AUB AND BCW AS INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

A Thesis

BY

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ABSTRACT

In Lebanon today there are two American institutions of higher learning which women can attend, the American University of Beirut and the Beirut College for Women. Both are liberal arts institutions, but whereas one, namely AUB, is coeducational, the other is a women's college. Both offer Bachelor of Arts and Science degrees, but AUB has a graduate program leading to the Master's degree in Arts and Sciences and it also has various professional schools which are absent at BCW.

Prior to 1950, BCW was only a Junior College and all women students were required to complete successfully two years at the College before transferring to AUB. In 1950-51, AUB started admitting girls into the freshman class and BCW began the B.A. program. Since then, girls have been given the opportunity to attend either institution for their undergraduate education.

The problem that was investigated in this thesis was how effectively have these two institutions been serving their students? In what ways do their graduates differ and in what ways are they similar? Underlying all this was the question of implications for women's higher education in the future.

This was the concern of this thesis - the assessment of the services AUB and BCW have been rendering to their women students. Thus, the two institutions have been examined from two angles: as agencies for facilitating social mobility and as agencies for acculturation. The data was obtained from the responses of the graduates to a questionnaire distributed to a sample of them.

The study was carried out along the following lines. First, the investigation of factual data and second, the investigation of opinions. A total of 367 questionnaires were sent to a representative sample of the Lebanese and Palestinian graduates of both institutions who are at present residing in Lebanon. One hundred and seventy graduates answered, representing a proportion of 46.3 per cent.

It was not possible to assign a definite social class position or status to the subjects of this study. Instead, status change was simply estimated on the basis of comparative data collected on such groups as the fathers of the graduates, their husbands and their fathers—in—law. This data consisted chiefly of information on the level of education, type of occupation and level of income.

The main findings show that both AUB and BCW are elite service institutions. Their graduates come mainly from the
middle and upper socio-economic classes. However, the BCW
graduates come from more traditional backgrounds than their

counterparts at AUB. (Chapter III)

As agencies of social mobility, the role of AUB and BCW is evident in two facts. First, that the graduates are engaged in similar occupations, mostly teaching. Nevertheless, a small number of the AUB graduates have had professional training and a larger proportion of those in the teaching field are high school or college teachers. The AUB graduates, also, generally earn better incomes. Second, the graduates of both institutions are marrying men of higher educational and occupational levels than their fathers. Nonetheless, the husbands of BCW graduates are of proportionately higher levels of education and occupation than their fathers and of even higher income levels than the husbands of the AUB graduates. (Chapter IV)

As agencies of acculturation, AUB is considered by the graduates as a larger and more impersonal institution, yet it is coeducational and has wider facilities. On the other hand, even though BCW is smaller, it is not coeducational, a very important factor for some of the graduates, and it can offer more personal and individual attention. (Chapter V)

It can be safely concluded that AUB and BCW are complementary forces in the field of women's education and can be regarded as being in a cooperative, rather than competitive, enterprise.

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE TWO INSTITUTIONS

The American University of Beirut and the Beirut College for Women(1) are two institutions of higher learning in Lebanon, both serving the youth, not only of Lebanon, but of the whole Middle East and other parts of the world. The two institutions were founded by people of faith and vision, all American missionaries who came to Lebanon, during the 19th century. One cannot but see that the University and the College, historically, are sister institutions, growing out of the same mission, having the same aims and objectives and following the same curriculum, but whereas one institution is coeducational, the other is a women's college.

Historical Background

It is a significant fact that the two institutions in question were established in Lebanon and nowhere else in the Middle East; a land that has played an important role as a cultural mediator between East and West. Lebanon has long been the battlefield of political, religious and social ideas

¹ The American University of Beirut will be referred to in the remainder of this study as AUB, and the Beirut College for Women as BCW.

and the Lebanese people have contributed actively to civilization by transforming the many influences reaching them from the outside world and spreading them to surrounding countries. (1)

Lebanon has always occupied a strategic position; it is internationally oriented vis-a-vis the Arab World on the one hand, and the West on the other. Culturally, geographically and economically, Lebanon is part of the Arab World. Its economy affects and is vitally affected by the other Arab States. It is a member of the Arab League and its citizens have played a leading role in the modern Arab revival. Yet in spite of its powerful ties with the Arab World, Lebanon has some characteristics which many Lebanese believe distinguish it from other Arab States, such as the great affinity with Western culture and traditions, the existence of a Christian majority and the unique historical role of the country. So far, the main educational influences have been foreign, but they have been a potent factor in the intellectual awakening of the people.

The Advent of the Foreign Missions

One of the most important movements which strengthened the ties of Lebanon with the West were the religious missions which started to come during the latter part of the 18th

¹ Albert H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 14.

century. At that time, Lebanon was divided between two ruling families, the Druze Arslan family in the South and the Christian Maronite Bellamaa' family in the North.

One of the most outstanding American missionaries to come to Lebanon was Dr. C.V.A. Van Dyck. He started the Abaih Academy in 1843. This school proved to be the forerunner of the Syrian Protestant College founded later in Beirut and converted in 1920 to the American University of Beirut.(1)

Other missionaries followed and principal among them were the French and the British, who also started opening schools and other philanthropies. In the aftermath of the 1860 uprising, a commission representing the European Powers was sent to Lebanon. This commission completed "a Reglement Organique" to serve as a constitution for the state of Mount Lebanon, which was instituted by the Powers as an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire. The new State of Mount Lebanon did not include Tyre, Sidon, Beirut or Tripoli. Its capital was Balabda and its governor was a Christian Pasha, appointed by the Sultan with the approval of the European Powers. This amount of self rule was a stepping stone towards the complete emancipation of Lebanon as it added more stimulus to Arab nationalistic feelings which started to emerge with the reign of Muhammad Ali in Egypt. Thus, the official language became Arabic, all officials under the governor were Lebanese and no

¹ Frederick J. Bliss, The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss (New York, Fleming Revel Co., 1920), p. 163.

subject was to be required for military service. Beirut, though not part of this new state, closely cooperated with it.

Beginning of Education for Girls

Thus, the dark cloud of the 1860 massacres had, as
Professor Hitti stated, a silver lining (1) since the event
aroused the sympathy of the West and increased the interest of
the Great Powers in Lebanon. Most of the educational and
benevolent institutions tended to become permanent and education
for girls was promoted largely by the British Mission through
their schools and institutions that were aimed at serving the
girls and women of Lebanon, so many of whom were homeless and
in need of rehabilitation. "To such stimuli of progress:
emanating from the West, Lebanon responded more spontaneously
and more whole-heartedly than any of its neighbours. Not
satisfied with having the West come to it, it strove to go to
the West. Within a brief span of a half-century it practically
evolved from medievalism to modernism."(2)

The American University of Beirut

Founding of the Syrian Protestant College

With increasing missionary activity, Abaih Academy was no longer adequate to train the necessary men for the various

¹Philip K. Hitti: Lebanon in History (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1957), p. 448.

^{2&}lt;u>Ibid</u>, p. 450.

mission schools and the responsibilities of the new regime in Lebanon. On January 23, 1862, in a meeting of the American Mission, Dr. William H. Thomson, who had opened a school for boys in Beirut, proposed that a college be established in Beirut with Daniel Bliss as president.

So it was that in 1863, a board of trustees was formed with the help of Mr. William E. Dodge who was impressed by the desire of his son, D. Stuart Dodge, and of Dr. Bliss to start a college in Beirut. A charter was applied for by the Board from Governor Seymour of New York and on May 14, 1864, a bill was signed approving of two colleges, Robert College in Constantinople and the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut.(1)

When in 1866, the Bliss family arrived in Beirut with Mr. D. Stuart Dodge as professor of Modern Languages, they had collected enough money from the States and from Great Britain to start a college. A local Board of Managers was chosen and a house was rented. Daniel Bliss wrote: "The College opened on December 3, 1866, with a service of prayer. I read the third chapter of First Corinthians; Dr. W.W. Eddy offered prayers: Messrs. Jesup and D.S. Dodge made addresses. There were sixteen students. We were housed for two years in four or five rooms of an insignificant building."(2) The staff members were of four nationalities and the language of

¹Bliss, Op.cit., pp. 169-170

Press, 1946), p. 70.

instruction was Arabic. In 1867, medical subjects were added because of an urgent need for them and in 1869, the College was moved to a larger building which had two houses attached to it, which were actually turned into a small clinic and a four-bed hospital.

Development of the College

In 1870, during the Franco-Prussian war, there was a split in the American Board, making the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions responsible for Syria and Lebanon, and the Congregational Church in charge of the other parts. Land was purchased that year in Ras Beirut and a building permit was granted by the Government. The first graduation exercises at the College took place that same year.

After one other move to a rented building, the final move to the permanent campus took place in the beginning of the academic year 1873-74. The cornerstone of the Main Building (College Hall) was laid on December 7, 1871. On that occasion, Dr. Bliss made his memorable statement in introducing the speaker: "This college is for all conditions and classes of men without regard to colour, nationality, race or religion."(1)

After that there was a steady increase in students, teachers, buildings as well as courses. In 1885, there were about 180 students, half of whom were in the Preparatory

¹Stephen B. L. Penrose, That They May Have Life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941), p. 28.

Department. The adoption of English as the main teaching language in 1876 and in the Medical School in 1883 was greatly responsible for the recruiting of new teachers, since Arabic was no longer adequate for modern university work. In the early years of the 20th century, there were twelve professors, six adjunct professors, one lecturer, twenty-five teaching assistants and nine on the administrative staff. In addition to College Hall, the original part of Dodge Hall, the old medical building, an observatory, Marquand House, Jesup Hall, the Chapel, the laboratory, Daniel Bliss Hall, Post Hall had all been erected. Courses in Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Pharmacy and Medicine were offered, in addition to the Preparatory School courses. Actually all this expansion goes back to the leadership of Daniel Bliss who remained president of the College for thirty-six years, at the end of which he wrote: "I am convinced that at this time, April 1912, the College is in a better condition than ever before. For the past few years it had advanced along all of the lines of influence. This is as it should be; for if a succeeding generation does not advance upon its predecessors the work will stand still, even if it does not retrograde. May the College ever have as its motto the words of Paul: This one thing I do, forgetting the things which are behind and reaching forth to those things which are before. (1) The presidency passed from

lBliss, op.cit., p. 214

such a great man to his son, Howard Bliss, in May 1903.

At the time of Howard J. Bliss's inauguration, the Board of Managers was abolished and the faculty took over the responsibility of handling all local affairs. More gifts from the States made the erection of new buildings possible, such as the four buildings of the Preparatory School. The commerce course was instituted and in 1910, a course in Dentistry was started. Other than sports, students activities were few. However, the building of West Hall in 1913-14 proved to be a great boom and extra-curricular activities received encouragement. In 1909-10, the total number of students was 853, 380 of whom were in the preparatory section. In 1913, the total was more than 970.(1)

The College experienced a trying time during World War I, but it came through successfully under the leadership of President Howard Bliss, whose greatest contribution was in the creation of an atmosphere which was 'both professionally and spiritually warm.' Ahmed Jamal Pasha, the Ottoman Governor of Syria, delivered a stirring address to AUB students on January 19, 1917, in which he praised the AUB. He said: "I, like others, used to regard this school as a foreign institution. But I changed my opinion. True, your school is American administered. But these Americans seek to serve morality and mankind."(2)

Bayard Dodge, The American University of Beirut (Beirut: Khayat, 1958), p. 36.

^{2&}quot;1917 Speech of Jamal Pasha at AUB", Al-Kulliyah, XL, Spring 1964, p. 14.

The Impact of the War Years

Lebanon was in a tragic state during the war years. Not only was there poverty and disease, but the coming of the locusts widened the spread of hunger. The services of young ren and women were badly needed in the various kinds of relief work being carried out by the different missions, religious and otherwise. Thus, educated men and women were in great demand, professional and semi-professional people in particular. Even the most conservative families began very gradually to accept the idea of employment for their girls. Governments began sending bursary students to the University in large numbers and a number of Armenian students outside Russia enrolled at the University also.

The war encouraged the progress of education in Lebanon, especially the education of women. "Colleges in the Arab World of the Middle East in this century may be traced most directly to the effects of the First World War. The war gave impetus to the spirit of the Arab nationality and brought the opportunity for political participation from which citizenship takes its meaning."(1) The changes brought about by the war meant a need in the area of political knowledge and experience that necessitated more education, not only for men but for women as well. Some of these changes were the disappearance of women's veils, which, according to Woodsmall, is the

¹Donald Roberts, The Beirut College for Women (Beirut, 1958), pp. 1-2.

barometer of social change in the Moslem World, the postponement of the marriage date, greater freedom for women to move about, increase in the number of individual homes, greater opportunity for education and lastly, the growing independence of women.(1) Many of these changes were greatly due to the rise of nationalism, the seed for which had been sown when Napoleon invaded Egypt and the impetus given by Kamal Ataturk in Turkey.

From College to University

Unfortunately, the war and post war years witnessed the death of Daniel Bliss in 1916 and Howard Bliss in 1920.

Appreciation of these two dedicated men was shown by Umar Daouk who, when he was the Governor of Beirut, named the avenue beside the College *Rue Bliss*.

The years after the War were very difficult ones for the College. Professor Edward F. Nickoley had been appointed Acting President by President Bliss and during the four and a half years of his work, he accomplished two major tasks; the first one was the changing of the College into a University and the second the continuing of the policy of buying more property, this time along the sea shore. Thus, the charter of the Syrian Protestant College, known as S.P.C., was amended on November 18, 1920 by the Regents of the University of the State of New York and a new name, The American University of Beirut, was given.

Ruth F. Woodsmall, Moslem Women Enter a New World (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1936), p. 40.

The educational powers of the University were also increased for the "establishing and maintaining of undergraduate and graduate college departments, professional, technical, vocational and other departments; the designation of any departments of the University as Schools with appropriate distinguishing names; and the conferring of suitable degrees etc. The giving or supervising of elementary and secondary instruction, preparatory for or in connection with higher grades of its educational work."(1)

The University entered a new era in 1923 when Bayard Dodge was appointed President. Dodge had already been in Beirut since 1913. Furthermore, he was married to a Bliss girl. Even before his inauguration, a new constitution had been drawn up. A number of changes were introduced. In addition, the University had to go through some adjustments to meet the needs of the French Mandatory system. Nonetheless, English was continued as the principal language for University courses, but a new course was started in French, which became known as the 'Section Secondaire' to fit Lebanese and Syrian boys for work under the Mandate Regime.

Women Admittance to AUB

The attendance of women at AUB came more than a half-century after its founding when a School of Nursing was founded in

Dodge, op.cit., p. 52.

1905. After World War I, more girls had started seeking higher education, opportunities for which had been made possible at AUB only for men. In 1920, a vote was taken to admit women students to the Schools of Medicine, Pharmacy and Dentistry at the University. However, more and more requests for coeducation in the School of Arts and Sciences were coming.

The University Faculty were reluctant to take such a step and in its turn tried to persuade the Presbyterian Mission, among other organizations, to develop a women's college. General questions were raised chief of which was whether women should be allowed to study with men. An objection to admitting women to AUB was that in the Middle East education for women was a revolutionary idea, for the woman's place was in the house. A further objection was that the admittance of women would prove detrimental to the boys. However, it was finally agreed by the Faculty that the time was ripe for the emancipation of the Syrian Woman. So in 1924, the University formally announced its decision to admit women to the sophomore year of the School of Arts and Sciences and this action was announced to all departments of education in Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Egypt. At the same time, with the full cooperation of the University, a Junior College for Women was established by the Board of Foreign Missions for preparing women in the freshman and sophomore classes. This College is known now as Beirut College for Women.

During that first year, 1924, seven women enrolled in the School of Arts and Sciences and also the first woman graduated from the School of Pharmacy. The next year thirteen women enrolled. In 1939-40, fifty-seven women were attending the University, apart from those in the School of Mursing and the Institute of Music.(1) The number of Moslem women students was steadily rising. "The Near Eastern woman has entered the field of enlightened action to help her brother in trying to solve the social problems of these lands. There were many fields of action for uplifting society in the East, where women are better fitted to serve than men."(2)

As opposed to World War I, World War II was followed by a period of great prosperity in Lebanon. More modernization took place. Women were permitted to attend the summer courses started during World War II, since many Beiruti students could not go up to the mountains and the foreign students could not go home during the vacations. A number of Polish men and women were also admitted to the University, thus increasing the number of coeds.

First Admittance of Women into the Freshman Class

After the partition of Palestine in 1948, the AUB entered another era with the inauguration of Stephen Penrose as President. Until his death in 1954, he guided the University through another period of growth and progress. In 1952, women were admitted to

Penrose, op.cit., pp. 253-254.

²Al-Kulliyah, XIX, March 15, 1933.

the freshman and sophomore classes, and the number of women attending AUB increased spectacularly.

There has been a steady increase in the enrollment of women students at AUB in the last four years, particularly in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. In 1960-61, the proportion of women to men students was 21 per cent for the whole University and 25.5 per cent in the Arts and Sciences. Only one faculty is still closed to women, the Engineering School. In 1963, the AUB records an enrollment of 627 women of 31 different nationalities, 263 of whom live in the women's residence halls and 64 in Dale Home for the students of nursing.(1)

team working on a University survey felt that it is undesirable to have any discrimination against women in the University, as there are enough limitations against higher education for women at AUB. Whereupon, they recommended that the Engineering School consider the admittance of women. The Committee points out that women students are among the high achievers in terms of academic averages in the School of Arts and Sciences.(2) Miss Mary Robinson, Dean of Women at AUB, reiterates the same point. She writes: "Either by mental ability or hard work (this is debatable), women students have continued to exceed the men students percentage-wise in the Arts and Sciences Dean's

Autumn 1963, p. 17.

²Committee on Women Education, The Future Role and Needs of the University, A Report by the University Survey Committee of the American University of Beirut (Beirut, American University of Beirut, 1961), pp. 35-37.

Honor List. At the close of the first semester 1962-63, 16.1 per cent of the women were on the Dean's list, while only 7.1 per cent of the men achieved this honor. "(1) This could be partially due to the fact that a much larger proportion of men enter the professional schools after their freshman year, while proportionately more women continue in Arts and Sciences.

Beirut College For Women

The Founding of the American Junior College for Women

The creation of the American Junior College for Women, (now the Beirut College for Women), in 1924, was a milestone in the history of women's education in the Middle East. Although this date might indicate that advanced education for women came late in the Middle East, the fact remains that it also came late in the West. In fact, Mrs. Tillet, the U.S. Representative on the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, mentions that one hundred and fifty years ago there was no woman college graduate in the entire world, no married woman could collect her own wages, and a woman's unborn child could even be willed from her.(2) Mt. Holyoke College, founded by Mary Lyon in 1837 in Massachusetts, U.S.A. was the first woman's college for

Autumn 1963, p. 17.

²Mrs. Charles Tillet, "The Changing Status of Women", News Review, 1964.

advanced education anywhere. (1)

The Beirut College for Women, until the present time, remains the only college of advanced education exclusively for women in the whole of the Middle East; in fact it is the only chartered women's college authorized to give degrees. It is indeed "a unique institution in the entire Middle East."(2)

The College has opened up opportunities for Arab women and has given them a chance for Western and Christian education, when the opportunities were lacking and the influence sorely needed. The West, according to Woodsmall, has given Middle Eastern women a widening range of interests and activities, social freedom, educational advance, economic independence, political privileges and participation in public life.(3)

Mission Action

The history of the Beirut College for Women is closely related to that of the American School for Girls founded by Sarah L. Smith with her husband Eli Smith and two other lady missionaries, the first American missionaries to come to Ottoman ruled Syria in 1835. On seeing the neglect of education for girls, a school was built leading to the founding of the Beirut Female Seminary in 1862, which in turn became the American School for Girls, now known as the Beirut Evangelical

¹Donald Roberts, The Beirut College for Women (Beirut, 1958), pp. 1-2.

²Charles Malik, "A Worthy Cause", an address delivered at a dinner on the occasion of the fortieth amiversary of BCW, Beirut, March 20, 1964.

³Woodsmall, op.cit., pp. 35-36.

School for Girls. Consequently, out of the American School for Girls came the American Junior College, now known as the Beirut College for Women.

The American School for Girls assumed its permanent form in 1868 under the leadership of Miss Eliza Everett. In 1914, the American Mission for Syria and Lebanon voted to raise the standard of instruction in the American School for Girls with the view in mind of establishing a college for women out of this school. The Educational Committee of the Mission was instructed to work closely and confer with the educational committee of the United Missionary Conference of Syria and Palestine as to "the advisability and the possibility of cooperation in the development of higher education for women of Syria and Palestine."(1)

No action was taken until July 30, 1920, because of the war. At that time, the Mission defined the function of the various Mission Schools. The report went on to say:

"There is a need and opportunity increasingly felt for a type of more trained womanhood than is now produced in any of our girls' schools. Advanced Christian leadership among the girls of Syria can no longer be retained by schools of secondary grade. There is also the necessity of preparing

From notes taken from letters filed in Presbyterian Board Office, New York (in the files of the President's Office, BCW).

in advanced classes those who are to become teachers in these girls' schools. The situation of this school in Beirut fixes it in the minds of many Syrians as aiming to do for girls what the American University does for boys. It is in this function that the American School for Girls is to seek her ideal."(1)

Relationship with the British Mission

In December 1921, the plan for a first year of college level at the American School was made and more missionary personnel were requested from the Board of Missions in New York. Simultaneously, the Mission appointed a committee to confer with both the British Syrian Training College of the British Syrian Mission and with the American University of Beirut.

The London Committee of the British Mission decided against the two proposals presented by the American Mission which asked for either the establishment of a union missionary institution or the establishment, in the British School, additional classes in order to prepare students to enter the Junior year at the University. Thus, the American Mission was left with the entire responsibility for advanced education. However, the London Committee made two stipulations in order to safeguard the interest of the British Syrian Training College.

a) that the Junior College should have a separate location from the American School for Girls.

