions were coded, the following results were obtained:

Status Group	Number of Students	Number of Families in the Sample	Number of Families in "Population"
I	0	0	8
II	33	19	39
III	68	48	86
IV	21	15	47
Total	122	82	180

The complete absence of the uppermost status group called for a further inquiry, in order to find out where

the adolescents of this group study. The research indicates
that only eight High School students belong to the upper-
most status group. None of them study in any of Cedarstown's
schools. Six of these fortunate students are boarders, while
the remaining two live with their families in Tripoli.

Sending their children to boarding schools is a way
by which status group I can attain comfort as well as high
prestige. Therefore, it is safe to draw the following con-
clusion: Status group I refrains from sending their children
to schools in Cedarstown and shows a preferential attitude
towards boarding schools. I have been told by members of
status groups II and III that the Leisure Class of Cedars-
town may move its children from one boarding school to
another in order to avoid repetition of their academic
classes when their performance is weak. Certainly, outside
and superior schooling permits status group I to reaffirm
and strengthen its prestige position.

The exclusion of status group I limits this study
to the remaining three groups. The following table compares
the proportion and frequency of the three status groups as
they appear in the study group and in the population.[14] These
population values were derived from Khouri's study.[15]

Table 3.1
Distribution of groups II, III and IV
in the study group and population

	II Frequency	II Ratio	III Frequency	III Ratio	IV Frequency	IV Ratio
Population	60	0.29	111	0.54	35	0.17
Study Group	33	0.27	68	0.56	21	0.17

$$X^2 = 0.270 \qquad .98 > P > .95$$

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[14] The term population is used here, to denote the total
number of Cedarstown's High School students, whether
enrolled in schools, in or out of Cedarstown.

[15] ibid., p. 54.

It is clear that the difference between the social composition of the study group and that of the population is not significant, and can easily be attributed to chance factor alone.

The comparison of the study group by sex, yields similar results.

Table 3.2

Sexual Composition of
the Study Group compared to that of population[12]

| | GIRLS | | BOYS | |
	Frequency	Ratio	Frequency	Ratio
Population	95	0.47	117	0.53
Study Group	58	0.48	64	0.52

$$x^2 = 0.0143 \quad 0.90 < P < 0.98$$

Accordingly, it is safe to consider that our study group is a fairly accurate representation of the population. However, our study group is not a random sample of the population. Actually it is a whole universe by itself, since all who were excluded constitute special cases. All those who are not exposed to the direct influence of the status system of Cedarstown may show a pattern of behavior different from those who are actually exposed. Accordingly, the sample of this study has the basic characteristics of the population, with respect to sex and class composition, though it was not collected at random.

THE FOUR SCHOOLS

There are three high schools in Cedarstown that accommodate, in addition to the town's children, students who come daily from the near-by villages. These three schools which were included in the sample area are: Cedarstown College, the Government School and the Church

School. The reasons which favored the inclusion of the
Village High School were discussed in the previous sections.

Cedarstown College

Cedarstown College is a private school owned by a
status group II member and run by him, his nephew and a
third distant relative. It is the only school in Cedars-
town that provides the complete course of the Baccalaureate
First Part program. Accordingly the secondary section of
this school includes six academic classes: In the fourth
year, students are prepared for the Brevet examinations
while in the sixth they are prepared for the Baccalaureate.
Cedarstown College enjoys a good reputation of being a well
disciplined school, whose standards of teaching are high.
The fact that a sizeable portion of its students pass the
Government examinations re-enforces its high status and
good reputation.

The school, like most of the Lebanese private
schools, has no source of income other than what the stu-
dents pay, which is a comparatively high fee. However,it
is sufficient to keep the school's two storied building in
a good condition, to pay the teachers, and to save extra
money for future projects. Indeed, the financial condition
of the school enables it to extend occasional assistance
to needy students.

The Government School

The Government School includes three sections:
An elementary section for girls, another for boys and a
coeducational secondary division which extends its
academic classes to the fourth high. Since it prepares
its students only for the Brevet program, those who wish
to continue their studies must either shift to Cedarstown

College, or to some other public or private school.

The records of this school are complete and well taken care of. They indicate the high attainment of its students. For instance, 87.5 percent of the 1959-1960 fourth year students passed the Government Brevet examinations. This explains the high prestige enjoyed by the school in the community.

The Church School

In 1938 a Greek Orthodox philanthropic society was founded, including two tributaries: one for men and another for women. The men's division has not participated in any social activities of the town since it was established. On the other hand the women's auxillary has been active. In that same year, its members started a modest school project for the children of the community, especially those belonging to poor families. By 1949, the Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Faith was aware of the ambitious aims of this auxillary, and as a sign of his approval and encouragement had sent a nun, Mother Ann, to assist in running the school.

Mother Ann's efforts resulted in the establishment of a big, well developed high school, capable of preparing the students for the Baccalaureate examinations. This attainment was possible through Mother Ann's visits to other parts of Lebanon and abroad. It enabled her to raise substantial funds with which a lot of land was bought and a two storied house was erected. Prior to 1958 and under the direct supervision of Mother Ann, the Church School was a flourishing and successful school in Cedarstown.

However, political intrigues and feuds of both the left and right wings of Cedarstown have brought alarming results. The left wing, somehow, got hold of the women's auxillary, and taking advantage of Mother Ann's trust, they

subsequently seized the prominent key position of the school. The political right wing was vexed by the initial triumph of its opponent and as a result every effort was made to seize the control of the school. However, it was too late because the school properties were already legally registered under the name of the women's society, which is now under the full control of the left wing.

The right wing of Cedarstown was dealt a heavy blow and as a result the men's auxillary of the Greek Orthodox Society was revived. In bringing the second branch of the society to existence, the right wing is hoping to gain supervision of the school through legal procedure. A case was raised against the left wing, but results are still unknown, as the Court's verdict was not given when the thesis was written.

The 1958 Lebanese revolution enabled the right wing to deal a crushing blow to the left wing. The latter, being the weak party, could not ensure the presence of the school teachers to run classes. Obviously, the Church School teachers were intercepted by men of the right wing so that teaching would be interrupted in the school, and general reputation would suffer. As a result, and with the exception of those families who were directly affiliated with the radical party, most Cedarstowners withdrew their children from this school..

This tragic end must have had an impact on the social composition of students in Cedarstown. The researcher was interested to know who suffered mostly from the decline of the Church School. Unfortunately, the administrative functions of the school were interrupted and, thus, most of its records

were either lost or were left in a bad and unreliable state.
Students of different status groups are expected to be
equally attracted by the Church School, if its academic
standards are reputable. However, the decline of the
school may not affect the four status groups equally:
Status group II can easily find place in other schools by
paying higher tuition. Status group III is seemingly
capable of finding its way in town, through family ties and
face to face relations. Status group IV must have been the
big loser, since it is unable to find its way as easily as
the other status groups. Unfortunately, this hypothetical
speculation cannot be verified, as evidence is lacking.

The Church School of 1960-1961 has a complete ele-
mentary section. Its secondary section includes only three
academic classes. While in 1959-1960 there were four academic
classes, through which the full Brevet program was given, six
academic classes were present in the academic year 1958-1959.
This retrospect serves to clarify the quick decline of the
Church School.

Our second inquiry was to know as to what happened
to the majority of Church School students who left this
school. Incomplete records again, interrupted the study.
However, when the Principal of Cedarstown College was asked
for information, he answered: " We accepted most of them
except those... you know.... those who are not clean".

