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DE GENÈVE**

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ET DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION**

**Faculty of Psychology and Sciences of Education
Section Sciences of Education**

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**THE LEBANESE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM AND LABOUR MARKET
A MARRIAGE OR A DIVORCE ASSOCIATION?**

**A SOCIO-ECONOMIC APPROACH OF HIGHER EDUCATION CHOICES AND
LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES**

**Thesis
Presented at the
Faculty of Sciences and Psychology of Education
University of Geneva, Switzerland
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From**

LEBANON

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For those who gave me the most precious gift - life
and allowed me to live the blessings of sisterhood

To my Family

“Donde hay educación no hay distinción de clase”

Confucio

Dedication

To my family – My Father and My Mother who gave me life and to My Sister who added light to my life

To my Farther, for showing me throughout his experiences how to face life obstacles

To my Mother, for showing me how to face these obstacles with a smile and get up stronger each time

To my Sister, for providing morale support, continuous encouragement and for being my guardian angel

To my family, for being who I am today – a strong, determinant and passionate woman but above all a thankful daughter and sister.

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ABSTRACT

The economic and social development of a country depends on its educated workforce and the ability of the economy to create job opportunities capable to cope with this educated labour force. Taking as a starting point, the excessive brain drain of the Lebanese human capital and the high level of unemployment among the educated population, this research takes a close look at both the higher education system and the labour market in Lebanon. The aim is to identify, categorize and understand the main factors that affect at a first stance the Lebanese youth choices at the higher education level, and at a second stance the aspects that distress the graduates integration within the labour market and type of labour market (domestic, regional or international). The research reflects a triangular perspective considering the bodies forming and shaping the system: the legislators (ministry of education and higher education), the practitioners (higher education institutions) and the clients (parents and students). Both social and economic theories are considered adopting by that a socio-economic approach. Qualitative and quantitative approaches are used to analyse and determine what shapes the higher education choices and what affects the pace of transition to the labour market. The aim is to propose based on the findings a specific model for the Lebanese case denoting aspects affecting the higher education choices and their effect on the transition to the labour market.

At a first stance, the thesis provides an overview of the Lebanese higher education system and its evolution over the years in terms of number of institutions and recruitment trends per sector, programme and gender. It identifies the regulatory framework that bounds the higher education system in Lebanon from both the government and the higher education institutions perspectives. The nature of the Lebanese economy and the main labour market activities are also identified. At a second stance, the study describes and analyzes the evolution of the higher education system in general from its conception till its growth and reflects on the main aims of higher education. It provides an overview of the main models, typologies of higher education institutions and managing styles. It reflects on the

transformation of the system from elite to mass, and explains and discusses the privatization of the system, and the effect of globalization and various types emerging from such a phenomena. Based on that, the study offers a discussion about the nature of the higher education system in terms of being a public good, a quasi-market or a market. On a third stance and to better understand the regulatory aspects and the factors that guide the choices of the students at the higher education level for the institution and the programme, the thesis provides a discussion of the main access policies and strategies. It discusses and analyses the economic variables shaping the choices of the students or the human capital theory. It also provides an explanation of the social variables that weight on the higher education choices from the social class, to the family academic and professional background, to the religion, passing by the three forms of capital identified by Bourdieu: the economic, social and cultural capitals. Finally, and to better understand the transition from higher education to the labour market, the research discusses and analyses the main factors that affect such transition from the job search theory, to the socio-economic background of the students, the choice of field and university, to the effect of the social capital, etc.

To achieve the desired aim, the aspects affecting the choices of the students for a higher education institution and a programme were surveyed through a survey administrated to senior university students. To identify the aspects that affected the transition and pace of transition to the labour market, a survey administrated to Lebanese households in 2005-2006 was used. This was supported by empirical statistical data and by data from semi-structured interviews done with the director general of education and higher education and representatives of higher education institutions permitting also to identify the regulatory framework; policies and strategies implemented.

The findings permitted to reflect on the typologies and models of the Lebanese higher education institutions. The results suggest that, despite the fact that the students' choice for a higher education degree is based on the advancement of the human capital theory, the

socio-economic background weighted more on their choices whether for a higher education institution or a programme. Differences between the public and the private sectors and dissimilarities between the elite and the mass private sectors were noted. The findings validated the preference for private education and a stereotyped behaviour for the choice of programme. They permitted to ascertain the criticism of the human capital theory and to validate the glutting theory even for small economies such as the Lebanese one.

Students choosing the Lebanese University are choosing it because of its academic standards. Those come from mid-low and mid-high social classes and have parental educated model. The majority is as expected female students. The elite private sector is characterized with social reproduction and gender parity. The majority of these students come from well-heeled families. Those students are the most informed ones, choosing programmes consistent with the labour market needs. Concerning the mass private sector, the findings suggest that students who do not have the chances to go to the elite private sector for financial reasons or the Lebanese University for academic reasons are left with one option that of going to the mass private sector. The expansion of the sector was in favour of these students. The majority are male working students from the low social strata with no parental educated model. The easy admission criteria and flexibility of these institutions are the most attracting factors.

In terms of integration within the labour market, not all students have expressed their satisfaction. Graduates' chances at the labour market, regardless of the choice of the programme, are affected by the social capital they possess. The mass private sector and the Lebanese University graduates are the most to suffer from long period of unemployment. This is availed by the findings to the lack of follow up, lack of employability skills, to the employers perspective about the graduates' skills and the absence of adequate personal channels. The Lebanese economy is still trapped in low-economic activities and is attracting low-skilled worker from regional markets. This is not helping university graduates particularly those who do not have the proper channels. Graduates from elite private sector have no problem in finding employment opportunities fast enough and at

MNCs oppose to those from the LU and the mass private sector that takes longer time to find employment. The findings revealed that for those employment is mostly done at SMEs; or they are mostly underemployed as not to face unemployment or emigration. The implications of the findings are translated in recommendations for both the policy makers and practitioners.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALBA	Académie Libanaise des Beaux-Arts
AOU	Arab Open University
AUB	American University of Beirut
AUCE	American University of Culture and Education
BAU	Beirut Arab University
BUC	Beirut University College
CAS	Central Administration of Statistics
CERD	Centre for Economic and Research Development
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HFSHD	Hariri Foundation for Sustainable Human Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
LAES	Lebanese Association for Educational Sciences
LAU	Lebanese American University
LIU	Lebanese International University
LU	Lebanese University
MNCs	Multi-National Corporations
NDU	Notre Dame University
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PU	Private University
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USEK	Université Saint Esprit Kaslik
USJ	University of Saint Joseph

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

At the end of high school, the senior secondary students might hesitate between continuing their higher studies in aspiration of a higher income to be cashed in the future; or entering the labour market to cash directly the expected income. The criteria of choice differ from one student to another, from one economy to another, based on a combination of factors. According to Turner and Browen (1999), the decision to pursue higher education and the choice of the major are both important in the process of building human capital and determining the future outcomes. According to the human capital theory, the students will favor at the end of their high school education the higher education system over the labour market because of the employment prospects and the higher salaries that a higher education degree promise. However, the high unemployment rates of those who are highly educated¹ have questioned the choices done by the students at the higher education level. This has put in retro-perspective the propositions of the human capital theory in terms of employment and salaries prospects. This leads to propose that other factors interfere in the higher education choices done by the students and subsequently the chances of graduates to find a first employment.

The higher education system witnessed changes that affected profoundly not only the access to higher education but also the understanding of what higher education means. Since its emergence, the education system in general and the higher education system in particular did not know or face the challenges that it is facing today. This is a clear consequence not only of the globalization and the transformation to knowledge-economy (Altbach, 2005; Leslie and Fretwell, 1996) but also to the shift in the relation between the higher education system and the society. Both social and cultural transformations are

¹ By highly educated we refer to those holding a university degree.

taking place with an unimaginable speed where culture diversity, ethnic beliefs, religious affiliations grew and are to be added to the equation of access; equity of access to higher education (Kwiek, 2003; UNESCO, 1998). **Changes did not only affect the higher education system. The labour market** and because of the technological development that took place **transformed from production based-economies to knowledge-based economies** (Karoly, 2010). **Such development had its effect on the nature of jobs creation and the need for new skills and competences.**

Access to higher education became internationally a major debate and a policy concern where it **is no longer considered as a simple game of supply and demand** (Fleming and Gallagher, 2003). New tensions between the laws of the market (efficiency) and the democratization (equality) emerged (Goastellec, 2008a). **The massification of the system** after the Second World War and during the 1960s and 1970s, **the extensive privatization**, especially in the developing countries, and the new trend of open learning, cross-border education, **all played a major role to determine the quantity and the quality of the students' cohorts** (Enders, 2004). The UNESCO, in 1998, set “**equal access**” to education as a goal with a substantial aim to achieve a universal access and elimination of economic and social disparities. However, the expansion of the system set **a new dilemma regarding the social division and the equality and equity of educational opportunities** (Codling and Meek, 2006; Trow, 1973). Despite calls for equality of access and widening opportunities, demand for and access to for higher education did not expand equally in different educational systems given discrepancies amongst access policies². In spite of being a protection against unemployment as proposed by the human capital theory, **a higher education degree is no longer guaranteeing the same benefits in terms of employment opportunities and salaries as before.** Nowadays, a higher education degree seems to “unlock” but not open the door towards the labour market because of the divergence

² In countries such as Germany, Belgium and Netherlands (i.e. continental Europe), HEIs cannot refuse students given that entry to higher education is a right set by the constitution for eligible and qualified students regardless of their social and family backgrounds. On the contrary, and in the UK, no right is exercised; the entry to higher education is very competitive and selective where HEIs control access via pre-set admission criteria (Kaiser and De Weert, 1994).

between the expectations build over years of study and the actual opportunities. **Investment in higher education is becoming a risky investment** (Kivinen and Ahola, 1999). The increasing unemployment rates amongst the highly educated persons questioned the access policies. Those need to be set in accordance to the labour market needs as to respect the link between the higher education offerings and the labour market demand (Goastellec, 2008a; Otero and McCoshan, 2005; UNESCO, 1998; Kaiser and De Weert, 1994). By itself, these two markets cannot be separated. The “Higher Education Institutions are increasingly required to take the responsibility of the democratization of access to higher education, as well as the consequences on the students’ integration with the job market” (Goastellec, 2006b).

The developments at both markets were regarded at first as a positive sign permitting to answer to the increased demand for higher education that will allow in return to answer to the shift in the nature of skills and competences required within the labour market. **However, with the increase in the unemployment rates of those who are highly educated and working in jobs below their level of education and skills or in other words, with the incidence of over-education, the relation between the higher education and the labour market was questioned** (Chaaban, 2009a; Nasser and Abouchdid, 2006; Kivinen and Ahola, 1999). Empirical studies demonstrated that **the “match” between the educational supply and the labour market demand is rarely observed because of the different nature of the two markets** (Teichler, 2002). The gap between the higher education system and the labour market hold within it several perspectives. The labour market blames the higher education for not providing the adequate needed skills despite the increase in the level of educated individuals and questions hence the quality provided. The higher education sector, graduates in particular, blames the labour market for not offering enough work opportunities and not offering packages that “respect” graduates skills. Such mismatch holds roots in the prior academic choices done by the students which are not only economically driven as suggested by the human capital theory but also affected by a variety of other aspects ranging from the students’ personal characteristics, academic

aptitude, socio-economic background, family income, personal preferences and the like (Pfeffer, 2007; Jimenez and Salas-Velasco, 2000; Al Amine and Faour, 1998; Young, 1971; to name a few).

Lebanon, a Mediterranean developing country, is not a “stranger” to that situation. Lebanon is amongst the very few MENA region countries with high literacy rate and highly educated youth (El-Ghali, 2011). The high enrolment rates at the higher education in general and at private higher education sector in particular denote that **the investment in higher education ranks highly in the Lebanese households investment** (CERD reports, 1997/1998 – 2012/2013; UNDP reports, 1997). The Lebanese families consider that private higher education institutions (HEIs) yield better quality education due to the higher tuition fees. This will permit to receive better employment opportunities and higher wages; a fact that was empirically proven by Epple et al. (2006). **Higher education is hence considered as a powerful tool for social mobility** (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). **Such preference for the private sector changed over the years the structure of the Lebanese higher education system. The private sector expanded massively particularly the mass private one leading to an overcrowded sector. Such expansion brought forward a diversity of private institutions ranging from high tuition fees to affordable ones and creating consequently an interactive competition based not only on the cost of education but on the diversity of systems, offered programmes, scholarship programmes and social activities.** The system is currently composed of one public university competing with approximately 40 private universities (PUs) divided between elite and mass, where the latter forms the majority of the private sector.

Despite the diversity of HEIs, origins, systems and offered programmes, which answers to the increased demand for higher education, not all graduates are finding job opportunities within the domestic labour market. On the contrary, the demand for higher education led to graduates' surplus that the economy was unable to absorb reaching by that an epidemic youth unemployment.

The development of the mass private sector took place in periods of economic and political instabilities and benefited from the absence of any governmental body to regulate the market. Such development did not go without downfalls. **According to the director general of higher education, the fast increase in the number of universities coupled with the absence of regulatory body and a strategic plan have had a negative effect on the general quality of the higher education in the country** (Schmicking, 2013). The hazardous expansion went hand in hand with a hazardous recruitment of students jeopardizing the quality and trading quality with quantity. The choices of the students at the higher education level, and as shown by the CERD reports over a period of more than ten years (from 1997/1998 till 2012/2013) do not correlate with the labour market needs. The global financial crisis aggravated the situation where an important number of highly educated emigrants returned home, yet, with no employment opportunities. Accordingly, **the hazardous students' recruitment, the students' erroneous choices of programmes in addition to other factors related to the nature of the labour market have had their impact on the graduates' employment chances** and consequently on the unemployment rates that kept on increasing.

From a labour market perspective, the Lebanese labour market is service-oriented where **the main growth sectors are the banking and tourism sectors** (Nehme, 2013). It is a small economy with the private sector being the main contributor to the aggregated demand (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013; CAS, 2011). Despite the fact that the employment was moving, similar to the international trend, from agriculture to industry and service sectors, **the activities are still in low-productivity activities** leaving no place for highly skilled university graduates (AUB et al., 2009). Jobs creation - which was affected by the increasing public debt, the slow growth of the economy and the periods of political and economic instabilities - is not conforming neither to the quantity nor to the quality of university graduates. **Jobs creation, and when it takes place, is mainly concentrated in trade and low productivity sectors.** High productivity sectors such as the information and communication technologies, the insurance and financial activities, did not know any real

effort in this regard (Robalino and Sayed, 2012). This is credited to the absence of a competitive industry within the Lebanese economy where the majority of the private organizations are either family businesses or small organizations (SMEs) (AUB et al., 2009). From one hand, the graduates' qualifications are not meeting the demand of the labour market. From the other, the demand for highly skilled personnel is very limited given the small nature of the economy. This is leading to an unproductive equilibrium and to high level of unemployment among university graduates. Who is to be blamed for this situation? Is it the government, the HEIs, the economy and structure of the labour market, or the students themselves?

To answer to this, and in order to better understand the transition process from higher education to the labour market, to find out whether the high unemployment rate among the university graduates is related to the lack of skills required by employers or to a lack of demand for skills, the thesis proposes to study the process from the beginning. Both the higher education system and the labour market are considered because of their effect on each other. The aim is to identify how the students (the input) "formulate" their higher education choices, what are the factors that weight on these choices, what role do the HEIs play in shaping these choices and the students' skills (the transformation process), and what is the impact of these choices on the students' integration within the labour market (the output). Because Lebanon is a confessional Middle Eastern society, where gender, religion, cultural and social division impact all decisions in general and higher education decisions in particular (Abou Chedid and Nasser, 2007), the thesis considers a socio-economic approach.

The thesis is divided into six parts. The first part is the contextual review. It is formed of one chapter divided into two sections. The first section permits to gain a better insight on the Lebanese education system in general and the higher education system in particular. A statistical review from 1997/1998 to 2012/2013 is presented to better understand the recruitments' trends per HEI and programme. The second section reflects on the

Lebanese labour market characteristics pertaining to the main sectors of activity, nature of the economy, and contributors to job creation, in addition to a review of main empirical studies studying the relation between the Lebanese higher education system and the labour market.

The second part is the literature review. It is formed of two chapters. The first chapter reflects on the higher education system in general while the second chapter reflects on the aspects affecting access to higher education and access to the labour market. The first chapter of the literature review is divided into two sections. The first section provides an overview of the higher education life cycle from its genesis to current days, its meaning and aim, and the various typologies and orientation ownerships. The second section of the chapter reflects on the two facets of the higher education system. It discusses mainly the idea of public good versus that of market mechanisms in the context of higher education, the effect of globalization on the system, and the privatization of the system. The second chapter of the literature review is also divided into two sections. The first defines access to higher education, the government education policies and HEIs admission strategies, and discusses the economic and sociological factors affecting access to higher education. The second section reflects on the transition process, the job search theory and aspects affecting access to the labour market.

The third part is the methodology. It is formed of one chapter that reflects on the research queries, and discusses and explains the research strategies, the research approach, the research design and the research techniques adopted.

The fourth part is the data analysis of the students' survey. It is divided into three chapters. The first chapter provides the descriptive data about the students' survey while the second and third chapters provides respectively a more in depth analysis of the factors that weighted on the choice of a HEI and a programme.

The fifth part is the data analysis of the graduates' survey. It is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the status of the working students' population in terms of field of work, nature of work and the aspects affecting their working status. The second part provides the descriptive data about the graduates' survey and an in depth analysis about the main

aspects that had an effect on the students' transition to the labour market and pace of such transition.

The sixth part is formed of one chapter. It provides an extension to the theories discussed in line with the findings of the surveys, answers to proposed queries and hypotheses and provides an insight on the limitations and future research interest.

2. The Statement of the Problem

As documented by the International Labour Organization (ILO), youth unemployment is increasing in the MENA region where all the Arab countries are suffering from high rates of youth unemployment (ILO, 2008). The transition from higher education to first time job is taking longer than before (El-Ghali, 2011). The investment in education is not producing the satisfactory levels of productive employment not only because of the skills gap between the graduates' supply and the labour market demand but also because of the industrial structure of the economy, the prevailing wages and the population growth (ILO, 2008). The Lebanese case is not an exception to this situation.

