

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

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Educational development is a multidimensional process. In the countries of the Arab World, educational development has involved, among other things, expansion of educational facilities, attempts to equalize educational opportunities for different population categories, curricular development, Arabization of the school system — particularly in Arab North Africa, teacher training, attempts to improve the quality of education, need for more efficient administration, attempts to establish a balance between different types and levels of education, initiation of adult education programs, efforts to coordinate educational and economic planning, attempts to control and eliminate wastage and, more generally, educational planning.¹ Although the process of educational development of the Arab World was initiated about thirty years ago, educators and social and economic planners in the Arab World, as in other Third World countries, have been preoccupied with the examination of various dimensions of educational development, including, for example, priorities, targets, and the relationship between the educational and economic sectors.² Within this context, yet in some ways apart, has been the issue of female education.

With the broad-based expansion of education and the increasing democratization of educational opportunity, differentials resulting from the ascribed status of sex become increasingly significant. Differentials in the enrolments of males and females are commonplace in developing countries, and, as well, not uncommon in industrialized countries — albeit occurring at higher levels of education. Nonetheless, the pattern for industrialized nations has been one of narrowing sex differentials.³ These are the countries which have been traditionally looked to as models or guides for educational development by many Third World countries. The extent of their educational opportunities across gender categories serves as a point of potential comparison.

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The issue of female education receives additional importance given the new feminist movements in many parts of the world, including the Arab Middle East. The language of many of these groups parallels the language of liberation from economic, political and cultural dominance by the West that is common to many Third World countries. "Liberationist" movements world-wide carry the possibility of interlocking support. As such, countries which have glaring discrepancies between theory and practice, e.g., between equality and sex differentials in educational enrolments, face the potential of political discomfort.

This paper will first examine the recent progress of female participation in the educational systems of the Arab world. This will be followed by a detailed examination of three important issues, namely, reasons for the enhanced access of girls to education, reasons for the persistence of sex differentials in educational opportunity, and prospects for change in sex differences in access to educational opportunities in the Arab World.

RECENT TRENDS

In examining trends in the education of females in the Arab World, we will, of necessity, make comparisons with male enrolments. The statistical data presented have been compiled from the UNESCO **Statistical Yearbooks**. Some cautionary remarks need to be made about these data. There is a time gap between the gathering and publication of relevant statistics, hence currently available **Yearbooks** provide information up to and sometimes including the year 1971. It should also be noted that in recent years UNESCO has been refining certain statistical measures of educational development, with the result that some of the recently processed data are not comparable to older data. For example, the concept of "enrolment ratio" has been transformed from an earlier "unadjusted" form to its new "gross" form (and, where data permit, to its new "net" form).⁴ International education statistics for 1960 and subsequent years have been re-processed under the new concept of "gross enrolment ratio." Accordingly, the data reported in Table 1, which reports on enrolment ratios, are limited to 1960 and 1970.

Although relatively short, the period between 1960 and 1970 is, for present purposes, highly significant. First, during this period there were three major UNESCO-sponsored Conferences of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in the Arab States, along with several other important conferences of educational experts in specialized topics.⁵ Second, by examining documents of this period, the researcher can isolate reasonably clear priorities and targets regarding educational development. Third, although not all of the professed targets have been reached, the 1960-70 period witnessed the allocation of large amounts of funds for educational development, as well as unprecedented expansion of educational systems. Within the decade under examination, issues regarding female education were openly discussed at the official level and relevant policy decisions were implemented.

Educational opportunities in the Arab states have expanded considerably. UNESCO statistics show that the number of students enrolled at all levels of education rose from 8,500,000 in 1960-61 to 12,500,000 in 1965-66 and to over 15,000,000 in 1970.⁶ During the period 1960-68, the highest rate of growth was in secondary education (12 % per year), followed by university education (11 % per year) and primary education (6 % per year).⁷ In spite of the lower growth rate in primary education, it is at this level that educational opportunities have shown the largest numerical expansion. For example, of the age-group 6-11 years, the proportion who were enrolled rose from 50% in 1960-61 to 62% in 1967-68.⁸ Comparable statistics for the current year (1975-76) are not available, but the proportion is believed to be much higher today.

The implications of this general pattern of growth for female educational opportunities are reflected in Table 1. This table shows the gross enrolment ratios for the three levels of education (primary, secondary and university) for selected Arab states, by sex. Expressed as a percentage, the "gross enrolment ratio" is obtained by dividing the number of students enrolled at a certain level by the total population of the age-group which corresponds to that level. The ratio will exceed 100 if the actual age distribution of pupils spreads over outside the official school ages. We will examine these data at each educational level : primary, secondary and university.