The Village High School

This school has a special attraction because it is
the only school in the Cedarstown area that gives all its
courses in English. Previously, the students prepared for
the high school certificate which enabled them to continue
their studies in the American University of Beirut or
similar institutions. However, this system was lately

replaced by the Lebanese Syllabus of Education. Accordingly, students are prepared to sit for the English Section of the <u>Baccalaureate</u> <u>First</u> <u>Part</u> <u>Examination.</u>

The village high school was established by a local society, prior to the outbreak of World War I. Recently, this society gained a big fund from a well known American firm and is now building a new modern secondary section.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE FOUR SCHOOLS

The social composition of the four schools indicates that the three status groups prefer to send their children to Cedarstown College or Government College. The mathematical analysis of the significance of the difference, encounters many difficulties, as the schools do not have equal chances to attract students. The reasons for such inequality of chances are cultural (English v.s. French) political (Church School example) or academic (the Government School being limited to the Brevet Program).

The frequency of each class indicates some prejudices which are quite clear. The following tables reveal some of the preferential attitudes of each of the three status groups with respect to the four schools.

TABLE 3-3*
PROPORTION OF EACH STATUS GROUP IN EACH SCHOOL

Status Group	Cedarstown College	Government School	Church School	Village School	Total
II	0.45	0.25	0.15	0.15	1.00
III	0.40	0.35	0.15	0.10	1.00
IV	0.29	0.48	0.13	0.10	1.00

* For the frequency distribution of students in the four schools, see table 6-5 in the appendix.

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TABLE 3-4
THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF EACH SCHOOL
BY RATIO

Status Group	Cedarstown College	Government School	Church School	Village School
II	0.32	0.19	0.28	0.36
III	0.57	0.47	0.55	0.50
IV	0.13	0.24	0.17	0.14
Total	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

Only small proportions of the three status groups attend the Church School or the Village High School. Thus, the largest part of each status group tends to be concentrated in Cedarstown College and the Government School. However, there is a basic difference between the pattern of attendance of each status group with respect to the last two schools. While the upper two groups send their children to Cedarstown College more than to the Government School, the opposite relation exists with respect to status group IV (see Table 3-4). In this poor social strata, a decided preference is shown towards the Government School.

The social composition of each school indicates that status group III dominates the scene, while group IV forms the smallest minority in each school, with the exception of the Government School. In this last school, status group II is the minority. Accordingly, Cedarstown College appears to be the upper status group school, while the Government School is for the lower status. However, this dichotomy is not sharp due, probably, to the high educational standard which the Government School maintains.

The previous comparison between these two schools may appear to be superficial, because of the difference in

in the number of academic secondary classes present in both schools. We may recall that Cedarstown College includes six academic classes, while the Government School has only four. Accordingly, a further analysis is performed in which all students in the fifth and sixth academic years are excluded. Actually, the new procedure reveals that the apparent difference is quite misleading. Status group II and III show no real preference of Cedarstown College over the Government School (Table 3-5). The higher proportion which appears first is simply due to the presence of extra two academic classes in the former school. However, status group IV's pattern becomes much sharper and clearer: more than half of these students study in the Government School while less than one fifth in the Cedarstown College. In spite of the fact that the upper two status groups do not show particular preference to Cedarstown College, it remains the upper classes' school due to its exclusion of the status IV students.

TABLE 3-5

PROPORTION OF EACH STATUS GROUP IN EACH OF
THE FOUR SCHOOLS
EXCLUDING FIFTH AND SIXTH YEAR STUDENTS

Status Group	Cedarstown College	Government School	Church School	Village School	Total
II	o.38	0.31	0.19	0.12	1.00
III	0.35	0.36	0.16	0.13	1.00
IV	0.17	0.56	0.17	0.10	1.00

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA
ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AS DETERMINED BY STATUS POSITION

The academic performance of students as related to their families' status position, can be analyzed through many alternative methods. The crudest is to compare the mean average of the three status groups. These mean averages, as appearing at the bottom of Table 4-1, indicate that status group II passes the highest mean while status group IV, the lowest. Also, it indicates that the difference between the lower two status groups III and IV, is negligeable. However, this rough procedure reveals a basic pattern that characterises the relationship of the three status groups with respect to grades.

TABLE 4-1

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF THE THREE
STATUS GROUPS WITHIN EIGHT GRADE INTERVALS

	State II	State III	State IV	Total
80-89	1	0	1	2
70-79	8	5	2	15
60-69	10	17	5	32
50-59	9	17	3	29
40-49	3	11	6	20
30-39	1	11	1	14
20-29	1	7	2	10
10-19	0	0	1	1
Total	33	68	21	122
Mean Average	59.68	51.12	51.06	53.45

33

The graphic presentation of Table 4-1 as shown in
Charts I and II*, expresses some of the salient features of
the three groups. The distribution of grades in the whole
sample, shows an approximate normal curve. However, these
grades are not evenly dispersed among the three groups. The
graph of status group II indicates a normal curve that has
a short low tail. The majority of this group falls within
the range of 40 grades (from 45 to 85), while only six per-
cent of the group lies outside the range of the normal
distribution. The graph of status group III suggests no
central tendency indicating the presence of two peaks. This
latter feature is clearly pronounced in the graphical pre-
sentation of group IV.

This second analysis enables us to visualize more
clearly the relationships between status groups and their
grades. Status group II is strikingly different from III
and IV; while the latter two groups show certain similarities.

The third analysis employed to reveal the relation-
ship between the independent and the dependent variables
aims at determining the simple coefficient of correlation.
The result of mathematical computations indicates that the
two variables are positively correlated ($r \doteq 0.28$). The co-
efficient of determination which is derived from r enables
us to draw the following conclusion: only eight percent
($r^2 \doteq .08$) of the total variation between the status posi-
tion of the students and their academic performance, can be
explained by these mutual relationships.[1] However, there
are certain limitations to the use of the coefficient of
correlation. First, its appropriate application is to mea-
sure variance of two factors when both influence each other

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* Refer to Appendix B. p. 72 for the graphic presentations.

[1] The author is indebted to M. Zelditch for the formulation
of this conclusion. M. Zelditch Jr., Sociological Sta-
tistics., New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1959, p. 108.

mutually; a condition which is not applicable in our study. The status position of the student is not influenced by his academic performance, since he acquires his family's position. Second, it is mostly reliable for measuring straight line correlations, but possesses certain weaknesses when applied to curvilinear correlations.[2] Our data does not enable us to denote objectively whether the correlation between status position and grades is a straight line or a curve. However, Chart III provides a very crude presentation which favours our acceptance of a curvilinear relation.[*] Therefore, the second limitation to the use of the coefficient of correlation is, probably, influencing our study.

The fourth method employed in studying the relationship between status position of the students' family and his academic performance, relies on the use of chi-square to measure the significance of differences exhibited by three status groups. This statistical measure will be employed in the analysis of the data, because of its applicability to non-parametric samples.

The remaining part of this section deals with the relationships between the two relevant variables. The same data of Table 4-1 is lumped into two major categories, then into three, and finally five. Each one of these modifications has its own merits, which will be discussed in due time.

Who Attains The Passing Grade

According to the French system of grading, the attainment of a final average of 50, is the necessary requirement for a pass. Whether the student passes in every subject or not, he is promoted to the next academic class,

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[2] F. Croxton and D. Cowden, Applied General Statistics., New York, Prentice Hall Inc., 1944, p. 736.

[*] Refer to Appendix B. p. 73.

as long as the sum total of his grades yields the assigned
average. However, if he fails badly in one or more subjects,
the school may ask him to sit for a make-up examination at
the onset of the next academic year. These make-up examina-
nations are assigned to students simply to stimulate them
to study during the summer vacation in order to overcome
their weakness.

According to rules, a student is required to
repeat his academic class, if the sum total of all his
subjects fails to yield an average of 50 percent. However,
if his average is slightly below 50, the school may give
him a second chance through a make-up examination, which
is held at the end of the summer holiday. The schools'
social bias towards different status groups or extended
families (clans), operates within this permissible area.