Despite the diversity of the Lebanese HEIs (39 private HEIs and one public university) and the offered programmes (16 faculties based on the faculties division at the LU) answering to the increased demand for higher education, and the improvement in the percentage of educated persons between different generations³, the unemployment rate⁴ is still at stake. It knew a discontinuous progress over the years. It decreased from 8.5% in

³ Statistics show clearly a difference between generations in terms of education. The percentage of males who have finished university from the age group 70 years old and above (old generation) is 4.9% while it is 20.9% for the age group (25-39 years old) (new generation) (CAS, 2007). Moreover, the percentage of uneducated males has decreased between generations from 31.6% for the age group 70 years old and above to 2.3% for the age group (25 – 39 years old).

⁴ which is equal to the percentage of the total unemployed compared to the total active population (labour force) (Living conditions of Households, 2007)

1997 to 7.9% in 2004 to increase again and reach a higher rate than 1997 equal to 9% in 2007 (World Bank, 2011, ILO⁵) as to reach **9.2% in 2009** (CAS, 2008a) (Figure 1).

According to Holm-Nielsen (2001), **the high risk of graduates' unemployment is mainly noticed in markets where the higher education sector expanded massively as it is the case in Lebanon. The unemployment rate of persons with tertiary education in Lebanon, and according to the ILO, reached 10.9% in 2007⁶**, oppose to a 9% total unemployment rate of the working age population. As for the unemployment rate of the educated youth, it was equal to 24% in 2009 (Dhillon and Yousef, 2009).

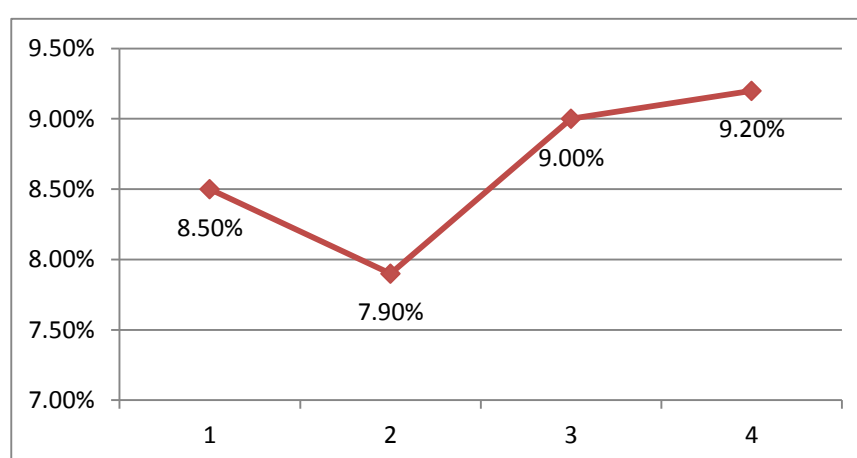


Figure 1: The unemployment rate evolution

Rather than smoothing with time, the situation is aggravating especially now with the immigration of thousands and thousands of Syrian workers looking also for job opportunities within the Lebanese labour market that seems to be encouraging low-skilled labour at the expense of high-skilled labour. If not to emigrate, Lebanese university graduates are choosing to work in jobs below their level of education as not to stay unemployed. **The Lebanese labour market crisis is hence looked upon as a serious three-tiered crisis:** (1) increasing unemployment among university graduates, (2)

⁵ ILO, Key Indicators for Labour Market, from: <http://kilm.ilo.org/KILMnet/view.asp?t=Table9>. Accessed on: September 20, 2013.

⁶ ILO, Key Indicators for Labour Market, from: <http://kilm.ilo.org/KILMnet/view.asp?t=Table9>. Accessed on: September 20, 2013.

increased immigration of low skilled workers, and (3) below-level employment; indicator of masked unemployment and under-employment (LAES, 2006).

The below table (Table 1) summarizes the unemployment rate per age group, gender and the total labour force as presented by the Living Conditions for Households report (2007):

Table 1: Unemployment rates per age group, gender and total labour force			
Age Group	Females	Males	Females and
15-19	26.3%	27.2%	27%
20-24	17.3%	17.3%	17.3%
25-29	10.7%	7.8%	8.7%
30-34	7.2%	5.1%	5.6%
35-39	5.4%	3.9%	4.2%
40-44	6.6%	3.5%	4.2%
45-49	4.7%	2.7%	3.1%
50-54	1.3%	3.6%	3.2%
55-59	1.7%	2.5%	2.4%
60-64	1.9%	4.4%	4.1%
65-69	0	6.5%	6%
70 and Above	0	3.8%	3.6%
Unemployment rate (15 years and	9.5%	7.3%	7.9%
Unemployment rate (15-64 years of old)	9.6%	7.4%	8%

Living Conditions for Household (2007)

We note that **the unemployment rate of graduates from the age group between 20 and 24 years of old is double the national average**. As for the age group 25 through 40 years of old, we notice that the females' unemployment rate is higher than that of males.

According to the human capital theory, the investment in higher education is always correlated to better prospects of employment and salaries. The student choice of higher education over the labour market is based on choosing programmes that can render such outcomes in addition to a certain social prestige. However, the Lebanese students' choices

of academic programmes at the higher education level proved to be, based on the statistical bulletins of the CERD from 1997/1998 till 2012/2013, for programmes where the employment level is saturated (law, business administration, medical doctors, engineers etc.). These choices are correlated to one proposition of the human capital theory that of the social prestige where most of the students, or more precisely their parents, “push” them to register in engineering, medicine or law programme because of the social prestige and “title” that these specializations grant. But, they do not seem to abide by the other proposition related to the better employment and salary prospects leading students eventually to unemployment or emigration⁷.

Based on what was advanced, the following problematic is set:

Why, if choosing the higher education system over the labour market aiming for higher income (as the human capital theory advances), the students’ cohorts choose programmes not convenient to the labour market demand? Is this behaviour leading, by the glutting phenomenon, to unemployment? What are the ex-post responses in the reality and what should be done ex-ante to avoid such a dilemma?

3. Research Aims

When we refer to the transition from education to the labour market, three factors cannot be neglected: the country’s context which plays a primordial role in the transition from university to work; the educational decisions done at the micro level and aspects affecting them; and the graduates’ skills acquired through their studies (Fasih, 2008). Considering this, the relation between the higher education and the labour market cannot be foreseen without considering Clark’s triangle (1983). The latter acknowledges the correlation between the market demand, the government and the HEIs.

⁷ The high unemployment rates as shown in Table 1 are a clear evidence of the mismatch between the higher education supply and the labour market demand.

Based on that, the thesis will consider the effect that the government education policies and the HEIs access strategies have on encouraging and orienting the students' choices. The structure of the system, the degree of intervention and the privatization, and the degree of development of the country, will be considered given their important impact on the future educational decisions of the students' cohorts and consequently their integration within the labour market. The aim, within this triangle, is to study the effect of the various factors that extend from the students' personal and socio-economic characteristics; to the higher education system attributes; to the labour market situation and its effect on the students' higher education choices and their transition to the labour market and period of time taken to find a job. The case will be that of Lebanon; a middle-Eastern middle-low income country.

The research is double-ended. The model used is similar to an “operational model”, compound of an input, transformation process, and output (Slack et al., 2010) considered within the country's context (Figure 1.2). The input is taken as being the students' personal characteristics (age, gender, and religion), the educational background (secondary education choices, parents' educational level, and cultural capital), and the socio-economic background (social class, social capital, parents' working status and level). The transformation process is the HEI, the quality of education provided and the professional experience of the students during their studies (if any). Finally, the output is the graduates and the labour market situation which will determine the graduates' transition (Diagram 1).

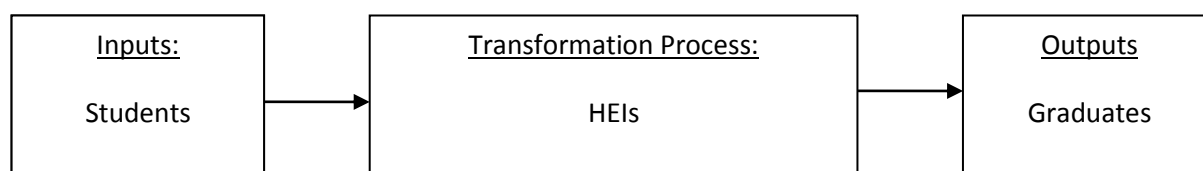


Diagram 1: Simplified higher education transformation process

The main objective is to see to which extent the “input” at a first stage and the “output” at a second stage have an effect on the students’ higher educational choices and how these choices are affecting the graduates’ transition to the labour market and to which extent the transformation process has an effect on a fast transition process. In order to understand, describe and analyse how both markets function, the starting point will be the educational system and the qualifications it produces, and the final one, will be the labour market situation, the jobs creation and the skills requested. This will permit to reflect on the main grounds of the high unemployment rates, the effect of the higher education expansion on these rates, the effect of the labour market status on the students’ higher education choices and the main reasons of the high level of “brain drain” of the Lebanese educated labour force.

The analysis will permit to identify the differences between the public and the private higher education sectors in terms of the students’ recruitment trend, the choices of programmes, and the effect of competition on the recruitment trends and consequently on the transition to the labour market. It will allow to determine the effect of the social, religious, gender issues, and their interrelationship; and that of the financial, political, and economic aspects (future income prospect, employability prospect, economic circumstances, political instabilities, etc.) on the students’ choices for HEIs and programmes and consequently the effect of these choices on the integration within the labour market. The analysis will permit to construct for the Lebanese case an extended model of interrelation between the higher education and the labour market. The model, based on the results of the surveys, will situate the ladder effect of the main factors that affect the students’ higher education choices from one part and their integration within the labour market from the other, and more specifically which labour market (domestic, regional or international). The aim is to demonstrate whether the “glutting theory” is valid for small economies such as the Lebanese case and whether the human capital propositions are valid within all economies regardless of the circumstances.

4. Research Queries and Hypotheses:

To better understand the relation between the Lebanese higher education system and the labour market, the following research questions are proposed:

4.1) Research questions from the students' perspective:

- 1) If not solely guided by the future earnings as suggested by the human capital theory, what are the factors that weight more on the Lebanese students' higher education choices and determine their demand for higher education? In other words, what role do the Lebanese students' personal, educational, socio-economic, occupational, and social backgrounds and their interrelation have on shaping these choices?

4.2) Research questions from the HEIs perspective:

- 2) What effect do the diversified private supply and the competition among the public-private and the private-private HEIs have on the Lebanese students' higher education choices?
- 3) To which extent the HEIs are responsible for alleviating or aggravating the youth unemployment problem? Are they creating bigger expectations among the graduates than the real existing ones?

4.3) Research questions from a labour market perspective

- 4) What effect do the educational choices done by the students as to the choice of the HEI and the field of study have on their integration within the labour market? And which labour market - national, regional or international?

- 5) What effect does the diversified supply of the students' academic standards, economic aspirations and socio-economic backgrounds have on their integration within the labour market and pace of transition?
- 6) Can the Lebanese students' choices be defined as being "cyclic"? Is the "cobweb model", "glutting theory" validated for the Lebanese case?

4.4) Research questions from a government perspective

- 7) What is the impact of the government's policies on the supply of the higher education? To which extent these policies encourage an elite and/or a mass system and hence shape the higher education choices done by the students?
- 8) To which extent the policies set by the Lebanese government are alleviating or aggravating the youth unemployment situation in Lebanon?

4.5) Hypotheses

From the above questions, and in addition to proposing at the end of the research based on the surveys' analysis, the reports, the statistical bulletins, and the previous empirical studies, the projected model and recommendations, we put under investigation, the validation or not of the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The higher educational choices of students, and according to the human capital theory, are based on the future employment and income prospects.

Hypothesis 2: Empirical studies demonstrated that the students from the low social class, and despite the expansion of the system, are still facing difficulties when it comes to access to the higher education.

Hypothesis 3: Empirical studies validated the effect of parents' education on their children higher education choices. Studies demonstrated that parents' education has even a more influential effect than the social background and that the cultural inequalities are more persistent to change than socio-economic ones.

Hypothesis 4: Empirical studies emphasized the important effect of the social backgrounds, the parents' education, the religious ideologies and the degree of development of the country gender parity/disparity.

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between the higher education system and the labour market is seen as an exchangeable one. Nevertheless, the increased demand for higher education translated over time with an increased supply of graduates that did not follow the same pace as the increase in the job opportunities.

Hypothesis 6: Several studies demonstrated that the students' choices for higher education programmes are cyclic based on the labour market opportunities.

The thesis main aims in its conclusive chapter can be summarized as follow:

- (1) Determine reference a socio-economic approach the main aggregates that have an effect on the Lebanese students higher education choices and their integration within the labour market,
- (2) validate (or not) the advanced hypothesis;
- (3) and ascertain the advanced model with prioritization of the different aggregates affecting the market demand for higher education.

5. Theoretical Frameworks

The research questions show a range of theoretical frameworks to support the study. The importance of investment in the human capital and its effect on future earnings saw the light when the economic effects of education emerged after the Second World War (Teixeira, 2007). Education was regarded not only as an essential tool preparing individuals for the labour market (Fasih, 2008) and allowing to improve their societal conditions (Becker, 1964) but also as an attractive investment with expected returns (Palacios, 2002) permitting to avoid unemployment (Canals and Diebolt, 2001) and leading to economic benefits for both individuals and the society (Palacios, 2002). The human capital theory proposed hence an improvement in the employment and salary prospects with further investment in higher education (Schultz, 1960; Mincer, 1958; Becker, 1964; 1962). According to the theory, an individual can never be over-educated (Kivinen and Ahola, 1999). Differences in earnings are thus related to differences in education and differences in human investment (Schultz, 1961). Consequently, unemployment was negatively related to the level of skills (Becker, 1964; 1962; Ashenfelter and Ham; 1979; Nickel; 1979).

However, and with the increase in the unemployment rates of those who are highly educated and with the incidence of over-education, doubts around the implications of the human capital theory emerged (Chaaban, 2009a; Nasser and Abouchdid, 2006; Kivinen and Ahola, 1999). The reverse trend noted as of the 1970s, where the investment in higher education was no longer highly compensated in terms of salaries, was availed by Freeman to the over-supply of graduates and the decrease in employment opportunities. Such change in the behaviour was formalized by Freeman by a “cobweb model” that was revisited later by many authors amongst others Diebolt and El Murr (2004) and El Murr (2004). Critics of the theory proposed that the future employment opportunities and the level of salaries are not just related to the level of education. In most cases, the students’

choices for the higher education programmes do not correlate with the labour market demand. A substitutability effect is noticed between various fields of study based on the labour market situation. Such effect is formalized by the “Engorgement” model advanced by Diebolt (Jaoul-Grammare, 2009). Nevertheless, such substitutability effect continues even after saturation inducing over-production in certain field(s) (glutting theory). This leads to ascertain that students, unlike conventional clients, are unable to understand the totality of the transactions taking place due to the lack of freedom, knowledge and education (Sharrock, 2000 and Pitman, 2000). This suggests as proposed by many authors (to name a few, Jaoul-Grammare, 2007; Demeulemeester and Rochat, 2001; Jimenez and Salsa-Velasco, 2000; Montmarquette et al., 1998; Easterlin, 1995; Kaiser and De Weert, 1994; Heckman, 1976; Becker, 1964, Marshall, 1961) that other aspects such as age, gender, personal preference, family composition and size and value accorded to education, prior academic performance, father’s occupation, high school studies, parental education, family social background, the government policies (tuition fees structure, scholarship, incentives programmes for female students, etc.), the imitation effect, the chances of access to a HEI, the structure of the higher education system (diversity of institutions, type of access, eventail of offered programmes, etc.), and the surrounding environment (geographical distance from HEIs, quality of education available, etc.) (UNESCO Bangkok, 2010), all affect the students’ higher education choices and subsequently their integration within the labour market. The latter and as demonstrated by many authors (to name a few, Salsa-Velasco, 2007; Marginson, 2004; Fevre, 2003; Tsui, 2003; Teichler, 2002) is not solely dependent from the economic situation and the structure of the labour market but also on the socio-economic conditions of the graduates. The age at graduation, gender, the social status of the parents, the level of education of the father, the social capital, the professional experience during studies, the quality of skills available, the job search intensity, the reputation of the HEI, the choice of the field of study, the social selection, all determine the pace of transition to the labour market.

From the other hand, and according to the “screening approach”, the higher education is a signal of ability. It allows competition among various individuals but does not guarantee employment or higher salaries because of the filtering process done by the employers based on the graduates’ academic credentials, personal traits and generic skills (Heijke, 1996). Similarly to the “screening approach” which criticized the human capital theory, the “job competition theory” presumes that the skills needed to perform well a job are not gained within the educational system. And according to the “job search theory”, the effective integration of graduates within the labour market does not only depend on the level of education, but mainly on the employer-employee search procedure that depends in its turn on the level of information available (Fasih, 2008; Salsa-Velasco, 2007; Fevre, 2003).

The researcher hopes through this research to contribute to theoretical knowledge in the area of economic and social educational theories related to the students’ higher education choices and the graduates’ transition to the labour market. The study done anticipates to investigate the effect of the human capital theory propositions on the Lebanese students’ and the implications of these choices on the graduates’ transition to the labour market. It expects, via the socio-economic approach, to study the aspects shaping the students’ higher education choices and consequently those weighting more on the pace of transition to the labour market. The objective is to identify a degree of importance for each of these aspects and their inter-dependence within the Lebanese context. The study hopes to contribute to the “glutting theory” and to see whether it is also valid for small economies. The findings of the study would hence contribute to better understand the students’ higher education choices and problems faced at the labour market. The conclusions will serve to set a specific model for the Lebanese case determining for each market the aspects weighting more on the individuals’ choices permitting to provide recommendations at the government and HEIs level.

6. Methodology:

Given that Lebanon is a confessional Middle Eastern society where gender, religion, cultural and social division impact all decisions in general and higher education decisions in particular (Abou Chedid and Nasser, 2007), the thesis will consider both the economic and social aspects referring to a socio-economic study.