Primary Education

With respect to primary education, by sex, Table 1 shows the following :

1. Between 1960 and 1970, there was an improvement in educational opportunities at the primary level for girls throughout the Arab World, as evidenced by higher gross enrolment ratios (G.E.R.'s) for the latest year. The most outstanding improvements occurred in Libya (with a 60-point difference in female G.E.R.'s between 1960 and 1970), followed by Tunisia (30-point difference) Syria (27-point difference), Jordan (24-point difference), and Algeria (21-point difference).

2. Between 1960 and 1970, sex differences in gross enrolment ratios at the primary level appear to have generally narrowed. In spite of this, however, girls remain somewhat disadvantaged relative to boys in all of the Arab states.

3. In 1970, five Arab states (Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya and Tunisia) had a near-universal educational system at the first level. Male-female differentials in access to education are minimal. At the opposite extreme, three Arab states (Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Yemen, in that descending order) provided severely restricted educational opportunities both for boys and, more so, girls at the primary level. It is interesting to note that **sex differences in educational access at the primary level are least at the extremes of development, i.e., in the Arab states which offer a highly developed program, and as well, in those states which have only a minimally developed educational program.**

4. In 1970, the female gross enrolment ratios at the primary level were less than 50 in five Arab states : Iraq (41) ; Morocco (38) ; Saudi Arabia (22) ; Sudan (14) ; and Yemen (figure is not available for 1970, but it is judged to be very small).

Secondary Education

In contrast to the educational opportunities for females at the primary level, the educational opportunities for females at the secondary level are much more limited. Table 1 shows the following patterns regarding female education at the secondary (second) level :

1. Between 1960 and 1970, there was an improvement in educational opportunities for females at the secondary level in the large majority of the Arab states under examination, as evidenced by higher gross enrolment ratios for the latest year. The most outstanding improvement occurred in Kuwait, with a 40-point difference in female gross enrolment ratios between 1960 and 1970.

2. Although female gross enrolment ratios for 1970 are higher and more girls were enrolled in different types of secondary schools in 1970 than in 1960, during the 1960-70 period sex differences in gross enrolment ratios, generally, widened throughout the Arab world. Hence, **relative to boys, the comparative position of girls at the secondary level has in fact deteriorated.**

3. In 1970, the educational opportunities for girls at the high school level were best in Kuwait (G.E.R. = 65), followed, to a much lesser degree, by Lebanon (G.E.R. = 30), Jordan (G.E.R. = 22), Syria (G.E.R. = 21), and Egypt (G.E.R. = 21).

4. Judging from the 1960 and 1970 gross enrolment ratios, it may be said that the secondary school system in the Arab World was and still is somewhat exclusive or "elitist." Although it has expanded during the ten-year period under consideration, the data suggest that **in the initial stages of the expansion of an exclusive or elitist educational system, educational benefits tend to be spread to class-disadvantaged males more than to gender-disadvantaged females.**

UNESCO statistics show that the extent of female participation in secondary education in the Arab World varies by area of specialization. For example, in 1970, the highest female participation rate is to be found in second-level teacher training where approximately four out of ten students enrolled were female; vocational training programs at the second level had the smallest number of women, only two out of every ten students were female. Overall, female enrolment at the second level represents about one-third of the total enrolment.

University Education

Female participation in university-level education is the most restricted of all the levels under examination. Despite this, Table 1

shows that between 1960 and 1970, there was an improvement in educational opportunities for women at the third level, as evidenced by the higher female gross enrolment ratios for the latest year. During the same period, however, at the university level as with the secondary level, **sex differences in gross enrolment ratios have, on the whole, widened.** Relative to men, the comparative position of women has deteriorated, notwithstanding the higher female G.E.R.'s for 1970 and the fact that more women were enrolled in universities in 1970 than in 1960.

According to Table 1, in 1970 the best educational opportunities at the university level for girls were in Egypt (G.E.R. = 4), Kuwait (G.E.R. = 3.30) and, to a lesser degree, in Syria (G.E.R. = 2.97) and Iraq (G.E.R. = 2.29). All of these countries had considerably lower female gross enrolment ratios in 1960.

Under certain conditions, the gross enrolment ratios at the university level can be misleading. They do not differentiate between foreign students and nationals, nor do they take account of nationals studying abroad (i.e. outside of the Arab world. Table 2 provides information concerning foreign students in different Arab states, as well as Arab nationals studying abroad — either in an Arab state other than their own or in non-Arab countries.