Table 4-2 shows the proportion of each status
group with respect to the two mentioned categories. The
chi-square test indicates that the difference between the
three status groups is significant beyond the 0.05 level.
The interpretation of this value of P is as follows: The
probability that the difference between the actual and
the expected frequencies could have arisen from chance
factor alone, is less than 5%.

TABLE 4-2*

PROPORTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS WITH RESPECT
TO T W O GRADE INTERVALS

Status	50 and above	below 50	
II	0.85	0.15	1.00
III	0.57	0.43	1.00
IV	0.52	0.48	1.00
Sample Proportions	0.64	0.36	1.00

$$X^2 = 6.623 \qquad P < 0.05$$

* See Appendix B Table II for the frequency distribution
  of this Table.

Since the difference is significant and as status
group II has the highest proportion of passing grades,
while status group IV has the lowest, then the following
conclusion can be drawn: <u>The attainment of passing grades
among Cedarstown's adolescents is functionally related to
the position which their families occupy in the status
system of their community</u>. Moreover, the same pattern
which has been discovered in the first two methods, is
repeated; the difference between status groups III and
IV is negligeable.

This procedure has a basic statistical advantage,
since none of the expected values are less than five –
the minimum limit for a safe computation of chi-square.[3]
However, the disadvantage to this procedure appears when
lumping the grades into only two intervals because it
does not reveal to whom high grades and low grades are
attributed.

<div align="center">Who Gets the Highest and Lowest
Grades</div>

Two grade intervals were sufficient to illustrate
the relationship between the three status groups, with
respect to pass-failure grades. Further breakdown of the
grade columns is essential, in order to analyze the
discrepancy of the three status groups, with reference
to the lowest and highest grades.

Table 4-3 shows the proportional distribution of
the three status groups within three grade intervals. The
choice of these intervals is not arbitrary but it satisfies
certain customary academic categories. The first interval
(70 and above), represents a high level of academic achieve-
ment, and the second (50-69) represents an average attain-
ment; the third represents a failing result. Moreover, this

[3] F. Craxton and D. Cowden, <u>op.cit</u>., p. 286

new arrangement of data does not exhibit dangerous statistic
weaknesses, since only in one interval the expected value is
well beyond 5*.

TABLE 4-3**
PROPORTION OF EACH STATUS GROUP WITHIN
THREE GRADE INTERVALS

Status Group	70 and above	50-69	Below 50	Total
II	0.27	0.58	0.15	1.00
III	0.07	0.50	0.43	1.00
IV	0.14	0.38	0.48	1.00
Sample Proportions	0.14	0.50	0.36	1.00

$$X^2 = 9.050 \qquad P < 0.05$$
$$C = 0.27 \qquad \overline{C} = 0.33$$

The test of significance indicates that the diffe-
rence between the three status groups, with respect to grades,
is beyond chance expectation. Moreover, the value of the co-
efficient of mean square contingency indicates that the order
of relationship between status position and grades, is com-
paratively low ($\overline{C} = 0.33$).

However, a new property of status group IV was
revealed in the mathematical computation of chi-square. The
distribution of this status group with respect to the high-
est grade intervals, is very near to the expectation; while
the distribution with respect to the lowest, is above expect-
ation. Accordingly, the difference between status groups
II and IV with respect to the first grade interval, is due
to the over representation of the former rather than the

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* See Appendix B. Table III b. for the distribution of these
  expected values
** See Appendix B. Table III a. for frequency distribution

under representation of the latter. Needless to say, this finding can either indicate an inherent character of status group IV, or can be simply attributed to the smallness of this group.

A cross comparison between each of the two groups with respect to the three grade interval, may clarify the relationship between them. Table 4-4 summarizes the results of this analysis.

TABLE 4-4
SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STATUS POSITION
WITH RESPECT TO THREE GRADE INTERVALS

Status Groups	Chi-square value	Degree of Freedom	Level of Significance	C
II, III & IV	9.050	4	$P < 0.05$	0.33
II v.s. III	7.742	2	$P \doteq 0.02$	0.37
II v.s. IV	9.836	2	$P < 0.01$	0.55
II v.s.III & IV	10.275	2	$P < 0.01$	0.34
III v.s. IV	3.522	2	Insignificant	0.19

This table indicates that the difference between the attainments of the three status groups is not continuous. Thus, the difference between status group II and each of the other two groups, whether separated or combined, is beyond chance expectation. On the other hand, the difference between status groups III and IV can be attributed to chance alone. This latter finding supports the view that academic behaviour of these two groups shows certain similarities. However, it is early to pass judgment with respect to this point. The fact that status group IV is w e l l represented in the uppermost and the lowest grade intervals, may produce a net statistical result equivalent to that of status group III. Therefore, the similarity that exists between status groups III and IV, may be misleading. To reveal this point, a final study is performed which focuses its attention on the two extreme grade

intervals. The first interval includes students with a
final average of seventy or more; while the second interval
includes students with a final average below forty. These
two sub-groups are analyzed separately with respect to
status group compositions. The first group includes only
seventeen students, while the second includes twenty four.
The size of each of these two sub-groups is below the
minimum necessary for a reliable sample. Accordingly, the
results of this analysis will be treated with utmost
caution.

TABLE 4-5*

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STATUS GROUPS
WITH RESPECT TO GRADES ABOVE SEVENTY
AND BELOW FORTY

Status Group	Chi-square value	Degree of Freedom	Level of Signifi-cance	C
Seventy and above:				
II, III & IV	5.710	2	P 0.05	0.70
II v.s. III & IV	6.036	1	P 0.02	
II v.s. III	5.700	1	P 0.02	
II v.s. IV	3.210	1	Insignificant	
III v.s. IV	2.510	1	"	
Below Forty:				
II, III & IV	5.351	2	P $\doteq$ 0.07	0.48
II v.s. III & IV	3.821	1	P $\cong$ 0.05	
II v.s. III	5.351	1	P 0.02	
II v.s. IV	3.428	1	Insignificant	
III v.s. IV	1.935	1	"	

* For frequency distribution, see Appendix B, Table IV.

With respect to the uppermost grades, this Table shows that the difference between the three status groups is beyond chance expectation. Also, it indicates that the difference between status group II alone and the other two groups combined together is significant beyond the 0.02 level. The same is true with respect to the difference between status groups II and III. On the other hand, the difference between status group IV and each of the other two groups is insignificant and hence can be attributed to chance alone. Moreover, the value of the coefficient of mean contingency indicates that the order of relationship between status position and high grades is comparatively high ($\bar{C} = 0.70$).

With respect to the lowest grades, this same Table indicates that the difference between three status groups is significant at the 0.07 level. Such a low level of significance favours the acceptance of a null hypothesis concerning the difference between these two variables. However, the difference between status group II alone and the other two groups combined together is significant beyond the 0.02 level. The same is true with respect to the difference between status groups II and III. On the other hand, the difference between status group IV and each of the other two groups can be attributed to chance alone. Moreover, the value of the coefficient of mean square contingency indicates that the order of relationship between status group position and low grades is not very high ($\bar{C} = 0.48$).

These results favour the acceptance of the following conclusions:

    a. High grades are mostly associated with status group II

    b. Lower grades are frequently associated with group III

      c. The difference between status groups III and IV
         with respect to the two extreme grade intervals
         is negligeable.

      d. The difference between status groups II and IV
         with respect to the two extreme grade intervals
         is also negligeable.