The research strategy is a “case study”. The study is exploratory using descriptive, correlational and explanatory research. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches; what is known by triangulation; are adopted to analyse both the higher education system and the labour market in terms of demand, supply and access. The aim of the triangulation is to validate and support the results of the quantitative study. The study is based on reports, statistical bulletins, empirical studies, two surveys, and semi-structured interviews. The reports and the empirical studies (or the documental research analysis) gave a better understanding of the Lebanese context from a higher education and labour market perspectives. The statistical bulletins were those done by the Centre for Economic and Research Development (CERD). Bulletins from 1997/1998 till 2012/2013 were used. The aim was to conduct a comparative study over the years to reflect on the evolution of the number of HEIs, and to compare between the public and the private sector in what pertains to the students’ recruitment per university, per gender, per programme, per programme per gender, and the graduates’ cohorts.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from the government and the HEIs. A total of four semi-structured interviews were collected: one with the director general of the ministry of education and higher education, one with the academic provost of an elite HEI, one with the academic assistant to the director of a mass university, and the last one with the dean of the business faculty of a mass university. The intention was to collect more than four interviews. However, the difficulty of access to universities prevented from collecting more than these.

Concurrently, a survey was administrated to 656 senior university students from different HEIs. The choice of the HEI respected the structure of the system, the division between public and private, and elite private and mass private. A pilot study was conducted on a number of students prior to the distribution of the survey as to test its validity. The 656 surveys were collected from 6 HEIs: the Lebanese University/LU (the public university), the American University of Beirut/AUB, the Lebanese American University/LAU (private prestigious HEIs), the Arab Open University/AOU, the American University of Culture and Education/AUCE, and the Lebanese International University/LIU (private mass HEIs). Surveys were distributed to students enrolled in programmes that answer to the nature of the labour market demand; i.e. service-oriented programmes, such as the hotel management, the banking and finance; and to students enrolled in programmes that showed, reference the comparative study done based on the CERD statistical bulletins, inverse recruitment trends between the public and the private sector. Those are the faculties of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, “Literature and Humanities” and “Sciences”. Data collection permitted to consider various types of access strategies adopted.

Concerning the second survey, it targets the graduates. A survey was specifically formulated for this study. A pilot study was also conducted to test the validity of the survey. However, because of the inability to reach an important number of graduates from various HEIs, we referred to a prior survey conducted in 2005-2006. The survey was administrated to 4748 households making 18938 Lebanese individuals. Those were from different social, educational and occupational backgrounds. The results of the survey permitted to have a more comprehensive understanding of the transition to the labour market (ways of search for a job, period of search for a job, aspects having an effect on getting a job, difficulties encountered to find a job, negative and positive aspects of the job, importance of internship, channels used to find a job) considering prior educational choices; and the individuals’ tendency towards emigration. This survey was complemented with the results of several empirical studies aiming to better understand

the transition process from higher education to the labour market and considering the effect of the variety of the socio-economic variables.

Combining the qualitative approach through documentation and interviews and the quantitative approach through surveys permits the advantages of one research method to equalize the limitations of others. (More details on this methodology is given in Chapter ...).

7. Position of the Researcher

Brain drain has become a main characteristic of the Lebanese society eroding the country from its active and productive population. The reason(s) behind such reality differ from one stakeholder to another. To students, it may be the mismatch between the job offerings and their level of qualification; to employers, it may be the quality of the graduates' skills, the lack of experience and the absence of generic skills; and to the industry, it could be the inability to create job opportunities in high-productivity activities.

My research interest stemmed, at first from a personal interest as a student unable to find after graduation, in a short period of time, employment opportunities within the domestic labour market that meets both my level of education and personal professional aspirations. Secondly, it stemmed from my position as a tutor who saw students being unconfident about finding employment opportunities within the domestic labour market. This has set a question mark especially that the majority of the students acknowledged pursuing their higher studies because of the better chances that a higher education degree provides in terms of employment opportunities and salaries. I was hence interested to know, if the students are already aware of the end result - that is unemployment, under-employment or emigration - why do they keep on choosing the same programme(s)? What is guiding this imitation effect between the various students' cohorts? I was interested to understand not only the reasons that guide the students' choices but also to gain a better understanding of the role that the higher education system and the labour

market have in alleviating or aggravating the graduates' transition and consequently their role in encouraging or discouraging their emigration. This urged me to investigate, in addition to the personal, socio-economic characteristics of the students, the plausibility of the extensive number of HEIs within a small economy such as the Lebanese one. I was led by a dual purpose. From one hand, I was interested to examine to which extent the massification of the system within an economy that relies on low-productivity activities affected the quality of education and hindered later on the university graduates chances to find employment opportunities within the domestic labour market. And from the other, I was interested to explore the impact of such massification on encouraging the students' stereotyped behaviour for programmes with saturated labour markets. Such investigation was done in the light of the government previous loose policies and the absence of effective quality assurance process and their effect on aggravating the situation.

8. Conclusion

The globalization effect shed its effect on all areas. Worldwide there have been extensive research efforts to study the effect of such globalization on the development of the higher education system and subsequently the impact on the graduates' transition to the labour market. The massification and the privatization of the higher education system set a new era. HEIs are targeting a wider range of students with one concern that of widening access and assuring equal access to all students. For a country, such as Lebanon, well known for its academic standards, the expansion of the higher education system was considered as a normal response to the increased demand for higher education. Such expansion permitted Lebanon to rank highly amongst other Arab countries where the percentage of Lebanese educated labour force is considered as being the best amongst the Arab states (World Economic Forum, 2012). However, the expansion did not go without pitfalls. The increase in the number of university graduates went hand in hand with an increase in the unemployment rates amongst the educational labour force. Having a

university degree is no longer a security against unemployment but rather a ticket towards the regional and international labour markets where many Lebanese graduates work in industrially developed and high-income countries or in managerial positions in the Arab states as not to face unemployment or work with relatively low wages compared to their qualifications at their home country (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). I hope the findings of this study will permit to identify the reasons of such inevitable outcome. I hope to be able to better understand how students' formulate their higher education choices and what weight more on these choices, what role the government policies and the HEIs play in shaping these choices, and how do the Lebanese labour market react versus the diversity of the offered skills and diplomas. I hope the findings can serve as guidelines to the governmental bodies, HEIs, and industrials for monitoring of the transition process and as steerage of future educational and labour policies and strategies.

PART I

CONTEXTUAL REVIEW

CHAPTER ONE

THE LEBANESE HIGHER EDUCATION AND LABOUR MARKET FRAMEWORK

Chapter one will reflect on the contextual framework of the Lebanese case. It will allow to have a better insight of both the higher education system and the labour market. Chapter one is divided in two parts. Part A reflects on the Lebanese higher education system. It will offer an overview of the evolution of the system and pinpoint the main characteristics as to gain an understanding of the demand and supply process of the Lebanese higher education system. Part B discusses the Lebanese labour market. It will shed the light on the main characteristics of the labour market in terms of jobs creation, market segmentation, employment prospects, and the transition to the labour market and aspects weighing on the process. Part B concludes with the results of several empirical studies done.

A- FACTUAL ANALYSIS: THE LEBANESE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

To better comprehend the structure of the Lebanese higher education system in terms of supply, demand and the students' choices at the higher education level, the first part of the chapter will reflect on a factual analysis using statistical bulletins issued by the CERD for the past fourteen years (from 1997/1998 till 2012/2013). Such review will permit to recognize the main characteristics of the system in addition to the changes that took place in the light of the various political, social and cultural factors that had their impact on the

students' choices in what pertains to the selection of the sector, type of HEI and that of a programme.

The statistical review will permit to highlight the differences between the public and the private sectors in terms of the number of HEI in each sector; the recruitment of students per sector and per gender; the difference in the choices of the students between the public and the private sectors; the choice of faculty/programme as to reflect finally on the graduates' evolution rate. The statistical review is preceded by an introduction that discusses both the Lebanese geographical and educational realities.

1.1 The Lebanese Demographic Reality

Lebanon is a Middle Eastern country of 10 452 Square Kilometres with Beirut as its main capital. Despite its modest surface, Lebanon is a multicultural country characterized by a rich diversity of cultures, ethnic (Arab and Armenian) and religious (Christian, Muslim and Druze) groups as well as political sects (Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, 2003, EBSCO, e-library) with an estimated number of residents equal to 3 759 136 in 2007 and an average household size of 4.23 (CAS, 2007) with 50.6% of the residents being females (CAS and UNICEF, 2009). The official language is Arabic yet, the majority of the Lebanese speak as well French and English reflecting the diversity of the educational system.

Lebanon has undergone many changes at different levels (financial, cultural, and political) which have affected the demographic structure of the country. The long civil war, spanning more than 15 years, as well as the June 2006 war and the continuous political instabilities, affected negatively the demographic, residential, social, educational, economic, health and other structures. The age pyramid has been affected by many influences such as **the emigration of the human capital**; the late age of marriage; the high level of single persons in different age category; and the tendency towards having less children if to compare with previous years. Moreover, empirical studies demonstrated

that the educational level affected the demographic makeup of the population as well. 29.2% of the **families that want to emigrate** are from an educational background higher than high school and have a higher percentage of children than families who do not want to emigrate (CAS, 2008b, pp. 40). **Most of the Lebanese families consider sending their children abroad (especially males) to continue their higher studies; mainly at graduate and post graduate levels.**

Box 1.1: Characteristics of the Lebanese Age Pyramid - 2007⁸

- a) Decrease in the number of children for the following age groups (0-4 years old) and (5-9 years old) in comparison with the age groups (10-14 years old) and (15-19 years old). This is mainly related to the decrease of fertility in Lebanon in general over the past 10 years (CAS, 2008b, pp. 29).
- b) Significant differences between the number of males for the following age group (20 – 24 years old) and the number of males for the age groups (25 – 29 years old) and (30 – 34) years old. **This difference is mainly associated to the emigration of men of 25 years old and above** (CAS, 2008b, pp.29).
- c) Increase in the number of males in comparison with the number of females for the age group less than 25. The much bigger difference between the number of males and females is present in the age group (15-19 years old) where the number of males exceeds the number of females by 28000 persons (CAS, 2008b, pp. 30, 31). This can be related to the fact that the number of the birth of the boys is higher than the number of that of the girls⁹ (CAS, 2008a).
- d) Decrease in the number of males in comparison to the number of females for the age group above 24 years old and especially for the age group (35 – 39 years old) where the number of males is less than the number of females by 26000 persons and decrease in the number of males from one age group to another (CAS, 2008b, pp. 31). This can be related to two main reasons: the first one is the emigration of men above 25 years old and the second one is related to the higher death rate of males than that of females¹⁰ (CAS, 2008a).

⁸ Till the elaboration of this chapter no later data than 2007 was available.

⁹ In 2007, Girls birth was equal to 42 024 while the boys birth was equal to 42 799 (Ministry of Interior, 2007).

¹⁰ In 2007, female deaths was equal to 9 420 while male deaths was equal to 11 628 (Ministry of Interior, 2007).

1.2 The Lebanese Educational Reality

Lebanon has undergone a lot of changes at the education level. The changes did not only affect the higher education system but the school system as well in an attempt to answer to the higher education and labour market needs (CAS, 2008c; CERD, 2011).

The Lebanese educational system is divided into two phases:

- a) The School education or Pre-Higher education divided into three stages: elementary education, intermediate education and secondary education.
- b) The higher Education divided as the Bologna process into three stages: BA – Master – PhD (LMD)¹¹.

The education system is also divided into two sectors public and private, and two parallel systems: general education and technical education (CAS, 2008c).

What follows will reflect in a first paragraph on the main characteristics of the school education as to reflect in a second paragraph on the characteristics of the higher education.

1.2.1 The School Education System

School education is assured by public and private schools. Nevertheless, it relies heavily on private schooling to accommodate the ever-growing demand for learning. Private schools are in their overwhelming majority dependent of various religious communities. Aside from the private schools established by western clerics (French, Anglo-Saxons, Germans, and Italians), there are many and diverse local and foreign religious and secular schools that forms the system implicating a diversified system.

¹¹ It is worth mentioning that even before the Bologna process such division was respected by a number of HEIs.

To accommodate to the changes within the education market, a restructuring of the system was done between 1996 and 1999. The aim was to update the curriculum¹². The main objectives set were to consolidate the links between the school education and the higher education from one hand, and from the other to achieve the equilibrium between the general education and the technical education (CERD website). The new restructuring programme reconsidered the programmes offered by the HEIs as to tag on the changes on the international level and cope with the higher education supply. However, it omitted to consider the link between the higher education system and the labour market; particularly that between the labour market demand and the higher education supply in terms of programmes¹³ (*Ibid.*).

The new school curriculum was launched in September 1998 and took into account economic, social, and national perspectives. The main characteristics of this new system consist of the following:

- 1) The total duration in school remains intact, 12 years.
- 2) The primary cycle of general education has been increased by one year, and is divided into two modules of three years each, while the intermediary cycle was reduced to three years instead of four.
- 3) The first year of general secondary cycle education must be considered common for all four different series of instruction, and the second year is common to only two out of the four series.
- 4) [...].

¹² The education budget was in 2009 around 568 million US dollars. Nevertheless, money is not well allocated to the effective development of the system. Only 6% of the total amount is spent on school buildings and equipment and the rest (i.e. the 87%) is spent on public sector teachers' and staff salaries. It is worth mentioning in this context, the oversupply of teachers because of the hiring process that is more done on the basis of favouritism and where promotion is not done on the basis of performance but rather on the number of years spent. Such process is encouraged by the non-existent accountability (AUB et al., 2009).

¹³ Currently, the CERD, the body that was responsible for the first elaboration of the restructuring programme, is considering to review the structure of the school education system and the current implemented curriculum as to include what was omitted or not considered previously.

Box 1.2: New formal school education system

The new formal school education system in Lebanon, like in many other countries, divided the years of instruction as follows: 6-3-3 (six years for the primary cycle, three years for the intermediate cycle, and three years for the secondary cycle), followed by the higher education cycle.

Primary school education is followed either (a) by a six-year intermediary and secondary programme, leading to the official Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II, or (b) by a three to six year technical or vocational training programme leading to the technical baccalaureate. Progression from one level to another at the school level depends generally upon passing the official examinations administered by the government at the end of each school cycle. The primary certificate (first official examination), which used to take place at the end of the primary school cycle, is now eliminated from the new education system. The brevet certificate (intermediate studies examination) takes place at the end of the ninth grade, and the baccalaureate exam is given at the end of the third year of the secondary cycle where and upon success the student will receive the Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II. Once granted, such certificate allows the student to have access to the labour market and/or to continue his/her higher studies at a HEI.

The modifications implemented, especially at the secondary level, allowed students to gain more analytical skills and be prepared for higher studies throughout a more specialized curriculum given that the **reform considered the higher education programmes** (CERD, 2011).

The third year from the secondary cycle is divided into four main tracks:

- a) Literature and humanities, which includes language, literature, history, philosophy, education, arts, and religion;
- b) Sociology and economy, which includes economic sciences, politics, business and management, law, and sociology;
- c) General sciences, which includes mathematics, physics, chemistry, and their applications at the level of engineering;
- d) Life sciences, which includes biology and life sciences, chemistry and their applications in the area of medicine, health, agriculture, and other related subjects.

Still, it is noted that the choice of track at the secondary level **orient students towards certain degrees that do not match the labour market needs**. In 2012/2013, 41.34% of third year secondary level students chose the “sociology and economy” track that leads mainly towards higher studies in law, business administration, economics ... and 37% of students chose the “Life Sciences” track that leads mainly towards chemistry, biology, medicine, etc. studies (CERD, 2012/2013). However, **the labour market showed a saturation rate whether in terms of law or business administration graduates or even medical doctors which led most of the latter to search for regional or international employment opportunities and hence emigrate**. In parallel, only 6.55% of the third secondary level students chose in 2012/2013 (CERD, 2012/2013) the “Literature and Humanities” track that leads towards history, pedagogy, language, etc. degrees and mainly educational sciences; a topic acquiring a high level of interest and support at the international level. Such trend of choice of secondary tracks is not restricted for one year (2012/2013) but it is a continuous trend since 2004 (CERD, 2011).

The high rates of recruitment for the “sociology and economy” and the “life sciences” tracks can be referred to the fact that these two tracks permit a wide choice of programmes at the higher education level while the “Literature and Humanities” track allows access to a restricted number of programmes compared to scientifically oriented tracks. This questions the admission conditions set by the HEIs that may lead students to choose educational programmes that are not conform to the labour market needs. This is credited to the lack of appropriate orientation and thus clear cooperation between the school education and the higher education.

Concerning the **technical and vocational education**, it was mainly created for students not willing to continue their school academic studies. It allows them to have early access to the labour market. However, a major problem is still noted. The Lebanese society does not really recognize such education and consider it as appropriate only for non-intellectual or academically challenged students. Also at this sector, and despite being

targeted towards the labour market, the choices of the students do not cope with the main needs of the market. In 2010/2011, 40.78% of the students have chosen the “Auto Mechanics” track versus 8.8% of the students choosing the “Hotel Management” and its affiliation tracks (CERD, 2010/2011). Since Lebanon is a service-oriented country, the figures should be totally the opposite. Despite the fact that technical education will not be part of our study, yet one cannot but question these numbers especially that technical education has from one hand a more practical nature and was created for the purpose of providing technical labour; and from the other students finishing technical programmes can pursue their higher studies, if they wish, in a track compatible with the original field of study at the technical level. Consequently, the choices the students at both academic and vocational tracks seem to go in the wrong direction.

In 2012/2013, the majority of the students with 31.57% chosen the accounting field with only 8.92% choosing the “Hotel management” and its affiliation tracks (CERD, 2012/2013). Even if the majority is still not choosing “service-oriented” fields, students started to choose needed fields within the labour market, as it will be discussed later, such as “accounting”.

1.2.2 The Higher Education System

Higher education in Lebanon is provided by universities institutes, universities colleges, universities and technical and vocational institutes (Al Await, 1997). Our focus will evolve around the three former types, mainly universities. Technical and vocational institutes will not be part of the study.