Table 2 shows that in 1966, 41,528 foreign university students were enrolled in institutions of higher learning throughout the Arab World, in contrast to 48,972 nationals studying abroad (either in an Arab state other than their own or in non-Arab countries). The corresponding figures for 1971 are 49,987 and 57,750, respectively. Considering the Arab World as a unit, and assuming the validity and reliability of these figures, in-country foreign students and nationals studying "abroad" tend to cancel each other out.

This is also true of individual Arab states, with the notable exceptions of Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia. The gross enrolment ratios, reported for the third level in Table 1, do not take into account the large number of university-bound students from Jordan and Syria (and, to a lesser degree, from Morocco and Tunisia) studying abroad, nor do they differentiate between foreign students and nationals in such countries as Egypt and Lebanon which receive large numbers of foreign students annually. In view of the above, the enrolment ratios at the university level (reported in Table 1) should be viewed with caution, parti-

cularly for those countries where there is a large difference between the number of in-country foreign students and the number of nationals studying abroad.

Unfortunately, there is no information on the proportion of female nationals studying abroad. But judging from the percentages of foreign female students enrolled at the third level in different Arab states, as well as the belief that the number of Arab female students enrolled in European or North American universities tends to be small, the general conclusions derived from Table 1 regarding college-bound women or third-level educational opportunities for women throughout the Arab World remain unchanged.

The high-level manpower needs of the Arab World can best be met through relevant university training. Table 3 shows the numbers and percentages of university students, by sex and field of study for twelve Arab states. In the absence of research evidence regarding the current or projected manpower needs of the Arab World, it will not be possible to make judgments about the responsiveness of Arab university systems to these needs. However, the table provides valuable information concerning university-level female enrolments, as well as the possibility of determining the over- and under-representation of women students across different faculties or fields of study.

It will be observed that between 1960 and 1971 the proportion of women students enrolled in institutions of higher learning increased steadily in all of the Arab states, with the exception of

Iraq and Tunisia. (The 1960 figure for Algeria should be disregarded as it is based on enrolments prior to independence. Between 1965 and 1971, however, the proportion of female students enrolled at the third level in Algeria increased from 20 to 23%). Between 1960 and 1971, the highest percentage increases in female enrolments are to be found in Egypt (10%), Libya and Sudan (9% each), Jordan (8%), and Kuwait and Saudi Arabia (7% each).

Presently (1971), women constitute about one-fourth of the university enrolments in the Arab World. The only Arab state in which the university enrolment is about equally divided between the sexes is Kuwait. Judging from Tables 2 and 3, this appears to be due to the large proportion of foreign female students enrolled at the recently established Kuwait University, and to the stronger tendency among Kuwaiti males to seek advanced training abroad.

Women students are far from being randomly distributed across the different specialty areas at university. This statement is equally true of earlier (1960) as well as later (1971) enrolment statistics. In examining the latest year (1971) for which statistics are available, we find that women are extremely under-represented in law, engineering and agriculture, and medical schools. (Table 3) In the large majority of Arab states, women are also under-represented in the social sciences (with the exception of Egypt and Saudi Arabia). In the natural sciences, they are only slightly under-represented. Contrariwise, women students are extremely over-represented in education, the humanities (with the exception of Egypt) and medical science (which includes basically nursing). The pattern of concentration has similarities to that found in the West with women being under-represented in law, medicine, engineering and agriculture, and over-represented in the more "appropriately" female fields of education and medical science (nursing). Differences such as those reflected in the representations in natural sciences may reflect the types of majors subsumed under this term. The differentials that do exist, however, between male and female concentrations at the university level can be seen as reflections of major differences in the socialization of children toward gender-appropriate interest areas. While university education may or may not have a practical relevance to vocational interests, the channelization of women into some interest areas as opposed to others limits their potential contributions to the high-level development needs of their nations.

DISCUSSION

The educational opportunities available for girls in the Arab World have improved substantially in recent years. The improvement has occurred not only at the primary, but also at the secondary and university levels. Additionally, all of the Arab states under consideration have, in varying degrees, made special efforts to enhance the access of girls to education. Notwithstanding these important developments, the available statistics show that a large number of girls are still out of school and that there are significant gender differences in access to educational opportunities. This explores three main issues: (1) reasons for the substantial

improvement of educational opportunities for girls ; (2) reasons for the persistence of sex differences in access to education ; and (3) prospects for change in sex differentials in educational opportunities. Each of these issues will be discussed in turn.