Report of the actions of the Mission in reference to higher education for women and the Junior College, Dec. 9, 1919 (in the files of the President's Office, BCW).

b) that the training of the teachers should be carried on by the British Mission alone, and that the teachers so trained should be given an assured status. Thus, the new college would concentrate on the preparation for the University.(1)

The first of these proposals was met and a decision was taken to transfer the Junior College to Ras Beirut, near the University, by the fall of 1927. The second proposal, however, could not be fully met as seen from the letter of the London Committee:

generous spirit - which I may add rightly interprets the mind of the committee in the matter. He says, however, that Miss Irwin wished to make an important reservation, for she thinks that for certain of the College and high school courses themselves, it might be necessary to secure the services of the graduates of the Junior College and these graduates might not have the option of taking teacher training. The Committee wonders whether such a reservation might not nullify the whole value of concession. **(2)

Actually, education was to have one of the major fields of the curriculum of the College and Miss Irwin was right in her evaluation of what the needs of the country were. For all that, the American Mission did take some action in response to

Report of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee of the American Junior College for Girls to Educational Committee, May 24, 1926 (in the files of the President's Office, BCW).

²Report of the actions of the Mission, loc.cit.

the proposal of the London Committee - the vote was:

"that in the interest of Missionary economy and comity,
the girls' boarding schools of our Mission discontinue their
teacher training courses and urge prospective teachers to attend
the British Syrian Training College, and that we recommend the
use of Mission Scholarship funds for this purpose if necessary."(1)

It is clear from these exchanges that there was cooperation and friendliness between the two missions that has continued up to now.

Cooperation With the AUB

Full cooperation was given by AUB during the negotiations with the Board of Missions for starting the Junior College. On this basis, the American Mission proceeded to take definite action for starting a Junior College in the year 1924-25. The first freshman class was started in the American School for Girls in 1924. In regard to the actual relationship between the new college and the University, the latter presented two proposals, the second of which was accepted by the Mission: one of organic union and the other of affiliation. (2)

Because of that proposal, it was agreed that the University should not admit women students to its freshman or sophomore classes and the Mission, in its turn, agreed to maintain

Report of the actions of the Mission, loc.cit, July 13, 1926.

²Report of the actions of the Committee of the American University of Beirut, Feb. 24, 1927 (in the files of the President's office, BCW).

adequate standards and conditions for these two college years.

A suggestion also came from the University for the College to provide dormitory facilities for the University women students. This arrangement was carried out after sometime and continued until the University provided its own women's hostel.

In 1925, after the founding of the College, a report was presented written by a large Survey Committee from the American Presbyterian Mission on the educational and other activities of the various societies and organizations of the Mission in the Turkish Empire. In the section about Syria, on the subject of higher education for women, the following points appear:

1. There is a growing demand for higher education for girls which is being met by the American School for Girls in its new freshman and sophomore classes and the American University of Beirut.

- 2. This main motive for education is 'utiliterian' because the girls want a professional life more than knowledge for its own sake. Another motive is that going to college provides, for some girls, a period of freedom from restraint. These are the girls who drop out after a year of two of study.
- 3. The emancipation of women is advancing rapidly and this opportunity should not be lost.
- 4. The fact that some parents might allow their daughters to attend a men's college does not mean this is wise since the extracurricular life will be completely divergent, though some of the courses might be the same.

5. The desirability for establishing a women's residential college providing a full curriculum preparing at the outset for the entrance to the Junior year of the professional schools at the AUB is greatly recommended with no prejudice involved if the need for development arises. Thus, the American Junior College should be the nucleus of such a college and therefore should not be affiliated to any particular secondary school. "It might well be organized by more than one mission in cooperation, and should be in close affiliation with the American University."(1) This is exactly what happened.

Development of the College

The First Three Years

There were eight students in the first freshman class in October 1924, and this first class were all graduates of the American School for Girls. Five of these girls chose to continue their sophomore year at the College. After three years, however, it was time to move to a separate location because of the promise made to the British Mission, and a large house belonging to the Sarrafian family close to the AUB was rented. There in the Fall of 1927, the College had a student body of twenty one, a separate building and a full-time staff of three - Frances Irwin, Winnifred Shannon and Lilian Donaldson.

Miss Irwin was the first principal of the newly created college and she was largely responsible for creating that

Roberts, op.cit., pp. 15-16.

College with no great resources to draw upon, either endowment or location of the institution itself, nor public recognition. The College grew rapidly from twenty-one students in 1927 to forty in 1928, fifty-six in 1929 and sixty-three in 1930. The boarders also increased from thirty-four in 1929 to forty-six in 1930.

The final step toward a permanent campus was taken in 1930, with the help of Mr. James Nicol, who worked tirelessly to interest the Board of Missions in New York and many women's societies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States in the project of buying land and building a college. The site agreed upon, which still forms the College campus, was a plot of land which had been recently vacated by the French Army. It extended from Rue Madame Curie down to some gardens below. At that time, the piece of land was unattractive and not very promising but it was within walking distance of AUB so that even the clock tower of College Hall could be seen clearly, a very practical point, and it had a beautiful view overlooking the mountains of Lebanon from one side and the Mediterranean from the other.

Early in January 1933, the cornerstone of the first building, the Administration Building known now as Irwin Hall, was laid in the presence of alumnae, friends, student body and faculty. "Hundreds came to admire the really handsome building and to extol its view of the Mediterranean and the mountains."(1)

World War II and a New President

World War II began two years after a new president, the
Reverend William Stoltzfus, took over the reins. His presidency
marked a new era for the Junior College. Improvements took
place in every aspect. In the years of Mr. Stoltzfus'
presidency, the College changed from a barren rocky hillside
purchased in 1937 to become the leafy flowered campus of
today."(2) This is not to mention the number of new buildings,
student body, permanent staff and changes in the curriculum.
However, the most important change was the creation of a fouryear college.

The Junior College had a unique value. Mr. Stoltzfus wrote that twenty per cent of the graduates were pursuing further college studies and he continued to say: "This means that eight per cent of our graduates - and therefore a still higher percentage or our total number of students, have finished their formal education when they leave us."(3) Thus, the College was meeting the needs of some Arab women who could not expect to pursue higher studies at the time. In his first

¹ Mission Newsletter, 1933 (in the files of the President's office, BCW).

²Roberts, op.cit., p. 42.

³Annual Report of the President of the American Junior College for Women, 1937-38 (in the files of the President's office, BCW).

report in 1938, President Stoltzfus also mentioned that there was a general, if not universal, interest in giving the women of the country the same advantages as the men. Early marriages were becoming scarcer and new vocational openings were being found. Of the two hundred and fifty-four women that had received the Junior College diploma since its founding, forty-nine had continued their studies at AUB and other universities, one hundred and four were teaching, seventeen had become secretaries, eight had gone into medicine, and twenty-three were nurses, technicians, pharmacists and dentists. Forty-seven of the graduates had married or about one-fifth and only eighteen were at home. There were a large number of teachers because the governments from other countries were sending bursary students.(1) Even World War II did not affect enrollment much. Only in 1939-40 was there a slight falling off in enrollment.

In the first year of Mr. Stoltzfus' presidency, 1937-38, twenty-six two-semester courses and seventeen one-semester courses were offered. By that time, Kathryn Nicholey, daughter of Dean and Mrs. Nicholey of AUB, had established successful home economics classes and clubs. It was during that period that Vassar College in the States was also developing its home economics field under the term Euthenics. This is where Mr. Stoltzfus showed a keen perception and considered the Euthenics course as a challenge. He wrote: "One of the major

lIbid.

changes is the development of the course in Home Economics into a Euthenics Department"(1) and the Euthenics Department has remained a distinctive development of BCW.

"Under its two preceding principals the College had become a living symbol of educational opportunity for young women of the Middle East, bringing them a larger life, whether at home or in chosen careers. The new President was likewise perceptive of the opportunities for providing cultural, spiritual and practical values in a rapidly changing Arab World."(2)

The Change to a Four-Year College

At the close of the academic year 1948-49, Mr. Stoltzfus noted an upsurge of women action in public life in the Arab World and regarded this as evidence that there would be more and more opportunities open for women, culturally and professionally. Therefore, the time was ripe for the Junior College to become a regular four-year institution.

Accordingly, in the year 1947-48, a vote was taken by the Junior College to introduce an experimental Junior Class. This was put into effect in the years 1948-49 with a junior class of twenty-one students. In 1949-50, a senior class was started and the Mission authorized the College to give a Bachelor's

lIbid.

²Roberts, op.cit., p. 47.

Degree in Euthenics and Child Development, Education and Psychology. The President was also authorized to apply to the United States for a charter. A provisional charter was issued by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York on April 12, 1950, authorizing the College to grant degrees of Bachelor of Arts (BA), Associate in Arts (AA), and Associate in Applied Science (AAS). Five years later, on March 25, 1955, the Absolute Charter was granted by the same authority authorizing the same degrees plus the dgree of Bachelor of Science (BS). The name of the College given in the charter was "The Beirut College for Women." This step was the formal termination of the working arrangement with the AUB.

The recognition of the Associate in Arts Diploma of the College as equal to the Lebanese Baccalaureate Part II was given by the Lebanese Government in 1940. The same recognition was made in 1952 and in 1955, a separate decree was issued, similar to that affecting the AUB that made the holders of the B.A. and B.Sc. degrees of BCW eligible to sit for examination for the major government appointments. However, the College will stop giving the A.A. degree after 1964.

The Role of AUB in the Change

The BCW had been in an affiliated relation to the AUB since its founding and the women students had no choice but to attend the College for the first two years. Interestingly

enough, the first formal suggestion for the addition of junior and senior classes at the College actually came from the AUB itself. Many informal discussions took place until June 12, 1940, when the Senate of the University voted unanimously that: "As it is impossible for the University to establish the sort of Euthenics work of women students for which there is an urgent and serious need, the Senate of the University will look with great favor upon having the American Junior College of Women solicit help so as to establish Euthenics work, which in cooperation with the courses of the School of Arts and Sciences of the University will provide a major course, worthy to be recognized by the University for granting of a University degree."(1)

There were four reasons for the AUB to have taken such a step. The first was that the University officials felt the need for advanced courses in such fields as Euthenics which were not provided for anywhere in the Arab World. The second reason was that the affiliation agreement was proving hard to maintain especially after the War, when many Polish refugees came to Lebanon and Syria and the University had to accept Polish women into freshman and sophomore classes as special students. Moreover, the transfer of students from the College was not great since many families would not allow their daughters to enter a coeducational institution, although they

Letter from Stephen Penrose, President of AUB to William Stoltzfus, President of BCW, February 9, 1951.

would have liked them to go on with their studies. Some of the students themselves did not want to transfer either because they did not want to be in the minority at the University or they felt that the University did not offer appropriate extracurricular activities for its women students.

The third reason for this change was that a number of secondary schools were beginning advanced classes, and gradually absorbing the freshman class of the College, while an increasing number of students were taking the various matriculation and baccalaureate certificates and entering as sophomores. The fourth reason was the pressing need to provide women teachers for the various girls' secondary schools being opened in the Arab World.

A New Era for the College

The start of another college era began in 1957 when the Board of Missions in New York City began to integrate all the educational institutions of the Syria-Lebanon Mission into the National Evangelical Synod. At the time, President Stoltzfus had already notified the Board of his wish to retire at the end of the academic year 1958-59, after a period of twenty-one years of guiding and building the BCW. So it was, that a new era for the College began and a new challenge was presented.

Present Relationship Between AUB and BCW

Although not in any way affiliated to AUB, BCW enjoys a unique relationship with the University because of earlier ties, but preserves its own identity as a separate institution. The following statement appeared in one of the earliest reports on what was then the Junior College: "As I understand it, the Junior College and the University are in this educational understanding engaged in a cooperative enterprise."(1) Such a relationship is still being maintained to a certain extent. It aims, admission policies, general administration and academic policies, AUB and BCW are very similar. Aside from the fact that AUB is coeducational and BCW is not, the difference lies mainly in size and scope. There are more areas of specialization at AUB, but at BCW there is a field not found at AUB and quite important for a woman's college - Home Economics. Also, AUB has professional schools as medicine, engineering and agriculture which BCW does not have. As a coeducational institution, AUB offers other kinds of opportunities, even though the activities provided may be similar in both institutions. Last but not least, opportunities for scholarships and aids are more numerous at AUB, but at the same time, the fees are much higher.

A major difference lies in the administrative structure:
AUB is a completely autonomous educational institution, whereas

¹ Special report of the President (in the files of the President's office, BCW).

BCW is a church-related institution.(1) But the power conferred on both institutions is by the same authority, the Board of Regents in New York and this provides an intimate tie between the two institutions.

Summary

The need for higher education for girls in the Arab World has been met by the first two American institutions of higher learning to open in Lebanon, the American University of Beirut and the Beirut College for Women.

Founded by American Missionaries in 1866 under the name of Syrian Protestant College, the AUB is one of the greatest constructive educational forces in the Arab World. Its influence has been far reaching and it has contributed greatly to the national, social and religious life of the community. Women were admitted to the University schools of medicine, pharmacy and dentistry in 1920. Prior to that, women attended the University School of Nursing which had been founded in 1905. The formal admittance of women to AUB, however, came in 1924 when the University announced its decision to admit women to the sophomore year of the School of Arts and Sciences.

That same year witnessed the creation of the American Junior College for Women, later to become BCW. Also founded by American Missionaries, the College continued to cooperate

¹ See Appendix for organizational charts of AUB and BCW.

very closely with AUB until its change to a four-year College in 1950 when the agreement that AUB would not admit women students to the freshman class, was discontinued. Actually, it was AUB that encouraged the creation and development of BCW and there is great evidence of the cooperation and friendship that exists between the two institutions.

At present, the AUB and BCW are working jointly though not officially so. Their differences and similarities seem to supplement each other, particularly since one of them is coeducational and the other is not. This coordination is most evident in the fact that the fields of study open at the two institutions do not overlap completely.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF THE STUDY AND ITS METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter outlined the general background of AUB and BCW with special emphasis on women's education. Before embarking on an examination of the collected data, the present chapter proposes to show the purpose, the design and the research procedures adopted in conducting this study.

Methodological Note

It has been pointed out before that AUB and BCW, as two American institutions of higher learning in Lebanon, have been giving a large number of Middle Eastern girls the opportunity for higher education. The question that comes to mind is how effectively these two institutions have been serving the needs of their students. Consequently, in what ways do they differ in this service and what are the implications for the future.

Aims of This Study

This study, therefore, aims at exploring the roles the two institutions have been performing in Lebanon. This will be done primarily through comparing the status of the graduates before they attended either AUB or BCW and after their graduation from either. The basic assumption of this approach

is that any change that might have occurred is due, at least to some extent, to the education the graduates have received. One is perfectly justified in maintaining that educational institutions function not only as teaching institutions - on the formal individual-psychological level - but also as agencies for promoting the social status of the individuals and the welfare of the nation as a whole.

Among such educational institutions, the University represents an important avenue for a change in social status. It is the apex in the educational ladder and as such it is held in high esteem by those impelled to move or desirous of moving socially upward. (1) With the increased social value attached to education and with the increasing complexity of modern times, the University has been delegated with increasing responsibilities in selecting, training, and allocating individuals in certain occupational levels. This has affected the social structure in many ways; an obvious result has been the postponement of the age of entry into the labor market. (2)

Yet, it should be readily stated that education is but one of many factors influencing the degree of mobility. Other

Joseph Fischer, "Universities and the Popular Process in South East Asia", A paper read in part at the Association of Asian Studies meeting (Chicago: Comparative Education Centre, March, 1961), p. 6.

²For more details on the importance of the postponement of the age of entry into the labor market, see S.M. Lipset, & R. Bendix, "Educational Opportunities" & Social Origin and entry into the Labor Market", <u>Social Mobility in Industrial Society</u>, Berkley and Los Angeles; University of California Press, 1959, pp. 91-101.

factors, as listed by Havighurst, include natural resources, the nature of organization and advancement of industry, religious and social beliefs concerning fertility and contraception and politico-economic factors.(1)

It is difficult to establish a cause-effect connection between the amount of education received and the amount of change achieved in status. This is due to the fact that change is a product of many variables of which education is but one. It will be particularly difficult in this study, since most of the respondent graduates have achieved about the same level of education.(2)

With regard to the yardstick that will be adopted to determine the status of the subjects, the term "social status" will be limited to three major categories, namely, education, occupation and income. Hence, social status will be defined in terms of a composite score comprising the three above-mentioned items. These categories will be compared singly as well as collectively in this study. It should be noted at this point that this composite score whenever presented is not synonymous with social class position and that it is only indicative of

See Robert J. Havighurst, "Education and Social Mobility in Four Societies", Education, Economy and Society (New York: The Free Press of Glenco, Inc., 1961), pp. 105-119; Elbridge Sibley "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification", Education and The Social Order (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957), p. 90, W. Lloyd Warner, "What Social Class is America", Social Class in America (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), pp. 25-32.

²⁰n the importance of different level of education for establishing cause-effect connection see Wilbur B. Brookover, A Sociology of Education (New York: American Book Company, 1955).

some aspects of it.(1) This method of measurement may not be entirely adequate. However, since two groups of people are being compared for whom the same categories will be applied, any such deficiencies will be minimized since they apply to both groups.

The groups of people who will be used for measuring the change in status are the fathers of graduates and their husbands and fathers-in-law. More specifically, the following will be studied:

- a) the difference in status between fathers and husbands of the graduates.
- b) the difference in status between the fathers and the fathers-in-law of the graduates.

Thus, this study, which proposes to examine the services of the two institutions, will be pursued through study of the graduates of the institutions. This would imply that the two institutions have rendered certain services to their graduates. Obviously such services are of many magnitudes and variations, and this study does not aim at giving an exhaustive survey of such services. What it purports to do is to produce a certain scale of values by which the change in the position of an individual from pre-college to post-college days can be measured.

Another dimension to the question is that such services as an educational institution may offer to its clientele are

Lipset and Bendix give six items as attributes for social class in America, of which we have used the first three. Lipset and Bendix, op.cit., p. 875.

weighed against the "needs" of the clientele. "Needs" of purely psychological nature and learning as a process of psychological adaptation and growth are not necessarily reflected in social status. However, a change in the social status of an individual can be considered a partial index of need-fulfillment. Another consideration here is that higher education for women in the Middle East is largely symbolic, rather than functional, (1) taking this term in an occupational sense - as most of the graduates become housewives. Also a large percentage of the graduates who are in the labor force go into teaching, no matter what their major at college may have been.

Hence, in this study, as was mentioned above, the services that AUB and BCW have been rendering their clientele will be evaluated in terms of the change in social status achieved by their graduates since 1950. In order to identify this change, the following methods will be used:

- 1. Identification of the kinds of occupation and amount of income of the graduates, whether they are working at present or worked in the past. Both married and single graduates will be considered.
- 2. Comparison of the levels of education, kinds of occupations and amount of incomes of the fathers of the graduates with those of their husbands and fathers-in-law. Married graduates will be considered only.

Por a discussion of symbolic and functional education, see Robert J. Havighurst, "Education and Social Mobility in Four Societies", Education, Economy and Society, p. 113.

3. Assessment of the opinions of the graduates in regard to the contributions that either of the two institutions have made in their own lives. Opinions of both married and single graduates will be considered.

Importance of the Study

Evaluation is necessary and inevitable in the history of any institution if it is to continue growing. It involves judging the outcomes of an experience, an idea or a process. In the case of AUB and BCW, a comprehensive evaluation of the services they have rendered their women students is important since they have been in a 'cooperative enterprise' in the field of higher education in Lebanon. Moreover, they have been functioning under unique conditions, being foreign importations trying to meet the needs of Arab women in general and Lebanese women in particular. If this study claims any importance it is in view of the fact that it is the first attempt to study these two institutions in this manner.

Furthermore, such an evaluation assumes a new dimension because of the fact that in the West the correlation between one's social status and his educational attainments has been satisfactorily established in the many studies undertaken on

that subject.(1) Similar studies are vitally lacking in the Middle East. This study will, therefore, be of some value in showing the relationship between the education received by the graduates and the changes in social status as a result of attending either AUB or BCW. To the knowledge of the writer, no such study has been previously made. Munir Bashshur completed a study for his Ph.D. dissertation on the graduates and students of AUB and USJ (Universite St. Joseph), (2) and this dissertation was a most useful reference in the writing of this thesis. An unpublished master's thesis was finished last year by Yusr Barbir entitled "Adjustment Problems of AUB Women Graduates" but it dealt with an issue completely different from the present one and considered AUB graduates only. Other studies on AUB or BCW are: "A Short History of Women's Education", a report prepared by the BCW freshman class. 1940. "A Comprehensive Study of Academic Achievements and Difficulties at the AUB", an unpublished Master's thesis,

lFor some of the many studies on this problem see: The Harvard "Social Mobility Project" by Joseph A. Kahl, Harvard Ed. Rev. (1953) 186-203, Bureau of Census, "Educational Attainment of Workers", March 1957, Washington, Bureau of the Census Series p. 50 No. 78, Nov. 1957, Robert J. Havighurst, "Education, Social Mobility and Change in Four Societies", International Review of Education, Vol. IV (1958); Institute of Industrial Relations, "The Oakland Mobility Survey of 1949"; August de B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949); Lloyd Warner & J. Abegglen "Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry, 1928-1952" (St. Paul, University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

²Munir Bashshur, "The Role of Two Western Universities in the National Life of Lebanon and the Middle East" (an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Education, the University of Chicago, 1964.

by Suha Tuqan, AUB, 1959; "A Study of the Academic Records,
Professional Development and Back-Home Adjustment of the
Graduates of the Department of Education at the AUB", an
unpublished Master's thesis by Sarfaz Ali Khan, AUB, 1961;
"Some Factors Associated with High and Low Averages in the
School of Arts and Sciences at the AUB", an unpublished Master's
thesis, by Muhammad Aslan, AUB, 1961; and "Liberal-Traditional
Attitudes among Arab University Students at AUB", an unpublished
Master's thesis by Nabil Dajani, AUB, 1961, none of which deals
with the specific problem of this study.

This study will be useful to the administrative personnel of both AUB and BCW as it throws light on many problems and various aspects that are of importance to students and administration alike. Such a study should be valuable, also, to students wishing to continue their education and to their parents because the question of the choice of institution has become more acute in recent years. The writer has often been confronted with such questions as: "Which is a better place for my daughter - AUB or BCW?" or "Where would you send your daughter when she finishes high school?"

Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that this is only an exploratory study

Limitations

A major barrier to a study of this nature is the absence of any standardized social status scale in the Middle East which can act as a yardstick for the status of the graduates of the two institutions and the positions which they might have achieved.