The three types that form the higher education system are distinct from each other based on the affiliation as well as subject teaching. The objective of the *university institute* is to provide education for a specific branch from higher education branches and can be related either to a college or a university or can be independent from either of them. Concerning the *university college*, it assumes the teaching of a specific type of higher

education studies and has to be linked to a university. Regarding the university, that is the main focus of this study, it has to include a number of institutes or colleges that provide teaching in various higher studies conditioned by the fact of having at least three colleges that teach sciences (medicine, architecture, chemistry, physics, mathematics, etc.) and humanities (literature, philosophy, law, economics, social sciences, etc.) (1961 Bylaw).

The Lebanese higher education system is divided unequally between the public and the private sectors where 39 private HEIs (in 2012/2013) share the market with one public university, the Lebanese University - LU (CERD, 2012/2013). These institutions, at the top of the educational ladder, are supposed to provide equal forms of higher education. Nevertheless, in reality, a different classification control the market. At the top of the ladder reign prestigious HEIs; i.e. the most reputable, elite, resource-rich and selective institutions. These are mainly the LU and the elite PUs. At the bottom of the ladder, we find HEIs that recruit excluded students from the rest of the system. These are either looking for the prestigious asset that private tutoring provide or looking for easy success that certain mass private HEIs permit because of the absence of an entrance test. Consequently and akin to all higher education systems, **the Lebanese HEIs are lined up vertically** (i.e. at the same level after secondary education) **and horizontally** (i.e. from within, the elite, most selective institutions come at the top and the mass institutions where access is easy and open come at the bottom) (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

A diversity of models rule the system ranging from the Lebanese (system adopted at the Lebanese University - LU) to the American (such as that at the American University of Beirut/AUB, the Lebanese American University/LAU, the Notre Dame University/NDU, etc.) to the French (such as that at the University Saint Joseph/USJ, University Saint Esprit – Kaslik/USEK, etc.) and the Egyptian (such as that at the Beirut Arab University/BAU) (Freiha, 1997).

The market is administrated by the “Ministry of Education and Higher Education”. Private universities colleges, universities institutes and universities depend of the “Directorate General of Higher Education” while technical and vocational institutes depend of the “Directorate General of Technical and Vocational Education”.

Three major issues define the nature of the Lebanese higher education sector: the LU and its stand within the market; the relation between the state and the private sector; and the guiding forces of the higher education system (Al Amine, 1997). In order to better understand how the system works, several areas are to be considered: the economic side (free or non-free institution; the selectivity side (open or selective admission criteria); the study field (practical that lead to liberal professions or theoretical); the cultural side (French, English or Arabic); the ideology side (degree of interest in religious, cultural, etc. ideologies and its effect); and the league side (political attachment, etc.) (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

The importance of the system is translated by the **massive increase in the number of students over the years** from 11000 in 1961 to 56500 in 1974/1975 (Al Amine and Faour, 1998) to 192138 in 2010/2011, to 192522 in 2011/2012 (CERD, 2010/2011; 2011/2012); i.e. with somehow a seventeen-fold increase if to compare with 1961¹⁴. However, we noted that in 2012/2013, the total number of students decreased slightly in comparison with 2011/2012 to 191788. This slight decrease can be credited to the economic status and financial situation of the Lebanese households.

The Lebanese higher education system respects the Bologna process and applies the LMD (BA-Master-PhD). It implements a credit system which varies from American to French to British credit systems depending on the affiliation of the HEI. **Concerning the recruitment process, one condition is common to all HEIs: the Lebanese baccalaureate**

¹⁴ Date of issuance of the first Bylaw to regulate the higher education market.

certificate – section II or its equivalence. Nevertheless, such certificate does not grant direct access to all faculties because of academic dissimilarity in each of the four tracks¹⁵.

1.3 Historical Revolution of the Lebanese Higher Education System

The Lebanese government, because of political instability and long period of conflicts, played a limited role in what pertains to the emergence, development and organization of the higher education system. Private HEIs, where the establishment of some of them goes back to the 19th century, exercised their educational mission for an important lap of time, in complete independence from the official authorities and the government (Al Await, 1997). **The first attempt to regulate the market** was in 26/12/1961 with the promulgation of the Higher Education Act by the “Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts” (at that time). In an attempt to organize and regulate the system, the 1961 Bylaw specified in its article 17 that all private HEIs that were established prior to the 1961 Bylaw have to submit, in a three month period, a special permit to the “Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts” including its name, branches, administrative structure and bylaws, academic approach, and a list of faculty members (1961 Bylaw)¹⁶.

The presence of a Bylaw did not limit the violations. Given the absence of an official and active body to control and systematize the system (at least till 1993), the Lebanese higher education system, especially in the 1990s, knew a massive expansion of the private sector. A chaotic dispersal of colleges, universities and branches across the country was the end-

¹⁵ For instance, some HEIs do not accept students from the literature and humanities tracks to enrol in the architecture programme (like the LU and the BAU) or the computer science programme (like NDU). For other private universities that implement the American model, students who do not have the Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II but do have a high school degree are admitted into the “freshman” programme. Once passed, the student will be considered as having an equivalence of the Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II in a track equivalent to the curriculum that s/he has followed (scientific or literary) (Freiha, 1997).

¹⁶ From the universities that have presented a special permit; we name the most important one: the American University of Beirut (AUB), the University of Saint Joseph (USJ), Haigazian Institute that became later on the “Haigazian University”, the Beirut Arab University (BAU), the University of Saint-Esprit (USEK), etc.

result. A diversity in the quality of HEIs and offered diplomas in the absence of effective legislative and governmental bodies to set boundaries assuring the quality of educational services provided was noted (Bachour, 1997; UNESCO 1998). Such expansion was guided by competition mainly between the private institutions); and (2) the willingness of HEIs to attract more students with no consideration of the effective needs of the students and the labour market or even their eligibility to provide the needed academic level in relation to the field of expertise they are offering (Bachour, 1997). Such situation affected negatively the educational standards which started to fall. These academic consequences, in addition to the political instability, had their effect on the regional stand of the Lebanese higher education system that used to attract students from the Arab World and other countries of the Middle East¹⁷.

The government did not take any active action till 1993 where it established the “Ministry of Culture and Higher Education”. Before that date the higher education market was under the marginal care of the “Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts” (Al Await, 1997). The main objective of the newly established ministry - currently known by the “Ministry of Education and Higher Education” - is to overview and regulate all “operations” related to higher education. Although the government had a limited role, especially during political conflict periods, **the established ministry was able to regulate the educational market by formulating rules and regulations such as the 1996 decree that came as a supplement to the 1961 Bylaw.** *The 1996 decree aims* to organize the private higher education sector; and specify licensing conditions standards and specifications to be followed in relation to the buildings, labs, number of faculty/student, etc. (Ministry of Higher education website; 1996 Decree; Interview with the director

¹⁷ The number of foreign students fell from 29.5% in 1992 (CERD, 1991/1992) to 16.6% in 2010/2011 (CERD, 2010/2011).

general of higher education, 2012). The main objective is to control the supply side, assure quality and minimize the disparity of “illegal” institutions¹⁸.

To have more control, and because of the absence of a quality assurance process¹⁹, the ministry formulated two types of practices to be implemented: a licensing one and an auditing one. Each private HEI has to submit a file to be assessed by the technical committee in terms of eligibility of the curriculum, lab, programmes, etc. as stated by the Higher Education Act. If the HEI abides by all the guidelines, the next phase consists in the need of the HEI to prove its ability to put correctly into practice all requirements set. Concerning the programme recognition, it is not granted but after three years of the starting date of the programme in order to assess its outcome and legitimacy (Interview with the director general of higher education, 2012). The “new” ministry through these pre-set criteria and regulations allowed HEIs in Lebanon to regain a certain international recognition in spite of academic, financial and administrative discrepancies amongst institutions.

The Lebanese higher education market is characterized by a certain degree of liberalism and diversity of educational systems, in terms of origins, structure and offered quality. To project on the evolution of the system, **the historical progression of the establishment of HEIs** is divided into three phases (Bachour, 1997):

- a) Phase 1: the establishment phase and the dominance of foreign education extending from the 19th century till the mid of the 20th century (1850-1950). The first half of the 19th century witnessed the establishment of two PUs with religious affiliation; i.e. 80 years before the establishment of the LU. These are the AUB

¹⁸ In its article 8, the decree stated the following: any HEI (an institute, college or university) is not entitled to operate before acquiring prior authorization; an authorization that is provided based on a decree taken by the council of ministers as stipulated by article 13 of the 1996 decree.

¹⁹ It should be mentioned that the ministry of education and higher education has referred in 2012 the bill for the establishment of the “Lebanese Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education” to the parliament to be discussed (Ministry of Education and Higher Education website).

established by the Protestants in 1866 and the University of Saint Joseph (USJ) established in 1881 by the Jesuits. Both universities have transferred their mission through time from preaching to education.

- b) Phase 2: from the mid of the 20th century - year of the establishment of the LU, till 1975 - year of ignition of the civil war (1950-1975). This period was critical and was considered as a rooting stage for the development of national HEIs. During that period many universities were established such as the LU (1951) and the BAU (1960). At the beginning of the sixties, four universities were sharing the Lebanese higher education market, each with a different identity: American (the AUB), French (the USJ), Lebanese (the LU) and Arabic (the BAU). Such diversity created an equilibrium among francophone and Anglo-Saxon systems as well as Lebanese and Arabic ones.
- c) Phase 3: From 1975 till 1997. This period was characterized by too many divisions and chaos especially in terms of dispersal of HEIs because of the civil war and political instability periods and the absence, till 1993, of an active body to organize the system. As of 1997, and with the decree of 1996, the chaotic period was somehow over. The higher education system started to be better structured.

To the above three phases advanced by Bachour (1997), a fourth phase can be added from 1997 till the present day. During that period, the Lebanese higher education system knew a massive expansion of the private sector as an answer to the increase in the number of students seeking higher studies. The result was, and still is, an increase in the number of graduates with various skills and from several fields of study that do not always correlate with the labour market needs. The establishment in 1993 of the “Ministry of Education and Higher Education” was regarded as a positive step. It contributed to the regulation of the market; a role that was not really assumed during the previous stages. It played a

more active role permitting to have a better and more transparent situation (Interview with the director general of higher education, 2012).

This historical development shaped the current position of the Lebanese higher education system. The expansion of the system allowed the provision of educational opportunities through the development of “classical types” of HEIs and the geographical expansion of the LU. By that, Lebanon did not follow the international trend in this regard where in Europe and the United States the increased demand for higher education was answered by the emergence of new types of HEIs such as the Technology Institutes in Europe and the Community Colleges in the United States. The rapid and uncontrolled growth of the system transformed the Lebanese higher education system from an elite to an ordinary one, open to all public (Al Amine, 1997).

The following diagram reflects on the main turning points in the evolution of the Lebanese higher education system (Diagram 1.1).

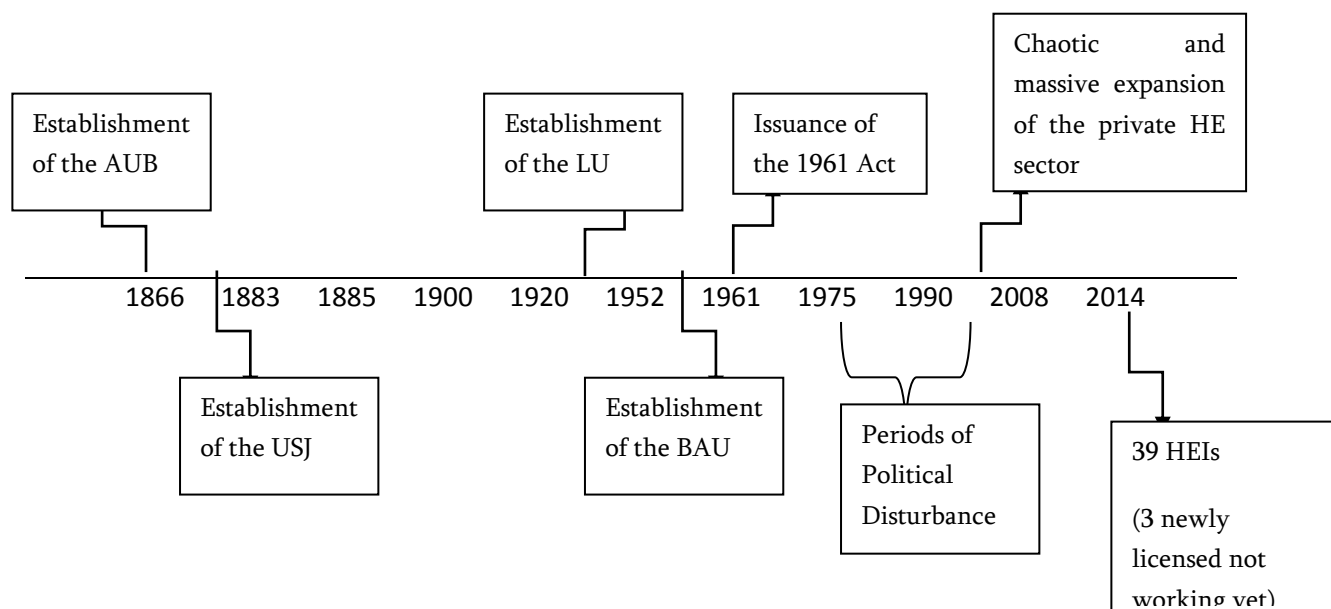


Diagram 1.1: Historical Timeline - Evolution of the Lebanese Higher Education System

1.4 The Lebanese University

The Lebanese University (LU) was **established** in 1951²⁰. *The first objective* was to graduate competent tutors for the secondary schools and employees for the ministries and public services institutions as well as to provide diplomas that are not delivered by neither the AUB nor the USJ (Bachour, 1997)²¹. **It aims to target students from the mid-low and low social classes unable to pay high tuition fees or secure a financial assistantship at the private sector** but are looking at the same time for quality teaching particularly for the faculties that require an entrance test (Al Amine and Faour; 1998, Al Amine, 1997). However, **and for certain selective faculties, the LU is attracting students from the upper social class because of the outstanding quality that these faculties offer.** Attracting students from various social classes even if in disproportional rates gives the LU a more homogeneous characteristic than the private sector (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

The LU **is funded and handled** by the government reference a special law. **It used to attract the majority of the students cohort yet it has known a continuous decreasing recruitment rate over the years** with 59.16% of the total number of students in 1997/1998 oppose to 37.74%; 38.3% and 37.24% in 2010/2011; 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 respectively (CERD, 1997/1998; 2010/2011; 2011/2012; 2012/2013). This is reflective of the preference of the Lebanese students for private education over the public one at the higher education level.

The LU tuition fees are considered to be insignificant. Practically free education compared to PUs playing thus an attracting tool for the students from the low social classes. Despite that, the LU is not permitting social mobility for these students because of

²⁰ Via the decree n° 6267 issued on 20/10/1951

²¹ In its mission statement, the LU stated that one of its main duties is to “provide the Lebanese market with specialists and technicians in all fields of science (...) as well as conduct scientific research and encourage community service” (Freiha, 1997).

the absence of appropriate financial resources as well as poor work opportunities offered to the LU graduates (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

It is characterized by the diversity of branches and centres all over Lebanon. It has five main branches and forty seven (47) centres distributed across all geographical areas (Bachour, 1997). Such diversity, result of the civil wars, aims to permit access to students in different Lebanese regions. **All branches offer a range of diplomas**, yet, a limited one if to compare with alternatives provided by the private sector. **Geographical locations do not offer the same variety of programmes** taking into consideration the calibre of the students, the structure of the geographical scope, and the mass concentration of the population. Some branches, in northern Lebanon and the Bekaa region have a restricted choice of diploma because of the modest society from social, academic and financial perspectives.

The religious affiliation has an important role in what pertains to the distribution of the students amongst the branches. Students belonging to a particular religion choose a certain branch and not the other because of the geographical location of each branch and thus the religious characteristic of the population. Therefore, the chances of Muslim students to go to the first, third, fourth or fifth branch is higher than their chances to go to the second branch and the chances of Christian students to go to the second branch are higher than their chances to go to the first branch (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

The recruitment process varies from one faculty to another. Some requires an entry test (for example: the faculties of medicine, engineering, economic sciences and business administration, etc.) while others recruit holders of the Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II or its equivalence with no entry test requirement (for example: the faculties of law, literature and humanity, sciences, etc.). Such variety of recruitment processes affects the number of registered students, the educational choices, and as a result the demand side. The students tend to choose faculties that do not require an entry test especially if there is no prior planning from the student; the application for a PU was not

accepted; a student did not pass an entry test at a LU faculty; or did not pass his baccalaureate from the first attempt.

From an age perspective, the student population recruited at the LU is noticed to be older than those recruited at the private sector. This could be related to the open recruitment strategy implemented by the LU for certain faculties where the student is not necessarily a full time student (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

1.5 The Lebanese Private Universities

Private HEIs, that dominate the majority of the Lebanese higher education system, are characterized by three realities: religious and secular domination; foreign origin; and challenges of indigenization of the universities as part of the developing process. Most of the PUs in addition to their educational and scientific missions have also a humanitarian mission and encourage community service (Freiha, 1997).

The first PUs were created during the period of 1860-1870 under the ediger of religious missions:

- a) The American University of Beirut (AUB) was created in 1866 by a Presbyterian mission; by Protestants. It was created shortly before the Saint Joseph University (USJ), founded in 1881 by the Jesuits and which knew an important expansion of its faculties between 1950 and 1975 (Bachour, 1997). The AUB and the USJ are considered the most important and reputable PUs in the Anglo-Saxon and French systems respectively.
- b) During the same phase but at the beginning of the 20th century, in 1937, the “Académie Libanaise des Beaux Arts” - (ALBA) was established, not by a religious mission but by an Architect aiming to provide an education rooted within the

Lebanese culture and in accordance to the needs of the Lebanese society. Studies were limited at first to studies in art such as music, painting to include later on degrees related to architecture and literature. The main characteristic of this university is that it was and still is a hybrid combination of both systems: the Latin/French and the Anglo-Saxon/American systems which gives it the characteristic of openness and liberalism.