Factors Contributing to Improved Female Access to Education

Until very recently there was a generalized belief in the propriety of only limited educational training for females. Although this belief has not been totally eliminated, it has been seriously challenged in recent years. At the official (state) level this challenge came from political leaders who held a strong belief in the important role which education could play in social and more particularly, economic development, and in the achievement of social justice. Following the long struggle for independence from foreign domination, Arab political leaders appeared to be intent on the expansion and democratization of educational opportunities. The beneficiaries in the process of educational development included not only boys from disadvantaged social backgrounds, but also girls from various social backgrounds.

Also at the official level, the challenge to earlier assumptions regarding the educational position of females came from educators and social and economic planners. Since World War II, concern was expressed about the need to extend the benefits of education to girls. In 1960, this concern was expressed at the UNESCO-sponsored Regional Conference of Ministers and Directors of Education of Arab States, which was held in Beirut. Significantly, this conference was followed by another UNESCO-sponsored conference, the Meeting of Experts on the Access of Girls to Education, held in Tlemcen, Algeria, in 1964. The meeting recognized large sex differences in access to education in the Arab World and the need for closing this gap. Reflecting on the results of this meeting two years later (1966), Mr. Rene Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO, expressed satisfaction "with measures being taken in Arab states to offer girls equal educational opportunities with boys."⁹

1. Positively associated with per capita expenditure on education ;

2. Negatively associated with distance from the goal of compulsory primary education
3. Negatively associated with the pupil/teacher ratio ;
4. Positively associated with urban residence and, conversely, negatively associated with rural residence ; and
5. Positively associated with availability of qualified female teachers.

Regional differences in the access of girls to education in the Arab World are probably determined by the degree to which the above-noted factors exist, as well as the unique mix or interaction of these factors in a given state or region.

Factors Contributing to the Persistence of Sex Differences

Notwithstanding the encouraging signs of democratization of educational opportunities in the Arab World, concern has frequently been expressed " about the low percentage of girls enrolled in educational institutions, particularly in rural areas and in technical education."¹⁷ From the preceding discussion, it seems clear that at this stage in the social and educational development of the Arab states, the statement that " cultural beliefs [tend] to stand in the way of rapid extension of education to women " has little explanatory power.¹⁸ Traditional beliefs might have been a decisive factor in the exclusion of girls from the educational system in the past, but even then, these variables could probably explain only a portion of the variance since the sweeping majority of boys were also excluded from access to education. Thus, to suggest, as does M. Saif El Din Fahmy of the Egyptian Institute of National Planning, that the tendency not to keep children, particularly girls, in school because of traditional beliefs has interfered with compulsory primary education planning, is to reverse the causal sequence.¹⁹ More appropriately, the totality of educational planning in the Arab states has stood in the way of complete democratization of educational opportunities for the two sexes.

It is here argued that at present the access of girls to education in the Arab World is influenced less by traditional beliefs and attitudes than by the system of priorities involved in educational planning, as well as a wide range of problems confronting education in the region. The decline of traditional beliefs is evidenced by the previously quoted UNESCO survey and other studies, enrolment

statistics, particularly in those Arab states (ranging, in fact, in degrees of general traditionalism) where primary education has become near-universal (Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya and Tunisia), and by on-going feminist movements in the area. At the risk of sounding too simplistic, we would argue that if there were more room for girls, more girls would go to school. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the percentage of girls enrolled in school is particularly low in rural areas, in vocational and technical education, and in the less developed regions of the Arab World. The provision of educational facilities in these areas has been far too slow and too limited to meet potential demand, not to say anything about the quality of education provided.

Although the statistics presented in this paper go back to 1960, it should be emphasized that prior to that year, the large majority of Arab states enrolled a very small proportion of the school-age population. In earlier years, males were almost as disadvantaged as females, mainly because educational opportunities were severely restricted. As noted earlier, the democratization of an exclusive or elitist educational system tends to involve, initially, greater benefits to class-disadvantaged males than to gender-disadvantaged females. This tendency is undoubtedly enhanced by cultural norms and sex-role definitions involving a "provider" role for males and a "mother/housewife" role for females. This situation is very similar to that of Blacks in the United States where males were seen as traditional representatives of the family units and, relative to females, had prior rights to benefits designed to compensate for past disadvantages in American society.