The result of this analysis indicates, that the pattern of relationships between the three status groups with respect to the highest and lowest grade intervals, exhibits certain discontinuity. This condition arises from the peculiar academic behaviour of status group IV. In spite of this discrepant result, the analysis favours the acceptance of the proposed two hypotheses with reference to the second and third status groups, only. These two hypotheses are : (a) <u>The chance of attaining high grades among Cedarstown adolescents are directly proportioned to the position their families occupy in the status system of their community.</u> (b) <u>The chances of attaining low grades among Cedarstown adolescents are inversely proportioned to the position their families occupy in the status system of their community.</u>

What are the possible factors that explain the peculiarities of status group IV? To answer this question, let us refer to F. Khouri's study. In his research, it was found out that education is regarded by status group IV families as indispensable for success.[4] However, their economic condition prevents them from realizing their wishes and only few of their children continue their studies.[5] Actually, only thirty six percent of status group IV students who are of high school age, are given the opportunity to continue their studies. Accordingly, it

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[4] F. Khouri, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 78.

[5] <u>ibid.</u>, p. 34.

is possible to assume that status group IV students are
highly exposed to the influence of selection. Some are
encouraged to continue their studies if their performance
is high, while others whose performance is low, are with-
drawn from school. Therefore, it is possible to under-
stand the peculiar structure of status group IV that
appears in Chart I. Moreover, we are in a position to
attribute the irregularity of this group's academic per-
formance, with respect to the highest and lowest grade
intervals, to this peculiar structure.

Consequently, the academic performance of status
group IV is expected to act in accordance with the last
two above mentioned hypotheses, only when they are not
exposed to <u>presumed</u> influence of selection. Only then we
can conclude that the <u>academic performance of Cedarstown</u>
<u>adolescents is functionally related to the position their</u>
<u>families occupy in the status system of their community.</u>

PASS-FAILURE DECISIONS

The pass-failure decisions translate the quanti-
tative aspect of the student's performance, into one of
the three qualitative categories: <u>pass</u>, <u>make-up</u> and <u>failure</u>.
The first category includes students whose work attains the
necessary average for promotion. The second includes those
students whose averages are not much below the accepted
requirement, and the school board agrees that they deserve
a second chance. Those students who fail badly in one
subject or more, though their final average is above fifty,
are also included in this category. The third category
includes those unfortunate students whose average is far
below the necessary requirement. This category comprises

students who are asked to repeat their class or else to withdraw from school.

The proportion of the three status groups in each of these three categories reveals the same pattern which has been encountered in the previous section. Pass decisions are attained more frequently by status group II, less frequently by status group III and least of all by status group IV. The reverse of this relationship is manifested in the failure category.

TABLE 4-6*

THE PROPORTIONS OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS
WITH RESPECT TO PASS-FAILURE DECISIONS

Status Group	Pass	Make-up	Failure	Total
II	0.73	0.18	0.09	1.00
III	0.41	0.38	0.21	1.00
IV	0.38	0.32	0.29	1.00
Sample Proportions	0.49	0.32	0.19	1.00

$$X^2 = 12.6395 \qquad P \ 0.02 \qquad C = 0.36$$
$$\bar{C} = 0.44$$

The Chi-square test indicates that the difference between status groups with respect to the three dependent variables, is significant beyond the 0.02 level. Moreover, the coefficient of mean square contingency indicates that the order of relationships between status position and pass-failure decisions is not relatively low ($\bar{C} = 0.44$). Accordingly, the following conclusion can be drawn: The type of school decision which a Cedarstown student acquires

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* For frequency distribution, see Appendix B. Table VIII.

<u>is functionally related to the position which his family</u>
<u>occupies in the status system of his community.</u>

It is worthwhile to note that the actual measure
of the student's academic performance is his position
with respect to the above mentioned decisions. These
decisions actually reflect the interplay between the
social bias of the school's staff and principals, and
the student's academic performance as measured by his
grades. As a matter of fact, these decisions can be
used as alternative criteria to grades for measuring
the academic performance of the students.

Since the type of decision which a student
acquires is functionally related to his status position,
it is safe to ascertain here the hypothesis which was
not fully proven in the last section. <u>The academic</u>
<u>performance of Cedarstown adolescents is functionally</u>
<u>related to the position his family occupies in the</u>
<u>status system of his community.</u>

THE PRINCIPAL'S EVALUATION OF THE
STUDENTS' BEHAVIOR

The records of the four schools included in the
research, were found defficient with respect to the
evaluation of the students' conduct. Subsequently, the
four principals were asked to rate the students' in-
school behavior with reference to a three-point scale.
It was specified that the three points of the scale must
describe only the disciplinary aspect of the students'
behavior. .

The three points of the scale are presumed to
rate the students' conduct in a continuum. Students

who are not sent to the principal's office for misconduct
are expected to appear at the first extremity of this
continuum. At the other extremity are those students who
are frequently called to the principal's office for mis-
behavior in the class-rooms or playground. Those who are
occasionally rebuked by the principal are expected to
occupy the mid-point of the scale. Accordingly, these
conduct points convey the principal's attitude towards
his students' in-school behavior, as determined by his
awareness or unawareness of their disciplinary errors.

The proportion of each status group with respect
to the principal's evaluation appears in Table 4-7. These
proportions indicate that status group IV must comprise
two distinct sub-groups whose characteristics are obscured
by their being grouped together in one status group.

The pattern in which these evaluations are distri-
buted among the three groups, is quite similar to the
pattern encountered when analyzing academic performance
and pass-failure decisions. Table 4-7 also indicates that
a very small proportion of each status group is given the
least favourable evaluation.

TABLE 4-7*

THE PROPORTIONS OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS WITH
RESPECT TO THE PRINCIPAL'S DEPORTMENT EVALUATIONS

Status Group	Conduct Scale			Total
	1	2	3	
II	0.82	0.12	0.06	1.00
III	0.59	0.34	0.07	1.00
IV	0.62	0.29	0.09	1.00
Sample Proportions	0.66	0.27	0.07	1.00

$$x^2 = 8.701 \quad P \doteq 0.07$$

* For frequency distribution, see Appendix B. Table IX.

The chi-square tests of the difference between the three status groups with respect to deportment evaluations, yields a low level of significance approximately equal to 0.07. This value of $\underline{P}$ is above the assigned level of significance (0.05) adopted in all the previous tests. Since the difference between the two levels is comparatively small, then a final decision with respect to the acceptance or rejection of a null hypothesis will be postponed for the time being. Instead, a second analysis is performed so as to cross examine separately the significance of differences between each two status groups.

TABLE 4-8

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE THREE
STATUS GROUPS WITH RESPECT TO DEPORTMENT EVALUATIONS

Status Group	Chi-Square value	Degree of freedom	Level of significance
II, III & IV	8.701	4	$P \doteq 0.07$
II v.s. III & IV	5.860	2	$P \doteq 0.05$
II v.s. III	8.442	2	$P < 0.05$
II v.s. IV	4.442	2	Insignificant
III v.s. IV	4.538	2	"

This Table indicates that the difference between status group II and the other two combined together, is significant at the 0.05 level. It also shows that the difference between status groups II and III is significant beyond the 0.02 level. On the other hand, the difference between status groups II and IV can be attributed to chance alone. The same is true with respect to the difference between status groups III and IV.

This pattern of relationships between the three status groups with respect to deportment evaluation, has been encountered before. The same pattern was revealed

when the relationship between the three status groups
with respect to the highest and the lowest grade intervals,
was analyzed.* Consequently, proportions appearing in
Table 4-7 are consistent with the previous findings,
inspite of the low level of significance between the two
variables.