Concerning the other private HEIs, they were created after the Second World War. The most important ones are:

- c) The Beirut Arab University (BAU) founded in 1960. It is closely related to the Alexandria University in Egypt. It is the second university in Lebanon, after the LU, in what pertains to the number of recruited students - at least till 2009/2010. After that date, the Lebanese International University (LIU), a newly established PU²²; took the second position in the number of recruited students (CERD, 2009/2010; 2010/2011). The BAU, which targets the Arab youth, and despite its affiliation to the Alexandria University, is described by its statute as a Lebanese HEI and one of the institutions of a religious Muslim mission. From an academic point of view, the BAU is considered as a branch of the Alexandria University. The academic system implemented differentiate it from other PUs because of the presence of the “affiliation” system that allows any student from the Arab world, especially Palestine, Jordan and Syria, to sit only for the exams or take the exams in designated centres in their home country (Al Amine, 1997).
- d) The Beirut University College (BUC) was established at first under the name of American School for Girls in 1835 to be named in 1950 “Beirut College for Women” (BCW) and BUC in 1973 after starting to accept men in some programmes (LAU website). In 1995, it changed its name again to become the

²² that will be referenced later in the chapter

Lebanese American University (LAU); a very renowned and reputable private HEI adopting the American system and competing with the AUB (Interview with LAU provost – Dr. Abdallah Sfeir, 2012). The LAU has two campuses: the main campus in Beirut area, targeting mainly students in Beirut and its suburbs and Jbeil campus, aiming to accommodate students' demand in the Mount Lebanon area.

- e) The Haigazian University established in 1955 by the “Union of the Armenian Evangelist Churches” in the Orient. Its main objective was to facilitate and procure education to Armenian youth and preserve the Armenian heritage. The Haigazian University is considered as one of the important PUs in Lebanon for the Lebanese community in general and the Armenian one in particular. It has one campus in Hamra – Beirut area.
- f) The University of Saint Esprit – Kaslik (USEK) was officially recognized as a university in 1961; i.e. after the issuance of the 1961 bylaws that organized the higher education system in Lebanon. It is the first PU established outside the Beirut area and the first catholic university with oriental style. It is attached to the Order of Lebanese Marounite Monks. After the civil war, the USEK started to expand and be more recognized because of its geographical location outside Beirut area (Bachour, 1997).
- g) The Notre Dame University (NDU) first saw the light in 1978, embraced by the Beirut University College (BUC) under the name of “Notre Dame High Centre” that was seen as a nucleus for a catholic independent university attached to the Marounite church. At first, it was founded as a branch of the BUC to become as of 1987²³ an independent university known by the name of “Notre Dame University”

²³ by decree n° 4116

(Bachour, 1997). The NDU implements the American approach using the English language as a teaching language.

- h) Another private HEI that was established within the same frame of time of the NDU is the “Balamand University”. It was officially licensed in 1988²⁴ (Bachour, 1997). The use of both French and English languages depending on the faculty as a teaching language is the main distinct feature²⁵ of Balamand University from other PUs²⁶.
- i) Concerning the other PUs, they recruit a low effective of students and are somehow newly established. They will not be referred to in this section.

Depending on the origin of each university, **three different modes of teaching exist** (French, Anglo-Saxon or Arabic). At the PUs, in addition to the Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II, the students’ recruitment is basically done by applying and sitting for a language exam (French or English depending on the system of the university). For certain programmes, other conditions are also required by a number of PUs permitting to test the logic and knowledge of the students (math, sciences, GMAT/GRE/SAT exams, etc.). PUs adopting the American model impose two general exams for all students: an English language test and a scientific test. The English test is common to all students whereas the scientific test takes into consideration the track chosen by the student at the secondary level. Additionally, these universities request the academic record of the student for the last three secondary years complemented by a recommendation letter from the school director. Concerning the universities adopting the French or Egyptian models, sitting for a language test is a requirement for all students in addition to a special

²⁴ 4/06/1988 by decree n° 4885

²⁵ Except for the ALBA University that opted for both languages as well

²⁶ The French is the teaching language for all the arts diplomas, whereas the English is the teaching language for architecture, sciences, business administration, etc. diplomas while it combines both languages for other faculties such as literature and humanities

exam specific to each specialization. For universities implementing the French model, the academic record of the student at the secondary level is requested, nevertheless, it is not considered in general as a condition for admission (Freiha, 1997).

Recruitment exams implemented by PUs are divided into three categories (Freiha, 1997).

(1) The first category: Admission Exam.

This type is in general implemented by applied/practical colleges; i.e. medicine, pharmacy, architecture, etc. where academic knowledge is highly required. Implementing admission exams allow the HEI and the respective faculty to pre-set the number of students to be accepted because of its eclectic nature allowing each faculty to estimate the number of graduates in years to come. In other words, HEIs implementing this type of exam are participating in the reconfiguration of the elites who have a good social and economic status.

(2) The second category: Entrance Exam.

Reference a pre-set test, students are accepted based on the accommodation ability of the faculty without pre-setting the number of students to be accepted. Such recruitment process is less eclectic than the admission exam yet it conserves the specialized twist because of the exam subjects that depend on the requirements of each faculty. This type of exam is in general adopted in the faculties of business administration, interior design, computer science, media, etc. HEIs implementing this type of exam have a more diversified nature of recruitments. Such trait could be attributed to the fact, that unlike PUs that adopt the admission exam, there are no syndicates trying to indirectly influence the selection process from the start as to maintain a controlled number of qualified graduates.

(3) The third category: Formality Exam.

This type of exam is general and not specialized. It focuses on a language exam depending on the affiliation of the university (Arabic or foreign; i.e. English or French). It is common for all faculties such as humanities, law, social sciences, and political sciences. Mass PUs implement such form solely, without a specialized test, for programmes such as business administration, computer science, etc. aiming to attract more students and answering by that to their mission that is open access.

Most of the PUs are located in the great Beirut area because of the mass concentration of the demanding population²⁷. Many PUs are focusing on diversifying their geographical scope to reach all prospect students as the demand zone is expanding. Still, not all campuses offer all programmes. Geographical campuses consider the characteristics of the population and the needs of the region when it comes to the offered diploma/programmes²⁸.

Students' population at the private sector is younger than that at the LU. However, and within PUs, discrepancies related to the students' age is noted. Students at NDU and LAU-Jbeil are much older than students at AUB and USJ. This is related to the fact that the former two Anglo-Saxons universities are facilitating the recruitment of older students that find it hard to go to the AUB (another Anglo-Saxon university) in Beirut area because of the geographical distance and/or cultural beliefs.

Concerning the recruitment of students per social class, there is no doubt that the students' distribution between the upper and the lower social classes is for the benefit of the former since those from the low social class cannot afford the high tuition fees unless

²⁷ In 2007, the concentration of the population was as follow: 9.6% in Beirut, 39.5% in Mount Lebanon (Both Beirut and Mount Lebanon can be considered as the Great Beirut area), 20.3% in the Northern Lebanon, 13% in the Bekaa and 17.5% in the Southern Lebanon (CAS, 2008b).

²⁸ For example, the USJ offers to its students in Zahle and Bekaa campus agriculture programme while such programme is not offered at the North and South campuses (USJ website, 2010-2012).

they get financial assistantships. If to compare between PUs, the **degree of social selectivity differs from one institution to another**. For instance, the USJ became less selective than other elite PUs since it showed more interest in students from the mid social classes and even low social classes. This is justified by the reasonable tuition fees that the USJ implement compared to other PUs with the same reputation (USJ website, 2010-2012). The LAU-Jbeil campus took the USJ place in terms of recruitment of elites especially in the Mount-Lebanon area (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). The USJ unusual strategy for an elite institution can be explained in two ways: the increased demand for Anglo-Saxon systems because of the importance given to the English language in the labour market led the USJ to implement attracting strategies mainly financial ones without compromising its prestigious and elitism positions; and the willingness of the university to permit social mobility given that community service is part of its vision (*Ibid.*).

Concerning the recruitment of students per religion, Muslim students tend to choose Anglo-Saxon universities while Christian ones choose the French system. Muslim students' chances decrease at the HEIs with Christian religious affiliation (such as the USJ, NDU, USEK, etc.) whereas the Christian students' chances decrease at the HEIs with more Arabic, Muslim religious affiliation (such as the BAU) (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). This is mainly related to the geographical location of each of these universities as well as to the emigration trends. Christian tend to emigrate towards European countries while Muslims choose in general American countries²⁹.

Students' place of residency affects as well the choice of the PU. Students' residents in Beirut area tend to enrol in either one of the following universities: the AUB, the USJ, the BAU and the LAU-Beirut campus. Concerning those in Mount Lebanon, they tend to

²⁹ Students at USJ (a francophone university) are more from the Christian population whereas students at AUB (an Anglo-Saxon university) are more from the Muslim population (Bachour, 1997).

enrol in one of the following: the USJ, the NDU, the USEK and the LAU-Jbeil campus (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

Consequently, **the choice of students for a private HEI sets a number of criteria to be considered**: the reputation of the institution within the market; the tuition fees; the religious affiliation; the academic history and standards; the offered programmes; the social life and social interaction; and the access to labour market.

The importance or ranking of these characteristics differs from one social class to another, from one labour market to another affecting thus the demand. Well-heeled families “push” their children to register in well reputable elite universities such as the AUB, the USJ and the LAU aiming not only at the academic history and experience of the chosen HEI but searching also for a better social interaction and job opportunities. From an employer perspective, many companies state in their recruitment advertisements the following: “A BA graduate/MA graduate in the field of (...) from a well reputable university”. Evidence from the market revealed that the students graduating from PUs are better evaluated by employers than those graduating from the LU. They tend to receive well paid job proposals owing the prestigious quality of education that certain private HEIs offer or claim to offer³⁰. For certain social classes, the main determinant of the educational choice and the degree of quality education is the tuition fees that remain somehow relatively high despite the extended support that some prestigious PUs are providing because of the increased demand for private tutoring through financial aid, work study aid, loans and scholarships.

³⁰ The explanation of such phenomena can be referred to what was advanced by Mincer (1958) where difference in earnings is attributed not only to the level education but also to its cost.

1.6 Statistical Review From 1997/1998 till 2012/2013

The data is taken from the yearly statistical bulletins issued by the “Centre for Economic and Research Development (CERD)³¹ - Lebanon” from 1997/1998 to 2012/2013. The data for 2008/2009 is missing because the bulletin for the said year was not issued by the centre. Data for 2013/2014 is not also included because, till the date of preparation of the chapter, it was not yet issued.

The following will reflect on a statistical review of the previous educational choices with a focus on the following: the evolution of the number of HEIs; the recruitment of students per university: comparing the recruitment of students between the public and the private sectors as well as between the PUs; the recruitment of the students’ cohort per gender: comparing the recruitment per gender between the public and the private sectors as well as the evolution of gender recruitment over the years; the distribution of students among the various branches of the LU; the recruitment of students’ cohorts per faculty and comparison between the public and the private sectors; the recruitment of students’ cohorts per faculty per gender; and the graduates’ cohorts, the evolution over the years while comparing the public and the private sectors and comparing the graduates’ cohorts per gender as well.

Before discussing each of the above aspects, it should be noted that the rate of students at the higher education level from the total population was equal to 4.45% in 2007³².

³¹ The CERD is a public organization created in 1971 under the tutelage of the “Lebanese Ministry of Education and Higher Education”. Its establishment was mainly related to the need of a central organism able to tackle different pedagogical and technological aspects relevant to the development of the education sector with a main function of research and development for all aspects related to school education or pre-higher education. Still, the center is responsible for collecting data from various educational systems: school education and higher education.

³² Rate is provided for 2007 given the absence of data for recent years.

1.6.1 Evolution of the Number of Higher Education Institutions

As noted, the Lebanese higher education system was **dominated for the past years by a number of PUs** (39 private HEIs in 2012/2013) **competing with one public university, the LU** and regulated by the “Ministry of Higher Education” that was created in 1993.

The number of PUs fluctuated over the past years from 23 in 1997-1998 to 38 in 2010-2011 and 39 in 2012/2013 with an approximate increase of 70% a peak in 2003/2004 with 39 PUs (Figure 1.1). This increase is in response, as it is on the international level, to the increased demand for higher education. Such demand was answered in Lebanon by the private sector because of the financial inability of the government to invest in public education as it is the case in the majority of the developing countries. The expansion of the private sector was translated either in terms of new mass HEIs; or through the dispersal of existent HEIs into new geographical and social areas (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

The students’ preference for the private sector was guided by several factors such as the differences between the LU and the PUs in terms of academic resources, books, labs, buildings, equipment; the disparity of the curriculum and programmes across the LU branches; and the political problems that might affect the natural course of the academic year. All these aspects lead to the assumptions that high tuition fees will yield higher quality of education (Al Amine, 1997). These reasons may be valid but they do not omit the fact that from one part in their quest to supply affordable education, not all PUs share the same aspiration for quality. Certain affordable PUs are compromising the quality over the quantity because of the competition within the market and as not to lose students to other competitors. They are attracting an important of students based on the community assumption that private learning yield better quality education than the public one and count on the inability of certain families to admit their children to first rank elite PUs. From the other, the LU provides high quality standards in certain faculties especially those requiring an entry test. It is well known that mass PUs extend the registration

period at the beginning of the academic year awaiting for students who did not succeed in the entry test at the LU. This indicates the high quality required by the public university (*Ibid.*).

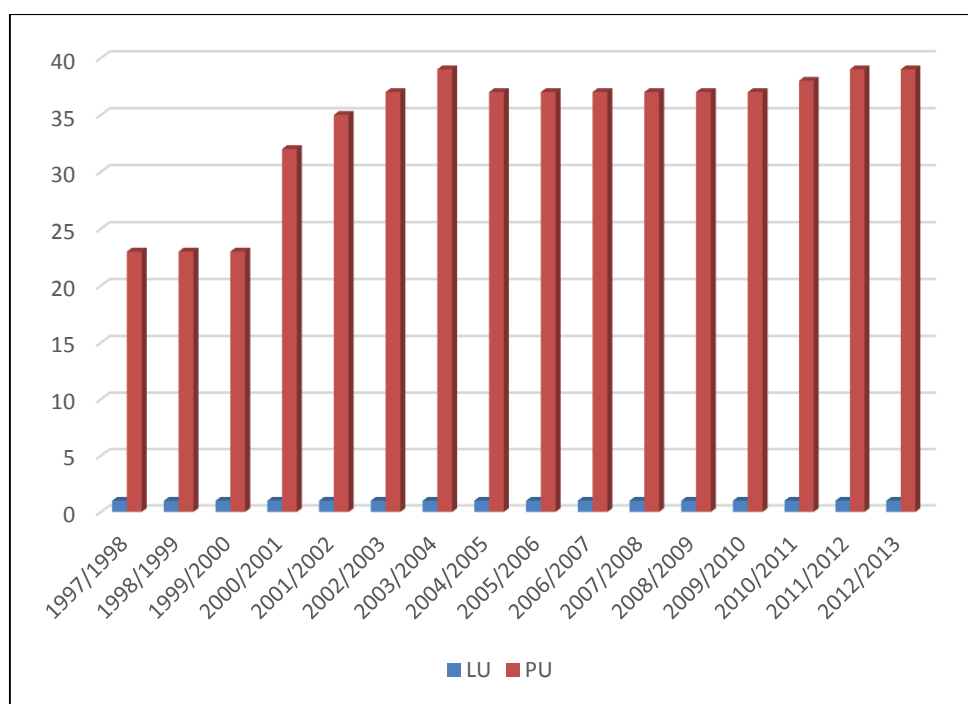


Figure 1.1: Evolution of the number of the Lebanese HEIs

1.6.2 Recruitment of Students Per Sector

The total number of recruited students at the higher education level knew a continuous increase over the years from 87330 in 1997/1998 to 192522 in 2011/2012. An increase of 120% except for 2002/2003 and 2012/2013 where the number of enrolled students decreased compared to 2001/2002³³ and 2011/2012 respectively. Such decrease is

³³ The academic year 2002/2003 knew a negative evolution in all aspects related to the higher education system either in terms of (1) recruitment of students, or (2) recruitment per faculty, or (3) number of universities, etc. This could be related to the establishment of the ministry more compelling rules and regulations.

accredited to the economic situation that is somehow comparable in these two periods and where the purchasing power of buyers was downsized.

The increase in the number of enrolled students does not only suggest an increase in the number of students finishing secondary education but it also reflects the decrease in the selectivity level where in order to answer to the increased demand, the system expanded massively in a way jeopardizing the quality (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

The expansion of the private sector altered the recruitment trend. Over the past years, **the higher education market knew a shift in the number of registered students in favour of the private sector**. In 2012/2013, 62.76% of students were registered at the private sector versus 37.24% at the LU opposed to a contradictory trend fourteen years ago where 40.84% of the students were registered at the private sector versus 59.16% at the LU (Figure 1.2). This is associated from one hand to the preference for private tutoring and evaluation within the labour market where graduates from PUs are being better valued by employers, and from the other to the easier access and diversity of programmes offered by the private institutions, namely mass PUs. The majority of the mass PUs opt for a flexible recruiting strategy³⁴. From an academic perspective, the success level at certain PUs is 10/20 while it is 12/20 at the LU. All these factors combined together might explain the shift in the higher education demand related to the choice of a HEI where, and as it seems, quality is no longer assessed by the students as a priority.

³⁴ Certain faculties at the LU require an entry test while the majority of the PUs recruit students for the same faculties of the LU based only on a language test that if failed does not replicate the rejection of the student. The student will have to register language courses (French or English depending on the system adopted by the university) but will be accepted.