A further handicap pertains to the methodology of this study: it will not be possible to assign a definite social class position or status to the subjects of this study. This is due partly to the absence of social status scales and partly to the fact that the determination of social class positions entails much more effort, time, and skill than the writer finds in her possession. Thus it was decided to use, instead of the term "social class" or "social position", a more general one like "socio-economic characteristics". These characteristics are mainly educational, occupational and financial.

It is obvious that if either of the two institutions were to be studied alone in this manner, more refined instruments of measurement than are available would be needed; moreover, the categories used would have to be refined and a real social class position for the graduates obtained. In order to do that a nationwide scale of social class would be necessary against which the status of our graduates' position could be measured. Similarly, the status of the fathers, fathers—in—law and husbands would have to be measured with that of the whole nation.

Instead, status change will be simply estimated on the basis of comparative data collected on two or more comparable and related groups, such as fathers of the graduates and husbands or fathers-in-law of the graduates. This data will consist mainly of information on level of education, level of income, and type of occupation undertaken. Evidently these three factors, though they might be the most important ones in determining social class position, are not the only factors that enter into the composition of social class. It is believed that deficiencies resulting from such inaccuracies in technique will be taken care of since we are using a comparative approach whereby the same measures are applied to both groups.

Furthermore, to reduce deficiencies of this nature, the subjects will be asked what they consider to be the most important contributions made by either of the two institutions to their lives. In this manner it is hoped that additional material will be gained and that conclusions on the role of AUB and BCW will, consequently, be more reliable.

In administering the questionnaires, two common problems faced the writer - a lack of up-to-date information on graduates and difficulty in getting responses. The first proved to be more complicated because many of the graduates had gotten married and had changed their maiden names, so it was even more difficult to guess what their addresses were. Furthermore, a number of those married were found to be living outside

Lebanon and could not be considered. The addresses of 1963 graduates were hardest to find. Actually, very few of them were registered at the AUB Alumni Office.

The graduates who did not respond to the questionnaires can be divided into two groups, those who did not receive it and those who were either too busy, did not care or forgot to answer. Furthermore, we should be aware "that field work in the Middle East is an unfamiliar and not a very welcomed activity. In many cases, it was taken as an encroachment on personal affairs."(1)

Description of the Sample

The first step in the research work was to collect the names of the Lebanese and Palestinian women graduates, between the years 1950 and 1963, of both AUB and BCW who are residing in Lebanon. The Palestinians were included because of the fact that they have no national home and they have been in Lebanon for the past sixteen years. The year 1950 was chosen as the initial year since that was the first year BCW gave the BA degree.

The names and addresses of the AUB graduates were taken from the office of the Dean of Women, the Registrar's Office, the Alumni Office, and the Alumni Directory of 1957. The names and addresses of BCW graduates were taken from the

¹Bashshur, op.cit., p. 114

commencement lists and the Alumnae Office. However, after rechecking the two lists, several names had to be deleted because of lack of addresses. As a result the total number of graduates to be contacted was found to be 276 from AUB and 216 from BCW.

The sample was drawn from this population on the basis of 75 per cent of the total from an alphabetical list of names, every fourth one being deleted at random, yielding a total of 205 AUB and 162 BCW graduates. This gave us our sample of graduates. Nonetheless, more checking on addresses of the sampled graduates was necessary because of the changes in the names of the married graduates or their change of residence and this had to be validated through personal contact. When any change of address occurred to a place outside Lebanon, or a wrong address was discovered, the following name on the alphabetical list was used as a substitute.

The second step was the preparation of the questionnaire.

The questions asked included items regarding:(1)

- a. Background status mainly education of parents, income and occupation of father.
- b. Actual status as measured by the education, income and occupation of the husband and father-in-law (if she is married), or type of job she has and income, whether married or not.

A copy of the questionnaire is to be found in the appendix.

- c. General data concerning the graduate's own higher education, the institution or institutions she has attended, the number of years spent there, the factors affecting her choice, degree of satisfaction with that choice, the graduates' participation in community life, factors affecting her marital choice (if married), her college choice for her own daughter, college attended by sister or sisters if she has any.
- d. Opinions of the graduate concerning her Alma mater, what contributions were made to her personal life, and any changes she would like to see made in her alma mater. The questionnaires were then mailed, on May 1st., to each member of the sample with an enclosed self-addressed stamped return envelope. After this was done, personal contact by telephone or actual visitswere carried out and reminders were sent out after four weeks of the mailing of all questionnaires. Several phone calls were then received by the writer indicating that no questionnaires had been received and so new ones had to be mailed again.

Of the 367 questionnaires sent, 170 answers were received (46 per cent). Out of these 88 were from AUB, (43 per cent), and 82 were from BCW (50 per cent). Out of the 170 graduates who answered only two were by mistake non-Lebanese but both have been residing in Lebanon for a long time. One was a Syrian and the other a nationalized British, originally Palestinian. 74 respondents (44 per cent) were married and

90 (53 per cent) were single. The average age of both AUB and BCW respondents was between 29 - 31. 118 respondents (69 per cent) were Christians, 51 (30 per cent) were non-Christians and 1 (0.6 per cent) unidentified.

Table 1

Size of Universe, Size of Mail Out (Sample) and The Rate of Response of AUB and BCW Graduates by University(a)

	AUB	BCW
Total Number of Women graduates from 1950 - 1963	897	521
Size of Universe	276	216
Size of Sample	205	162
Proportion of Sample from Universe	75%	75%
Size of Returns	88	82
Proportion of Returns to the Sample	43%	51%

The sample was selected after discounting the non-Lebanese and the non-Palestinian graduates. For more explanation see p. 43, Chap. II on Research Methodology.

Table 2

Major Characteristics of Graduate Respondents

	Natio	nality	Family	Status
	Lebanese	None	Married	Single
	No. %	No. %	No %	No. %
AUB	86 (97.7)	2 (2.3)	33 (37.5)	53 (60.1)
BCW	82 (100.0)		41 (50.0)	37 (45.1)

Table 2 .-- Continued

Age	Relig	ion
Average Age	Christian No. %	Non-Christ.
29-31	65 (73.9)	22 (25.0)
29-31	53 (64.6)	29 (35-4)
	Average Age	Average Age Christian No. % 29-31 65 (73.9)

CHAPTER III

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLED GRADUATES

This chapter will present a general picture of the sampled graduates(1), showing their backgrounds and the factors affecting their choice of the particular institution attended. Further chapters will go into certain aspects of this picture. Thereupon, the type of woman who graduates from AUB as compared with the type who graduates from BCW will be determined. The basic assumption here is that the kinds of service an institution offers determine its clientele, and subsequently the kinds of service they themselves render to society.

The factors that will be considered in this chapter are the ones designated in Chapter II as background factors, including parental education, income and occupation of fathers, in addition to such items as places of birth and place of residence, religious affiliation of respondents and factors affecting the respondents choice of college.

Background of AUB and BCW Graduates

One of the major findings of this study is that the same types of students go through both AUB and BCW. For this basic result there are many reasons. One of them is most probably

lall reference to graduates in this study is made to those of Lebanese and Palestinian nationalities residing at present in Lebanon.

connected with the unique historical force that brought these two institutions into existence and the existing close relationship between them. Prior to 1950 all BCW students wishing to work for their Bachelor's degree were required to transfer to AUB, after having successfully completed the sophomore year at BCW, which was only a two-year Junior College then. For one reason or another, many students, at present, still transfer to AUB either after their freshman or sophomore years. Table 3 shows that about 52 per cent of AUB women graduates had spent from one to three years at BCW before transferring to AUB.

TABLE 3
YEARS SPENT BY THE GRADUATE RESPONDENTS IN EITHER COLLEGE OR BOTH

	AUB	1/6	BCW	%
1-3 years in BCW	46	52-3	6	7.3
4 years or more in BCW	1	1.1	76	92.7
1-3 years in AUB	3	3.4		-
4 years or more in AUB Total	38	100.0	82	100.0

The converse is not true of BCW graduates as none of them had attended AUB. The reason for this is mainly that many students seek a transition period before entering AUB and they feel that BCW, being a small women's college, provides that.

This was revealed in the answers of some respondents to the question "Where would you send your daughter to College?" The main reason for the transfer to AUB is the existence of various fields of study not found at BCW. Also, there are some other personal and related reasons for such a step to be taken by the students.

Again, it was found that there was no set pattern for the girls of one family to attend either AUB or BCW. Table 4 shows that of the AUB graduates who have sisters who are studying or have studied at a university, 54 per cent have attended AUB and 38 per cent have attended BCW. A conversely similar ratio is found among the sisters of the BCW graduates, 54 per cent of whom have attended BCW and 39 per cent AUB. Hence, in the same family one finds that a girl has attended BCW, while her sister has studied at AUB. However, it is rare to find two sisters studying at different institutions at the same time.

TABLE 4
SISTERS OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS STUDYING
OR HAVE STUDIED AT COLLEGE

			Out the latest the lat			
9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	5 5 6 6 4 5 7 5 7 5 2 5 4 5 5 5 K	AUB	%	BCW	%	
AUB		39	54-3	22	54.3	
BCW.		27	37-5	31	38.7	
Other	Total	72	8.2	57	7.0	

It can be deduced that AUB and BCW graduates cannot be strikingly differentiated in terms of background, socially or educationally, since most students who attend BCW can attend AUB or have sisters who have attended AUB and vice versa. Yet, in spite of these apparent similarities between the two groups, are there any latent distinguishing features? This chapter will illustrate in detail both the similarities and dissimilarities among the graduates of AUB and BCW and in what ways these reflect social differences.

Places of Origin of Graduates and Their Geographical Mobility

In terms of geographical origin, Table 5 shows that the majority of the respondents of both institutions are city born. (1) However, those born in rural areas form a higher percentage among BCW graduates (28 per cent as compared to 14 per cent from AUB).(2)

TABLE 5
PLACE OF BIRTH OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

\$ \$ 7 9 1 3 . \$ 2 3 3 1 1 3 x = 2 x	AUB	%	BCW	%
Cities	76	86-4	59	72.0
Towns and Villages Total	12 88	13.6 100.0	82	28.0 100.0

¹By city, we mean the principal cities of Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine which are Beirut, Tripoli, Zahle, Sidon, and Tyre in Lebanon, Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Hama and Latakia in Syria, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa in Palestine.

²The limit between rural and urban was taken from Bashshur, op.cit., p. 136.

These facts become even more apparent in a breakdown of Table 5. The number of Lebanese-born respondents coming from rural areas represent 24 per cent of the BCW graduates as compared with 10 per cent of the AUB graduates, as shown in Table 6. Conversely, the respondents born in non-Lebanese cities are more numerous in the AUB group than in that of BCW (31 per cent from AUB contrasted to 26 per cent from BCW).

TABLE 6
PLACE OF BIRTH OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

			COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE	
A LOWER PROPERTY OF THE PARTY O	AUB	%	BCW	%
Lebanese Cities	46	52-3	38	46.4
Lebanese Towns and Villages	9	10.2	20	24.4
Other Arab World Cities	27	30.7	21	25.6
Other Arab World Towns and Villages	3	3.4	3	3.6
Other Cities Total	<u>3</u> 88 .	100.0	82	100.0

On the other hand, in spite of the fact that most of the graduates reside in Beirut, it is shown that not all Beirut residents were born in Beirut. Table 8 shows that 18 per cent of the BCW graduates have moved from place of birth in Lebanon to Beirut compared with 11 per cent of the AUB graduates.

Conversely, 2 per cent have moved from Beirut to other parts of Lebanon, compared with 3 per cent of the AUB graduates; 7 per cent have moved from one part of Lebanon to another as compared

with none from AUB, making a total of 28 per cent mobility among BCW graduates as contrasted to 15 per cent among AUB graduates. This indicates a higher mobility rate among BCW graduates. The mobility rate of students born in other parts of the Arab World and other places and have moved to Lebanon is quite high in both institutions. This is particularly connected with the forced immigration of the Palestinians to Lebanon and other parts of the Arab World in 1948.

TABLE 7

PLACE OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

		AUB	%	BCW	%
Beirut		77	87.5	69	84.2
Outside Beirut	Total	11 88	12.5	13 82	15.8 100.0

TABLE 8

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

	-			
	AUB	%	BCW	%
Born in Beirut and residing in Beirut	36	40.9	30	36.6
Moved from place of birth in Lebanon to Beirut	10	11.4	15	18.3
Moved from other parts of the Arab World and other places to Beirut	31	35•2	24	29•3
Moved from other parts of the Arab World and other places and residing in Lebanon	2	2•3	_	-

TABLE 8 -- Continued

1985年19日 - 1985年19日 - 1985年19日 - 1985年19日 - 1987年19日 - 1985年19日 - 1987年19日 - 1987年19	AUB	%	BCW	<u>%</u>
Moved from Beirut to other parts of Lebanon	3	3•4	2	2.4
Born in other parts of Lebanon and residing there	6	6.8	5	6.1
Born in other parts of Lebanon and moved to other parts of Lebanon Total	88	LOO • O -	82	7.3

The majority of respondents from both institutions are urbanized - 86 per cent of the AUB and 72 per cent of the BCW graduates were born in cities and correspondingly substantial proportion are residing in Beirut at present - (88 per cent of the AUB and 84 per cent of the BCW graduates). However, the number of BCW graduates born in rural areas is much larger than the corresponding figures for AUB graduates, nearly twice as many. The geographical mobility rate among BCW graduates is definitely higher too, since 28 per cent of the BCW graduates have moved from place of birth as contrasted to 15 per cent of AUB graduates. However, all the respondents in this study are at present residing in Lebanon.

Religious Affiliation of Graduates

A certain degree of homogeneity exists between the two groups of graduates as far as their religious affiliations are concerned. There is a higher percentage of Christians in both

institutions with the Greek and Armenian Orthodox forming the largest single group (35 per cent from AUB and 33 per cent from BCW). However, among the Christians there is a higher percentage of Protestants at AUB (26 per cent as contrasted to 18 per cent of the BCW graduates), (see Table 10). On the other hand, there is a marked difference in the number of Moslems at BCW (35 per cent as compared with 25 per cent of the AUB graduates). Moreover, it is significant that the Shiite AUB graduates constitute one-fourth of the corresponding proportion of BCW graduates.(1)

TABLE 9
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

17482888148181818918816 - 115317 11	AUB	%	BCW	%
Christians	65	73-9	53	64.6
Moslems (a)	22	25.0	29	35.4
Unidentified Total	88	100.0	82	100.0

a Moslems to include Sunni, Shiite, Druze, Bahai

lyusr Barbir in her study "Adjustment Problems of AUB Women Graduates" obtained similar percentages on the religious affiliation of her respondents. See Yusr Barbir, "Adjustment Problems of AUB Women Graduates" (An unpublished Master's thesis, Education Dept., AUB, 1963), p. 22.

TABLE 10
RELIGIOUS SECTS OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

	AUB	%	BCW	%
Maronites and Other Catholics	11	12.4	10	12.1
Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox	31	35•3	28	33.2
Protestants	23	26.2	15	18.3
Sunni	13	14.8	17	20.7
Shiite	1	1.1	4	4.9
Druze	5	5.7	8	9.8
Other	3	3.4	-	_
Unidentified Total	88	100.0	82	100.0

These results show that, as a group, BCW graduates come from a more traditional religious background, i.e. Moslem.

The term 'traditional' is used with Daniel Lerner's study in mind which shows that the Moslems of Lebanon are more traditional in their attitudes than the Christians.(1)

Parental Background of Graduates

Having established the geographical and religious backgrounds of the respondents, their parental backgrounds will now be considered. The three factors, education, occupation and income will be discussed separately.

Lerner, Daniel, <u>Passing of Traditional Society</u> (Glenco: The Free Press, 1958), p. 92.

Parental Education

The analysis of parental education will include the level of education attained by both the fathers and the mothers of our respondents. Table 11 makes it clear that AUB graduates come from higher educational backgrounds than BCW graduates. The majority of the fathers of AUB graduates have had more than four years of college (32 per cent), a little less than twice the proportion of the fathers of BCW graduates (17 per cent). Likewise, AUB fathers who have had more than secondary or vocational education, but not more than four years of college form a higher proportion (17 per cent of the fathers of AUB graduates as compared with 10 per cent of the fathers of the BCW graduates). The majority of fathers of the BCW graduates have had more than elementary but not more than secondary or vocational education (46 per cent). Hence, the fathers of both AUB and BCW graduates who have had no education or only elementary education form a small group, (23 per cent of AUB graduates and 27 per cent of BCW graduates).

In considering the mothers of the graduates, we see that most of them have finished elementary or secondary school and a much smaller proportion than the fathers have had higher education. A few have had teacher's training after finishing their secondary education. As with the fathers, the mothers of AUB graduates are also of higher educational levels than the mothers of BCW graduates. 4.5 per cent of the mothers of AUB

graduates have completed more than four years of college as compared with none of the mothers of the BCW graduates.

Twenty three per cent of the mothers of AUB graduates have had no education at all or only elementary education as compared with thirty nine per cent of the mothers of BCW graduates.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that the majority of the mothers have had secondary education (65 per cent of the mothers of AUB graduates and 53 per cent of the mothers of BCW graduates), which for the mothers of some the graduates was probably the highest level of education they could have had in their own countries at that time.

TABLE 11

PARENTAL EDUCATION OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

	AUB				BCW			
None			Mother %		Father %		Mother %	
	3	3.4	2	2.3	2	2.4	4	4.9
Not more than elementary	17	19.3	18	20.4	20	24.4	28	34.1
More than elementary not more than secondary, technical or vocational	25	28.4	57	64.8	38	46.4	43	52.5
More than secondary or vocational not more than four years of college	15	17.1	7	8.0	8	9•7	7	8.5
More than four years of college Total		31.8 100.0	<u>4</u> 88 -	100.0	1 ¹ 4 82	17.1 100.0	82	100.0

The study shows that the mothers in general have had less education than the fathers. This is probably a result of two factors: first, that educational facilities were not as readily available for women in the past as they were for men and second, the widespread opinion that it was more important for men to be educated. Another significant finding is that there is less disparity between the educational achievements of the fathers and mothers of BCW graduates than between the fathers and mothers of AUB graduates, since the majority of both their fathers and mothers have had the same level of schooling (more than elementary but not more than secondary or vocational). In the case of the parents of AUB graduates it is found that the majority of the fathers are college-educated, whereas the majority of the mothers have had secondary or vocational training.

Type of University Attended by Parents

The majority of the fathers who have attended institutions of higher education of the graduates of both institutions have attended AUB (24 per cent for AUB graduates and 12 per cent for BCW graduates). A higher proportion of AUB fathers have gone to western universities (mainly Europe and U.S.A., 9 per cent for AUB graduates against 4 per cent for BCW graduates).

As for the mothers, a larger proportion of the mothers of AUB graduates have attended AUB or other western universities

(7 per cent for AUB graduates against 1 per cent for BCW graduates), while a larger proportion of the mothers of BCW graduates have attended only BCW (5 per cent for BCW graduates against 2 per cent for AUB graduates). In fact, none of the mothers of BCW graduates have had their higher education abroad.

TABLE 12

UNIVERSITY OR COLLEGE ATTENDED BY PARENTS
OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

		A	UB)		-			
	Fathe:	-	Mothe	r %	Fathe	r %	Mother	<u>%</u>
AUB	21	23-9	2	2.3	10	12.2	1	1.2
BCW	-	-	2	2•3	-	-	1+	4.9
St. Joseph	14	4-5	1	1.1	3	3.6	1	1.2
Other non-West	7	8.0		-	14	4.9	-	-
Other West	8	9.1	1+	4-5	3	3.6	-	7
None	45	51.1	77	87.5	60	73•3	76	92.7
No answer Total	88	3.4	88	2.3	82 82	2.4	82	100.0

Hence, a larger percentage of the parents of the AUB graduates have had their university education abroad, in Western and non-Western countries or at AUB, whereas a larger percentage of the mothers of BCW graduates have attended BCW.

Paternal Occupation

Along with the disparity in the educational backgrounds of AUB and BCW graduates, there is a parallel distinction in occupational backgrounds. Before dealing with such differences, the overall pattern of paternal occupations in both institutions will be discussed.

The basic findings in this regard are, first, that the fathers of the graduates of both institutions enter very similar occupations, and second, that the majority of the graduates have fathers who come from fairly high occupational levels. The upper class type occupations (the managerial, professional and large-scale businessmen and landowners) are represented by one-half of the total number of fathers of the graduates of both institutions. In reference to the scale worked out by Bashshur comparing the paternal occupations of the Lebanese student respondents of AUB and (Universite St. Joseph) USJ with the occupational characteristics of the active labor force in Lebanon, the figures show that both AUB and BCW graduates come mainly from an upper-class group of parents. Using Bashshur's figures, namely, that 3 per cent of the active labor force in Lebanon is in an upper-class type occupations(1), it is highly significant to find that more than 50 per cent of the fathers of the graduates are in these same occupations. This results in a selective index for AUB and BCW graduates from upper class type

¹Bashshur, op.cit., p. 147.

occupations of 16 times.(1) Nevertheless, this does not exclude the graduates from middle and even lower class occupational backgrounds who form the other equally important 50 per cent of the graduates.

TABLE 13

PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

	AUB	%	BCW	%
Managerial	9	10.2	4	4.9
Large scale businessmen and	landowners17	19.3	25	30.6
Professionals	23	26.1	15	18.2
Army personnel	-	-	2	2.4
School teachers	λ _f .	4.6	3	3.6
Administrative and clerical	9	10.2	14.	4.9
Middle or small scale busine and landowners	essmen 17	19•3	25	30.6
Skilled technical workers are of non professional sta		4.6	_	-
Semi skilled and unskilled v	vorkers 2	2.3	1	1.2
Diplomats	2	2.3	2	2.4
Writers and journalists	-	-	1	1.2
Clergy Total	1 88	1.1	82	100.0

The selectivity index is calculated by dividing the proportion of the fathers of the graduates in a certain occupational group by that of the labor force in the same occupational group.

(See Bashshur, op.cit.).

Inasmuch as certain occupations require a minimum level of education, it naturally follows that AUB graduates come from higher occupational backgrounds since it has been previously shown that AUB graduates have fathers with higher educational levels. Table 13 shows that twice as many fathers of AUB graduates come from the managerial class (10 per cent for the fathers of AUB graduates against 5 per cent for the fathers of BCW graduates), and a little less than one and a half times as many come from the professional class (26 per cent for the fathers of AUB graduates against 18 per cent for the fathers of BCW graduates). Likewise, other administrative and clerical jobs tend to rate higher with fathers of AUB graduates than with fathers of BCW graduates.