Indeed, the deportment evaluations enrich our
knowledge of status group IV. It seems that those students
of status group IV who remain in the high school are
exposed to two forces: one exerted by their families, and
the other by the school. Assumptions with respect to the
first force were analyzed on page 42. The second presumed
force is probably coercive in nature. Those students of
status group IV who are unable to adjust themselves to the
behavioral standards, are not tolerated. Probably they are
least tolerated with respect to the higher status groups.
Consequently, of the status group IV students who remain in
school, a high proportion is adapted to the expected
conduct standards. These assumptions may explain the dis-
continuity revealed in Table 4-8.

Let us combine some of the distinct features of
status group IV students:

a. The graphic representation of this group with
respect to grades is bi-modal, indicating the
presence of two different sub-groups. (Chart I)

b. Fifty two percent get the passing average, while
forty eight percent do not. (Table 4-2)

c. A group of status group IV students try to adopt
status group II students' pattern of academic
performance and in-school behavior; while on the
other hand, the remaining status group IV students
express hypothetical expectations. (Tables 4-5,
4-7 and 4-8)

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* See Table 4-5.

If the irregularity in the deportment evaluation of status group IV is disregarded for the time being, then we can draw the following conclusion with regard to status groups II and III: <u>The in-school behavior of Cedarstown adolescent is functionally related to the position his family occupies in the status system of his community</u>.

MODIFICATIONS BY SEX

It is believed that the Lebanese society is differentially biased towards sex. This implies that certain differences are expected to occur in the behavior of each sex with respect to academic performance or in-school behavior of the adolescents. These differences may modify some of the conclusions already accepted previously. To reveal the nature of these modifications, the behavior of both sexes is studied separately (a) with respect to academic performance and (b) with respect to the principals' deportment evaluation.

Sex Modifications In The Academic Performance of the Students

To analyze the influence of sex on académic performance only two grade intervals can be used. The choice of this dichotomy is indispensable for obtaining a certain degree of reliability in the numbers of the analyzed subgroups. If this study group is to be divided into twelve parts with respect to the three variables, then the frequency of some cells does not reach the minimum necesary for a reliable sample*.

Table 4- 9 summarizes series of comparisons between the academic performance of girls and boys with

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* Sex (2) X status groups (3) X two grade intervales (2) = 12.

If the irregularity in the deportment evaluation
of status group IV is disregarded for the time being, then
we can draw the following conclusion with regard to status
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Table 4-9 summarizes series of comparisons
between the academic performance of girls and boys with

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* Sex (2) X status groups (3) X two grade intervales (2)
  = 12.

the other does not (boys). Actually, this finding does not modify our hypothesis but simply clarifies it. It has been previously found in every analysis, with respect to academic performance and status position, that status group IV exhibits a peculiar behavior. It was then necessary to assume that the structure of this group is responsible for the observed inconsistency. The assumption which was not previously verified, is revealed in this last analysis.

The foregoing analysis reveals that sex differences in the academic performance of the students are negligeable among status groups II and III; while they appear to be of paramount importance among students of group IV.

So as to arrive at a final conclusion concerning the effect of sex, two further analyses are performed. The first deals with the relationship between academic performance of girls and the position their families occupy in the status system of their community. The second deals with the same relationship among boys.

TABLE 4-10*
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATUS POSITION AND
ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF BOYS AND GIRLS

Status group	Girls		Boys	
	50 and above	Below 50	50 and above	Below 50
II	0.875	0.125	0.82	0.18
III	0.56	0.44	0.59	0.41
IV	0.375	0.625	0.62	0.38

$x^2 = 9.311$ $x^2 = 3.047$

$P < 0.01$ $P > 0.20$

$C = 0.37$ $C = 0.21$

$\bar{C} = 0.45$ $\bar{C} = 0.30$

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* For frequency distribution see Appendix B. Table X.

respect to the whole sample and with respect to each status group.

TABLE 4—9

THE PROPORTION OF GIRLS AND BOYS OF THE THREE STATUS
GROUPS WITH RESPECT TO TWO GRADE INTERVALS

	Girls		Boys	
	50 and above	below 50	50 and above	below 50
The Whole Sample	0.64	0.32	0.66	0.34
Status Group II	0.875	0.125	0.82	0.18
Status Group III	0.56	0.44	0.59	0.41
Status Group IV	0.375	0.625	0.62	0.38

When reading the first horizontal line in this Table, it is possible to deduce that the difference between the academic performance of girls and boys in the sample can be attributed to chance alone. That is, 64% of the girls and 66% of the boys attain the required average for promotion; while 36% of the girls and 34% of the boys do not. The same pattern appears in status groups II and III, indicating that the difference in the academic attainments of the two sexes is negligeable. However, a striking difference appears between the two sexes of status group IV. 37½% of the girls and 62% of the boys attain the average necessary for promotion; while 62½% of the girls and 38% of the boys fail to do so. This shows that the group of status group IV students is sub-divided into two distinct sub-groups: The first expresses the hypothetical expectations of low attainment (girls), while

The chi-square tests that appear in this Table are for interest only. The smallness of the frequencies in each cell reduces to a great extent the reliability of these tests.

Indeed, if status group IV boys are overlooked in Table 4-10, the pattern of academic performance for boys and girls appears to be consistent with the proposed hypothesis. Therefore, sex modification seems to appear only in status group IV male adolescents. What are the other hypotheses that may explain this finding?

First, it is possible to disregard completely the peculiarity of status group IV boys, on the basis that the sample of this group is too small (includes only thirteen boys).

Second, if the first possibility is rejected, then it is possible to attribute the high attainment of status group IV boys to the factor of selection. That is to say, the poorest families of Cedarstown due to their economic conditions are unable to keep their children in the secondary section, if their academic performance is low.

Since males are expected to be the supporters of their families, status group IV families are ready to invest their modest means in educating male rather than female children. This latter assumption also explains the high proportion of boys in this group.

Therefore we can now conclude that: (a) with the exception of status group IV, the academic performance of Cedarstown adolescents is insignificantly modified by sex. (b) Status group IV differences in the academic performance with respect to the two sexes can be attributed to the peculiar structure of this group. (c) Therefore, the

academic performance of Cedarstown adolescents is
functionally related to the status position their families
occupy in the status system of their communities.

These conclusions may imply that Lebanese cultural
context has no influence on the academic performance of
both sexes. This is not true. The relationship between the
academic performance of both sexes and the status system
of the community simply obliterates the cultural influences.
The students' mean averages are employed in the following
analysis which deals with the interplay between the social
status system and the Lebanese cultural pattern.

TABLE 4-11

THE MEAN AVERAGES OF BOYS AND GIRLS WITH RESPECT
TO STATUS POSITION

Status Group	Percent Mean Average		
	Girls	Boys	Both Together
II	58.28	60.76	59.68
III	48.78	52.05	51.12
IV	48.56	52.43	51.06
II + III + IV	51.76	54.83	53.45

This Table indicates that mean averages of the
girls' academic attainment is lower than that of the boys',
with respect to every status group. The difference is most
conspicuous when the mean average of all the girls in the
sample is compared with that of the boys.

Accordingly, the influence of culture has been
found to be persistent in this study, though reduced by
the influence of the status system.

Sex Modifications In The In-School
Behavior of the Students

It is believed that the Lebanese cultural context allocates different behavioral patterns to both sexes. These cultural patterns are quite conspicuous to the observer and imply that certain differences are expected to occur in the degree of confirmity in each sex with respect to behavioral norms. It is natural, then, to expect sharp differences between the two sexes as far as deportment evaluations are concerned. Table 4-12 shows clearly that higher conduct evaluations are awarded to girls, while lower ones are given to the boys.