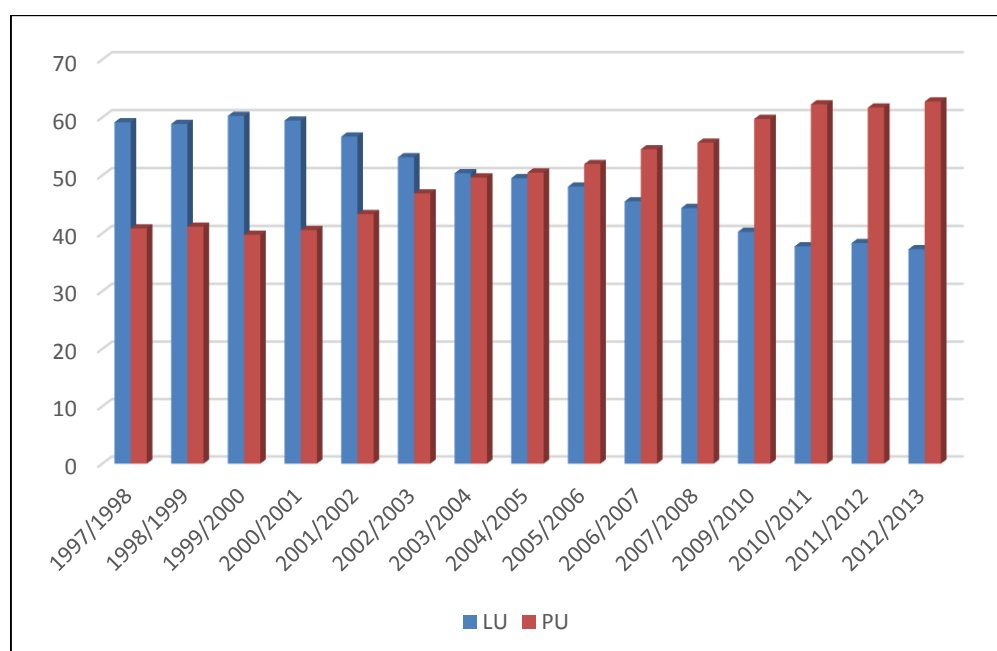


Figure 1.2: Recruitment of Students – LU versus PUs

If to compare between the PUs, we notice that over the past years, seven universities dominated the market: the BAU, the USJ, the AUB, the LAU, the USEK, the NDU and the LIU (See appendix 1.1).

- The BAU shows the highest rate of students' recruitment. However, the rates of recruited students fluctuated over the past years with an unstable rate; a peak in 1998/1999 with 11.9% of the total number of recruited students and a lowest rate in 2002/2003 with 3.87%. This can be explained by the fact that a new PU joined the most reputable PUs that year; the NDU. The BAU attracts students from different backgrounds. The increased recruitment rate of students after 2002/2003 till 2007/2008 (10.6%) can be explained by the diversity of the offered programmes, the affordable tuition fees and the presence of three main campuses allowing outreach to all regions (Beirut, Debbieh (South Lebanon) and Tripoli (North Lebanon) (BAU website). The BAU, and till 2009/2010, despite a lower rate of recruits in comparison with 2007/2008 (8.9%), was the number one PU among

other PUs and the second university after the LU in terms of the number of recruited students. Nevertheless, and starting 2010/2011, the Lebanese International University (LIU); a newly established university in 2001; took the lead with an 8.50% rate compared to 8.10% for the BAU. The massification of the system and the presence of less selective institutions seem to have had a reverse impact on the BAU ability to attract students. In 2011/2012 and 2012/2013, the rates of recruits knew an important decrease to 5.9% and 5.7% respectively.

- The USJ is the second PU in terms of students' recruitment. However, with a decreasing rate from 7.3% in 1997/1998 to 5.03% in 2012/2013. The USJ is considered as the first PU adopting the French system and recruiting students from a certain social background. Competitive tuition fees, compared to other PUs, and strategies targeting students from mid-low social classes, did not have, as it seems, a positive effect on the recruitment rate. The decrease in the number of registered students could be credited to a preference for the Anglo-Saxon system because of the globalization trend where the English language became an international language whether in the business world or social routes. The USJ, and in order to reduce the transition of the youth to Beirut, assist in the development of cultural activities in remote areas and thus allow outreach to all students (Bachour, 1997). It opted for regional university centres in addition to the main campuses in Beirut area in: Sidon (South of Lebanon), Tripoli (North of Lebanon) and Zahle (Bekaa of Lebanon) (USJ website).
- The AUB is the third university in terms of the students' recruitment with a fluctuating rate over the past years. The rate of recruits is more or less stable ranging between 4% and 5.71% where the highest rate (i.e. 5.71%) was in 1997/1998 and the lowest rate (i.e. 4%) in 2010/2011; after which the rate remained stable in the subsequent years (i.e. 2011/2012 and 2012/2013). The AUB is considered as the first PU adopting the Anglo-Saxon system in terms of quality

and tuition fees. The clients choosing the AUB are from the high social strata, with high academic background and cultural perspective. This explains the more or less stable recruitment rate over the years; and the stable rate over the past last three years; a main characteristic of affiliated private HEIs that tend to focus on a narrow clientele (Bernasconi, 2006). Concerning the geographical diversification, unlike other HEIs, the AUB opted for one campus in the Beirut area³⁵.

- The USEK is the fourth university in terms of students' recruitment with an increasing rate till 2007/2008 ranging from 3.87% in 1997/1998 to 4.10% in 2007/2008 where after that date the rate started to decrease to reach 3.50% in 2011/2012; to slightly increase to 3.92% in 2012/2013. USEK is a PU adopting the French system with affordable tuition fees. The globalization, the tendency towards Anglo-Saxon systems, and the competition might explain the decrease in the recruitment rates. Unlike the USJ, students choosing this institution are not from a specific social class. Enrolled students are from different backgrounds with modest financial capacities preferring private over public education because of the better employment and salary prospects. The USEK opted for one campus in Kaslik, Mount Lebanon area (USEK website).

- The LAU; the closest competitor to AUB and NDU; come at the fifth place in terms of the students' recruitment. The LAU, like the other two competitors, follow the Anglo-Saxon system with high tuition fees. Students should have a certain financial ability but not necessarily be from high social, academic and cultural backgrounds. In a society where social rank matters, registering at LAU or NDU can be considered as a prestigious asset. To accommodate students from all regions, the LAU opted for two campuses one in Beirut and the other in Jbeil –

³⁵ Yet, it should be mentioned that during 1976/1977 and because of the civil war, an off campus programme (OCP) was established to allow students outside Beirut area to continue their studies; with a condition not to be considered as a branch and to be a temporary arrangement till the stabilization of the political status. As such, the OCP was cancelled in 1990 (Bachour, 1997).

Mount Lebanon area (LAU website). The recruitment rates decreased over the years from 4.71% in 1997/1998 to 3.34% in 2012/2013 with a somehow discontinuous pace of recruits over the years. Such decrease can be credited to the selectivity process adopted by the university where the academic provost have clearly highlighted the selectivity as the university main strategy insuring quality.

- The LIU is a newly established PU (in comparison to the other PUs). It was founded in April 2001 and succeeded to be between one of the most important HEIs in terms of the students' recruitment rates during a short period of time. The recruitment rates knew a continuous increase from 3.20% in 2005/2006 to 9.27% in 2012/2013 allowing it to take the lead in terms of rate of recruits amid the PUs. As of 2010/2011 and onward, the students' recruitment rate exceeded that of the AUB, the LAU and the NDU with a rate in 2012/2013 equal to 9.27% compared to 4%, 3.34%, and 3.75% respectively. The LIU follows the Anglo-Saxon system and offers a diversity of programmes with affordable fees. This, in addition to the open admission criteria and the presence of eight campuses at different geographical locations in Lebanon, (Bekaa, Beirut, Saida, Nabatieh, Mount Lebanon, Tripoli, Sour and Rayak) can explain the increase in the number of recruited students.

If to filter the students by the social class, we note that the students from the high and the mid-high social classes choose in their overwhelming majority the private sector; the elite one. Concerning the students from the low social classes, their chances at the mass private sector followed by the LU are better except for certain selective faculties of the LU where students from the high social class have their chances because of the cultural capital that they have.

1.6.3 Recruitment of Students per Gender

The number of resident in Lebanon in 2007 was estimated equal to 3 759 136 residents (CAS, 2007³⁶). The **Lebanese population is not equally divided between male and female**. **Many aspects affected the age pyramid** and the rate of the male and female population in Lebanon. **The most important one is the emigration of the human capital**.

Box 1.3: Trends of emigration of the Lebanese human capital per gender and age range

A study done by the CAS in 2009 denoted that the majority of the Lebanese emigrants are men (76.3% versus 23.7% in favour of men emigrants). A decrease in the number of males is noticed from one age group to another where 77.4% of men emigrants are below 35 years of old and 32.4% of them are between 15 and 24 years of old (CAS and UNICEF, 2009). This has no doubt its repercussion on the distribution of the students per gender within the education market.

Based on the statistical bulletins, the **number of recruited female students is higher than that of male students** with an increasing rate for females from 51.90% in 1997/1998 to 54.34% in 2012/2013 and a decreasing rate for males from 48.10% in 1997/1998 to 45.66% in 2012/2013 (Figure 1.3). This is credited to the financial circumstances and the emigration trend. **The majority of the males choose the labour market over higher education to support their family financially or choose to emigrate because of attractive work opportunities** that they are unable to find within the domestic market. In their report, the CAS and the UNICEF (2009) pointed out that 29.1% of the male students choose to emigrate after their secondary education rather than to continue their higher studies; 65.9% of them seek work opportunities and only 10.9% choose to pursue higher education³⁷.

³⁶ Till the date of the thesis, no updated data was available

³⁷ Such behaviour can be attributed to Mincer (1991) where he identified that although educated workers change job less frequently, yet, when they do, they tend to migrate geographically; a trend that was mostly noted for young educated workers rather than older ones.

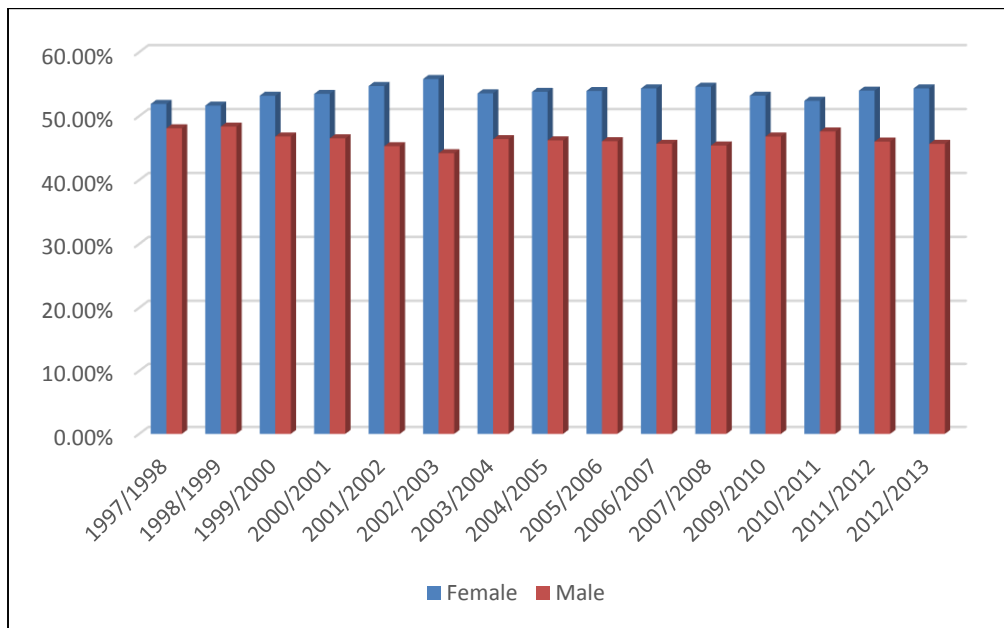


Figure 1.3: Distribution of students per gender at the Lebanese higher education system

The choice between the public and the private sectors is highly dependent on the gender. The percentage of **recruited female students** is higher at the LU with an increasing rate ranging from 59.98% in 1997/1998 to 65.93% in 2012/2013 and a peak in 2007/2008 reaching 67.23% (Figure 1.4). This is credited to cultural reasons where parents tend to invest in their sons' education because of their future obligations. The investment in their daughters' education is not a must because of the domestic tasks that females have to assume later on.

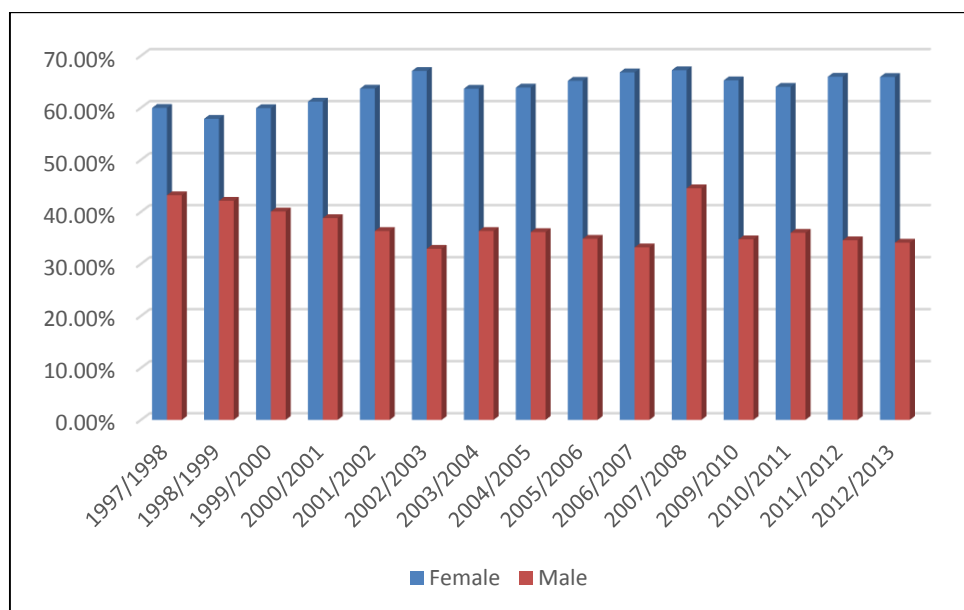


Figure 1.4: Recruitment of students per Gender at the LU

Male students prefer the private sector over the LU because of the diversity of the offered programmes in general and the flexible study schedule mainly at the mass private sector allowing them to work and study at the same time. The percentage of recruited male students registered at the PUs ranged, with somehow a decreasing rate because of the emigration trend, from 55.45% in 1997/1998 to 52.54 in 2012/2013 with a peak in 2000/2001 reaching 57.84% (Figure 1.5). This is accredited to the fact that PUs students are better evaluated by employers in terms of salary. Such choice is assumed to provide male graduates from the private sector with better salary prospects permitting to answer their financial obligations towards their families.

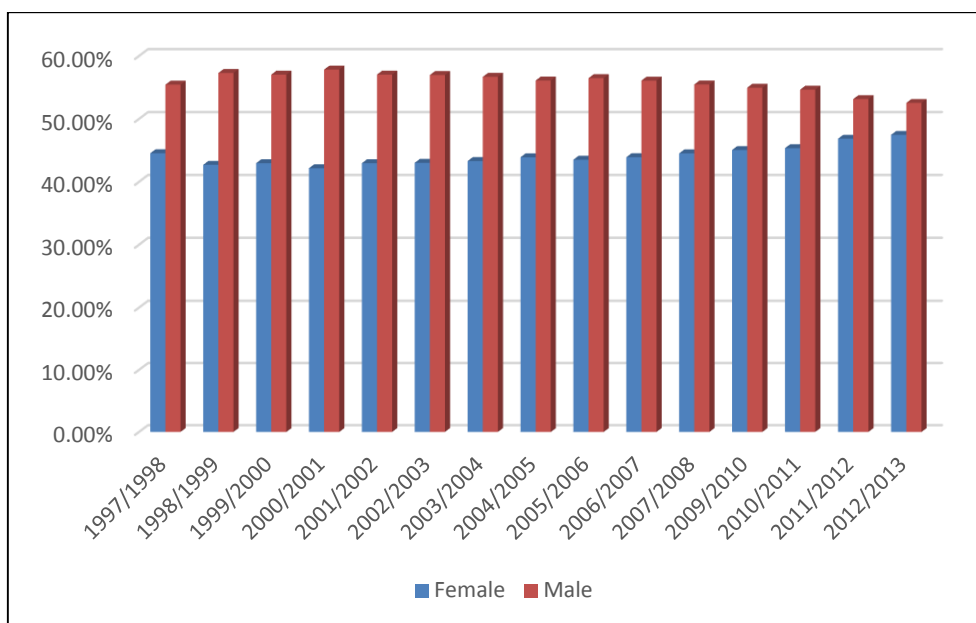


Figure 1.5: Recruitment of students per Gender at the PUs

1.6.4 Recruitment of Students Among the Various Branches of the Lebanese University

The LU has five branches across the Lebanese territory. The first and the second branches are located in the Beirut area targeting students in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. The population in each of these two branches differs in terms of the religious affiliation distribution and the student's geographical residency. The former has mainly a population of Muslims students that are in their majority residents in Beirut. The latter has mainly Christian students' population residents in Mount Lebanon (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). Concerning the other three branches, one is located at the north (North Branch), one at the south (South Branch) and the last one at the Bekaa (Bekaa Branch). Students resident in the North, South and Bekaa regions, if choosing the LU over the private sector, will favour the North, South and Bekaa branch respectively. Those who favour the second or the first branch because of the variety of programmes and quality that may not be offered in the remote branches, and who have the will to move to the city, will relocate to Beirut or Mount Lebanon depending on their choice of the HEI or the branch (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

The distribution of the LU students among the five branches is somehow in proportion to the population characteristics in each region³⁸. The first and the second branches recruit the highest percentage of students. As it is the general trend for the LU, these branches are recruiting students in a decreasing rate from 36.30% in 1997/1998 to 35.65% in 2012/2013 for the first branch and from 24.24% in 1997/1998 to 17.7% in 2012/2013 for the second branch. This is credited to the choice of the private sector instead of the public one for the students living in Beirut or Mount Lebanon area. Concerning the other three branches, the North branch comes with the highest percentage in terms of the recruitment of students with a discontinuous recruitment rates over the years from 17.35% in 1997/1998 to 19% in 2009/2010 to 17.33% in 2012/2013. The Bekaa branch comes in the second place with an increasing rate from 11.18% in 1997/1998 to 14.60% in 2012/2013. The South branch comes in the last place with a slightly decreasing rate of recruitment over the years from 10.83% in 1997/1998 to 8% in 2010/2013 (Figure 1.6). Students living in remote areas find it difficult to relocate to Beirut or Mount Lebanon because of the financial cost that such reallocation might engender, thus, the increase in the recruitment rate for these branches.