On the other hand, a large proportion of the fathers of BCW graduates are engaged in occupations that are not highly demanding educationally, yet are considered high class occupations.(1) Consequently, the same percentage of 31 is found in the large scale and/or small scale business and landownership classes of the fathers of BCW graduates as contrasted to 19 per cent of those of AUB graduates. A further analysis has shown that 60 per cent of the Moslem BCW graduates and a corresponding 63 per cent of the Moslem AUB graduates come from the above-mentioned occupational groups.(2)

¹See Table 15,

²An approximate pattern is found in the study made by Munir Bashshur on AUB and USJ students and their occupational backgrounds according to religion, Bashshur, op.cit., pp. 154-157.

Also, AUB has a higher percentage of graduates from the skilled technical workers and artisans of non-professional status (5 per cent as compared with none from BCW). This gives AUB a wider representation of occupations, from a higher percentage of fathers of professional status to an equally higher percentage of fathers of non-professional status.

Paternal Income

The levels of income among the fathers of the graduates form a parallel picture to that of the educational and occupational standards.

Inasmuch as a large proportion of the graduates have fathers who are in upper and middle class occupations, it follows that nearly 60 per cent of the total number of the fathers of the respondents of both institutions make L.L. 13,000 and over, which is a fairly high number considering that only 18 per cent of the total population of Lebanon earns L.L. 15,000 and over.(1) Therefore, the majority of the graduates relatively come from well-to-do families or the middle and upper socio-economic classes. Table 14 shows a clear concentration in the second, third and fifth categories (L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 12,999, L.L. 13,000 - L.L. 19,999 and L.L. 30,000 and over) in both institutions.

lIbid, p. 162

Similarly, to parallel earlier data concerning parental education and paternal occupations, the incomes of the fathers of AUB graduates fall higher on the income scale than the fathers of their BCW counterparts. Actually, 26 per cent of the fathers of AUB graduates earn or earned L.L. 30,000 and over as contrasted to 20 per cent of the fathers of BCW graduates. The highest percentage of the income of fathers of BCW graduates fall in the L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 12,999 bracket.

TABLE 14

PATERNAL INCOME OF THE GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

In Lebanese Pounds	AUB	%	BCW	1/6
Below 5,000	11	12.5	4	4.9
5,000 - 12,999	18	20.5	22	26.8
13,000 - 19,999	20	22.7	20	24.4
20,000 - 29,999	11	12.5	14	17.1
30,000 and over	23	26.1	16	19.5
Don't know	2	2•3	1	1.2
No answer Total	3	100.0	82	100.0

More than twice as many fathers of AUB graduates are in the bottom income brackets than the fathers of their BCW counterparts (13 per cent for AUB against 5 per cent for BCW). This is not surprising since there are more AUB graduates whose fathers are in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations and whose income is relatively low. The question that arises, nevertheless, is why there should be this representation at both ends of the income scale at AUB (a larger majority in the highest income bracket and a larger percentage in the lowest bracket than at BCW). The reason may be that, on the one hand, there are more graduates at AUB whose fathers have had professional training and therefore earn high incomes. On the other hand, more scholarships are offered at AUB, so that even though the fees are higher there, there is more opportunity for those whose fathers are in the lower income brackets to enter.

A Composite Picture

The three factors in the background of the graduates, parental education, paternal occupation and paternal income have so far been discussed separately. However, certain conclusions can be drawn if the three factors are combined. This is done in Table 15.

A definite pattern reveals itself in the education, occupation and income of the parents. Close to half of the fathers of the graduates of both institutions have had secondary education, earn in the L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 19,999 income bracket and are in upper class occupational levels. Yet, the fact remains that a larger proportion of the fathers of AUB graduates come from the two ends of the educational, occupational and income levels.

Table 15

Composite Table of Parental Background

		Total	88	28
	niden-	88	9 %	5 7.3
	& U	lži I i	H	10
	30,000 Over	% %	23 26.	16 19,
INCOME	Below 5,000- 20,000- 30,000 & Uniden- 5,000 19,999 29,999 Over tified	%	2 2,2 35 39,8 51 58,0 11 12,5 38 43,2 11 12,5 23 26,1 5 5,6	14 17,1
I	2 -666	8	8 43,2	2 51.2
	5	N	m m	4
	10W	96	2	4,
	E v	No.	7	4.
	H 80	اها	0	5.1
G	Upp	•	11 58	6 5
3		N N	80	7
TION	Middle Upper Class Class	84	30	42
OCCUPATION (a)	20	No	38	35
8	Lower	88	2,2	1,2
	35	No.		-
	e r	80	7.0	7.7
	High	00	54 3	29 1
	ary	21	9	4
ION	cond	82	4	4
EDUCATION	- S	ž	88	3 81
ED	ment	26	19.	29.
	E1e	No	35	8
	No Educa- Elementa- tion ry	No. %	8	3,6
	No Edu	No	10	
			A.U.B. 5 2.8 35 19.9 82 46.6 54 30.7	B. C.W. 6 3.6 48 29.3 81 49.4 29 17.7 1 1.2 35 42.7 46 56.1 4 4.9 42 51.2 14 17.1 16 19.5 6 7.3

(a) Occupation Includes:

Army Personnel, School teachers, administrative and clerical employees, middle or small - sub businessmen, and landowners, skilled technical workers and artisans Managerial, large scale businessmen and landowners, professionals and diplomats. of non-professional status, writers & journalists, clergy. 1 Middle Class Upper Class

Lower Class - Semi skilled and unskilled workers

Hence, a higher proportion of the fathers of BCW graduates have had elementary and secondary education, come from the middle class occupational groups and earn between L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 29,999. A higher proportion of the fathers of AUB graduates, however, have had higher education, come from both upper and lower class occupational levels and earn L.L. 30,000 and over or below L.L. 5,000.

Thus, it can be concluded that the AUB graduates come from higher socio-economic backgrounds than do BCW graduates. However, AUB graduates are represented more frequently at the two ends of the educational, occupational and income levels. Nevertheless, the majority of both groups come from middle and upper class origins, making AUB and BCW highly selective institutions.

Distribution of Graduates According to Purpose in Attending College

Another factor that throws light on the type of clientele served by each educational institution is the students' purposes in entering the institution. It will be significant at this point, after having established the geographical, religious and parental backgrounds of the graduates, to see what the purpose of the graduates was in entering these institutions of higher learning.

Table 16 shows that 40 per cent of the AUB graduates gave as the primary reason for attending college "a desire for higher

education", 30 per cent wished to "achieve higher prestige" and 24 per cent wanted to have an opportunity "to earn a better living". Half of the BCW graduates, on the other hand, stated that they entered college to "achieve higher prestige", 23 per cent in order to "have an opportunity to earn a better living", and 18 per cent because of "a desire for higher education".

The second purpose for attending college as Table 17 reveals, varies slightly. For AUB graduates, 31 per cent listed the second reason as "a chance to earn a better living", 25 per cent to "achieve higher prestige" and 16 per cent because of "a desire for higher education". However, 35 per cent of the BCW graduates listed "to have a chance to earn a better living" as their second reason, 17 per cent listed "to have higher prestige" and 9 per cent listed "to have a better chance in marriage" and "because of nothing else to do" consecutively. These last two items, interestingly enough, were negligible with AUB graduates.

TABLE 16

PURPOSE OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS FOR ATTENDING COLLEGE (First Choice)

	AUB	%	BCW	1/2
To achieve higher prestige	26	29.5	41	50.0
To have abetter chance in marriage	-	-	***	-
To have a chance for earning a better living	21	23.9	19	23.2
Had nothing else to do	1	1.1	1	1.2
Desire for higher education	35	39.8	15	18.3
Other	2	2•3	5	6.1
No answer Total	<u>3</u>	3.4	82	1.2

TABLE 17

PURPOSE OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS FOR ATTENDING COLLEGE (Second Choice)

		44-44-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-		
	AUB	%	BCW	%
To achieve higher prestige	22	25.0	14	17.0
To have a better chance in marriage	1	1.1	7	8.6
To have a chance for earning a better living	27	30+7	29	35•3
Had nothing else to do	1	1.1	7	8.6
Desire for higher education	14	16.0	3	3.6
Other	14	4.5	1+	4.9
No answer Total	19	21.6	18	22.0

Therefore, there is no essential difference in the purpose of the two groups of graduates since they both look upon higher education as an avenue for more prestige, primarily, and secondarily as a means for earning a better living. It can be seen that the difference between the two groups is negligible. However, the proportion of BCW graduates who regarded the purpose of attending college as the achievement of higher prestige is substantially larger than that of their counterparts at AUB (50 per cent for BCW against 30 per cent for AUB graduates), whereas the proportion of AUB graduates who regarded the purpose of attending college as a fulfillment of the desire for higher education is a little less than twice as high (40 per cent for AUB against 18 per cent for BCW graduates).

It can be inferred that the purpose of BCW graduates in attending college is largely social, "to attain higher prestige", whereas AUB graduates desire higher education for its own sake in addition to the gaining of social prestige and earning a better living. The question arises as to whether the AUB graduates place importance on higher education because they are more urbanized and come from better educational backgrounds than their counterparts from BCW.

Distribution of Graduates by Factors and Reasons Affecting Choice of University

The graduates attended college for various purposes and this is related to their choice of the particular institution, but there were also certain other reasons that affected their choice of university.

Of the factors listed in Table 18, it is significant to note that for AUB graduates, the decision was mainly made by the graduates themselves, whereas the influence of parents is comparatively negligible (60 per cent from AUB compared to 48 per cent from BCW). In contrast, it is seen that the influence of parents of BCW graduates is comparatively high (17 per cent among BCW graduates compared to 5 per cent among AUB graduates) which again reflects the more conservative backgrounds of BCW graduates. A point of interest, though, is that other factors affecting choice are approximately correlated in both

institutions, and 'self' forms the major decisive factor for both groups of graduates to have entered either of the two institutions.

TABLE 18

FACTORS AFFECTING CHOICE MADE BY GRADUATE RESPONDENTS OF INSTITUTION

ermen-executes exelocities (S)	AUB	%	BCW	%	
Parents	4	4-5	14	17.1	
Self	53	60.3	39	47.7	
Self and other	14	15-9	13	15.8	
Other	15	17.0	14	17.0	
No answer Total	-88	2.3	82	100.0	

The reasons for the choice of the particular institution can also be linked with the factors affecting the choice, since many graduates were obliged, for certain reasons, to attend one institution rather than the other.

It is seen from Tables 19 and 20 that the majority of AUB graduates chose AUB because of broader fields of specialization and the availability of one branch of study in one institution and not in the other. (First choice, 81 per cent of AUB against 16 per cent of BCW graduates and second choice, 47 per cent of AUB against 15 per cent of BCW graduates).

The majority of BCW graduates, on the other hand, chose BCW because it is not coeducational (29 per cent), and because of more opportunity for individual attention (23 per cent).

The financial reason also rates high with BCW graduates (17 per cent of BCW against 2 per cent of AUB graduates).

We can therefore deduce that AUB graduates chose to enter AUB mainly for academic reasons, whereas BCW graduates chose BCW because it is smaller in size and not coeducational.

TABLE 19

REASONS FOR CHOICE OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS OF INSTITUTION (First Choice)

	AUB	%	BCW	%
Other	5	5.7	7	8.6
Coeducational	6	6.8	_	_
Not coeducational	ino-	-	24	29.2
Broader fields of specialization	49	55.7	2	2.4
More chance of individual attention	1	1.1	19	23.2
Availability of a branch of study in one institution not in other	22	25.0	11	13.4
Less competition	-	-	1	1.2
Financial reasons	2	2.3	14	17.1
Social atmosphere	1	1.1	-	_
No answer Total	88	2.3	82	4.9

TABLE 20

REASONS FOR CHOICE OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS OF INSTITUTION (Second Choice)

	AUB	70	BCW	<u>%</u>
Other	2	2.3	6	7.3
Coeducational	17	19.3	1.	1.2
Not coeducational	-	-	11	13.4
Broader fields of specialization	21	23.9	2	2.4
More chance of individual attention	1	4.5	23	28.0
Availability of a branch of study in one institution and not in the				
other	20	22.7	10	12.2
Less competition	2	2.3	5	6.1
Financial reasons	8	9.1	7	8.6
Social atmosphere	2	2.3	_	-
No answer Total	12	13.6	17	20.8

It is seen then that the graduates of BCW seem to prefer an atmosphere in a smaller institution. This reinforces the earlier conclusion that BCW graduates come from a more traditional background than their AUB counterparts. The fact that the fees are lower at BCW has apparently attracted to it a number of students who could not afford the higher fees at AUB.

Summary and Conclusions

The type of student who enters a certain educational institution is largely determined by the selective policies of the institution itself and by the differential attitudes and preferences of the student and/or her parents.

In assessing the type of graduates who have attended either AUB or BCW, the following salient points are brought out:

- 1. AUB and BCW recruit their students from similar socioeconomic backgrounds. Actually, many AUB graduates have spent one or two years at BCW before transferring to AUB.
- 2. BCW graduates apparently belong to more conservative backgrounds than AUB graduates. Several facts reinforce such a conclusion. In the first place, the number of BCW graduates born in towns and villages is comparatively higher. It naturally follows that people coming from rural areas tend to be more traditional than people coming from urban areas. Furthermore, BCW has a higher percentage of Moslems, who still form the more traditional sector of Middle Eastern society. AUB, on the other hand, has a higher percentage of Protestants, a Christian sect that tends to be more liberal, and it has a larger percentage of Sunni Moslems too, a more liberal Moslem sect. The fact that more parents of AUB graduates have attended universities and come from higher educational and occupational levels makes for less traditionalism among the AUB parents, especially inasmuch as higher education is concerned. The

traditional background of BCW graduates is still more apparent from the fact that the parents of BCW graduates still figure as one of the factors affecting the BCW graduates' choice of institution and also BCW being a non-coeducational institution rates high as one of the reasons for the choice of that institution.

- 3. Both AUB and BCW cater to a middle and upper class elite, as is made clear by the level of education, type of occupation and level of incomes of the fathers of the graduates.
- 4. The parents of the AUB graduates are of higher educational and occupational levels than the parents of BCW graduates; the income level follows the same pattern. However, the AUB graduates are more frequently represented at the highest and lowest categories on the educational, occupational and income scales.
- 5. Regarding their purpose for attending college, higher education for the majority of AUB graduates is regarded as an end in itself, whereas the majority of the BCW graduates regard it as a means of attaining higher prestige. Higher education as a means of earning a better living comes next in importance among both groups of graduates.
- 6. Among the AUB graduates, the choice as to which institution to attend is largely made by the graduates themselves, whereas parents are still an important factor in the choice made by the BCW graduates.

7. The majority of AUB graduates chose AUB because of academic reasons, whereas BCW graduates chose BCW because it was non-coeducational, afforded an opportunity for individual attention, and for financial reasons, in that order.

CHAPTER IV

AUB AND BCW AS AGENCIES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Occupations and Incomes of Graduates

An important function of schools and colleges is the provision of opportunities for social mobility. The fact that higher education is an important factor influencing mobility was discussed in **Cha**pter II. Nonetheless, it should be reiterated that education is not the only factor involved in this process.(1)

Hence the problem is not to establish the degree of correlation between education and social mobility, but rather to trace any changes in the social position of the college graduates as are indicated from a comparison of pre-college and post-college status. It can be safely assumed that this change was affected by the education received. In order to compare the two institutions in this regard, this chapter will examine the backgrounds of the graduates, their marital status, and their occupational status. Therefore, a comparison will be made of the occupations and incomes of the graduates of both institutions, to see the type of occupations they pursue after they graduate, and their earned income. Then a comparison will

¹For more details see C. Arnold Anderson, "A skeptical Note on Education and Mobility", Education, Economy and Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 164-176.

be made of the education, occupations and incomes of the fathers of the graduates with those of the husbands and the fathers-in-law. These three indices will be compared singly as well as collectively.

The Occupations of the Graduates

Mobility occurs in several phases of life, of which occupation is very important. Education, especially university education, is closely related to occupation and income since higher education is the apex of the educational ladder and thus serves the purpose of allocating graduates to specific jobs. To this effect Brunner and Wayland said: "Participation or non-participation in the labor force is the result of the interplay of a number of factors of which education is clearly an important one. Especially for women, since far smaller proportions than men are employed, education is a selective factor."(1)

It should be mentioned, in addition, that the difficulty in assessing the degree of mobility achieved by the college graduates is increased in view of the lack of any national studies which bear on the relationship between education and occupation. This is particularly true in the case of women graduates since there are no figures on women in the labor force. Opportunities for women's employment are not as varied

¹E. des Brunner & Sloan Wayland, "Occupation and Education", Education, Economy and Society (New York; The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 56.

as they are for men, and many parents in Lebanon are still opposed to their daughters entering the labor market.

The results of this study show that there is a concentration among the graduates of both institutions in the teaching profession, one fourth of the AUB graduates and one half of the BCW graduates. While a substantial proportion of the graduates become either elementary or secondary school teachers, a much smaller proportion become college teachers. Teaching reflects some traditionalism in women's backgrounds since teaching was and still is an accepted profession even by those fathers who would not ordinarily allow their daughters to work. Another point that should be mentioned here is that twice as many BCW graduates teach in nursery and elementary schools as do AUB graduates (27 per cent of BCW and 10 per cent of AUB graduates). This may be due to the fact that BCW has an elementary education major in addition to the child development major, both majors training specifically for nursery and elementary teaching. In contrast to this, less than twice the proportion of AUB graduates in the teaching field teach in colleges as compared to those of BCW (8 per cent from AUB against 5 per cent from BCW).

TABLE 21
OCCUPATIONS OF THE GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

	AUB	%	BCW	70
Medical profession	1	4.5	-	700
Laboratory technician	1	1.1	_	
Business women	_	_	1	1.2
Secretaries	15	17.0	9	11.0
Elementary or nursery school teacher and administrators	ers 9	10.2	22	26.8
High school or secondary school teachers and administrators	19	21.6	21	25•7
College teachers	7	8.0	1	4.9
Minor administrative and clerical jobs	14	15.9	11	13.4
Research assistants	7	8.0		
Piano teachers, journalists and writers	2	2.3	2	2.4
No job	10	11.4	11	13-4
No answer Total	88	100.0	82	1.2

The next largest occupational fields which are entered by the graduates are the somewhat related secretarial and clerical fields (33 per cent of the AUB graduates as against 24 per cent of those of BCW). Despite the fact that BCW has no business administration major, a high proportion of its graduates are working in such fields. However, BCW does have a two-year course

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INCOMES OF B.C.W. GRADUATE RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATION TABLE 22--Continued

1									
	LatoT	13.4	36.6	41.5	6.4		1	3.6	100.0
	No Answer	I.	ı	1,2	1			1	1,2
	dot oW	13.4	1	1	τ	. 1	1	1	13.4
	Piano Teachers & Journalists	1	1	1.2	1.2	1	ı	1	204
-	Research Assistants	1	1	ı	1	1	1	1	1
	College Teachers		2.4	2.4	1	1	1	ī	(1)
-	High School or Sec. Teachers		13.4	8.5	2.4	1		1.2	25.6
	Elem. or Nursery Teachers		14.6	11,0	1	1	ı	1,2	26.9
	Minor Administ. & Clerical	1	4.9	6.1	1.2	1	1	1.2	13.4
	Secretaries	1	1.2	8.8	1	1	ı	1	11,0
	Business Women	1.	1	1.2	1	ī	ı	1	1,2
	Lab. Technicians	1	ı	1	1	ı		ı	
	Medical	1	1	ı	ı	i	ı	1	
		No Income	Below LL 5,000	LL 5,000-LL 7,999	LL 8,000-LL 12,999		IL 16,000-LL 19,000	No Answer	Total

TABLE 22

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INCOMES OF AUB GRADUATE RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATION

۱	1								1
	Total	13.6 (12)	28.3 (25)	(36)	13.5	1.1 (1)	2.3		100.0
	dol oW	11.4		, ĵ.	1	1	ř	1	11.4
	Piano Teachers & Journalists								
	Research Assistants	1)	2.3	4:5	1:1	ı	ı	1	8.0
	College Teachers								
	High School or Sec. Teachers	1	8.9	11.4	3.4	1.1	1	1	22.7
	Elem. or Mursery Teachers	1	5.7	4.5	1	-1	1	ì	10.2
	Minor Administ. & Clerical						ř	1	15.9 (14)
	Secretaries						i	1	15.9 (14)
	Business Women	. 1		1	1	1	1	1	1 1
	Lab. Technicians	.1	1:1	ı	1	1	i	1	133
	Medical	1	$\binom{1.1}{(1)}$	1	1.1	ı	2.3	1	4.5
		No Income	Below LL 5,000	LL 5,000-LL 7,999	LL 8,000-LL 12,999	LL 13,000-LL 15,999	LL 16,000-LL 19,000	No Answer	Total

in commerce at the end of which the student earns the degree of Associate in Applied Science.

The graduates in the field of medicine are all from AUB (4 per cent from AUB against none from BCW). All laboratory technicians and research assistants in the sample are AUB graduates.

In general, it can be concluded that AUB and BCW graduates enter similar types of occupations. The disparities that arise are due mainly to the existence of the various professional schools at AUB. Yet the fact remains that the majority of those employed are working as teachers with a larger percentage of the AUB graduates teaching in colleges or secondary schools or employed as secretaries and the like, and a larger percentage of BCW graduates working in nursery and elementary schools.

The Incomes of the Graduates

It has been shown that the graduates enter various occupational fields, a small number of which are professional. It is significant that the majority of graduates in this study work or have worked at remunerative jobs; and that only 2 per cent of the AUB graduates who do secretarial and clerical work do not earn any income. The number of those who have never been employed is nearly the same in both groups (12 per cent of the AUB graduates and 13 per cent of the BCW graduates). This shows that both groups of graduates enter the labor market in about the same proportion. It is pertinent to recall here that

50 per cent of the BCW graduates stated their reason for seeking college education as "to earn a better living" against 24 per cent of the AUB graduates. (See Chapter III)

The study reveals that on the whole AUB graduates are better paid than their counterparts from BCW (Table 22). Why should this be so and does it have any relation to the training the graduates have received?