TABLE 4-12*

THE PRINCIPALS' EVALUATION OF THE STUDENTS'
IN-SCHOOL BEHAVIOR WITH RESPECT TO SEX

| | C o n d u c t   S c a l e | | | |
	1	2	3	Total
Girls	0.71	0.28	0.01	1.00
Boys	0.61	0.27	0.12	1.00

$$X^2 = 5.431$$
$$P \doteq 0.07$$

The chi-square test of this Table indicates that the difference between the two sexes with respect to deportment evaluation is significant at the 0.07 level. We may recall that the same low level of significance was obtained when these deportment evaluations were compared with the status position of the students' families. Let us then compare the deportment evaluation of the three status groups within each sex, so as to formulate final conclusions.

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* For frequency distributions, refer to Appendix B. Table XI.

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* For frequency distributions, refer to Appendix B. Table XI.

TABLE 4-13*
DEPORTMENT EVALUATIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES
WITH RESPECT TO THEIR STATUS POSITION

| Status | G i r l s | | | B o y s | | |
| Group | Conduct Scale | | | Conduct Scale | | |
	1	2	3.	1	2	3
II	0.81	0.19	0.00	0.82	0.06	0.12
III	0.62	0.35	0.03	0.56	0.32	0.12
IV	0.88	0.12	0.00	0.46	0.38	0.16

The horizontal lines in this Table compares the in-school behavior of males and females belonging to the same status group, while the vertical lines compare the different status groups related to each sex. Horizontally, it is shown that girls obtain favourable deportment evaluations more frequently than boys. This difference is comparatively small among status groups II and III; while it is most conspicuous between boys and girls of status group IV. We may also recall, that when deportment evaluations with respect to the three status groups were analyzed, status group IV manifested certain peculiarities. Moreover, we then assumed that this irregular pattern exhibited by status group IV, is possibly a result of its structural peculiarity as revealed in the graphic representation of Chart I. The study of sex modification indicates that the peculiarity is due to the high evaluation obtained by girls of status group IV. It is worth-while recalling at this point, that the exact opposite relationship has been found between the two sexes of status

* For frequency distributions, see Appendix B. Table XI.

group IV, with respect to academic attainment. Consequently, the peculiar structure of status group IV indicates that (a) the males of this group attain high academic performance and comparatively low deportment evaluation; while (b) the females of this group attain low academic performance and high deportment evaluation.

Table 4-13 shows also, that the deportment evaluation of boys is functionally related to their families' status position. Relative to boys, favourable deportment is most frequent among status group II (82%), less frequent among status group III (56%) and least frequent among group IV (46%).

As to the girls, a similar trend is noticed in so far as status groups II and III are concerned. However, the females of status group IV show the previously mentioned peculiarity, which can be attributed to the factor of selection.

Finally, our knowledge concerning the relationship between evaluation and both status position and sex, can be summarized in the following:

a) The deportment evaluation of students' in-school behavior seems to be functionally related to the position which their families occupy in the status system of their community.

b) the deportment evaluation of students' in-school behavior seems to be functionally related to sex.

Since these two patterns are equally consistent and equally significant, then we may conclude that:

The deportment evaluation of Cedarstown adolescents' in-school behavior is correlated with sex and with the status system of their community.

MODIFICATION BY THE SCHOOLS' ENVIRONMENT

The four schools included in the study may each represent an environment that influences students of the three status groups differentially. However, the small frequencies of the Church School and the Village High School do not permit a reliable study. In order to reveal the influence of the school's environment, only the Cedarstown College and the Government School are analyzed. The first is a private school, while the second is a public school.

Table 4-14 reveals the relationship between the academic performance of the three status groups in the schools' environment.

TABLE 4-14

THE PROPORTION OF EACH STATUS GROUP WITH RESPECT
TO PASS-FAILURE AVERAGES IN THE TWO SCHOOLS

Status Group	Cedarstown College		Government School	
	50 and above	Below 50	50 and above	below 50
II	0.73	0.27	0.86	0.14
III	0.19	0.81	0.79	0.20
IV	0.17	0.83	0.60	0.40
Total	0.35	0.65	0.76	0.24

$$X^2 = 13.799 \qquad X^2 = 1.695$$
$$P < 0.01 \qquad P > 0.30$$
$$C = 0.49$$
$$\bar{C} = 70$$

This table indicates that the pattern of academic performance in each school is consistent with the hypothesis. In each case, status group II students have the highest academic performance while status group IV students have the lowest.

Moreover, the two schools seem to exert different influences on their students. In Cedarstown College, the status difference with respect to academic performance is highly accentuated, while in the Government School it is highly reduced.

The result of this analysis enables us to draw the following conclusion:

The private school intensifies the effect of Cedarstown's status system on the academic performance of adolescents, while the public school tends to reduce such effect.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE WITH REFERENCE TO RESIDENCE
IN OR OUT OF CEDARSTOWN

The available results of the Government School are used to detect if there exists any difference between Cedarstowners and non-Cedarstowners with respect to academic performance. The result of the comparison between the two groups appears in Table 4-15.

TABLE 4-15*

THE PROPORTION OF CEDARSTOWNERS AND NON-
CEDARSTOWNERS WITH RESPECT TO ACADEMIC
BEHAVIOR

	70 and	50-69	Below 50
Cedarstowners	0.16	0.60	0.24
Non-Cedarstowners	0.14	0.34	0.38

$$X^2 = 1.971$$
$$P \quad 0.30$$

* For frequency distribution see Appendix B Table XIII.

This Table indicates that Cedarstowners' academic performance is comparatively higher than that of the non-Cedarstowners. However, the chi-square test favours the acceptance of a null hypothesis.

In the previous section, it has been found that the Government School tends to minimize the difference between the three status groups, though the pattern of academic performance of the three groups is consistent. It is possible then to assume that the consistent pattern of academic performance that appears in Table 4-15 may represent a significant difference between Cedarstowners and non-Cedarstowners, that has been minimized by the environment of a public school. It is unfortunate that the records of the other schools are not available for a more precise analysis of these two groups. Therefore the result of this investigation neither confirms nor rejects the proposed hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In order to study the relationship between
adolescent academic performance and socio-economic status
of the adolescent's family, recourse was made to a
previously established judgmental ranking of social
status groups in a homogeneous Christian (Greek Ortho-
dox) community in north Lebanon. An earlier study had
depicted the community (Cedarstown) as being divided into
four "classes" or status groups. The means by which the
groups were derived conventionally tends to emphasize the
prestige element of social stratification, but the cri-
teria used by the local judges stressed the "class" or
economic aspect and the power component.

Although the local judges established the presence
of four groups in the community, the present study of
students in the schools of the Cedarstown area must con-
cern itself with adolescents of only three of the four
status groups, Significantly none of the children of
status group I attend any of the local schools. If aca-
demic performance is defined in its broadest sense to
include type of school attended, we can see the unwil-
lingness of status group I to send their children to the
local schools as being a reflection of the functional
relationship between academic performance and socio-
economic status of family. Crucially, status group I is
distinguished by its effective use of "power", and at-
tendance of group I children at prestigiful schools in
the Tripoli and Beirut areas is an effective mechanism for
maintaining and enhancing power links outside the local
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maintaining and enhancing power links outside the local
community.

The final average of the students' grades in 1959-1960 of the four schools involved in the sample area, were chosen as a measure of academic performance. The record of each student provided information as to sex, final average grade, pass-failure decisions, and the principal's evaluation of the student's behavior.

The guiding hypothesis which was followed through this study was that <u>academic performance of the Cedarstown adolescents is functionally related to the position their families occupy in the status system of their community</u>, Socio-economic status was the independent variable and academic performance the dependent variable. Later research tested the modifying effect of such other independent variables as sex, school attended, and residence in the community proper or outside. The chi-square test, due to its wide applicability, was selected to test the significance of difference. To measure the degree of association of two factors, the coefficient of mean square contingency was also employed.