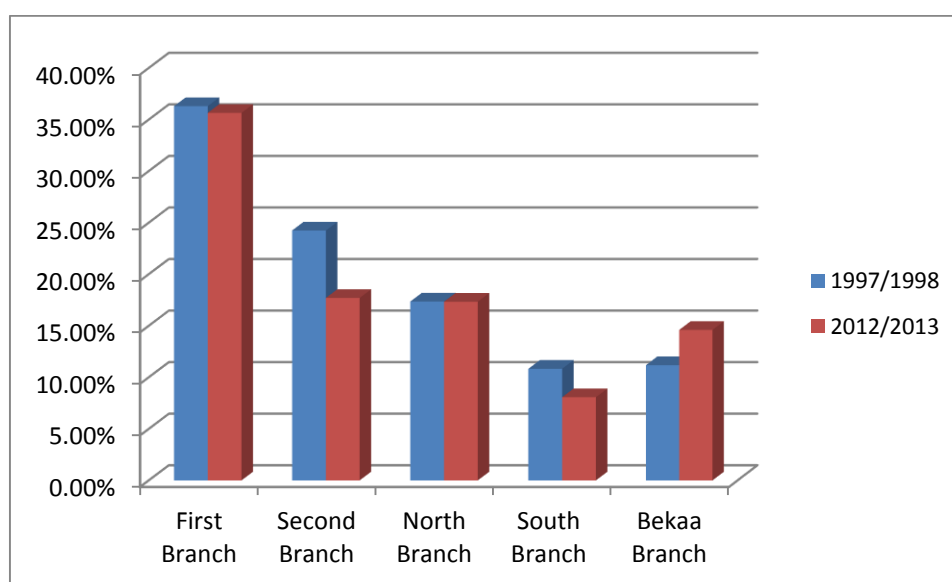


Figure 1.6: Distribution of students among the LU five branches

³⁸ The population size in each region is as follow: Beirut: 361,366 ; Mount Lebanon: 1,484,474 ; North Lebanon: 763,712 ; Bekaa: 489,865 ; South Lebanon and Nabatieh: 659,718 (Living Conditions Survey, CAS, 2007)

1.6.5 Recruitment of Students per Faculty

The Lebanese higher education system and based on the classification of faculties at the public university has 16 faculties where each denotes a variety of specialization and diploma (Appendix 1.2).

1.6.5.1 *The Lebanese University – Recruitment per Faculty*

In 2012/2013, the highest rates of students' recruitment per faculty at the LU was for the following faculties (Figure 1.7):

- Faculty of Literature and Humanities (24.52%)
- Faculty of Sciences (16.81%)
- Faculty of Law, Political and Management Science (14.73%)
- Faculty of Economic Sciences and Business Administration (11.89%)
- Faculty of Social Science (5.92%)
- Faculty of Engineering (5.64%)
- Faculty of Fine Arts (5.45%)
- Faculty of Public Health (3.64%)
- Faculty of Education (3.04%)

Concerning the other faculties, the recruitment rate is less than 3% and it has more or less remained stable for the past years³⁹ (Appendix 1.3).

³⁹ As noted previously the entry requirements differ from one faculty to another. The Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II is a prerequisite for all faculties. From the other hand, the number of faculties at the LU increased over the years. It passed from 8 faculties in 1968 to 16 faculties at the present time (Bachour, 1997).

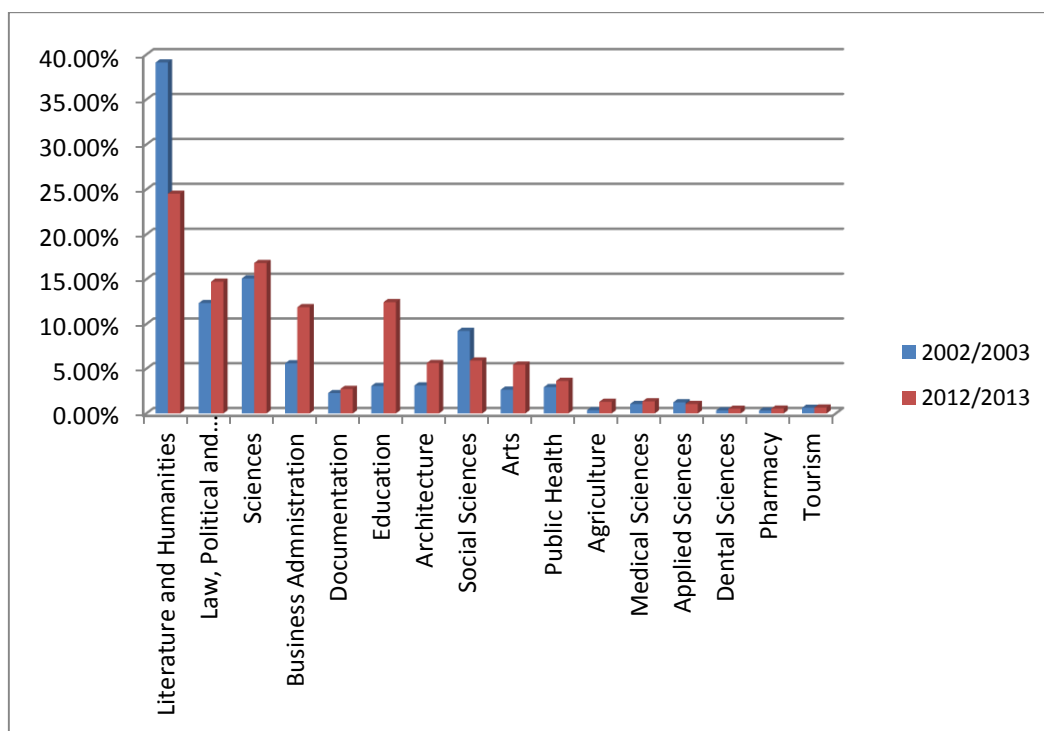


Figure 1.7: Recruitment of students per faculty at the LU⁴⁰

Concerning the “Faculty of Literature and Humanities”⁴¹, and for the period of analysis, **the rate of recruitment is the highest among the other faculties**. This is credited to the fact that the faculty does not require an entrance test. If not based on a pre-determined choice, it is considered as the last chance for a student who did not pass his/her baccalaureate from the first attempt; a student who was not accepted at a PU; or a student who did not identify at an earlier stage his/her choice of faculty. The rate of recruitment of students did not maintain a stable pace over the years. The highest rate of recruitment was in 2002/2003 with 39.13% of the total number of the LU students registered at the said faculty. This could be credited to the drift towards the “English Language and Literature” degree. A degree that is given an increased importance because of the globalization trend and the greater importance accorded hence to the English language as

⁴⁰ For the purpose of graph clarity comparison is shown between two years. The choice of 2002/2003 and not 1997/1998 is for the purpose of consistency with the private sector given that no data for the latter is available before that date.

⁴¹ It was known till 1967 by the “Faculty of Literature” (Bachour, 1997).

an international language. The general recruitment rate at the faculty is decreasing and passed from 33.59% in 1997/1998 to 24.52% in 2012/2013.

The “**Faculty of Sciences**” gained over the years the second position in terms of the students’ recruitment rate instead of the “Faculty of Law, Political and Administrative Sciences” that passed over the years to the third position. The “Faculty of Sciences” knew **an increasing recruitment rate** from 13.89% in 1997/1998 to 21.01% in 2010/2011. After that date, the recruitment rates started to decrease to 17.35% in 2011/2012 and 16.81% in 2012/2013. The increase till 2010/2011 is accredited to the attention accorded to the sciences field especially for new tracks such as the biochemistry. The “Faculty of Sciences”, like the “Faculty of Literature and Humanities” does not require an entrance test. This explain the high number of students who find it easy to access programmes offered by the said faculty. The faculty offers a common track for all first year students choosing the “Biology” track after which the selection is done based on the final exams results. Those who pass with high grades are entitled to continue their medical studies, and those who pass it with an average grade are allowed to continue within the “Biology” track. Concerning those who fail, they will have to repeat their preparatory year or choose another faculty. Regarding the decrease in the rates of recruits as of 2011/2012, one of the reason can be credited to the shift of the students towards the private sector where the rates of recruitment of students for this faculty increased as of this year. This will be highlighted in the subsequent section.

Concerning the “**Faculty of Law, Political and Management Science**”⁴², and although it ranks in the third position in 2012/2013, it knew **a significant and continuous decrease in the recruitment rate over the years** from 23.78% in 1997/1998 to 9.82% in 2007/2008 (i.e. with a total decrease of 58.7%) after which the rate started to increase slightly to reach 10.89% in 2009/2010 and 14.73% in 2012/2013. Despite the fact that this faculty does not

⁴² It was known till 1967 by the “Faculty of law” before its restructuring to become as it is known today (Bachour, 1997).

require an entrance test, it did not succeed in attracting high cohorts of students over the past few years. This is credited to the fact that the highest rate of recruited students was in the “Law” track rather than the “Political Sciences” track. In 2007/2008, the market reached a saturated level with 7 809 enrolled lawyers (CAS, 2008a). After finishing their higher studies, fresh graduates’ lawyers are unable to start directly their professional career. A three years internship period at a lawyer office is a pre-requisite with a moderate, if not low, financial remuneration. These factors combined together affect therefore the future educational choices and yielded a decrease in the number of newly recruited students on a yearly basis⁴³. The increase in the recruits’ rates as of 2011/2012 is clearly related to the shift of the students from the private sector to the public one for fields of study offered by this faculty. This is affirmative of the LU stand within the market; particularly for fields of study related to “law”.

The “**Faculty of Social Sciences**” knew, oppose the previous faculty, **an increasing rate** from 5.93% in 1997/1998 to 10.17% in 2005/2006 where after that period the recruitment rates started to decrease continually to reach 5.92% in 2012/2013. Such faculty does not also require an entrance test which can be considered as a primary reason for the boost in the number of recruited students for a period of eight years. Other reasons validating such increase can be credited, from one part, to the international drift towards the social sciences and the demographic studies and, from the other, to the saturated market in certain specializations such as the business administration, architecture, law, medicine, etc. Concerning the decrease in the number of recruits as of 2006/2007, it could be understood, in a first stance, as a natural cyclic phenomena attributed to the nature of the Lebanese labour market that is service-oriented and does not provide hence enough

⁴³ It is worth mentioning that the saturated rate of recruited students for the “law” track at the LU, and not the others, can be related to the history of the faculty where during the sixties and with the establishment of a law faculty at the BAU and the presence of the USJ law school (related to Lyon-France) and in order to ensure the quality of the graduates reference the position of the syndicate, the government issued a decree n° 2642 in 21/9/1965 that obliged each university to respect standards set for the said faculty (Bachour, 1997).

opportunities in these fields. As a second stance, it is credited to the preference of the private sector where recruitment rates increased oppose to a decrease the public sector.

Concerning the faculty of “**Economic Sciences and Business Administration**”⁴⁴, we notice **an increase over the past years with a discontinuous pace** ranging from 5.08% in 1997/1998 to 7.94% in 2010/2011 making the faculty the fourth one in terms of recruitment of students. However, and as of 2011/2012, the recruitment rates increased again to reach 10.87% and 11.89% in 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 respectively. The respectively low percentage of recruited students at this faculty, compared to the above faculties, is credited to the entrance test that it requires. The students choosing programmes offered by the faculty consider that this will grant them access to a wide range of employment prospects based on the fact that every organization needs management⁴⁵. From the other hand, the students finishing their high school with a scientific background and having no intention to drift towards literature or pure sciences find this major as the most suitable one with its wide applied orientation. The increase in the recruitment rate as of 2011/2012 is credited to the increased demand of the students for this field where it is considered as a general field of study permitting a wider choice of employment opportunities within the labour market.

The faculty of “**Engineering**” knew a **somehow stable rate of recruitments** passing from 3.2% in 1997/1998 to 3.3% in 2010/2011 **after which the rates started to increase** to reach 5.64% in 2012/2013. Students applying for this faculty at the LU are subject to an entrance test explaining therefore the stable recruitment rates over the years where the faculty determines the yearly number of recruits. The increase in the number of recruits as of 2011/2012 is credited from one hand to the increase in the number of secondary education students; and from the other to the social prestige that such diploma provides

⁴⁴ It replaced the faculty of “Commerce” that was functional during the seventies (Bachour, 1997).

⁴⁵ Such rational was proved by Andrews and Higson (2008) in their study done over four European Countries (UK, Austria, Slovenia and Romenia) where they found that the business qualification is chosen by most of the students because of its wide professional implications and need in almost all fields (graduates’ quotes: “It was very important to have a business degree in order to get a job”, “Having a business degree is definitely an advantage in employment...”).

as explained previously in addition to the increase in the number of recruits particularly for the “information technology” field that knew an increase demand at the labour market.

Concerning the faculty of “**Fine Arts**”, it knew **contradictory trends in the recruitment rates**. While the percentage of recruited students decreased from 3.32% in 1997/1998 to 2.98% in 2007/2008, it increased starting 2009/2010 from 3.52% to 5.45% in 2012/2013. The reason of this increase is correlated to a boost in the number of students in the “Interior design”, “Architecture”, and “Cinema” fields. These fields, and especially the “cinematography”, knew over the past years new opportunities and ventures.

The faculties of “**Public Health**” and “**Education**” showed a discontinuous increasing rates of recruitment. For the faculty of “Public Health”, the rates increased from 2.66% in 1997/1998 till 3.64% in 2012/2013. Regarding the faculty of “Education”, the rates increased from 1.89% in 1997/1998 to 3.04% in 2012/2013. The recruitment rates, and if to compare with other faculties, remain somehow low. This is credited to the low wages and employment opportunities for these fields. Students choosing these faculties target mainly one sector at the labour market that of the schools with limited opportunities because of the importance accorded to the personal contacts in the recruitment process of most of the schools; particularly private ones.

One final note about the faculty of “**Applied Sciences**”. This faculty, and although it does no longer rank among the faculties that attract the highest number of recruits as of 2011/2012⁴⁶, it used to attract a higher proportion of students. It actually knew **an increase in the percentage of recruited students** from 1.64% in 1997/1998 to 3.87% in 2010/2011. However, the highest recruitment rates were registered in 2006/2007 and 2007/2008 with 4.07% and 5.15% respectively. These high rates are credited to the registrations in the “topography” specialization. Lebanon knew a significant development

⁴⁶ The total number of recruits at this faculty in 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 is 0.84% and 1.06% respectively.

in the infrastructure and construction fields. This created a new need related to topography. The high financial remuneration, compared to other specializing, that graduates aim to cash affected as well positively the recruitment trend. The decrease in the recruitment rates as of 2011/2012 is accredited to the low job opportunities at the labour market and/or low financial compensations.

1.6.5.2 The Private Universities – Recruitment per Faculty

Before starting to analyse the trends of recruitment at the private sector, we note that the data analysis concerning the choice of the faculty at the private sector will only consider the past eight and not fourteen years because of the absence of data for the private sector prior to 2002/2003.

For the private sector, **the highest number of recruited students in 2012/2013 was for the following faculties** (Figure 1.8):

- Faculty of Economic Sciences and Business Administration (36.67%)
- Faculty of Engineering (16.84%)
- Faculty of Social Science (5.54%)
- Faculty of Fine Arts (9.32%)
- Faculty of Law, Political and Management Science (2.95%)
- Faculty of Sciences (4.96%)
- Faculty of Literature and Humanities (2.35%)

As for the other faculties, the recruitment rate has more or less remained stable from 2002/2003 to 2012/2013⁴⁷ (Appendix 1.4).

⁴⁷ Unlike the LU, PUs implement admission requirements for all faculties. Still, such requirements differ from one faculty to another. Language test is mandatory for all faculties (English or French depending on the origin of the university) and it does not forbid the student from enrolling if s/he did not pass. The student will have to attend intensive language sessions depending on the level that s/he had scored at the entrance test before enrolling at the programme of choice. Concerning the scientific faculties (such as architecture, medicine, sciences, etc.), the student has to sit for a SAT or GMAT test allowing to assess his/her logic, scientific and analytical knowledge and skills.