Naturally, the highest paid are those graduates from the professional schools, which are non-existent at BCW. Three per cent of the AUB graduates in the medical profession earn in the L.L. 16,000 - L.L. 19,999 income bracket per year. is the highest for any of the women graduates. The next highest paid groups are the secondary school and college teachers. Thus, of the twenty secondary-school teachers from AUB, one per cent earn from L.L. 13,000 - L.L. 15,999 per year, three per cent earn from L.L. 8,000 - L.L. 12,999 and eleven per cent earn from L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 7,999 per year. Only seven per cent earn below L.L. 5,000. Corresponding to this, we find that three per cent of the BCW graduates teaching in secondary schools earn from L.L. 8,000 - L.L. 12,999 per year, nine per cent earn from L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 7,999 and as many as thirteen per cent earn below L.L. 5,000. This same discrepancy exists among college teachers since four out of the seven AUB graduates who are college teachers earn between L.L. 8,000 - L.L. 12,999, whereas none of the BCW graduates who are college teachers earn

that amount. In fact, two of the four college teachers from BCW earn as little as L.L. 5,000 and below.

As for the incomes earned at other types of jobs, the difference is negligible and in many cases comparable.

In summary, among the graduates of AUB and BCW who are or were at one time employed, the majority are in the teaching profession, mostly in elementary and secondary schools with a few in colleges. As for the other occupations, there is an equal distribution of AUB graduates. However, there are no BCW graduates in the medical, laboratory technician and research assistant fields.

Table 23 shows that although the majority of the graduates of both institutions earn between L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 7,999, the incomes earned by AUB graduates are relatively higher since 17 per cent from AUB earn between L.L. 8,000 - L.L. 19,999 per year as contrasted to 5 per cent from BCW. On the other hand, 37 per cent of the BCW graduates earn below L.L. 5,000 as contrasted to 28 per cent of the AUB graduates. Furthermore, there is a discrepancy in the yearly incomes of secondary and college teachers as AUB graduates apparently earn more; for example, 50 per cent of the AUB secondary school teachers earn between L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 7,999, whereas 50 per cent of the same group from BCW earn L.L. 5,000 and below.

There are several possible reasons for such a discrepancy, chief of which may be the fact that a larger number of the AUB students have continued with graduate studies. No data is available to support this assumption.

TABLE 23
ANNUAL INCOMES OF THE GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

In Lebanese Pounds		AUB	%	BCW	%
No income		12	13.6	11	13.4
Below 5,000		25	28.4	30	36.6
5,000 - 7,999		36	40.9	34	41.5
8,000 - 12,999		12	13.6	4	4.9
13,000 - 15,999		1	1.1		-
16,000 - 19,999		2	2.3	_	
No answer		_		2	2.4
	Total	88 -	100.0	82	100.0

Geographical Mobility

Before examining the changes in the social status of the graduates as achieved through marriage, it would be appropriate to discuss the geographical mobility of the respondents since geographical mobility is indicative of some change in social status. A change in the place of residence does not only indicate a physical change, but it most often leads to a change

in outlook.

In the case of the graduates, it should be noted that this geographical mobility reflects a decision on the part of either the parents or the husbands and not on the part of the graduates themselves since girls rarely move from one place to another on their own. This is indicated by the fact that a large majority of the graduates who have moved to or from Beirut are married (70 per cent of the married AUB graduates and 60 per cent of the BCW married graduates).

It can be assumed that geographical mobility has played an important role in the lives of the graduates, whether this took place through their fathers or through their husbands. The movement from rural areas to towns, particularly to Beirut, is quite frequent and the opposite is found to be quite negligible. Nevertheless, the majority of the graduates are native urbanites.(1)

Change in Social Status Through Marriage

Marriage can be an important avenue of social mobility. It serves in this capacity for both men and women although in a recent survey of inter-marriage in Schleswig-Holstein, it was revealed that upward social movement through marriage is more common for women than it is for men.(2) This finding is of particular relevance to this study, hence the question,

¹ See Table 8, Chapter III

²Lipset and Bendix, op.cit., p. 45.

how true this is in the case of AUB and BCW graduates.

Marital Status of the Respondents

Before discussing the kinds of marriages the graduates make, it would be pertinent to mention something about the marital status of the sampled graduates. In general, BCW has a higher proportion of married graduates(1) (51 per cent for BCW against 40 per cent for the AUB graduates). As to why there should be a higher marriage rate among the BCW graduates is only a matter of speculation. It could be that a greater proportion of the women entering AUB have professional interests which prevent their marrying at an early age or it could be that in the Middle East men still hold traditional views when it comes to choosing a wife and would rather marry a girl who has not been in a coeducational institution. Again, it would be that BCW has gained a reputation for being a sort of finishing school and in offering courses in Child Development, Home Economics and the like, BCW is thought to be a better institution for training housewives? Another rather interesting possibility based on the viewpoints of the graduates themselves is that BCW graduates are more 'feminine'(2) and in fact, the 'Junior College Students', as BCW students are still called, carry a special reputation of being 'elegant' or 'different'.

lyusr Barbir found out that the same proportion 40 per cent of AUB graduates are married, Barbir, op.cit., p. 30.

^{24.5} per cent of the graduates who would send their daughters to BCW mentioned this reason.

It would be interesting to make a study on the AUB men graduates, to find out their views on this particular point.

In any discussion on marriage in the Middle East, one thing should not be overlooked: that many marriages are arranged by parents. However, with the increasing emancipation of women, it is expected that this pattern will be dying out. In our study, for example, the factors affecting marital choice were mostly chance and personal reasons, such as mutual love and respect (21 per cent at AUB and 33 per cent at BCW). Other factors such as parents or friends form a much smaller proportion (3.4 per cent at AUB and 3.6 per cent at BCW). An interesting point is that a number of graduates at both institutions give their education at one institution or another an important role in deciding their marital choices (9 per cent of the marriages of AUB graduates and 9 per cent of the marriages of BCW graduates). As one of the graduates wrote, "AUB had indirectly played a part in my marriage since my husband wanted me to be educated in an American College".

TABLE 24
FACTORS AFFECTING MARITAL CHOICE

	AUB	%	BCW	%
Chance and personal reasons	19	21.6	27	33.0
Parents and friends	3	3.4	3	3.6
Business	1	1.1	1	1.2
Parents and self	1	1.1	-	-
Chance and/or parents, self	2	2.3	6	7-2
Not married	53	60.3	40	48.8
No answer Total	- 88	100.0	82	6.2 100.0

TABLE 25
WHETHER AUB OR BCW PLAYED A PART IN RESPONDENTS! MARRIAGE

		AUB	%	BCW	%
Yes		8	9.1	7	8.5
No		22	25.0	21	25.7
Not married		53	60.3	40	48.8
No answer	Total	88	5.6 100.0	82	17.0 100.0

We should not overlook the fact that a large proportion of the husbands have had their college education at AUB or at other Western type university (Table 26). Twenty three per cent of the husbands of AUB graduates studied at AUB and six

per cent at other Western colleges, while twenty eight per cent of the husbands of married BCW graduates studied at AUB and five per cent at other Western universities. Those who have attended French universities are much fewer, at BCW the proportion being six per cent and at AUB two per cent.

TABLE 26
UNIVERSITY ATTENDED BY HUSBANDS OF GRADUATE RESPONDENTS

	AUB	%	BCW	%
AUB	20	22.7	23	28.0
St. Joseph	2	2.3	5	6.2
Lebanese State University	2	2.3	1	1.2
Other - non-West	1	1.1	2	2.4
Other - West	5	5.6	4.	4.9
None	3	3.4	1+	4.9
Not married	53	60.3	40	48.8
No answer Total	88	2.3	82	3.6

Comparison Between the Fathers and the Husbands

In order to assess the change in the social status of the graduates through marriage, the education, occupations and incomes of the fathers of the married graduates will now be compared with those of their husbands and later their fathers-in-law.

Table 27 clearly reveals that the husbands of the graduates are better educated than the fathers of the graduates. Obviously, this shows a reciprocal tendency among educated men to look for educated women as spouses. At the same time such women naturally prefer university educated husbands, when given the choice.

Among the husbands of the AUB graduates, none have had education below technical or vocational level. Nearly a quarter (24 per cent) have had more than four years of college, which is more than twice the proportion of their fathers at this level. The proportion of husbands who have had four years of college is even greater (9 per cent of the husbands as compared to 3 per cent of the fathers of the graduates). However, the husbands who have had either two years of college or vocational training are equal in proportion to the first category, 4 per cent) and half as many for the second category, (2 per cent of the husbands as compared with 4 per cent of the fathers of the graduates.)

The difference between the fathers and the husbands of BCW graduates is even more pronounced, especially in the upper educational levels. Thus, nearly three times as many husbands have had more than four years of college (28 per cent of the husbands of the graduates contrasted to 10 per cent of the fathers of the graduates). A little less than three times as many have had four years of college (6 per cent of the husbands

Table 4

Comparison of the Education of the Fathers with Husbands and Fathers-in-Law

			A, I	A,U,B.					B.	B. C.W.		
					Fat	Father-					Fa	Father-
	Fat	Father	Hust	pand	in.	1	Pat	Father	Husband	and	in	in-Law
	No.	88	No.	No. %	No.	26	No.	20	No.	98	No.	80
None	Н	1,1	•	1	1	٠	Н	1,2	1	1	29	2.4
Had some elementary or finished elementary	00	9,1	1	•	10	11.4	10	12,1	н	1,2	16	19,5
Had some secondary or finished secondary	•	6*9	1	1	00	9.1	17	20.8	(4)	2.4	13	15,9
Had some technical or vocational education	6	3.4	3	3.4	1	1,1	60	3.6	3	6,1	7	1,2
Completed more than 2 years of college	4	4.5	73	2,3	4	4.5	1	1,2	'n	6.1	~3	2.4
Completed not more than 4 years of College	ю	3.4	00	9,1	e	3.4	(1)	2.4	S	6.1	-	1.2
Completed more than 4 years of College	10	11,4	21	23,9	00	9,1	00	8.6	23	28,0	9	7,3
Not Married	53	60.2	53	60,2	53	60,2	40	48.9	4	48.9	4	48,9
No Answer	•	1	1	1,1	1	1,1	1	1	1	1.5	т	1,2
Total	88	10000	88	100,0	80	100,0	82	10000	88	100,0	82	10000

as contrasted to 2 per cent of the fathers), and five times as many have had two years of college (6 per cent of the husbands as contrasted to 1 per cent of the fathers). The proportion of husbands who have had technical education is also higher (6 per cent of the husbands against 4 per cent of the fathers). Two husbands have had only secondary education and one has had only elementary education. However, the husband who has had only elementary education is in the highest income bracket (L.L. 30,000 and over) and is a large scale businessman. Consequently, the majority of the husbands of both AUB and BCW graduates have had more than four years of college, with the husbands of the BCW graduates forming a slightly higher percentage. However, there are three husbands from the BCW group who are from a lower educational level than any of the husbands of the AUB group, and also a smaller percentage who have not completed more than four years of college. Otherwise, the educational levels of the husbands of AUB and BCW graduates are similar, taking into consideration the fact that a larger proportion of BCW graduates are married.

Our conclusion then would be that, by and large, the graduates of both institutions have married men of higher educational levels than the level of education attained by the fathers of the graduates. Relatively speaking, however, BCW graduates have married somewhat more highly educated men than their fathers, in contrast to the AUB graduates.

Comparison of the Occupations

In view of the discussion on the education of the husbands, a striking fact about their occupations as compared with those of the fathers of the graduates of both institutions is that the husbands have entered professions that need a substantial amount of education (Table 28).

Among the AUB graduates, as can be expected, a greater majority of their husbands are in the professional or managerial classes as compared with the fathers (20 per cent of the husbands as against 13 per cent of the fathers in the professional class, and 6 per cent of the husbands as compared with 3 per cent of the fathers in the managerial class). The administrative and clerical occupations also increased from 1 (1 per cent) among the fathers to 4 (5 per cent) of the husbands. The greatest drop is witnessed in the categories of large, middle or small-scale businessmen and landowners. In the large-scale group, the decrease among the husbands is from 4 (5 per cent) of the fathers to 1 (1 per cent) of the husbands and in the middle or small scale group from 11 (13 per cent) of the fathers to 3 (3 per cent) of the husbands. None of the husbands are in the skilled or unskilled occupational levels.

The same holds true for the husbands of the BCW graduates.

The increase in the professional and managerial group is

evidenced among the husbands to a more striking degree. Thus,

Table 23

Comparison of the Occupation of the Father with Husbands and Fathers-in-Law

	A. I	A.U.B.			B.C.W.		
			Father-			Father	
	Father No. %	Husband No. %	in-Law No. %	Father No. %	Husband No. %	in-Law	W PS
Manageria1	3 3,4	5 5.7	1 1,1	2 2,4	4 4.9	4	4.9
Large Scale businessman and landowners	4 4.5	1 1,1	8 9.2	16 19,5	9 11,0	14 17,0	7.0
Professionals	11 12,6	17 19.5	9 10.2	8 9.8	17 20,7	4	4.9
Army Personnel	1	1 1,1	1	1 1,2	2 2,4	t	1
School Teachers	2 2,3	1 1,1	1 1,1	1 1,2	1 1,2	1	1,2
Administrative and Clerical	1 1,1	4 4.5	4 4,5	2 2,4	7 8,5	80	6,1
Middle or Small Scale businessman and Landowners	11 12,5	3 3,4	8 9,2	10 12,3	2 2.4	12 14,6	4.6
Skilled technical workers and Artisans of non-Professional status	2 2,3		2 2,3	1	1	1	1
Semi Skilled and unskilled workers	1	,	1	1	,	7	1,8
Diplomats	1 1,1	1 1,1	1	2 2.4	1		i
Writers and journalists		2 2,3	1 1,1	ı		t	1
Clergy	1	1	1 1,1	1	1	1	ŧ
Not Married	53 60,2	53 60,2	53 60,2	40 48.9	40 48.9	40 48.9	8.9
No Answer Total	88 100	88 100	88 100	1 82 100	82 100	2 2	100

the increase in the professional level is from 8 (10 per cent) of the fathers to 17 (21 per cent) of the husbands and in the managerial level from 2 (2 per cent) of the fathers to 7 (9 per cent) of the husbands of the graduates. A parallel drop is seen in the same occupational levels as those of the husbands of AUB graduates, namely large-scale and middle or small-scale businessmen from 16 (18 per cent) of the fathers to 9 (11 per cent) of the husbands and from 10 (12 per cent) of the fathers to 2 (2 per cent) of the husbands respectively.

In comparing the husbands of the graduates of both institutions, the most apparent variation is between the proportion of large-scale businessmen and landowners category with 1 (1 per cent) from AUB and 9 (11 per cent) from BCW. It is to be noted that this group has been a consistently larger one at BCW than at AUB, among the fathers and even fathers-in-law, as well. As was mentioned before, the business and landowning occupations do not depend on specified educational training, although the income earned through them can be very high. It should be mentioned also, that the business stays in the family and is passed on from father to son. In such cases, the sons find that they are well-established at an earlier age than if they had to start on their own. As far as the other occupations, there are no wide variations between the husbands of the graduates of both institutions except for a small number of writers and journalists among the husbands of AUB graduates,

a group that does not exist among the husbands of BCW graduates.

It is to be concluded that the husbands of the graduates of both AUB and BCW are of lightly higher occupational levels than the fathers of the graduates. In most cases this is due to higher educational attainment, particularly in the managerial and professional occupations. Tables 28 shows that in the higher class occupational levels alone, namely the professional, managerial and large-scale businessmen and landowners, the increase is from 21 per cent to 26 per cent among AUB graduates and from 32 per cent to 37 per cent among BCW graduates. Another noticeable difference is in the middle-class occupations where the number dwindles remarkably except in the administrative and clerical occupations, which depend on educational attainment to a certain degree. In some cases the number disappears completely as with the skilled technical workers and artisans who have no professional status.

Comparison of the Incomes

The incomes of the fathers of the graduates and their husbands do not fall into any uniform pattern, however, it is observed that there is a general tendency for the husbands of graduates to fall lower on the income scale than the fathers of the graduates.

Table 29 shows that among the AUB graduates, there is a sharp decline in the highest income bracket of L.L. 30,000 and

Table 24

Comparison of the Incomes of Fathers with Husbands and Fathers-in-Law

			A.U.B.						B,C,W,			
	Fat	Father	Hus	Husband	Father in-La	ather in-Law	Fat	Father	Hus	Husband	Fa ir	Father in-Law
Income in LL	No	26	No.	86	No.	50	No	86	No.	86	No.	88
Below 5,000	9	8.9	1	1	က	3.4	1	1,2	71	2.4	73	4.8
5,000 - 7,999	62	2,3	C8	2,3	4	4.5	7	1,2	C)	4.	н	1,2
8,000 -12,999	8	5.7	00	9,1	9	8.9	00	6.4	7	8,5	9	7,3
13,000 -15,999	8	3.4	4	4.5	က	3,4	4	4.9	0	11,0	73	4.
16,000 -19,999	73	2,3	00	9.1	3	3.4	79	4.	•	7.3	e	3,6
20,000 -29,999	8	5.7	11	12,5	63	2,3	6	11,0	m	3.6	9	7.3
30,000 and Over	10	11,4	63	2,3	9	8.9	14	17,1	27	14.7	14	17,1
Don't know	1	1,1	1	1	2	5.7	1	1	•		4	4.9
No Answer	1	1,1	1	1	n	3.4	т	3.6	1	1,2	4	4.
Not Married	53	60.2	53	60.2	53	60.2	40	48.9	40	48.9 40	40	48.9

over, from 10 (11 per cent) to 2 (2 per cent) of husbands.

However, there is a steady increase in all the other income

brackets with the exception of the L.L. 5,000 - L.L. 7,999 bracket,

which remains the same for both groups.

The disparity in the incomes of the husbands of BCW graduates is more pronounced than that in the incomes of the husbands of AUB graduates. The decrease in the L.L. 30,000 and over bracket is very slight, from 17 per cent to 15 per cent of the husbands of the graduates; whereas the decrease in the L.L. 20,000 - L.L. 29,999 is more definite (from 11 per cent of the fathers to 4 per cent of the husbands of the graduates). As for the other income brackets, an increase is evident in almost all brackets (See Table 29).

on the whole, the incomes of the husbands of the BCW graduates are higher than those of the husbands of the AUB graduates. The largest difference Lies in the highest income bracket in which the number of the husbands of the BCW group comes up to 12 (15 per cent) as contrasted to 2 (2 per cent) of the husbands of the graduates. Nevertheless, in the L.L. 16,000 - L.L. 19,999 and L.L. 20,000 - L.L. 29,999 income brackets, the AUB husbands are more numerous, 8 and 11 from AUB (9 per cent and 13 per cent) against 6 and 3 (7 per cent and 4 per cent) of BCW husbands. However, 2 per cent of the husbands of the BCW graduates earn below L.L. 5,000 per year, whereas none of the husbands of the AUB graduates earn such a low income.

We may conclude that the husbands of the AUB and BCW graduates earn less money than the fathers. The decrease is most apparent in the highest income brackets among the husbands of the AUB graduates, but there is a steady increase in the other income brackets throughout, among the same group. On the other hand, though the decrease among the husbands of the BCW graduates in the highest income brackets as compared to the fathers is not so sharp, the increase in the other brackets is irregular. The higher incomes of the fathers is due particularly to the fact that the fathers are in landowning and large-scale business occupations in much larger proportions than their sons-in-law. The factor of age is also important since the fathers have been working for a much longer period and have more or less established their businesses. It is not unlikely that by the time the husbands reach the age of the fathers their earning will equal and perhaps surpass those of the fathers. At the present stage the evidence shows a positive change in status.

Composite Picture

The factors of education, occupation and income are now going to be combined in one table for comparison. Table 30 presents a combined picture of the education, occupation and income of the fathers of the graduates and their husbands.

TABLE 30

COMPOSITE TABLE OF THE COMPARISON BETWEEN FATHERS AND HUSBANDS OF AUB GRADUATE RESPONDENTS(a)

EDUCATION COCCUPATION Lower Middle Ementary Secondary Higher Class Class No. % No. % No. % No. %	9,1 9 10,2 17 19,3 0 - 16 18,2 19 21,6	- 3 3.4 31 35.3 0 - 11 12.4 24 27.4 0 - 22 25.0 11 12.5 2 2.3
No ucation Ele	1,1 8	0

(a) The graduates who are not married were excluded from this table

(b) Occupation - See Table 11

TABLE 30--Continued

COMPOSITE TABLE OF THE COMPARION BETWEEN FATHERS AND HUSBANDS OF BCW GRADUATE RESPONDENTS (a)

				EDUCAT.	NOI				3	PATIO	(P)				LNCC	ラ	
	Educa No.	o ation	Elen No.	entary %	Seco.	ndary %	Secondary Higher	Lower Middle Upper Class Class No. % No. % No. %	Lower Middle Class Class No. % No. %	ddle lass	No.	% SS		Below 5,000- 20,000- 30,000 5,000 19,000 29,000 & Over No. % No. % No. % No. %	- 20, %	000	30,0 % 0,4 No.
Father	1	1,2	1.2 10	12.2	.2 20	24,4	24,4 11 13,4		- 14	17,1	28 3	14.1	1 1,2	11,2 1518,39 11,0 14 17,1	3 9	11.0	14 1
Husband	0	1	7	1.2	7	8,5	8.5 33 40.2		- 12	14.5	30	9.9	0 - 12 14.5 30 36.6 2 2.4 24 30.2 3 3.6 12 14.7	24 30.	2 3	3.6	12 1

⁽a) The graduates who are not married were excluded from this table

⁽b) Occupation - See Table 11

There is no doubt that the social status of the graduates changes considerably when they marry. Upward mobility is evident in a comparison of the education, in particular, and occupations of the fathers of the graduates and their husbands. Among the AUB graduates nearly twice as many husbands have had higher education (35 per cent as compared with 19 per cent of the fathers of the graduates) and among the BCW graduates three times as many (40 per cent as compared with 13 per cent of the fathers). In occupational terms, the difference is not so great, but there definitely are more husbands of graduates in the higher occupational levels than fathers of graduates of both institutions. No such pattern is revealed in income comparisons. There is a large discrepancy in the highest income bracket between the fathers of AUB graduates and the husbands; this difference is not so great between the fathers of BCW graduates and their husbands. The opposite is true, however, in the L.L. 20,000 - L.L. 29,999 income bracket as a much larger proportion of the husbands rather than the fathers of AUB graduates belong to this income bracket, the proportion of husbands of BCW graduates being much smaller than that of the fathers.