All the research tests tended to support our initial assumption that there was a functional relationship between socio-economic status and academic performance. Status group II persistently rated superior to the other two groups when final grades, pass-fail decisions, or deportment were considered. The differences between status groups II and III were usually quite marked; the pattern of status group IV was somewhat more irregular. Indeed, a bimodal pattern seems to characterize the performance of group IV in school. Although some did very well, yet group IV also included the greatest proportion of failures. It is suggested that among that group a selective factor is at work. Only about a third of those eligible to attend high school in group IV, actually attend school. Of those who do, we might speculate that the ones who are mobility

oriented and incorporate the values of status group II, find some compensations and/or rewards in the local school system.

Consistently, boys do better academically than girls in every status group in Cedarstown. However, the difference is particularly marked among status group IV. In this group more boys attend school than girls, and apparently much less is expected of the latter academically. Thus, it would appear that both sex and status group position are independently related to academic performance. In line with Lebanese cultural expectations, the deportmental ratings reverse the academic grading patterns. Girls consistently rank higher than boys of the same status group. As in the case of academic grades, each sex group tends to score higher than its same sex group in lower socio-economic status groups.

A comparison of one of the private schools with the Government School indicates that the pattern previously noted, is particularly marked in the private school and considerably reduced in the Government School. Although the data is quite meager and the difference not significant, it would appear that Cedarstowners enjoy social, cultural and academic advantages over the non-Cedarstowners. Since the non-Cedarstowners as a general rule are. expected to occupy a lower status than the local residents, this pattern would again tend to support our general proposition that status position is related to academic performance and rewards.

Implication

The question readily presents itself as to the causal pattern behind the observed relationship. Our research was designed to uncover the relationship; we can

merely suggest various "explanations" for the "causal
pattern". Perhaps the relationship exists because the supe-
rior status groups are naturally superior. This is obviously
a suggestion that would find considerable support among the
higher status groups. However, there is little or no
evidence to warrant such a hypothesis.

Perhaps the social biases of the teachers and prin-
cipals intrude. In Cedarstown they are drawn from status
groups II and III (to a lesser extent). The bias need not be
deliberate or conscious so as to be effective. Students of
the same status group will display the same goal orienta-
tions of their teachers and utilize the same status group
approved means. It would be only natural to expect that the
teachers would recognize, approve, and reward such endeavors.
However, in the Lebanese context even the possibility of
overt bias is not to be ruled out, as many of the teachers
are closely related to certain students. The cultural pres-
criptions call for a greater sympathy and understanding for
one's kin.

Perhaps, as research in other cultures has indicated,
the different sub-groups (the status groups) in the Lebanese
culture possess different normative patterns, different goals
and different expectations. Perhaps-- we do not know, since
almost nothing has been done nor permitted to be done in this
area of research in Lebanon.

From the point of view of the relationship of educa-
tion to national purpose and the achievement of a more demo-
cratic, modern society (if this be the societal goal), our
findings indicate that education rather than being a vehicle
for social change and social mobility, serves to perpetuate
the existing societal pattern in Cedarstown. The higher sta-
tus groups do better in school; they get the higher rewards,

continue in school longer, and are trained for future advancement. The fact that this pattern has been repeatedly observed in other societies, in no way minimizes the problem for Lebanese society. Yet, aside from concern among a few educators, few in our society have indicated interest, much less concern. So much nonsense about opportunities existing in our society for the poor has been said and written that one may wonder if the fact of institutional barriers to social advancement will ever be admitted.

Suggestions for Future Research

Although Hollingshead made his pioneer study of the functional relationship between adolescent behavior (both academic and social) and family socio-economic status before World War II in the United States, only recently has any serious research on socio-economic status been done in Lebanon. Indeed, the Cedarstown and related projects have been the only attempts in the Lebanese context to implement the Hollingshead and Warner techniques.

Within Cedarstown itself, future research might be directed toward the social attitudes and practices of the adolescents or the general community. Someone has noted that "S.E.S.(socio-economic status) is the universal solvent". By this, he alludes to the tendencies for all other superficial differences to be explained away by the basic fact of socio-economic status. Thus, almost any social study - public health, fertility, morbidity, mortality, dating, toilet training, values, etc., could be related to socioeconomic status

Certain village studies have stressed the importance of extended family and sib ties in Lebanon. It would be both

interesting and rewarding to study the interplay of sib
obligation and inter as well as intra status group contacts
in Cedarstown. Perhaps inter-status group sib ties can
reduce "class" antagonisms or even consciousness.

Outside of Cedarstown it would be rewarding to study
the pattern of status groupings in Moslem and "mixed"
(Christian-Moslem) communities. One would expect that the
exaggerated differences among the various religious com-
munities might disappear in such a research, to reveal that
the real difference is between rich or relatively well-off
members of "X" religion and poor members of "Y" religion.

Only by an extensive and intensive series of
research, can we hope to make Lebanon in truth "the country
of illumination in the Middle East".

APPENDIX A
SUMMARY OF THE STUDENTS' RECORDS

	Status Group II	Status Group III	Status Group IV
Sex:			
Females	16	34	8
Males	17	34	13
Number of Students in Schools:			
Cedarstown College	15	27	6
Government School	8	24	10
Church School	5	10	3
Village School	5	7	2
Frequency of Students with respect to five grade intervals:			
70 and above	9	5	3
60-69	10	17	5
50-59	9	17	3
40-49	3	11	6
Below 40	2	18	4
Frequency of Students with respect to pass-failure decisions:			
Pass	24	28	8
Make up	6	26	7
Failure	3	14	6
Frequency of Students with respect to conduct scale:			
1	27	40	13
2	4	23	6
3	2	5	2
Mean Average of	59.68	51.12	51.06

APPENDIX B

TABLE I

THE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR STATUS GROUPS
IN THE FOUR SCHOOLS

Status Group	Cedarstown College	Government School	Church School	Village School	Total
I	0	0	0	0	0
II	15	8	5	5	33
III	27	24	10	7	68
IV	6	10	3	2	21
Total	48	42	18	16	122

TABLE II

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS
WITH RESPECT TO TWO GRADE INTERVALS

Status Group	50 and above	Below 50	Total
II	28	5	33
III	39	29	68
IV	11	10	21
Total	78	44	122

TABLE III a.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS
WITH RESPECT TO THREE GRADE INTERVALS

Status Group	70 and above	50-69	Below 50	Total
II	9	19	5	33
III	5	34	29	68
IV	3	8	10	21
Total	17	61	44	122

TABLE III b.

EXPECTED VALUES OF III a.

Status Group	70 and Above	50-69	Below 50
II	4.62	16.50	10.12
III	9.52	34.00	24.48
IV	2.94	10.50	7.50

TABLE IV

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS WITH
RESPECT TO GRADES SEVENTY AND ABOVE
AND BELOW FORTY

Status Group	70 and Above	Below 40
II	9	2
III	5	18
IV	3	4
	17	24

TABLE V

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS
WITH RESPECT TO FIVE GRADE INTERVAL

Status Group	70 and Above	60-69	50-59	40-49	Below 40	Total
II	9	10	9	3	2	33
III	5	17	17	17	18	68
IV	3	5	3	6	4	21
	17	32	29	20	24	

TABLE VI

THE PROPORTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS
WITH RESPECT TO FIVE GRADE INTERVALS

Status Group	70 & Above	60-69	50-59	40-49	Below 40	Total
II	0.27	0.30	0.27	0.09	0.07	1.00
III	0.06	0.25	0.25	0.17	0.27	1.00
IV	0.14	0.24	0.14	0.29	0.19	1.00

$$x^2 = 15.691 \quad d.f.= 8 \quad P<0.05 \quad C=0.34$$
$$\bar{C}=0.39$$

TABLE VII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES FOR THE DIFFERENCES IN GRADES
BETWEEN DIFFERENT STATUS GROUPS
FOR FIVE GRADE INTERVALS