This leads to the third major factor reinforcing sex differences in access to educational opportunities. Although Arab women are enrolled in all specialty areas at the university level and are distributed, albeit differentially, across the total range of the occupational hierarchy, they have not been fully integrated into the labor force. In the countries of the Arab World, adult women tend to be viewed in terms of the wife-mother role. The components of this definition may vary from region to region and over time. However, it should be noted that as long as traditional family views hold sway, not only will priority be given to the education of sons, but lengthy education of daughters may be seen as disadvantageous to their future marital prospects, as well as to the power dynamics of a traditional marital relationship.

That education may be defined in terms of advantages to the traditional wife-mother role is seen by the experience, for example, in the United States after World War II where advanced education for women was not only seen as advantageous to their (traditional) role as purveyors of culture to their children, but, in addition, writers were calling for specialized education at all levels to make women "fit" for their specialized role within the family.²⁰ However, as long as facilities are limited for males, the advanced education of females to prepare them for a "superior" wife-mother role performance will probably be only looked upon by developing countries as a luxury. This leaves as a possibly more realistic strategy for Arab feminist groups to point to the advantages of educational systems which develop high-level Arab potential, regardless of gender, for the purpose of augmenting existing human resources and meeting the needs of further social and economic development.

Prospects for Change in Enrolment Differentials

It is interesting that in the case of the Arab World differential educational opportunities for women have often been judgmentally examined out of a total societal context which would include ; family structure and definitions, labor force participation and opportunities, and the relation of these to the general pattern of male educational opportunity existing across social class, and rural-urban dimensions. Instead, the "harem mentality" of some Western observers has focused on educational differentials as indicators of Arab women's subordination and, not infrequently, Islam has been cited as a major factor in sex inequality of educational opportunity.²¹ Experience derived from the progress of female education in the past two decades in the Arab World, along with research evidence, challenges such "explanatory catch-alls" as Islam and parental attitudes. Both at the theoretical and practical levels, a more fruitful focus of attention is the nature and characteristics of the opportunity structure provided to facilitate the access of girls to education and, later, to labor force participation. Recent research evidence shows that female employment is not "an automatic concomitant of economic development or educational attainment] but must be deliberately planned for."²²

Where financial considerations are not a hindrance, advances in female educational opportunities can proceed with minimal

competition from other educational priorities. We would argue that definitions of female education, per se, may be less of a threat to the social and political fabric of Arab society than many have assumed. As previously noted, even advanced education for women can be socially defined as not in conflict with a traditional female role. The state of Kuwait serves as an example of this situation where, in the span of twenty years, phenomenal progress toward gender equality of educational access has been made. On the other hand, where financing of education represents a problem, which is the case in most of the Arab states (including some of the oil-rich states), the progress of female participation in the educational system becomes only one of several other priorities competing for limited funds.

For these reasons, it is here argued that the existing differentials among the Arab states in female educational opportunities may remain for a considerable period of time. Also, any significant reduction of sex differences may occur only if oil-wealth is shared more equitably throughout the Arab World. The next five to ten years will probably witness a stronger push toward the goal of compulsory primary education, and more efforts in balancing different types and levels of education, among other things, rather than in reducing sex differences per se. The tendency cross-nationally, and this includes Western countries, has been for the education of women; as with the more prestigious employment of women, to take second if not third place to a variety of other national priorities involving males. That this has occurred in the Arab World also, is not a sign of their unique subordination of women (as some observers might have us believe), but more a reflection of a larger pattern of family roles, values and definitions that exist within a **limited** opportunity complex.

TABLE 1
GROSS ENROLMENT RATIOS FOR THE FIRST,
SECOND AND THIRD LEVELS OF EDUCATION
FOR SELECTED ARAB STATES*

State	Year	First Level		Second Level		First & Second Level		Third Level	
		Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Algeria	1960	46	37	8	6	28	22	.79	.49
	1970	75	58	11	6	46	34	...	...
Iraq	1960	67	37	17	7	44	23	2.00	.92
	1970	69	41	25	15	49	29	5.03	2.29
Jordan	1960	76	58	24	12	52	37	.63	.31
	1965	94	82	38	22	68	55	1.78	1.19
Kuwait	1960	119	101	38	24	72	57	—	—
	1970	90	79	69	65	77	71	2.17	3.30
Lebanon	1960	89	91	14	...	49	...	...	...
	1970	111	103	40	30	73	65	...	...
Libya	1960	59	24	10	2	37	15	.03	.03
	1970	112	84	22	8	73	51	3.39	.76
Morocco	1960	51	29	5	2	26	15	.45	.13
	1970	55	38	12	7	32	21	1.19	.40
Saudi Arabia	1960	12	2	2	.03	7	1	.24	—
	1970	34	22	9	3	23	13	1.26	.21
Sudan	1960	17	10	5	2	11	6	.38	.04
	1965	20	14	5	2	13	9	.68	.10
Syria	1960	65	39	16	7	44	25	3.73	1.31
	1970	88	66	39	21	66	46	7.96	2.97
Tunisia	1960	74	50	11	...	44	...	.88	...
	1970	107	85	...	...	...	...	...	...
UAR (Egypt)	1960	66	52	16	9	43	32	4.70	1.61
	1970	70	54	33	21	53	39	7.41	4.00
Yemen	1960	8	80	.20	...	4	—	—	—
	1970	...	...	.60	.10	...	...	—	—