The change in status achieved by the BCW graduates through marriage is proportionately greater than that achieved by the AUB graduates. This is especially true in the educational levels.

Comparison Between the Fathers and Fathers-in-law

In comparing the education of the fathers of the AUB and BCW graduates with their fathers-in-law, it is found that the fathers of both groups of graduates are slightly more educated than their respective fathers-in-law (Table 27). Eleven per cent of the fathers of AUB graduates have completed more than four years of college as compared with 9 per cent of the fathers-in-law. Moreover, the proportion of the fathers-in-law who have had vocational or technical education beyond secondary school is larger (3 per cent compared with 1 per cent of the fathers-in-law of graduates). On the other hand, the number of fathers-in-law who have finished elementary and those who have finished secondary schools is larger (11 per cent and 9 per cent of the fathers-in-law against 9 per cent and 7 per cent of the fathers of the AUB graduates respectively.)

The same pattern is evident in the educational achievement of the fathers and fathers-in-law of BCW graduates. Thus, the fathers form a larger proportion in the categories of secondary, vocational, college and post college education, (21 per cent, 4 per cent, 2 per cent, and 10 per cent of the fathers in contrast to 16 per cent, 1 per cent, 1 per cent, and 7 per cent of the fathers-in-law of the graduates respectively). Moreover, the proportion of fathers-in-law who are not educated or have had only elementary education is larger.

In line with the findings on the fathers of AUB and BCW graduates, the fathers-in-law of the AUB graduates are more educated than the fathers-in-law of the BCW graduates. On this same point, 9 per cent of the fathers-in-law of the AUB graduates have completed more than four years of college as compared to 7 per cent of the fathers-in-law of BCW graduates. Eight per cent of the fathers-in-law of AUB graduates have had either two years or four years of college as compared with 4 per cent of the fathers-in-law of BCW graduates. At the lower end of the educational scale, the fathers-in-law of BCW graduates form a larger proportion in all categories. Thus, 2 per cent of the fathers-in-law of BCW graduates have had no education against none for AUB, 20 per cent have had elementary education against 11 per cent for AUB and 16 per cent have had secondary education against 9 per cent for AUB.

In summary, a larger percentage of the fathers of both the AUB and BCW graduates have had more education than the fathers-in-law. Nonetheless, this falling in status in terms of educational background of the husbands of the graduates is due to several reasons, namely, that the fathers-in-law of the graduates are in many cases much older than the fathers. That is so because the men in this country marry later; in some cases there is a difference of nearly fifteen years between the husband and wife. This is important since formal schooling did

not have the importance it now has nor were there as many facilities for education. So it would be natural to expect that those who are older would be less educated.

Another reason might be that since education for girls was not and still is not, to some extent, regarded as a necessity(1), not all parents send their daughters to college except those parents who appreciate the need for higher education or those who have experienced it themselves and know its value for girls as well as for boys. This is not the case with boys and therefore some parents who might send their sons to a university will not be prepared to send their daughters. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that the disparity that exists in the educational levels of the fathers and the fathers-in-law is not very large.

Comparison of the Occupations

As with educational attainment, Table 28 shows that the fathers of both AUB and BCW graduates are of higher occupational pursuits than the fathers-in-law. An exception is found only in the case of the fathers-in-law of AUB graduates in the large-scale businessmen and landowner group, occupations which have been regarded as higher-class but which do not require any

The author remembers that when she entered the freshman class at BCW in 1952-53, one of her high school classmates was not allowed to go to college because her parents thought that a college education would be a waste of time and money. According to them, their daughter would eventually get married and she would have no use for her college degree. It should be noted, however, that all her brothers went or were going to a university; her parents only had elementary education.

substantial amount of educational training. The proportion of fathers-in-law of AUB graduates in this category is double that of the fathers (9 per cent of the fathers-in-law as compared to 4.5 per cent of the fathers of AUB graduates). However, the proportion of fathers of AUB graduates in the other upper class occupations is higher than the proportion of fathersin-law. Thus, the proportion of the fathers in the managerial class is 3 per cent for fathers against 1 per cent for fathersin-law of the AUB graduates and the proportion of fathers in the professional class is 13 per cent of the fathers as compared to 10 per cent of the fathers-in-law of the AUB graduates. Accordingly, there are more fathers in the middle and smallscale business and landownership occupations (13 per cent of the fathers against 9 per cent of fathers-in-law of AUB graduates), whereas a higher percentage of fathers-in-law are in the administrative and clerical occupations (5 per cent of the fathers-in-law as compared with 1 per cent of the fathers of BCW graduates). A similar proportion is maintained by the two groups in the occupations of skilled technical workers and artisans of non-professional status.

A somewhat different pattern is found among the fathers of the BCW graduates and their fathers-in-law. Subsequently, although the proportion of fathers in the professional and large-scale business and landowner occupations is higher than that of the fathers-in-law (10 per cent and 20 per cent of the fathers against 5 per cent and 17 per cent of the fathers-in-law of BCW graduates, respectively), the fathers-in-law in the managerial profession are more numerous (5 per cent of the fathers-in-law against 2 per cent of the fathers). Similarly, a larger proportion is evident in the administrative and clerical occupations (6 per cent of the fathers-in-law against 2 per cent of the fathers of BCW graduates) and the middle or small-scale business and landowner occupations (15 per cent of the fathers-in-law against 12 per cent of the fathers of BCW graduates).

Contrary to the educational levels of the fathers-in-law of the graduates of both institutions, the fathers-in-law of BCW graduates are of higher occupational levels than the fathers-in-law of the AUB group. This is so in spite of the fact that the number of fathers-in-law of BCW graduates in the professional class is noticeably small (5 per cent of the fathers-in-law of BCW graduates in contrast to 10 per cent of the fathers-in-law of AUB graduates). Yet, the presence of a big group of large-scale businessmen and landowners accounts for the higher percentage of the fathers-in-law of the BCW group in higher class occupations. In addition, the number of fathers-in-law of BCW graduates in the middle or small-scale business and landownership group is larger than that of the fathers-in-law of the AUB graduates although the number of the

fathers-in-law in middle class occupations remains essentially the same in the two groups. Only one father-in-law is in the low-class level and he is from the BCW group. His son, however, is from the professional occupational class.

Thus, graduates of AUB ascend the occupational scale through marrying men mainly from large-scale business and landownership backgrounds, whereas BCW graduates ascend the occupational scale through marrying into families of managerial and large-scale business and landownership levels. The substantial increase in the administrative and clerical occupations among the fathers-in-law of both groups is also significant since this occupation carries more prestige in this country than the small-scale business or landownership occupations do, although both occupational types have been classified as middle class ones. For example, an employee of a company who holds an administrative position enjoys more social prestige than someone having a small shop in Souk Sursok as do some of the fathers of the graduates listed in this category. So that if it appears as though there has been downward mobility in the family the girls has married into, there has been a proportionate upward mobility in certain upper and middle class occupational levels.

Comparison of Income

The income pattern of the fathers and the fathers-in-law corresponds with the educational and occupational patterns.

Hence, the fathers of the graduates come from higher income brackets than the fathers-in-law.

In the top two brackets, as Table 29 shows, the fathers of AUB graduates form 11 per cent and 6 per cent against 7 per cent and 2 per cent of the fathers-in-law respectively. Nevertheless, twice the proportion of fathers earn below L.L. 5,000,(7 per cent in contrast to 3 per cent of the fathers-in-law.)

Among the BCW graduates, the same proportion of fathers and fathers-in-law (17 per cent) earn more than L.L. 30,000. This may be due to the big number of large-scale businessmen and landowners in both groups. In the L.L. 20,000 - L.L. 29,999 income level, L.L. 13,000 - L.L. 15,999 and L.L. 8,000 - L.L. 12,999, the BCW fathers form a larger proportion than the fathers-in-law (11 per cent, 5 per cent and 10 per cent of the fathers against 7 per cent, 2 per cent and 7 per cent of the fathers-in-law, respectively).

Hence, the fathers-in-law of BCW graduates definitely make more money than the fathers-in-law of AUB graduates.

More than twice as many fathers-in-law of BCW graduates earn more than L.L. 30,000 and some of them fall in the L.L. 20,000 - L.L. 29,999 income brackets. More of the fathers-in-law of the AUB graduates fall in the lower income brackets than the

fathers-in-law of BCW graduates. This might tend to show that upward mobility is more evident among BCW graduates than among AUB graduates. Actually, if the income of the fathers of the married graduates is to be taken only, we will find this contrary to the findings in Chapter III on the general income of the fathers; the BCW married graduates come from higher economic levels than the married graduates of AUB and this partly explains the reason for such a high income level among the fathers of the married BCW graduates. We should not forget the large group of large-scale businessmen and landowners among both the fathers and the fathers-in-law of the BCW graduates, whose incomes are invariably very high.

A Composite Picture

Table 31 gives a composite picture of the education, occupations and incomes of the fathers of the graduates and their fathers-in-law. In general, the fathers of the graduates of both groups are of higher levels in education, occupation and income than the fathers-in-law. However, even though the fathers-in-law of the BCW graduates are of lower educational levels than the fathers-in-law of AUB graduates, they are of higher occupational and economic levels. This is also true of the fathers of the BCW married graduates as contrasted to the fathers of the married AUB graduates, which leads us to conclude that even though the graduates marry men from lower educational, occupational and financial backgrounds, the pattern proportionately reinforces the graduates own backgrounds.

TABLE 31

COMPOSITE TABLE OF THE COMPARISON BETWEEN FATHERS AND FATHERS-IN-LAW OF AUB GRADUATE RESPONDENTS(a)

				EDUCAT	NOI				OCCUPATION(b)	N(b)			INCOME		
	Educ. No.	o ation	Elem No.	No ducation Elementary io. % No. %	Secor No.	ndary %	Secondary Higher No. % No. %	Lower Class No. %	Lower Middle Class Class No. % No. %	Higher Class No. %	Below 5,000 No. %	Below 5,000- 5,000 19,999 No. % No. %	20,000- 29,999 No. %	000	20,000- 30,000 29,999 & Over No. % No. %
Father	7	1,1	00	9.1	6	10,2	10,2 17 19,3	0	- 16 18.2 19 21.6 6 6.8 12 13.6 5 5.7 10 11.4	19 21,6	8.99	12 13.6	In		5.7]
Father- in- Law	٥	1	10	11.4	6	10.2	15 17,0	0	10.2 15 17.0 0 - 17 19.3 18 20.5 3 3.4 16 18.1 2 2.3 6 6.8	18 20.5	3 3.4	16 18,1	81		٣.

⁽a) The graduates who are not married were excluded from this table

⁽b) Occupation - See Table 11

TMBLE 31--Continued

COMPOSITE TABLE OF THE COMPARISON BETWEEN FATHERS AND FATHERS-IN-LAW OF BCW GRADUATE RESPONDENTS(a)

				EDUCAT	LION				0	CCUP	OCCUPATION(b)	(P)			II	INCOME			
		No						1	Lower	Mid	dle	Lower Middle Higher	Belc	W	-000	20,0	-000	30,0	00
	Educ No.	ation %	Elem No.	ducation Elementary	Seco No.	Secondary Higher No. % No. %	High No.	29 G	Class No. %	N S	Class	Class Class Class		% १ १ १	5,000 19,999 29,609 & Over No. % No. % No. %	29, No.	600	ა ი ა	98 G
Father	1	1,2	1,2 10	12.2		24.4	11 11	3.4	0	14	17,1	28 34,1	20 24.4 11 13.4 0 - 14 17.1 28 34.1 1 1.2 15 18.3 9 11.0 14 17.1	2 15	18,3	6	0.11	14 1	7,1
Father- in- Law	64	4.2	2.4 16	19.5		17.1	9 10	6.0	1 1.2	18	21.9	22 26.	14 17.1 9 10.9 1 1.2 18 21.9 22 26.8 2 2.4 12 14.5 6 7.3 14 17.1	4 12	14.5	9	7.3	14 1	7.1

(a) The graduates who are not married were excluded from this table

⁽b) Occupation - See Table 11

Summary and Conclusions

Other than the occupational pursuits and changes in residence that might indicate a change in the social status of the graduates of AUB and BCW, marriage is utilized as a major channel for social mobility. The main findings of this chapter are the following:

- l. The graduates of both AUB and BCW tend to pursue similar occupations and the majority earn in the L.L. 5,000 L.L. 7,999 income bracket. However, AUB graduates more frequently enter the professional fields including college teaching positions than BCW graduates and a larger proportion also earn better incomes.
- 2. There has been a substantial amount of geographical mobility among the rural born graduates of both institutions especially in the BCW group. The change has usually been from place of birth to the cities, mostly Beirut. Nevertheless, this movement does not reflect a movement on the part of the graduates themselves but rather of their parents or of their husbands, if married. The number of married graduates involved in geographical mobility is relatively large.
- 3. The graduates of both institutions generally seem to reinforce their own social positions through marriage, if not educationally, at least occupationally and financially. There are several reasons why this should be so. In the first place

most of the graduates come from the middle or upper classes and they more or less like to maintain similar standards. Another reason might be that close family ties and restrictions on dating prevent the graduates from meeting members of the opposite sex who are not from their own socio-economic level. It should be reiterated, nonetheless, that among the respondents, arranged marriages do not seem to be the accepted norm and factors such as 'AUB, 'chance' and 'personal reasons' are rated most frequently by them as having affected marital choices.

- 4. Among the respondents, more BCW than AUB graduates were found to be married. We can only draw some very general assumptions as to why this should be so, mainly that either AUB graduates are more professionally minded and may be more demanding as to the type of men they want to marry, or that the men are more conservative when they come to choose a mate and prefer a graduate of a non-coeducational institution.
- 5. The most important point to emphasize in this chapter is that the graduates marry men who are educationally and occupationally of higher status than the graduates own fathers. This is not always true financially speaking because of the fact that there are more fathers in the large-scale business and landownership groups, two occupations that bring in very high earnings. This shows that the graduates of both institutions do achieve higher social statuses through marriage.

- 6. A comparison of the fathers and the fathers-in-law of the graduates does not reveal any significant amount of difference in status. In fact, there is a slight degree of downward mobility between the fathers of the graduates and their fathers-in-law. Thus, the husbands have improved in relation to their fathers and the graduates have improved in relation to their own fathers.
- 7. The graduates of both institutions marry men of higher educational levels than their fathers, especially on the university level. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the husbands are from the professional, managerial and administrative occupational class.
- 8. AUB graduates ascend the occupational scale through marrying into families of large-scale businessmen and land-ownership status, while BCW graduates ascend the occupational scale through marrying into families of professional and large-scale businessmen and landownership status.
- 9. BCW graduates tend to marry men who are proportionately more educated than their own fathers and fathers-in-law and are of higher occupational and income levels than the husbands of their counterparts from AUB.
- 10. Although both AUB and BCW serve as agents for change in the social status of their graduates, no conclusive facts can be drawn about their differential roles in that capacity. Thus AUB graduates have better positions and earn higher incomes

in the same occupations but we cannot say that AUB is a more effective agent for occupational mobility. Again the differences between the husbands and the fathers of the BCW graduates in the educational and occupational levels are higher in proportion to those between the husbands and the fathers of AUB graduates, just as the incomes of the husbands of BCW graduates are higher than those of AUB graduates. Yet we cannot conclude that BCW is a more effective agent for social mobility since many other factors are involved than the ones we have already discussed. Only a certain pattern can be thereby detected.

CHAPTER V

AUB AND BCW AS ACCULTURATION AGENCIES

Acculturation

Having assessed the role of AUB and BCW as agencies for promoting social mobility, we will now examine the two institutions as agencies for affecting the general attitudes of their clientele. The questions that arise are: In what phases of college life does acculturation occur and how do AUB and BCW differ as agencies of acculturation?

Definition of Acculturation

Acculturation, in this study, may be defined as "the transmission of cultural elements from one social group or people to another."(1) Thus, any one group or groups of persons interacting with one another are bound to affect each other. It is of the nature of social groups that, as Parsons says, "the content patterns of value orientation must be such that the reciprocal orientation of the interacting actors will mesh with each other."(2)

An individual learns from the group in which he lives or studies with, particularly in the formation of social attitudes.

Webster's International Dictionary - under "acculture".

²Talcott Parsons, <u>The Social System</u> (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1952), p. 52.

Student values do change in college also, to varying degrees. But as Jacob put it, "the impetus to change does not come primarily from the formal educational climate. Potency to affect student values is found in the distinctive climate of a few institutions, the individual and personal magnetism of a sensitive teacher with strong value-commitments of his own, or value-laden personal experiences of students imaginatively integrated with their intellectual development."(1) In a study carried out by Theodore Newcombe on the changes in social attitudes among girls at Bennington College during the early years of their education, it was found that there was a certain amount of change in the attitudes of the students, from conservative to more liberal social attitudes. It was found also that the longer a student remained at the college, the more liberal she became. Those who were most affected were the ones who accepted and enjoyed their college experience. (2)

Undoubtedly, the students who come to AUB or BCW undergo various changes in their attitudes, outlooks, social development and understanding. It has been expressly stated in the catalogues and other informative reports that both AUB and BCW are not only interested in the cultivation of the students' intellect, but also in the development of their total personality.

Philip E. Jacob, Changing Values in College (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 11.

Theodore M. Newcombe, "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups: The Bennington Study." In Encyclopedia of Educational Research, ed. Chester W. Harris, 3rd. ed. (1960), pp. 420-430.

In one of her speeches, Miss Frances Gray, President of BCW, expressed this same idea adeptly: "Along with excelling intellectual achievement," she said, "we desire for each of our graduates emotional, social and spiritual maturity. "(1) In another address to the graduating classes, she said: "We expect you to be women of deep compassion and this will be the measure of your true culture far more than an A.A., A.A.S., a B.A., or a B.S. degree. "(2) One of the graduates of BCW and a teacher in that institution at present gave her own reflections in an article written in one of the local magazines. In it she says: "We rear students who come to us, only to leave us after four years with a noticeable degree of understanding, maturity, open-mindedness, love, dedicated work, research and curiosity. Above all is the development of a sense of responsibility, the responsibility of improving the Arab World and saving it from corruption, disintegration and atheism."(3)

The term 'acculturation' as will be used in this chapter, will refer to the changes that take place in the graduates of AUB and BCW as a result of their having attended either institution. The rest of this chapter will discuss certain phases of college life in relation to acculturation and the

¹ Frances M. Gray, "To Sail Beyond the Sunset", A Speech delivered on the occasion of her inauguration as President of BCW, Beirut, Nov. 21, 1959.

²Frances M. Gray, "The Seven Seas of Wisdom", A Baccalaureat address delivered at BCW, Beirut, June 1962.

³Thurayya Malhas, "Why", Al Hasnaa, May 12, 1964.

These areas will include the distinctive nature of the institution - coeducational or not and the diversity in student body - teacher-student relationship, and the co-curricular activities. The reflections of the graduates on their respective alma maters will serve as a major source for discussion. In addition, the opinions of certain administrative personnel, who are or were related to AUB and/or BCW and the viewpoints of the author herself, who has had the privilege of attending both institutions, will be considered.

Transition from High School to College

When a student finishes high school and enters college, she naturally expects to encounter different experiences and assume more responsibilities. In Lebanon, especially, the gap between high schools and universities is wide and the students have to go through a long period of adjustment. In the first place, the assignments at college are longer and require more reading; secondly, the student is left on her own and she is bound to feel lost among her new friends and faculty members; thirdly, she is always on the move, from one classroom to another, from one building to another, from one teacher to another and from one activity to another. Even finding the library and knowing how to use its facilities needs some skill which the student has to acquire.

This is why an orientation program for new students is essential. Over and over again, one hears the same complaint from new students, "It is the first time I have left my family and am expected to be on my own. I have to look after myself now and even choose my own clothes, but I'm lost. On top of all this is the strangeness of the place and the students."

Phases of College Life Where Acculturation Occurs

Coeducational or Segregated

It is always interesting to watch these same students make progress and after one year, sometimes more, become able to help other students in their adjustment to college life. However, this whole process of adjustment and gaining maturity is greatly affected by the nature of the institution the students attend and in that respect there is an essential difference between AUB and BCW. This difference is the obvious one, namely, that AUB is a coeducational institution, whereas BCW is a women's college.

Coeducation is not very common on the elementary and secondary levels in Lebanon, and less so in other Arab countries. However, a little less than a quarter of the graduates who chose to attend AUB did so because of the fact that it is coeducational. Furthermore, nearly two fifths of the AUB graduates and one quarter of the BCW graduates would also select

AUB for their own daughters because it is coeducational and it affords a better opportunity for competition.

It is therefore obvious, as Miss Mary Robinson, Dean of Women at AUB remarked, that coeducation is a growing trend in the Middle East, especially at the university level. (1) Evidently, AUB has an important role to play in that area. According to Miss Moreland, Assistant to the President at BCW and former Director of Residence Halls at AUB, coeducation at AUB aims at teaching the women how to get along with men and to work as equals with them. (2) In many cases this has proved to be very stimulating to the girls especially because they have to compete keenly with the men. Miss Robinson has found out through various interviews with the women students at AUB that many of them actually feel terrified when they first enter AUB. In some cases they do not even attempt to participate in class discussions. However, after the first semester is over, they get used to and actually enjoy having boys as classmates. since they find the class sessions more stimulating.

The author has found the class sessions she attended at AUB generally more stimulating than the ones she attended at BCW. This was mainly because of the presence of men students who proved to be more responsive, questioning and argumentative

Interview with Miss Mary Robinson, Dean of Women at AUB, Sept. 15, 1964.

²Interview with Miss Helen Moreland, Assistant to the President at BCW, Oct. 19, 1964.

than the average woman student. This often lent more interest to class discussions and encouraged more people to participate in them.