Status Group	Chi-Square	Degrees of Freedom	Value of $\underline{P}$	Value of $\bar{C}$
II,III & IV	15.691	8	P 0.05	0.39
II v.s. III	12.347	4	P 0.01	0.40
II v.s. IV	11.986	4	P 0.02	0.48
III v.s. IV	7.049	4	Insignificant	0.29

$$P < 0.10$$

TABLE VIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS
WITH RESPECT TO PASS-FAILURE DECISION

	Pass	Make Up	Failure	Total
II	24	6	3	33
III	28	26	14	68
IV	8	7	6	21
	60	39	23	122

TABLE IX

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS WITH RESPECT TO PRINCIPALS' EVALUATION OF THEIR BEHAVIOR

Status Group	Conduct Scale 1	2	3	Total
II	27	4	2	33
III	40	23	5	68
IV	13	6	2	21
Total	80	33	9	122

TABLE X

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS WITH PASS-FAILURE GRADE INTERVALS

Status Group	Girls 50 and Above	Below 50	Total	Boys 50 and Above	Below 50	Total
II	14	2	16	14	3	17
III	19	15	34	20	14	34
IV	3	5	8	8	5	13
			58			64

TABLE XI

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS WITH RESPECT TO STATUS POSITION AND PRINCIPALS' EVALUATION OF THEIR CONDUCT

Status Group	Girls Conduct Scale 1	2	3	Boys Conduct Scale 1	2	3
II	13	3	0	14	1	2
III	21	12	1	19	11	4
IV	7	1	0	6	5	2

$$x^2 = 3.7623$$
$$P > 0.50$$

$$x^2 = 4.9005$$
$$P \doteq 0.09$$

TABLE XII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE STATUS GROUPS
WITH RESPECT TO TWO GRADE INTERVALS IN
THE TWO SCHOOLS

	Cedarstown College		Government School	
Status Group	50 and Above	Below 50	50 and Above	Below 50
II	11	4	7	1
III	5	22	19	5
IV	1	5	6	4
	17	31	32	10

TABLE XIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CEDARSTOWNERS AND NON-CEDARSTOWNERS
WITH RESPECT TO THREE GRADE INTERVALS

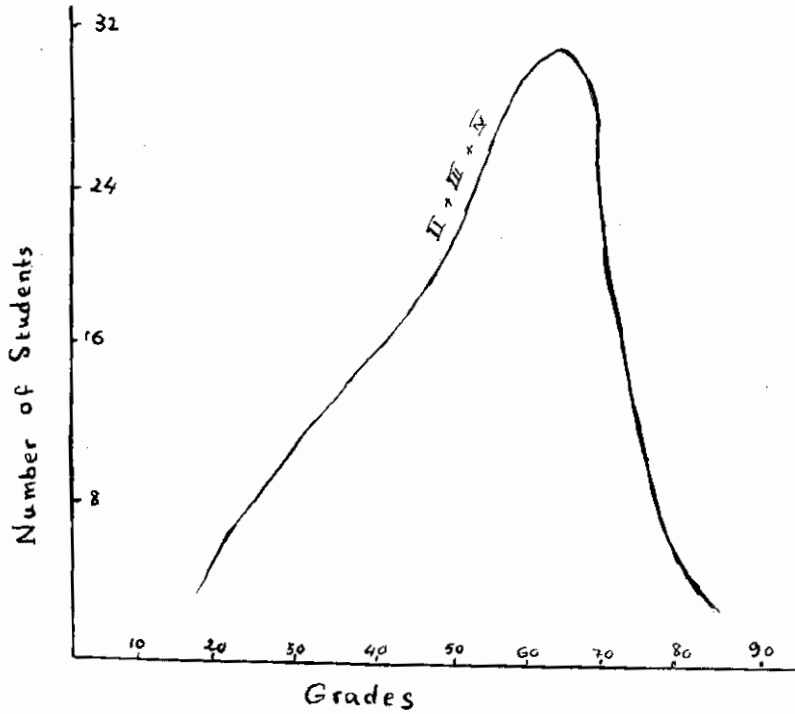|	70 and above	50-69	Below 50	Total
Cedarstowners	7	25	10	42
Non-Cedarstowners	7	24	19	50
Total	14	49	29	92

Chart I

Distribution of Grades in the whole
Sample.
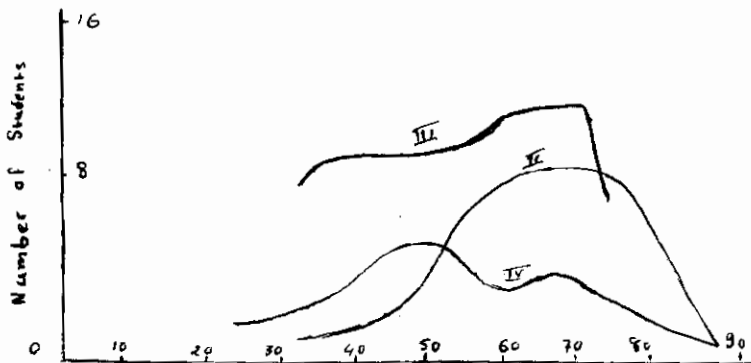
Chart II

Distribution of Grades in each of the
Three Status Groups.

60.

59.68

51.12   51.06

50
0.

II   III   IV
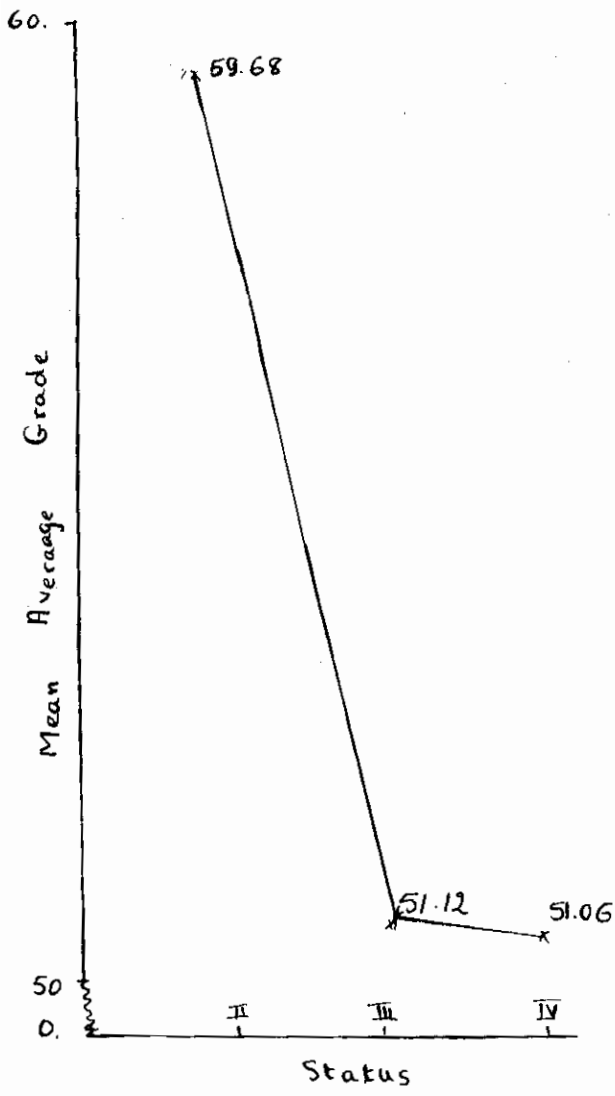
Status

Mean Average Grade

Chart III
Mean Average Grade and
Status

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