" — " means nil or negligible.

" ... " means no information.

Source : UNESCO, **Statistical Yearbook, 1972** (Paris : UNESCO, 1973).

- * The " gross enrolment ratio " is the total enrolment of all ages divided by the population of the specific age groups which correspond to the age groups of primary and secondary schooling. The result is expressed as a percentage. The ratios have been calculated taking into account the differing national systems of education and the duration of schooling at the first and second levels. At the third level the figures for the population aged 20 — 24 have been used throughout.

Enrolment ratios for the second level are based on the total enrolment including general education, vocational education and teacher training at this level.

For countries with almost universal education among the school-age population at the first level, the gross enrolment ratio will exceed 100 if the actual age distribution of pupils spreads over outside the official school ages.

The official school ages for the first, second and third levels, respectively, for the above states are : Algeria : 6-11, 12-18, 20-24 ; Iraq : 7-12, 13-18, 20-24 ; Jordan : 6-11, 12-17, 20-24 ; Kuwait : 6-9, 10-17, 20-24 ; Lebanon : 6-10, 11-17, 20-24 ; Libya : 6-11, 12-17, 20-24 ; Morocco : 7-11, 12-17, 20-24 ; Saudi Arabia : 6-11, 12-17, 20-24 ; Sudan : 7-12, 13-18, 20-24 ; Syria : 6-11, 12-17, 20-24 ; Tunisia : 6-11, 12-18, 20-24 ; UAR (Egypt) : 6-11, 12-17, 20-24 ; and Yemen : 7-12, 13-18, 20-24.

TABLE 2

**EDUCATION AT THE THIRD LEVEL: FOREIGN STUDENTS
ENROLLED AND NATIONALS ABROAD**

Foreign Students In Country

Nationals Abroad*

	Year	Number		% of Total		
		MF	%F	MF	F	MF
Algeria	1966	1772	...	21.3	...	1574
	1971	1881	27.9	7.7	9.4	1863
Iraq	1965	1095	...	...	...	3727
	1971	3221	10.0	6.6	3.1	3180
Jordan	1966	156	...	3.5	...	17842
	1971	48	29.1	.9	.9	21021
Kuwait	1966	29	...	6.9	...	986
	1971	1005	48.1	28.1	27.9	955
Lebanon	1966	12189	...	51.9	...	3294
	1970	22184	...	54.1	44.7	4077
Morocco	1966	763	...	9.9	...	2463
	1971	613	22.8	3.6	5.0	2882
Libya	1966	98	...	4.4	...	830
	1971	984	24.3	15.6	32.5	1099
Saudi Arabia	1966	383	...	20.2	...	1870
	1971	2831	21.8	20.2	14.1	1676
Sudan	1965	296	...	...	...	2302
	1971	864	23.8	5.1	8.4	1741
Syria	1966	5144	...	16.1	...	7469
	1971	1572	14.5	16.6	23.6	10833
Tunisia	1966	506	...	8.3	...	3075
	1970	544	...	7.1	11.7	2603
UAR (Egypt)	1966	19097	...	10.8	...	3540
	1971	14238	13.9	5.8	3.0	5268
Yemen	1971	...	...	...	...	552

"..." means no information.

- * Includes those students studying in fifty countries (which account for about 95% of known world total of foreign students).

SOURCES: UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook, 1967* (Paris: UNESCO, 1968); and UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook, 1968* (Paris: UNESCO, 1969); and UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook, 1972* (Paris: UNESCO, 1973); and UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook, 1973* (Paris: UNESCO, 1974).

(A few qualifying footnotes which appear in the original sources are omitted here).