BCW, on the other hand, as a women's college has certain advantages, like any other small women's college around the world. For some girls, BCW offers the only possibility for continuing their education, although they themselves might have had another preference. Dr. Orme, former Academic Dean at BCW, believes that some girls, however, do better in a segregated college, especially if they are shy or have been protected all their lives.(1) At BCW, for example, they have more opportunity for individual attention and they do not need to compete with men. Moreover, they have more opportunities to develop leadership. In a coeducational college, the girls inevitably stand less of a chance when it comes to assuming leadership positions, because these are mostly in the hands of boys, whereas at BCW there is no such competition. also makes some girls more relaxed to assume duties in an allwomen situation.

The fact that two fifths of the BCW graduates would rather send their daughters to BCW because it is segregated, small, and gives more individual attention, shows that there is a great need for a non-coeducational institution. Furthermore, the fact that 16 per cent of the graduates from both

lInterview with Dr. Rhoda Orme, former Academic Dean at BCW, Aug. 9, 1964.

institutions would send their daughters first to BCW for one or two years and then to AUB shows that BCW is fulfilling still another need as a transitional college for certain girls. As an example, one of the respondents wrote that the BCW experience is necessary "so that the students will not need to go and be lost at AUB."(1)

Thus, AUB as a coeducational institution is becoming more and more in demand, since a growing number of parents want their daughters to undergo the experience of studying and working with men. On the other hand, there still is a large group who prefer a segregated college where the student can develop without having to compete with men. In both cases, the college experience is helping the students to mature, develop more poise and self-assurance and assume more responsibility and self-dependence. At AUB, the girls have more opportunity to learn how to deal with men and work with them; at BCW, the girls have more opportunities for leadership.

Diversity in Student Body

Apart from the fact that AUB is a coeducational institution and BCW is not, there is a wide diversity in the composition of the student bodies of both institutions.

In 1963-64, about 40 per cent of the women students attending AUB were boarders, whereas among the BCW students

Quotations of the graduates! opinions in this chapter are taken from the responses in the questionnaires.

nearly 50 per cent were boarding students. In that same year, more than twenty-one nations and six major religious sects were represented in both institutions (see Tables 32,33 &34). Thus, the students of both institutions have the privilege of living in a cosmopolitan atmosphere and meeting people from various racial, religious, ethnic, and national backgrounds.

TABLE 32.

DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN STUDENTS AT AUB AND BCW

1963 - 64

		AUB	%	BCW	%
Boarders		261	41.6	231	46.7
Day students	Total	366 627	58.4 100.0	263 494	53.3

TABLE 33
DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN STUDENTS AT AUB AND BCW BY RELIGION
1963 - 64

					=
	AUB	76	BCW	76	
Bahai	ĺ	0.2	3	0.5	
Christian	423	67-5	272	55.1	
Druz	13	2.1	18	3.6	
Hindu	4.	0.6	5	1.0	
Jew	1	0.2	- 1	0.2	
Moslem	181	28.8	195	39.6	
Other Total	627	100.0	494	100.0	

TABLE 34
DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN STUDENTS AT AUB AND BCW BY NATIONALITY
1963 - 64

3:11:3:33377333333		AUB	BCW	18 W 5 1 5 2
Bahrain		_	9	
Cyprus		7	3	
Egypt		14-	3	
Ethiopia		19		
Europe		20	10	
India		_	5	
Iran		29	2	
Iraq		18	33	
Jordan		84	91	
Kuwait			9	
Lebanon		277	221	
Pakistan		13	1	
Palestine		15	16	
Saudi Arabia		5	7	
Sudan		3	1.	
Syria		50	43	
Turkey		6	500	
U.S.A.		53	37	
Others	Total	24 627	494	

Original figures for charts 32, 33, and 34 are taken from Student Life Office at AUB and the Registrar's Office at BCW.

Twenty per cent of the AUB graduates put down contact with fellow students as the main cause of satisfaction during their years of study at AUB and 38 per cent put it down as the second or another cause of satisfaction. AUB graduates feel the importance of the experience of mixing with other people and they feel that AUB more so than BCW offers this opportunity, probably due to the larger number of students and the greater chance for contact with each other.

TABLE 3.5.

CAUSES OF SATISFACTION DURING YEARS OF STUDY AT ALMA MATER

******	Fir	st Cho	ice		S	econd	Choic	e
	AUB	%	BCW	%	AUB	%	BCW	%
Atmosphere	17	19.3	18	22.0	17	19.3	17	20.
Contact with fellow students	18	20.4	21	25.7	33	37.5	23	28.0
The quality of academic life	45	51.1	29	35.3	14	15.9	19	23.2
A chance to particip in activities	ate.	5.7	10	12.2	12	13.6	12	14.
Extra curricular	2	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	_	-	-	-	2	2.1
No answer Total	1 88	1.1	82	100.0		13.6 100.0	<u>9</u> 82	11.0

BCW graduates, like their AUB counterparts, rate contact with fellow students quite highly as a cause of satisfaction during their years of study at BCW (26 per cent give it as first choice and 28 per cent give it as second choice). Yet, even though there is as much diversity among the BCW students as there is at AUB, but on a smaller scale, not one graduate comments on the value of this cosmopolitan environment or the importance of the experience that is obtained from student contact. This may be so because at BCW opportunities are more limited due to the fact that BCW is smaller which induces national or religious groups to remain together.

Student-Teacher Relationship

Just as a student develops and matures as a result of dealing with fellow students of different sexes, nationalities and types, her relationship with her teachers is also important. "Close relationship between professors and the students encourages the process of personal education and creates a breadth of learning and interest."(1)

In most high schools, the teacher maintains a formal relationship with her students and in some cases, is obliged to sit at an elevated desk in the classroom. It is true that he or she has influence on the students but there is always a 'thou-me' relationship. The change in the direction to

¹AUB, General Catalogue, 1962-63.

a less formal teacher-student relationship at AUB or BCW is a welcome one. The student is treated as an adult, a friend and an equal as a human being, and she enjoys that role fully. It is customary to find at the beginning of the year some students standing up when the teacher enters the classroom and they are surprised when they are told not to. On the whole there is more submissiveness in high school students and less self-dependence. (1) However, there is always the danger, especially at BCW, since there are no boys around, to misunderstand such permissiveness and the job of the teacher becomes that of training the student through this informal relationship to change from an obedient, submissive type to a more independent one. This is why the graduates of both institutions appreciate the relationship they have had with their teachers and some of them ask that it be maintained by all. They tend to resent those teachers who insist on treating them as high school students.

The AUB graduates, on the whole, are more critical of their teachers than the BCW group. Fifty per cent of the comments of AUB graduates on faculty were requests for a closer relationship between teachers and students. The graduates feel that individual attention at AUB is sometimes lacking. Although it is felt that AUB is able to recruit a larger number of qualified teachers, there are some graduates who believe

In all informal talks the author has had with her freshman students, this point is brought up.

that professional excellence is not enough. "We need more dedicated teachers", one graduate wrote, "who are not only proficient in their field of training, but who are willing to give more to the students than just the classroom lecture."

Another graduate made the following comment, "The AUB should engage professors wholly devoted to academic life and not self-centered, business-minded professors."

Dr. Fuad Sarruf in an article written for Al-Kulliyah, gave the following answers when asked if he regretted anything that the old days had, which has not been preserved: "Despite shortages and all sorts of difficult conditions, the professors used to invite us for tea, sympathetic conversation and some entertaining parlour games. We gained in general knowledge and appreciation of character. Personally, I would like to see this kind of relationship continued in something sociable, inexpensive, simple, and intelligent."(1)

In answer to the same question, Professor Philip Sim'an wrote, "Yes, it has lost a sense of intimacy. At the time I was at AUB nearly everyone knew everyone else and we got together quite often. The teachers were especially chosen for their dedication to ideals and devotion to the welfare of their students; they gave much personal attention to them."(2)

Fuad Sarruf, "Looking Back", Al-Kulliyah, XI, Spring 1964, p. 12.

²Philip Sim'an, "Looking Back", <u>Al-Kulliyah</u>, XI, Spring 1964, p. 14.

The most common complaint the BCW graduates gave about their teachers was that they were either too old or not well qualified. They also asked for longer-term faculty members, apparently because this would give the students more reassurance of being with the same teacher over a certain number of years. However, the fact that teachers give the students a lot of individual attention and that there is more of a family atmosphere at BCW is the reason given by 45 per cent of the 55 respondents who chose BCW as the college they would prefer for their daughters.

The teachers are therefore highlights in any college experience. A graduate who writes "I would send her (my daughter) to BCW for experience, education and a chance to meet wonderful people" does not only mean the students but the members of the faculty and administrative staff as well. Some long lasting friendships are made at AUB and BCW between teachers and students. For many, it is an opportunity to experience a mature, informal relationship with a teacher, something that is rarely possible in a high school without it too often being misinterpreted or looked down upon as a childish "crush".

Co-Curricular Activities

Student activities outside the classroom are a focal part of college life at both AUB and BCW. They are encouraged

because they foster several basic values of human life, open up new vistas for personal relationships, fellowship and cooperative experience and provide opportunities for students to manage their own affairs and to cultivate individual talents.

There are at AUB 20 student societies, 12 student clubs, a student newspaper, Outlook and The University Yearbook, all are managed by students helped by faculty advisors. Except for the Engineering Society, all such activities are open to women students. The women students also have a special organization known as the Women Students Organization. This organization in many ways corresponds to the Student Government Association at BCW. Among its objectives are leadership, friendship and good will among AUB women students, and it has several activities that are worthwhile such as an annual scholarship fund.

At BCW, there are similar activities which include nearly 9 different clubs, the Student Government Association, a college newspaper, The Tribune. a college magazine in Arabic, Durub, and the college yearbook, The Trireme published by students with the help of faculty advisors.

Other activities are also similar in both institutions.

The celebrations for May Day are held jointly at both institutions; the AUB Garden party corresponds to the BCW Carnival; Music Week at AUB corresponds to the Music and

Art Weekend at BCW, and so on. Naturally, there are more activities at AUB because of the larger number of students, the various schools and the wider facilities. There are many more dances, trips, debates and other social activities at AUB, but at BCW there are other activities not found at AUB such as the Careers Conference and Campus Day. The spiritual side of life is also encouraged through a weekly chapel service at AUB and daily chapel services at BCW. At BCW, there are also weekly vesper services for the students; these services are non-denominational.

Athletics are important in both institutions. Facilities such as tennis courts, volleyball and basketball courts, and gymnasiums exist in both institutions. AUB even has its own swimming beach. All students at AUB and BCW are encouraged to take part in sports. The Freshmen at both institutions and at BCW the Sophomores as well, are obliged to take at least one physical education course. Moreover, a new physical education director for women students was appointed at AUB beginning with the academic year 1964-65. Both groups of graduates expressed the desire for more athletic activities since they felt that they promoted the principles of cooperation and fair play.

Women students at AUB participate in many co-curricular activities and they are frequently elected to serve on the

various committees.(1) Nevertheless, there are many who feel that there is not enough "university atmosphere" at AUB and they would rather have less superficial and more cultural and intellectual activities going on. One graduate expressed her viewpoint by saying that the social life at AUB has to be for all, not just certain cliques and that the students should be made to feel part of a whole. Another said, "More life and cohesion should be found on the campus", and a third made the following comment, "While academic standards are high and the quality of professors is excellent, there is very little encouragement or know-how in developing the personality of potential leaders". Nonetheless, 30 per cent chose AUB as the institution they would prefer for their daughters because of the wider academic experience and broader social atmosphere.

The BCW graduates also comment on the superficiality of the extra-curricular activities. A few thought that there should be more power given to the student leaders and more encouragement given to shy girls to come to the fore.

Nevertheless, the belief that BCW gives more opportunity for student leadership is more frequently expressed by the graduates. Interestingly enough, twice as many BCW graduates listed the item "a chance to participate in activities I would not otherwise have known" as a primary cause for satisfaction

Report on the AUB Student Societies and Clubs, 1964-65.

during their years of study at their alma mater (12 per cent for BCW against 6 per cent for AUB) (Table 34). This again might point to the fact that BCW graduates come from more traditional backgrounds.

Miss Moreland believes that clubs and other student organizations are more successful at AUB although she feels that BCW is moving in that direction, too.(1) Miss Robinson, however, is convinced that AUB has done more for student government although she thinks that BCW has excelled in the field of social service, individual concern and spiritual life.(2)

It is not always easy to get the girls to join in the various activities. Some of them are too busy, do not care for the activities or may not want to spend so much time on the campus. Yet the mere fact that at least one fourth of the graduates of both institutions expressed an interest in the co-curricular program shows that the students are affected by it and care about it.

In post college life we see that an average of 28 per cent of the graduates of both institutions have joined various social organizations in their communities. More AUB graduates than BCW graduates have joined women's associations such as the Women's League, the Women's Auxiliary, Y.W.C.A. (8 per cent

Helen Moreland, op.cit.,

²Mary Robinson, op.cit.

against 5 per cent at BCW), while more BCW graduates have joined the University Association for Women (6 per cent against 3 per cent for AUB). A comparable number from both groups are in philanthropic, literary, religious and other organizations.

TABLE 36
MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS

**************************************	AUB	76	BCW	%
Philanthropic (Child Welfare, Red Cross)	6	6.8	6	7.3
University Association for Women	3	3.4	5	6.1
Women's Association (Women's League Y.W.C.A., Women Aux., Home Eco. Assoc.)	e, 7	8.0	14-	4.9
Literary and Cultural Association	2	2•3	2	2.4
Other (P.T.A., Guides, Med. Sch. Sch. Sch. Sch. Sch. Sch. Sch. Sch	0.) 4	4.5	4	4.9
None	60	68.3	1414	53.7
Teachers * Association	1	1.1	1	1.2
Religious	1	1.1	1	1.2
No answer Total	88	100.0	15 82	18.3

Contributions of the Alma Mater

This discussion on acculturation would not be complete without the graduates' own evaluation of the important changes that either AUB or BCW has made in their lives. However, the changes are rarely "drastic" or "sudden" and when they do occur in the values of the students, they usually affect the application of these values, not the values themselves. One of the graduates wrote that she did not think her alma mater had contributed anything new to her life except to make her more intellectually curious as she already had acquired most of the other value patterns. Thus, "the impact of the college experience is rather to socialize the individual, to refine, polish, or shape up his values...".(1)

Table 37 reveals that the graduates of both institutions regard the main contribution of their respective alma maters as that of arousing their intellectual curiosity (42 per cent of the AUB graduates and 37 per cent of the BCW graduates). Other contributions that are rated highly by AUB graduates are: "helped me to examine my own beliefs and values" (26 per cent), and "helped me to become a responsible citizen in my community" (18 per cent). As for the BCW graduates, the following holds true: "helped me to become a responsible citizen in my community" (24 per cent), and "helped me to

Philip E. Jacob, Changing Values in College (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 4.

examine my own beliefs and values. (15 per cent). Interestingly enough, the AUB graduates rated the examination of beliefs and values more highly than BCW girls (first choice a little less than double) although BCW lays more stress on the religious and moral life of the graduates through the various religious activities and courses. However, BCW girls rated this item very highly (34 per cent) as second choice.

TABLE 37
CONTRIBUTIONS OF ALMA MATER (1st. choice)

	AUB	1/2	BCW	8
Made me tolerant towards different religious and national groups	5	5.7	5	6.1
Helped me to become a responsible citizen in my community	16	18.2	20	24.4
Helped me to examine my own beliefs and values	23	26.1	12	14.6
Made me more tolerant towards my parents and other relatives	_	_	1	1.2
Helped me to cope with				
responsibility as mother and wife	6	6.8	7	8.6
Made me more intellectually curious	37	42.1	30	36.6
Made me independent	-	-	-	_
Other	1	1.1	1	1.2
No answer Total	88	100.0	82	100.0

TABLE 38 CONTRIBUTIONS OF ALMA MATER (2nd. Choice)

	AUB	%	BCW	%
Made me tolerant towards different religious and national groups	6	6.8	9	11.0
Helped me to become a responsible citizen in my community	11	12.5	9	11.0
Helped me to examine my own belief and values	's 23	26.2	28	34.0
Made me more tolearnt towards my parents and other relatives	2	2•3	2	2.4
delped me to cope with responsibil as mother and wife	ity 12	13.6	8	9.8
Made me more intellectually curiou	s24	27.3	19	23.2
Made me independent	1	1.1	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-
No answer Total	9 88	100.0	7 82	8.6

It should be mentioned here that apart from first and second choices, more BCW girls rated the other items according to priority, so that although there was a lot of similarity between the two groups in as far as the various contributions are concerned, certain facts come to the fore. Thus, although the percentage for "Helped me to become a responsible citizen in my community", was relatively high for AUB girls, it was

much higher as first choice for BCW graduates and also was given a rating as fifth in priority by 7 per cent of the BCW graduates against none by the AUB graduates. Again the items "Made me more tolerant towards my parents and other relatives" and "Helped me to cope with responsibilities as mother and wife" were rated nearly twice as high by BCW graduates as third, fourth and fifth choices.

Thus, we can conclude that both AUB and BCW graduates regard the primary contribution to their lives of their respective alma maters as the fact that they were stimulated to become more intellectually curious. However, more AUB than BCW graduates feel that AUB helped them primarily to examine their own beliefs and values and more BCW graduates feel that their alma mater helped them to become responsible citizens in their communities. The same proportions are maintained on the other items.

In a separate examination of the frequency in checking the different items by the two groups, several interesting facts were brought out. The AUB group for instance, rated the following item higher in preference than the BCW graduates:

"Made me more intellectually curious". The BCW group, however, checked the following items more frequently: "Helped me to become a responsible citizen in my community", "Made me more tolerant towards my parents and other relatives", and "Helped me to cope with the responsibility as mother and wife". The

last item may have been rated as more important by BCW graduates because a larger proportion of them are married. The fourth item, "Made me more tolerant towards my family and other relatives", was checked by 33 BCW graduates as contrasted to 14 AUB graduates. This either proves that there is a larger gap between the BCW graduates and their parents or it could be that the BCW graduates have become more aware of any gap.

TABLE 39
FREQUENCY OF RATINGS ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE ALMA MATER

\$'	AUB	BCW
Made me tolerant towards different religious and national groups	30	37
Helped me to become a responsible citizen in my community	38	50
Helped me to examine my own beliefs and values	50	54
Made me more tolerant towards my parents and other relatives	14	33
Helped me to cope with responsibility as mother and wife	24	30
Made me more intellectually curious	68	59
Made me independent	1	-

Summary and Conclusions

No attempt was made in this chapter to measure the amount of change in the lives of the graduates of AUB and BCW. The discussion is centered on the general areas of university life that effect changes in the lives of students and with comparisons between the two institutions. The following points are presented as summary:

- 1. There is an essential difference between the experiences the students acquire at AUB and BCW because of the fact that AUB is a coeducational institution and BCW is a segregated college. There is a trend toward coeducation and more graduates would now choose AUB for their daughters because it is coeducational than they would have when they themselves had to choose between AUB and BCW. BCW, on the other hand, has its own advantages. Some girls do better in a non-coeducational college and there are still many families in the Middle East who will not send their daughters to a coeducational school so that for some, BCW offers the only opportunity for higher education.
- 2. Graduates of AUB, and some from BCW, regard coeducation as more stimulating and the competition at AUB as keener and therefore more interesting. Furthermore, the presence of boys teaches the women how to get along with them and how to work alongside them as equals. Many graduates express the belief

that AUB offers a more life-like situation where girls learn to behave as grown ups and not as "giggly high school kids."

- 3. Being at a small women's college is regarded as a very valuable experience by many BCW graduates. They feel that there is more opportunity for the students to assume leadership positions and to receive more individual attention. The more intimate atmosphere of BCW also makes the experience a different one and in many ways a more relaxed one. As one graduate wrote, "If a girl goes to AUB first, she will miss the gaiety of the years we spend at BCW".
- 4. The graduates of both institutions have the opportunity to meet people of diverse racial, religious, ethnic and national backgrounds. In many cases, as boarders, they are obliged to live together and this provides a worthwhile experience for the graduates. In fact, a large proportion of the graduates of both institutions believe that the contact they had with fellow students was the main source of satisfaction during their years of study. However, AUB graduates feel that the contact they had with their fellow students was wider in scope.
- 5. The relationship with teachers at both AUB and BCW is regarded as a worthwhile experience by many of the graduates. AUB graduates express concern, however, at the lack of any very close relationship between teachers and students whereas BCW graduates find it very rewarding that they

can receive more individual attention from the faculty members.

- 6. The co-curricular activities on the campus are welcomed by the graduates of both institutions. That they aim to give training in leadership, the carrying of responsibility, cooperative work and a host of other values, there is no doubt. However, both AUB and BCW graduates feel that there is a certain superficiality and lack of depth in these activities. AUB graduates want more cohesion in co-curricular activities and less monopolization by certain groups, and BCW graduates would prefer to have more activities with the AUB boys and better student-directed organizations.
- 7. The graduates of both institutions have expressed the fact that their alma maters have primarily helped them to examine their own beliefs and values and to become responsible citizens in their communities.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Less than half a century ago, higher education in Lebanon was the prerogative of men. Women were not deemed equal to that privilege and the value of college education for women, in fact, any education, was seriously doubted. As in all developing countries, higher education in Lebanon had as its main purpose the training of leaders, a role that was and still is largely in the hands of men. What chance did women have especially since they were regarded as inferior?

Sixty-three years before the American University of Beirut accepted its first women students into the freshman class and the Junior College for Women was founded in Beirut, Matthew Vassar made the following remark in his first address to the Trustees of Vassar College in 1861: "It occurred to me that women, having received from her creator the same intellectual constitution as man, has the same right as man to intellectual culture and development."(1) This statement was made when higher education for women in the United States had already started - in fact as far back as 1837.

¹ Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for American Women (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 1.

In Lebanon, the closing years of World War I witnessed a marked change in the role of women in society. The home no longer remained a woman's sanctuary. She was allowed to go out and work, in limited fields of course, and this step required education. Moreover, the foreign missions that came at the close of the 18th century took great interest in education of girls. In some cases, it was given precedence over the education of boys. (1) Much is owed to the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Eli Smith of the American Presbyterian Mission and Mrs. Elizabeth Bowen-Thompson of the British Syrian Mission for the opening of elementary and secondary schools for women in many parts of the country. The first school for girls was opened by the American Mission in 1835, which in turn led to the founding of the Beirut Female Seminary in 1862 which in turn became known as the American School for Girls. The first British School for girls was founded in 1861. Thus, an increasing number of opportunities were offered for the education of women which were undreamt of before the war. As a result, more educated women entered the occupational fields and although they themselves did not assume leadership positions, they often exerted great influence on the leaders of the country through marriage.