Year	Total	Humanities	Education	Fine Arts	Law	Social Science	Natural Science	Medical Science	Engineering	Agriculture
	MF % F	MF % F	MF % F	MF % F	MF % F	MF % F	MF % F	MF % F	MF % F	MF % F
Libya	1961	970 3	383 2	—	—	—	383 3	152 6	—	—
	100	39.5	—	—	—	39.5	15.7	—	5.4	4
	1965	1926 8	681 7	—	—	238 3	449 5	278 15	200 2	—
	100	35.4	—	—	—	12.4	23.3	14.4	10.4	—
	1971	6291 12	2510 13	738 19	—	603 3	845 12	345 22	704 6	423 6
	100	40.0	11.7	—	—	9.6	13.4	5.5	11.2	6.7
Morocco	1960	4665	1115	—	—	—	1019	33	—	—
	100	23.9	—	—	—	—	24.8	3.7	—	—
	1965	8996 12	1836 16	1516 18	—	—	3988 7	700 19	325 1	104 1
	100	20.4	16.9	—	—	—	44.3	7.8	3.6	1.2
	1971	16971 16	5090 21	1617 23	—	3081 11	3963 14	881 17	256 1	462 1
	100	30.0	9.5	—	—	18.2	23.4	5.2	1.5	2.8
Saudi Arabia	1960	1306	346	—	—	608	270	65	—	—
	100	26.5	—	—	—	46.6	20.7	5.0	—	—
	1965	3625 3	1096 8	156	—	1339	536	157	255	58
	100	30.2	4.3	—	—	36.9	14.8	4.3	7.0	1.6
	1971	9471 10	1941 13	1354 27	—	2452 5	1401 16	707	1148	200
	100	20.5	14.3	—	—	25.9	14.8	7.5	12.1	2.1
Sudan	1962	5550 6	1150 7	376 17	107 16	642 2	1062 8	586 4	874	165 0
	100	20.7	6.8	1.9	—	11.6	19.1	10.6	15.7	3.0
	1965	7976 8	1665 9	789 15	111 8	866 5	2073 7	733 6	929	289
	100	20.9	9.9	—	—	10.9	26.0	9.2	11.6	3.6
	1971	16941 15	3594 24	1258 31	311 7	1576 10	5944 12	1343 9	945 1	1058 7
	100	21.2	7.4	1.8	—	9.9	35.1	7.9	4.8	5.6
Syria	1960	14370 17	4133 28	258 33	—	6117 10	1271 14	1121 13	893 29	524 6
	100	28.8	1.8	—	—	42.6	8.8	7.8	6.2	3.6
	1965	32653 17	13967 21	299 31	254 35	9988 11	2597 22	2248 16	1371 25	1375 6
	100	42.8	9.9	8	—	30.6	8.0	6.9	4.2	1.7
	1971	48813 19	14388 31	344 30	1343 17	7697 13	7017 15	5286 19	3790 18	5419 5
	100	28.5	7	2.8	—	15.8	14.4	10.8	11.1	7.2
Tunisia	1960	2588 23	851 32	933 5	194 35	487 15	—	—	—	—
	100	32.9	6	7.5	—	18.0	—	—	—	—

1965	5629	18	1896	27	651	12		885	10	506	8	1197	20	321	16	173	4
	100		33	7	11	6		15	7	9	0	21	3	5	7	3	1
1968	7688	21	2302	29	492	22		1229	19	885	10	1771	22	717	18	272	3
	100		30	0	6	4		16	0	11	5	23	1	9	4	3	5
1960	108830	17	17763	30	6718	34	1149	23	14106	10	24481	14	5058	12	9983	18	13838
	100		16	6	6	3	1	1	13	2	22	9	4	7	9	3	13
1965	175245	21	21268	31	12166	33	2685	21	17618	12	41775	26	9494	25	18732	27	28438
	100		12	1	6	9	1	5	10	1	23	8	5	4	10	7	16
1971	245558	27	29322	23	22178	35	5442	32	20428	17	57307	36	9514	34	35179	27	36549
	100		11	9	9	0	2	2	8	3	23	3	9	14	3	14	8

— means nil or negligible
— means no information

Special Notes :

- 1 Field of study could not be specified for a total of 3,461 students, distributed as follows : Iraq, 1960, 476 (55% F), or 4.2% of total enrolment ; Lebanon, 1969, 462 (100% F), or 1.2 of total enrolment ; Sudan, 1962, 183 (0% F), or 3.3% of total enrolment ; Sudan, 1965, 50 (100% F), or 0.6% of total enrolment ; Tunisia, 1965, 837 (1.3% F), or 0.5% of total enrolment ; and Egypt, 1960, 1,453 (100% F), or 1.4% of total enrolment. Accordingly, the total percentages for these countries for the specified years do not add up to 100%.
- 2 For Algeria, 1971 and Iraq, 1971, education is included with humanities.
- 3 For Tunisia, 1965 and 1968, certain of the social sciences are included with humanities.
- 4 For Algeria, 1960, Morocco, 1960 and 1965, and Tunisia, 1960, law and social science are counted together.
- 5 For Algeria, 1960, engineering is included with natural science.
- 6 For Egypt, 1960, architecture is included with engineering.
- 7 For Tunisia, 1960 medical science and natural science are counted together.
- 8 For Morocco, 1960, data refer to university and equivalent degree granting institutions only.
- 9 For Tunisia, 1960 figures are for the University of Tunis and the national school of agriculture which was attached to the University in 1967.
- 10 For Libya, 1965, the percentage of females in education is an estimate only.
- 11 For Jordan, 1971, data refer to the East Bank only.

Sources : UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1972 (Paris) UNESCO, 1973) and
UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1973 (Paris) UNESCO, 1974)

NOTES

* The authors appreciate the research assistance given by David Alexander in this project.

1. For further details, see UNESCO, **Final Report : Third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in the Arab States**, Marrakesh, 12-20 January 1970 (Paris : UNESCO, 1970)

2. Recent critiques of education in the Arab World include Abdel Aziz Hamid El-Koussy, " For a Self-Criticism of Education in the Arab Countries," **Prospects**, III, No. 1 (Spring 1973), pp. 57-66 ; and Baha Abu-Laban and Sharon McIrvn Abu-Laban, " Education and Development in the Arab World," **Journal of Developing Areas** (1976) (in press).

3. Troy A. Zimmer, " Sexism in Higher Education : A Cross-National Analysis," **Pacific Sociological Review**, 18 (January 1975), pp. 55-67 ; and UNESCO, **Comparative Study on Access of Girls and Women to Higher Education**, ED/MD/1 (Paris : UNESCO, 1967).

4. UNESCO, **Statistical Yearbook, 1972** (Paris : UNESCO, 1973), p. 92.

5. The first of these major conferences was held in Beirut in 1960 ; the second was held in Tripoli, Libya, in 1966 ; and the third major conference was held in Marrakesh in 1970. The specialized meetings of experts included, among others, the 1962 Tunis meeting on general secondary education, the 1964 Tlemcen meeting on access of girls to education, the 1964 Alexandria meeting on literacy programs, the 1968 Baghdad meeting on higher education and development, and the 1969 Kuwait meeting on access of girls and women to technical and vocational education.

6. UNESCO, **Third Regional Conference**, p. 11. For additional information, see **A Statistical Panorama of Education in the Arab Countries** (Beirut : Regional Center for Educational Planning and Administration, UNESCO, 1972).

7. UNESCO, **Third Regional Conference**, p. 11.

8. *Ibid.*

9. UNESCO, **Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in the Arab States**, Tripoli, 9-14 April 1966 (Paris : UNESCO, 1966), p. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14

12. UNESCO, **Third Regional Conference**, p. 18.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 12. (Italics supplied)

15. Peter C. Dodd, "Family Honor and the Forces of Change in Arab Society,"

International Journal of Middle East Studies, 4 (1973), p. 52.

16. For more detailed reports, see Baha Abu-Laban, "Sources of College Aspirations of Lebanese Youth," **Journal of Developing Areas**, 2 (January 1968), pp. 225-240; and "The Adolescent Peer Group in Cross-Cultural Perspective," **Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology**, 7 (1970), pp. 201-211.

17. UNESCO, **Third Regional Conference**, p. 14.

18. For example, see Don Adams and Robert M. Bjork, **Education in Developing Areas** (New York: David McKay Company, 1969), pp. 131-132.

19. M. Saif El Din Fahmy, "Educational Planning in the U.A.R.," Memo No. 142, The Institute of National Planning, 1971.

20. See Mirra Komarovsky, **Women in the Modern World, Their Education and Their Dilemmas** (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953); and Betty Friedan, **The Feminine Mystique** (New York: Dell, 1963).

21. Adams and Bjork, **Education in Developing Areas**, p. 131 ff.

22. Adrienne Germain, "Status and Roles of Women as Factors in Fertility Behavior," **Studies in Family Planning**, 6 (July 1975), p. 195. Germain's sources included N. Youssef, "Social Structure and the Female Labor Force," **Demography**, 8 (1971), 427-440; and Youssef, "Women and Work in Developing Societies," Population Monograph Series no. 15, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California. The bracketed phrase is supplied.