With more women acquiring secondary school education, the demand grew for higher education and, ultimately, the privilege

Near East (Washington: American Council on Education, 1949),

to enter the professional fields. AUB and BCW answered the plea and served the cause of higher education for women by offering such an opportunity to the women of this country.

AUB was founded by American missionaries as a university for men and it was only after the turn of the century that the decision was made to open its doors to women, a step which opened wide vistas for the educational and professional advance of the women of this and other neighbouring countries. BCW was also founded by American missionaries and has always worked in close cooperation with AUB. In fact AUB had a great hand in the founding of the college. As the first college for women in Lebanon and the Middle East, BCW has done much to foster higher education for girls.

In this capacity, the task of both AUB and BCW has been made more difficult since "a young woman's education is complicated by the fact that the major role she will play in life cannot readily be determined while she is in college. If a woman's education is to be meaningful in later years, it should prepare her to meet the varied contingencies which lie ahead of her..."(1) It should also be an avenue for self-advancement as well as self-development.

The change in the social status of the students can be considered as one index to needs-fulfillment but although education is not the only means by which the social status of an

¹BCW, Bulletin, 1963-64

individual can be changed still, it is a very vital force. Thus, in order to assess the service the two institutions have rendered to their students, we have traced their post-college life in terms of the occupations they have pursued and the type of husbands they have married. The graduates own reflections on their respective alma maters were also considered. Unfortunately, the results of the findings could not be compared to any national scale, because none was available. However, this study can be considered valid since it compares the two institutions with each other and in assessing the change in social status through marriage, a comparison was made between the education, occupations and incomes of the fathers of the graduates with those of their husbands and fathers-in-law, individually and collectively.

Type of Clientele

alub and BCW are both fairly selective and can be considered elite-service institutions, since they largely cater to students from middle and upper socio-economic backgrounds. There is a remarkable homogeneity among those who enter both AUB and BCW. In fact, a large proportion of the graduate respondents who attended AUB had already attended BCW for one or two years. In the same family, too, some girls had attended AUB and others had attended BCW, with no definite pattern as to who goes where.

Nevertheless, certain subtle differences can be detected in the general background of the graduates. Thus, the proportion of university educated fathers and mothers of AUB graduates is definitely higher than that of the parents of BCW graduates. It follows that there are more fathers of AUB graduates in the managerial and professional occupations who earn slightly higher incomes than the fathers of the BCW graduates. BCW graduates, on the other hand, come from more homogeneous backgrounds in as far as education of the parents is concerned, since the majority of both the fathers and the mothers have had elementary or secondary education. The fathers of the BCW graduates are not represented as frequently as the fathers of the AUB graduates on both ends of the occupational and income levels; however, a larger percentage of them are in the large-scale business and landownership occupations.

The large group of businessmen and landowners among the fathers of the BCW graduates explains the controversial relationship between their high income and lower educational levels, since such occupations do bring in high incomes. It should be noted too that a large proportion of the landowners are Moslem. This, coupled with the fact that there are fewer Protestants at BCW and more rural-born graduates, shows that more BCW graduates come from traditional backgrounds than AUB graduates do. This is even more pronounced since the parents of the BCW graduates form a determining factor in the

choice of the institution of higher learning for their daughters, whereas the AUB graduates have made their own choice. In some cases, BCW graduates had no choice as to which institution they were to attend since they could only go to a women's college.

Still another difference between the AUB and BCW graduates is to be found in their original purpose for attending college. AUB graduates listed "a desire for higher education" most frequently, whereas BCW graduates listed "the desire for higher prestige". Hence, more BCW graduates attended college for social reasons and more AUB graduates attended college for academic reasons.

Change in the Social Status

A large proportion of the graduates of both institutions express the desire to "earn a better living" as one purpose for attending college. Basically, both groups of graduates pursue the same kinds of occupations. Nonetheless, AUB graduates have more opportunity to enter professional fields, even though only a small minority enter these fields. The majority of graduates of both institutions go into the teaching profession. However, among the BCW graduates there are more elementary and nursery school teachers than among their AUB counterparts; the latter more often go into high school and college teaching.

Subsequently, AUB graduates, in general, earn higher incomes. Apart from the fact that there are AUB graduates in the professional fields, there are several reasons why this should be so. It might be that AUB graduates have more prestige or that more of these earning higher incomes have continued with their graduate studies. Actually, a good number of the BCW graduates commented on the difference in value which is sometimes placed on the B.A. degree from AUB and BCW. They also indicated that they had difficulty in entering the graduate school at AUB, which in some cases deterred them from attempting to continue their studies.

As for the achieving of higher prestige as a purpose for entering college, which was rated very highly by both AUB and BCW graduates, more so by the latter, this is irrevocably tied up with marriage. Are the graduates of both institutions achieving upward social mobility through marriage? As far as our means of investigation was valid, there was an obvious change in the social status of the graduates after marriage. The graduates have married husbands of higher educational and occupational levels than their fathers, and the husbands themselves are of higher educational and occupational backgrounds than their own fathers. Therefore, even though the fathers of the graduates are of higher educational, occupational and income levels than their fathers—in—law, their husbands are on higher levels than both the fathers and fathers—in—law, except

in terms of income, which is generally lower, primarily because of the age factor. However, the husbands of the BCW graduates are of proportionately higher educational, occupational and income levels than the husbands of the AUB graduates. Furthermore, the difference in the educational attainment of the husbands of the BCW graduates as compared to that of their fathers is much higher than the difference between that of the husbands of the AUB graduates and their fathers. The same is true of the occupational patterns especially in the professional fields.

It can be said that AUB graduates climb the social ladder by marrying into families of large and middle-scale businessmen and landowners and by marrying husbands with a university education who are in managerial and professional occupations. BCW graduates, on the other hand, marry into families with managerial backgrounds and have husbands in managerial and professional occupations. Moreover, a larger percentage of the husbands of BCW graduates earn more than L.L. 30,000, whereas, a larger proportion of the husbands of AUB graduates earn in the L.L. 20,000 - L.L. 29,999 income bracket. This may be so because there is a large group of businessmen and landowners among both the husbands of the BCW graduates and their fathers-in-law.

Acculturation of the Students

No attempt was made to examine the exact changes that occurred in the value outcomes and outlook of the graduates as a result of their attending either AUB or BCW. However, the institutions themselves were assessed as agents for acculturation and their different roles as such were examined.

The graduates themselves are very appreciative of the college education they have had. Although they had some comments to make on the various spheres of college life, most of them felt that the college experience has in some way contributed to their lives. One graduate wrote: "I have spent four wonderful years of my life and now I know a lot more." After making two critical comments about the academic standards and the quality of faculty members, a BCW graduate said: "Yet, I would give anything to go back to the college." An AUB graduate also wrote, "We appreciate a great deal what our alma mater has done and is still doing for the Arab World."

On the whole, the graduates valued the contact they had with their fellow students and their teachers, as well as the experience they acquired from the various activities on the campus. All these, however, they regarded as secondary to the intellectual adventure that they experienced and which both groups of graduates regarded highly.

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AUB graduates valued the opportunity they had to be in a coeducational college. Actually, the two major reasons why they and a substantial proportion of BCW graduates, as well, preferred AUB over BCW for their daughters were that AUB is coeducational and that it has better academic facilities such as a wider variety of courses. They believe that coeducation provides a more natural social atmosphere, more varied experiences and keener competition, a factor that most graduates obviously consider an important stimulus for better studying.

In spite of the trend towards coeducation, there still is undoubtedly a great need for women's colleges in the Middle East. An American educator, who herself prophesied that women's colleges in the United States would either be converted into coeducational institutions or else die out in another twenty years, still believes that women's colleges have a role to play in that "they, more than coeducational institutions, are in a position to dramatize the changing needs in the higher education of women today, and to lead in providing them."(1) Furthermore, in the Middle East, there is a far greater need for women's colleges due to the fact that there are still some parents who will not allow their daughters to attend a coeducational institution. Also, since coeducational high schools are not very common in this country, it becomes more difficult for some girls who are shy and reticent by nature, to go from a very sheltered atmosphere into a large coeducational university.

¹ Newcomer, op.cit., p. 255.

The need for a women's college is further confirmed by other findings, namely, that AUB is a larger and more impersonal institution than BCW. There also is less individual attention at AUB and the relationship with teachers is more impersonal. Hence, many graduates prefer the family atmosphere and the attention they get at BCW, along with the added opportunity for leadership.

Implications for the Future

AUB and BCW have been offering the women of this country the privilege of higher education for the past forty years, and even before, in some professional fields at AUB. Yet education for women has to be expanded and in more efficient form than ever before. The two institutions in question still have a profound role to play in the future, but theirs is not a competitive role. Each institution has its specific mission and its separate tasks to fulfill. How effectively each has done so up till now can only be witnessed to by its graduates of whom 90 per cent expressed the desire to send their daughters to either AUB or BCW.

Miss Orme, the former Academic Dean at BCW, felt that the non-Lebanese BCW graduates had achieved more than the Lebanese graduates and had done better justice to their education.

Miss Robinson, Dean of Women Students at AUB, would have liked to see more graduates working and putting to use the knowledge

they acquired. The writer is surprised to find that graduates living in Lebanon are not participating more in community affairs, judging from the low proportion of membership in various social organizations, particularly those graduates who are not working or married.

Miss Robinson further felt that AUB is actually doing more for women students in as far as depth and professional education is concerned because of the various schools and the wider facilities that exist at AUB. However, in answer to the requests made by many of AUB graduates for the inclusion of home economics courses, she said that she did not believe that there is place for home economics courses at AUB. is basically a liberal arts college and has an interest in academic studies as such. "(1) Miss Moreland of BCW agreed and added that she did not see any reason for AUB to duplicate what BCW is doing nor to compete with it. Along with Miss Robinson, she thought that there might be a possibility for expansion in the sociology and psychology courses that have to do with family life and other related subjects. There could also be an expanded reciprocal arrangement whereby AUB students can take courses at BCW and vice versa.

At BCW, Miss Orme felt that there was a steady move toward better quality in the academic offerings. Both she and Miss Moreland believed that although BCW can never compete with AUB

Interview with Miss Mary Robinson, loc.cit.

in as far as size and expansion are concerned, the program it is offering measures up to that of any small college around the world, and most certainly to that of AUB. One of the graduates commented on this same point. "The changes I would like to see are already being made" she said. "There is a need for better buildings, a better library, better and more highly qualified teachers, all this is taking place. However, being a liberal arts college, I feel that it is serving its purpose in women's education in the Middle East."

However, one of the graduates perceptively wrote, "As far as I know, the college after I graduated developed and it has become what I hoped it would be like when I was there. In fact, it has become a college that practically needs no changes or additions. The only thing I worry about is this: My daughter is one year old. I wonder how much we shall have to pay for her college education when she is twenty, considering the annual raise in fees."

The writer's daughter is now six years old. In ten years' time the question that so many parents are faced with every year, "Should we send our daughter to AUB or BCW?" will arise. The answer to such a question depends, to a large extent, on the student's field of interest, and the final decision can only be made by the student herself. Nevertheless, a mother's advice would be the following: "To make the most of your college experience, BCW is an ideal college to attend particularly for

the first two years as a place where you can adjust to college life. Afterwards, if you are ready and so desire, you can attend AUB."

4

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

Courtesy of Mr. George Sayegiv Personnel Office AUS

Various Departments

Faculty of Medical Sciences Arts & Sciences Sugineering agricultura Registrar Eug. DO 7

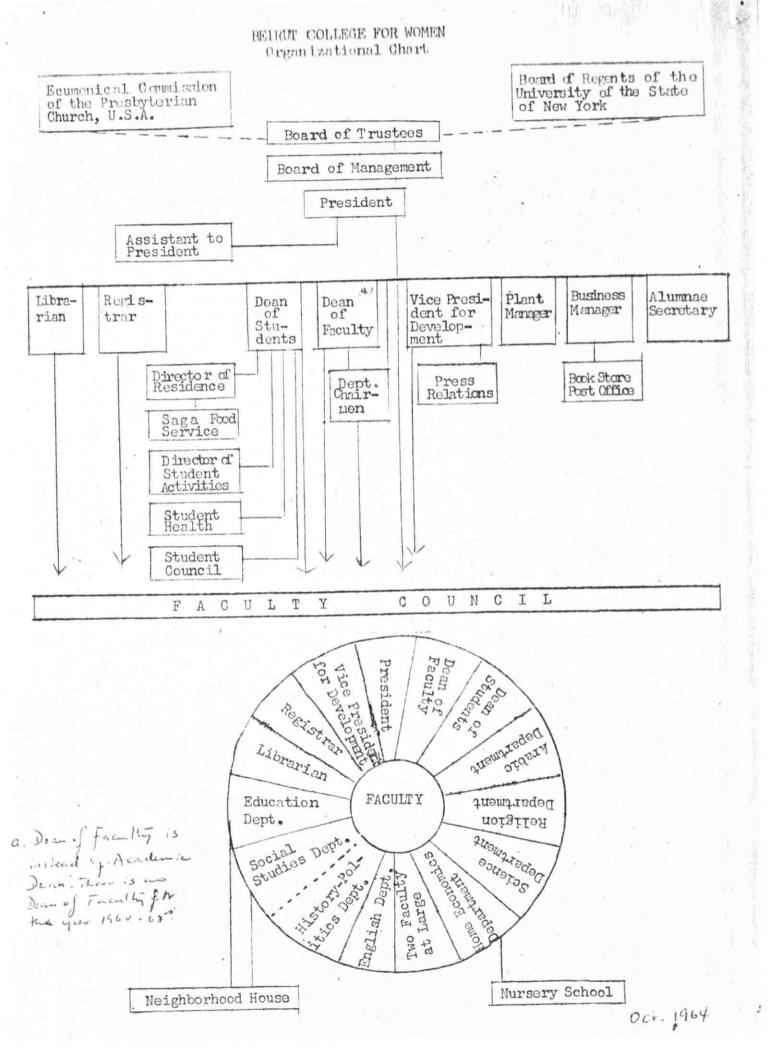
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prs # FS = Procurement Traffic = Sales # Food Services

Wages & Salaries Coordinating Committee



APPENDIX B

COPY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE FORM DISTRIBUTED
TO THE SAMPLED GRADUATES

Questionnaire Form Distributed to the Sampled Graduates of AUB and BCW

Nuha S. Salibi B.C.W., Beirut April 20, 1964

Dear Alumna,

Enclosed is a questionnaire which has been prepared as part of a study designed to compare A.U.B. and B.C.W. in the field of women education. Our purpose is to investigate how effectively the two institutions are serving the needs of their women students, in what ways they differ in their service, and what the implications are for the future.

Your assistance and cooperation is absolutely necessary for the success of this attempt. May I assure you of the following:

- 1. All the information conveyed will remain completely anonymous; you are not required to mention your name.
- 2. The questionnaire might look long to you at first glance, but it will only take a few minutes of your time and you might find yourself actually enjoying answering it.

For your convenience and for facilitating mailing procedures, a self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed. All you have to do is complete this questionnaire and deposit it in the mail box.

Please try to leave no question unanswered, and be very specific in your responses especially when describing occupation. It will be greatly appreciated if you can mail your response back within two weeks of receipt.

Thank you very much,

Nuha Salib Salibi

1.	Place and date of birth
2	Nationality
3•	Permanent residence (name of city, town, or village).
4.	Religion:
	Maronite,Greek Orthodox,
	Greek Catholic,Roman Catholic,
	Protestant,Armenian Orthodox,
	Armenian Catholic,Sunni,
	Shiite,Druze,
	Other(please specify)
5	Marital status: married,single,
	other(please specify)
6.	Where did your parents go to college?
	Father:A.U.B., other(please specify)
	Mother: A.U.B., B.C.W.,
	other(please specify)
7-	What level of education did your father complete?
, •	none
	had some elementary or finished elementary but
	did not enter secondary.
	had some secondary or finished secondary but did not
	go beyond.
	had some technical or vocational education beyond
	secondary.
	completed not more than two years of college.
	completed not more than four years of college.
	completed more than four years of college.

8.	What level of education did your mother complete:
	none
	had some elementary or finished elementary but did
	not enter secondary.
	had some secondary or finished secondary but did
	not go beyond.
	had some technical or vocational education beyond
	secondary.
	completed not more than two years of college.
	completed not more than four years of college.
	completed more than four years of college.
9.	What is or was your father's occupation?
	occupation; examples: businessman on a large scale, businessman on asmall scale, landowner, medical doctor, accountant, clerk in a courthouse, bank manager, hardware store owner, secondary school teacher).
10.	What is (or was) the total annual income of your father?
	below 5,000 LL
	5,000 - 7,999 LL
	8,000 - 12,999 LL
	13,000 - 15,999 LL
	16,000 - 19,999 LL
	20,000 - 29,999 LL
	30,000 and over
11.	Where did you complete your B.A. degree?
	A.U.B., B.C.W., both
12.	What year did you start your college education?

13.	What year did you graduate and from which institution?
	B.C.W.
14.	Who or what affected your choice to enter either of the two
	institutions?
	parents,friends,teachers,self,scholarship, other(please specify)
3.5	And the second s
T)	What made you choose to study in either of the two
	institutions?
	(please specify whether you mean A.U.B. or B.C.W. in answering, and check only TWO items giving the most important reason number 1 and the second important number 2).
	A.U.B.,B.C.W.
	coeducational
	not coeducational
	broader fields of specialization
	more chance of individual attention
	availability of a branch of study in one
	institution and not in the other.
	less competition
	financial reasons
	other(please specify)
16.	When you entered college what was the original purpose?
	(please check only TWO items and give the most important one number 1 and the second number 2).
	to achieve higher prestige
	to have a better chance in marriage
	to have a chance for earning a better living
	had nothing else to do
	other(please specify)
	- Produce objective

17.	Were you satisfied with the choice of that particular
	institution? Yes, No.
18.	How many years did you spend in either of the two
	institutions?A.U.B.,B.C.W.
	(Note: If not married skip to question No. 28.)
19.	If married what level of education did your husband complete
	none
	had some elementary or finished elementary but did
	not enter secondary.
	had some secondary or finished secondary but did
	not go beyond.
	had some technical or vocational education beyond
	secondary.
	completed not more than two years of college.
	completed not more than four years of college.
	completed more than four years of college.
20.	If married and husband had university education, was it at
	A.U.B.
	St. Joseph University
	Lebanese State University
	other(please specify)
21.	If married and husband was at A.U.B., can you say now that
	A.U.B. or B.C.W. played any part in your marriage?
	Yes, No

22.	If not, what factors influenced your marital choice?
	parents
	chance
	friends
	business
	other(please specify)
23.	What is your <u>husband's</u> occupation?
	(please be as specific as you can in describing occupation; examples: businessman on a large scale, businessman on a small scale, landowner, medical doctor, accountant, clerk in a courthouse, bank manager, hardware store owner, secondary school teacher).
24.	What is the total annual income of your husband?
	below 5,000 LL
	5,000 - 7,999 LL
	8,000 - 12,999 LL
	13,000 - 15,999 LL
	16,000 - 19,999 LL
	20,000 - 29,999 LL
	30,000 and over
25	december 1
C).	What level of education did your father-in-law complete?
	none
	had some elementary or finished elementary but did not enter secondary. had some secondary or finished secondary but did not go beyond. had some technical or vocational education beyond secondary. completed not more than two years of college. completed not more than four years of college. completed more than four years of college.
	TOWN AGES OF COTTORES

	What is (or was) your <u>father-in-law's</u> occupation?
	(please be as specific as you can in describing occupation; examples: businessman on a large scale, businessman on a small scale, landowner, medical doctor, accountant, clerk in a courthouse, bank manager, hardware store owner, secondary school teacher).
27	What is (or was) the total annual income of your father-in-law
	below 5,000 LL
	5,000 - 7,999 LL
	8,000 - 12,999 LL
	13,000 - 15,999 LL
	16,000 - 19,999 LL
	20,000 - 29,999 LL
	30,000 and over
28.	Since your graduation have you earned any income at a job?
	Yes, No.
29.	Are you still working at present? Yes, No
30.	How long did you work?
	How long did you work?
31.	What is or was your occupation? (please describe in precise terms the kind of job you do or used to do; examples: primary school teacher, secretary, nurse, shorthand typist, sales representative for a medical firm, laboratory technician, director of the bureau of social welfare in the ministry). What is (or was) your total annual income (not including
31.	What is or was your occupation? (please describe in precise terms the kind of job you do or used to do; examples: primary school teacher, secretary, nurse, shorthand typist, sales representative for a medical firm, laboratory technician, director of the bureau of social welfare in the ministry).
31.	What is or was your occupation? (please describe in precise terms the kind of job you do or used to do; examples: primary school teacher, secretary, nurse, shorthand typist, sales representative for a medical firm, laboratory technician, director of the bureau of social welfare in the ministry). What is (or was) your total annual income (not including income of husband)?

33.	Do you belong to any formal organization?Yes,No
34.	If yes, please name them
35.	In your opinion, what are the most important contributions
	of your alma mater to your life?
	(please number as many as you feel relevant, giving the most important contribution number 1, the second important number 2 and so on).
	made me tolerant towards different religious and
	national groups.
	helped me to become a responsible citizen in my
	community.
	helped me to examine my own beliefs and values.
	made me more tolerant towards my parents and other
	relatives.
	helped me to cope with responsibility as mother
	and wife.
	made me more intellectually curious.
e	other (please specify)
36.	During your years of study in your alma mater what gave you
	most satisfaction? (Please do not check more than <u>TWO</u> items and give your first choice <u>number 1</u> and the second <u>number 2</u>).
	atmosphere
	contact with fellow students
	the quality of academic life
	a chance to participate in activities that I
	wouldn't have otherwise known.
	other (please specify)

37-	Do you have (or did you have) sisters at university level?
	Yes,No
38.	If yes, what institution do they (or did they) attend?
	A.U.B.,B.C.W., other (please specify)
	(If you have or had more than one sister, please specify by number).
39•-	What would your college preference be if you have a daughter
	I would not send her to college
	A.U.B.,B.C.W., other (please specify)
40	Please explain your reasons for your answer to the previous
	question.
	2.
	3
41.	In your opinion, what changes would you like to see made
	regarding your alma mater?

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