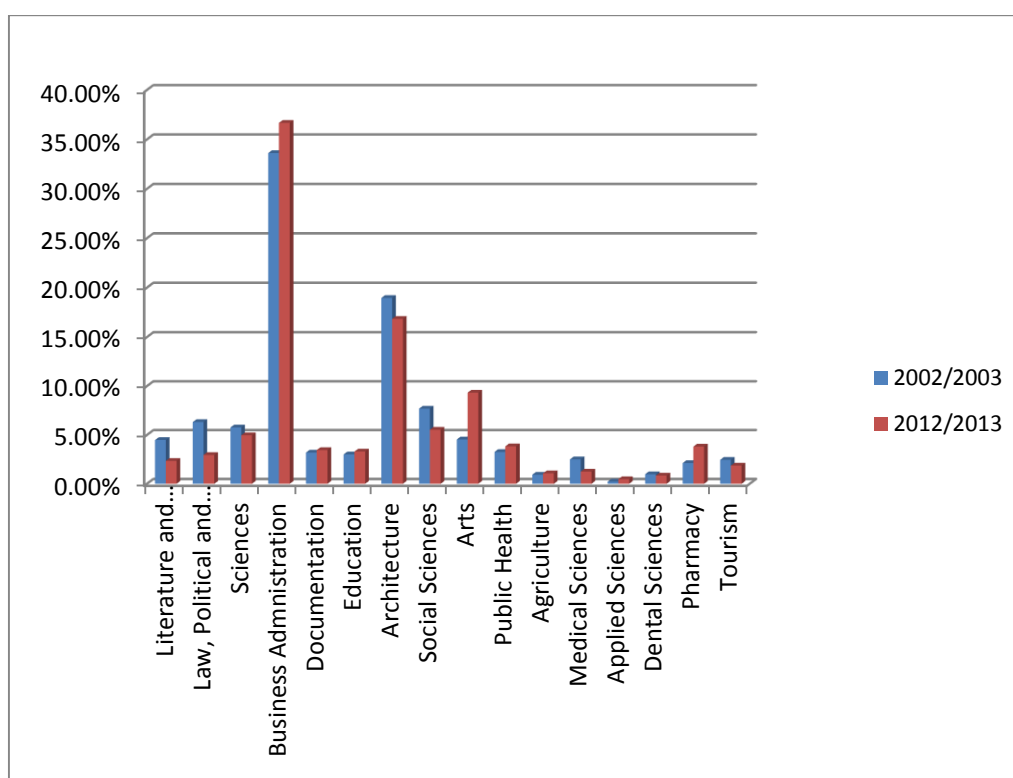


Figure 1.8: Recruitment of students per faculty at the private sector⁴⁸

Concerning the faculty of “**Economic Sciences and Business Administration**”, an **increase in the recruitment rates** is noticed over the years, from 33.62% in 2002/2003 to 38.06% in 2011/2012 after which the rate decreased slightly in 2012/2013 to 36.67%. Such decrease could be related to the increase in the recruits at the LU and/or shift of students’ preference towards other fields because of the market saturation. The faculty ranks first among the other faculties in terms of the number of recruited students. The admission criteria at the PUs for this faculty are different than the criteria implemented by the LU. They only share one criterion in common which is the Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II. These requirement also differ between the elite and the mass PUs. The former (such as the AUB, LAU, NDU, USJ, etc.)⁴⁹ require in addition to the language test,

⁴⁸ For the purpose of graph clarity comparison is shown between two years.

⁴⁹ While the LU, and as reflected on previously, has selective and stricter admission criteria based on a language (Arabic and French/English) and scientific (mathematics) tests that if failed the student will not be admitted.

a scientific test (GMAT, SAT, etc.) to examine the students' academic eligibility. The latter implement only a simple language test where even if the student did not pass it, s/he will be accepted, yet, with a pre-requisite of registering language courses. **Another reason explaining this high rate of recruitment is related to the employment prospects.** Students consider that a private higher education degree will be better evaluated by employers. Parents believe that high cost reflects a better quality and thus they prefer to admit their children to PUs; a trend that might changing as of 2012/2013 where the proportion of recruits decreased at the private sector oppose to an increase at the public sector, even if slightly.

For the faculty of “**Engineering**”, we notice a **decreasing recruitment rate** from 18.96% in 2002/2003 to 13.89% in 2007/2008 after which the rate increased to 15.20% in 2009/2010 and 16.84% in 2012/2013 (a lower rate than 2002/2003). The saturated labour market (1712 engineers in 2008, (CAS, 2008a), the high cost of such specialization at a private institution, the difficulty to establish a personal business as an engineer/architect, and the low prospect of employment with moderate financial conditions, are assumed to be the reasons for such a decrease at a certain period of time. The increase in the proportion of recruits at a later stage is credited to the increase in the number of students choosing particularly the “information technology” field or its derives that knew booming opportunities at the labour market. The faculty ranks at the second place in terms of the number of recruited students. Like the LU, PUs require an entrance test for this faculty. The rate of recruited students between the public and the private sectors is flagrant. In 2012/2013, only 5.64% of the students are enrolled at the LU with somehow a stable rate of recruitment over the years. Such difference in the rates is related from one hand, to the higher number of PUs oppose to only one public university, and from the other, to the future employment prospects. Once again, graduating from a PU seems to add more value once exposed to the labour market. Experience from the market showed that the students graduating from a PU are better remunerated than those graduating from the LU and that for the same diploma.

Concerning the faculty of **“Social Sciences”**, the students’ recruitment rate did not know a continuous evolution. The rates decreased from 7.69% in 2002/2003 to 6.70% in 2004/2005 to increase starting 2005/2006 from 8.43% to 8.78% in 2007/2008 to decrease again to 8.01% in 2010/2011 and to 5.54% in 2012/2013. At the private sector, aside from the language test, this faculty does not require any other entrance test. If to compare the public and the private sectors, both have, more or less, similar recruitment rates in 2012/2013 (5.92% and 5.54% respectively) and both knew a decrease in the rates of recruits. The LU knew over the years (from 2002/2003 to 2007/2008) a negative progress (9.24% to 8.42% respectively) unlike the private sector that showed a positive progress (7.69% to 8.78% respectively). After that date, the rates of recruits decreased for both sectors, yet in lower rates at the private sector than the public university. Similar to the LU and for the private sector, the increase in the number of recruits in certain years reflects the effect of international trends towards these fields. Concerning the decrease in the number of recruits particularly as of 2011/2012 for the private sector, it is understood as a cyclic phenomenon credited to the nature of the Lebanese labour market that is service-oriented and does not provide enough opportunities in these fields.

The faculty of **“Fine Arts”** knew somehow a stable recruitment rate from 2002/2003 to 2007/2008 passing from 4.53% to 4.95% respectively. After that period, the rates started to increase to pass to 6.72% in 2009/2010 and 9.32% in 2012/2013 with a continuous increase in the rates of recruits during these four years. Like the LU, the increase in the past two years is related to an increase in the number of recruited students for the “Architecture” and the “Cinema” fields. In addition, and for the private sector, such increase is noted mainly for the increase in the number of registered students at the “Graphic Design” programme. Consequently, and as of 2009/2010, the booming cinematographic and publicity industries led to an increase in the number of recruited students at both sectors.

Concerning the faculty of “**Law, Political and Management Science**”, we notice that **the recruitment rate discontinuously increased over the years** from 6.32% in 2002/2003 to 7.08% in 2007/2008 with the lowest rate being in 2004/2005 equal to 5.11%. However, and after 2007/2008, the recruitment rate started to decrease to reach 2.95% in 2012/2013; with a much lower rate of recruits than that at the LU with 14.73% for the same year. This is credited to the fact that PUs have admission requirement for the said faculty (language test at least) while the LU has none. Like the LU, PUs high rate of recruitment is for the “Law” track and not for the “Political Sciences” track (CERD, 2002/2003 – 2007/2008). The moderate rate of admission confirms the fact that such programme does not attract anymore high cohorts of students because of the saturated labour market and unattractive job opportunities. Students choosing this field of study seems to be in preference over the years for the public sector rather than the private one for quality purposes and investment reasons.

For the faculty of “**Sciences**”, we notice a **low level of recruitment compared to the other faculties**. The rate knew an unstable pace. It increased from 5.77% in 2002/2003 to 7.08% in 2005/2006 after which it started to decline to reach 4.96% in 2012/2013 with a peak in 2004/2005 with 7.65% rate of recruits. The faculty of sciences that ranks at the second place at the LU in terms of students’ recruitment ranks at the sixth position at the private sector. Once again, the discrepancy in the recruitment rates amongst the sectors is related to the differences in the admission criteria as well as to the social and financial characteristics of the students’ population⁵⁰.

Concerning the faculty of “**Literature and Humanities**”, which ranks as the number one faculty at the LU in what concerns the students’ recruitment, it showed a **moderate recruitment rate at the private sector**. The said faculty knew a discontinuous increase in the rate of recruits passing from 4.48% in 2002/2003 to 5.24% in 2007/2008 after which

⁵⁰ First of all, the LU does not require an entry test like the PUs where the major requirement in addition to the language test is a scientific test (biology/chemistry/physics depending on the track). Secondly, a majority of the students choose the faculty of “Sciences” at the LU as the last resort to prevent a sabbatical year with no intention to continue their medical sciences thus the high rate of recruitment

the rates started to decrease to reach 2.35% in 2012/2013. The divergence in the recruitment rates between the public and the private sectors is mainly associated to the differences in the admission requirements where they are non-existent at the LU oppose to the private sector where students have to sit at least for a language test.

1.6.6 Recruitment of Students Per Faculty Per Gender

If to add to the equation of the students' recruitment per faculty the gender factor, **we note certain similarities between the public and the private sectors for some faculties and discrepancies for others. The presence of a stereotyped choice for certain faculties attracting females rather than males or males rather than females is noted.** To identify the students' choices per faculty per gender, we will consider the year 2012/2013. Table 1.1 shows the ratios of the recruited females over that of males for each faculty ($R_{F/M}$).

The choice of the faculty between females and males can be distinguished based on the general characteristic of the faculty: scientific (science, technology and health) or theoretical (human and social sciences). **For both sectors, the faculties with scientific orientation** such as "Engineering" and "Applied Sciences" **have the highest percentage of male students where the proportion of mainly is higher at the private sector particularly for the "Engineering fields" where this fields and related sub-fields where highly requested at a certain stage. This ascertains the fact that the Lebanese families tend to invest more in the education of their sons.** However, some exceptions are noted. For the faculty of "Sciences", the number of female students is higher than that of males for some of the tracks mainly for the chemistry, mathematics, and biology tracks. These fields allow the female graduates, if not to find employment opportunities directly related to their domain, to have another alternative that of teaching at a school. Concerning the other tracks, such as computing and electronics, the number of males outstand that of females especially at the private sector.

For the faculties of “Dentistry”, “Pharmacy”, and “Agronomy”, the number of recruited females is higher than that of males. The high proportions of females choosing these fields is credited to the fact that these faculties do not really require high scientific knowledge and skills. The ability to memorize seems the key tool of attraction for female students. The recruitment of females at these faculties was in favour of the public sector till 2010/2011 (Appendix 1.5). This is credited to the differences in the recruitment strategies and the financial cost which answer to the ideologies that do not favour the investment in female education. Starting 2011/2012, the recruitment trend changed in favour of the private sector where the number of recruited females remained higher than that of males yet with higher proportions at the private sector. This marks the preference of private higher education sector even by females searching for what a private degree promise to offer in terms of better opportunities at the labour market.

Table 1.1: Recruitment per Faculty per Gender – 2012/2013

Faculty	Public Sector – LU	Private Sector
Faculty of “Literature and Humanities”	$R_{F/M} = 13461/4056 = 3.32$	$R_{F/M} = 2181/750 = 2.91$
Faculty of “Law, Political and Management Science”	$R_{F/M} = 5161/5362 = 0.96$	$R_{F/M} = 1561/1987 = 0.79$
Faculty of “Sciences”	$R_{F/M} = 8272/3736 = 2.21$	$R_{F/M} = 3189/2784 = 1.15$
Faculty of “Economic Science and Business Administration”	$R_{F/M} = 5732/2761 = 2.08$	$R_{F/M} = 20307/24449 = 0.83$
Faculty of “Information and Documentation”	$R_{F/M} = 1600/359 = 4.46$	$R_{F/M} = 2511/1583 = 1.59$
Faculty of “Education”	$R_{F/M} = 1910/262 = 7.29$	$R_{F/M} = 3097/763 = 4.06$
Faculty of “Engineering”	$R_{F/M} = 1386/2643 = 0.52$	$R_{F/M} = 3760/16745 = 0.22$
Faculty of “Social Sciences”	$R_{F/M} = 3447/780 = 4.42$	$R_{F/M} = 3095/3570 = 0.87$
Faculty of “Fine Arts”	$R_{F/M} = 1702/2195 = 0.78$	$R_{F/M} = 6651/4571 = 1.46$
Faculty of “Public Health”	$R_{F/M} = 2271/386 = 5.88$	$R_{F/M} = 3316/1292 = 2.57$
Faculty of “Agronomy”	$R_{F/M} = 568/362 = 1.57$	$R_{F/M} = 727/560 = 1.3$
Faculty of “Medical Sciences”	$R_{F/M} = 563/479 = 1.18$ (where difference is in the psychology track $R_{F/M} = 2752/557 = 5$ – As for the other tracks, there is no flagrant difference)	$R_{F/M} = 1377/1602 = 0.86$
Faculty of “Applied Sciences”	$R_{F/M} = 132/624 = 0.21$	$R_{F/M} = 34/533 = 0.06$
Faculty of “Dentistry”	$R_{F/M} = 245/134 = 1.83$	$R_{F/M} = 539/468 = 1.15$
Faculty of “Pharmacy”	$R_{F/M} = 320/65 = 4.92$	$R_{F/M} = 3776/751 = 5.03$
Faculty of “Tourism and Hospitality Management”	$R_{F/M} = 328/139 = 2.36$	$R_{F/M} = 940/1298 = 0.72$

Regarding **the faculties with more theoretical orientation** and that do not require technical and/or scientific skills such as the “Literature and Humanities”, “Information and Documentation”, “Education”, “Public Health”, the number of recruited females is higher than that of males at both the public and the private sector. This ascertain the preference of females to programmes that are more literary oriented. It is noted that for these fields, except for the “Literature and Humanities”, and after 2011/2012, the proportion of females at the private sector is higher than that at the public university. This is confirm students’ preference for private tutoring, even the females, aspiring for higher prospects of employment and better salaries that a private diploma promise to deliver.

Concerning the **faculty of “Fine Arts”**, the recruitment rates between the public and the private sector for this faculty were different and where in favour of males at the public sector and in favour of females at the private one. For both sectors, the female population is choosing programmes at this faculty with artistic nature such as the “interior design” programme where the rate of female recruits is higher than that of males for this programme at both sector. The highest rate of female recruits at the private sector is credited to the extensive diversification of the tracks related to this faculty with an artistic nature that is not yet present at the LU such as the “graphic design”, the “photography”, and the like.

The difference in the recruitment rates per gender between the scientifically oriented and the theoretically oriented faculties is associated to the cultural and social ideologies that consider males as being more able and intelligent than females; and to the parents’ beliefs favouring the investment in boys rather than girls. It is also credited to the role attributed to the female within the society where she is considered a contributor to the

social and domestic life rather than the economic one; a character that is clearly more pronounced within oriental, underdeveloped societies⁵¹.

Five faculties show contradictory trends in the recruitment rates per gender between the public and the private sectors:

- For the faculty of “Law, Political and Management Science”, and for the LU, the rate of female recruits was higher than that of males till 2010/2011. Starting 2011/2012, the number of males choosing this faculty increased at the public sector more than that of the females’ proportion particularly for the political sciences field. This could be credited to the interest given to these fields by males more than females where only few female participate in the political arena. This could be related to the presence of the “quota system” at the political level that although it allows females to take part in political decisions, it limits their participation. Those that are already involved come from “well-established” political families leaving no place for a “new blood”. Despite the increase in the number of males at the LU, the proportion of females choosing this faculty at the LU remains higher than that at the private sector emphasizing the preference to invest in boys rather than girls education for certain fields particularly with limited employment opportunities.

- Concerning the “Social Sciences” faculty, the LU shows a rate of females’ recruitment higher than that of males versus a totally opposite trend at the private sector. The latter emphasize once again the ideology that do not favour the investment in the education of females. This is supported by the limited employment opportunities for fields related to this faculty and to the difference in the recruitment process where the LU does not mandate any admission requirements for these faculties other than the Lebanese baccalaureate certificate – section II.

⁵¹ This was clearly referred to by Vincent-Lancrin (2008)

- Faculties of “Economic Science and Business Administration” and “Tourism and Hospitality Management”: the LU shows once again a recruitment rate of females that is higher than that of males for all tracks. A trend that is totally the opposite at the private sector with higher rates in favour of the female population for the “banking and finance” and the “insurance” tracks for the faculty of “Economic Science and Business Administration”, and “tourism and travelling/ticketing” track for the faculty of “Tourism and Hotel Management” where males seem more interested in the “hotel management” tracks and its derives. These faculties, and particularly the “Economic Science and Business Administration” faculty, at the LU, are characterized with its notable academic standards because of the entrance test that allows to filter academically eligible students based on pre-set criteria set by the administration. The highest rate in favour of females is related to the parents’ unwillingness to invest in their daughter’s education thus the choice of a practically free education; the public university. On the other hand, because of the economic role attributed to males within society, and the preference of parents to invest in their sons’ education, the rate of recruited males at the private sector is higher than that at the LU.

- The last faculty is the faculty of “Medical Sciences” that shows for the LU a rate of female recruits that is higher than that of males. However, such high rate is not for all the tracks. The highest rates of recruited females is for the “psychology”, “cosmetic surgery” and “radiology” tracks. For more specialized tracks, such as “specialized doctor”, the males’ recruitment rates is higher than that of females. This is evidence of the fact that when choosing this faculty, female students are choosing tracks that do not require a long period of time. This could be credited to their role in the society and their family obligations. Concerning the private sector, the advantage is in favour of the male students for all tracks. This is credited to the preference of investing in boys’ education more than that of girls, and to the better prospect in terms of employment opportunity that a private

diploma can yield. The monopolistic relation that was previously mentioned between some universities and hospitals such as the USJ, and the AUB and the respective medical centres, push students, particularly males, to choose the private sector given that employment is kind of guaranteed.

1.6.7 Graduates Cohorts

Before we analyse the trends of the graduates' cohorts at both sectors, we note that the analysis will not include data related to graduates' cohorts for 2007/2008 and 2012/2013 because of the non-issuance of the statistical bulletins for 2008/2009 and 2013/2014 respectively.

Graduates from the private sector are much higher than graduates from the LU (Figure 1.9). This is rational not only because of the presence of one public university oppose to 39 PUs but also because of the increased recruitment rate in favour of the private sector over the past years.

For the LU, the graduates' cohorts evolved in a discontinuous manner. They increased from 37.72% in 1997/1998 to 43.97% in 2002/2003 with a peak in 2000/2001 with 44.61% and then started to decrease as of 2003/2004 from 41.57% to 32.30% in 2011/2012. The decrease in the number of graduates is associated to the decrease in the enrolment rates of the LU for the most important faculties.

Concerning the private sector, the trend is totally the opposite. Graduates' cohorts decreased from 62.28% in 1997/1998 to 58.73% in 2004/2005 to increase starting 2005/2006 from 62.91% to 67.70% in 2011/2012 exceeding by that the number of graduates in 1997/1998. The boost in the number of PUs as well as the drift of students towards the private sector and the increase in the recruitment rates for an important number of faculties is the clear evidence of such an increase.

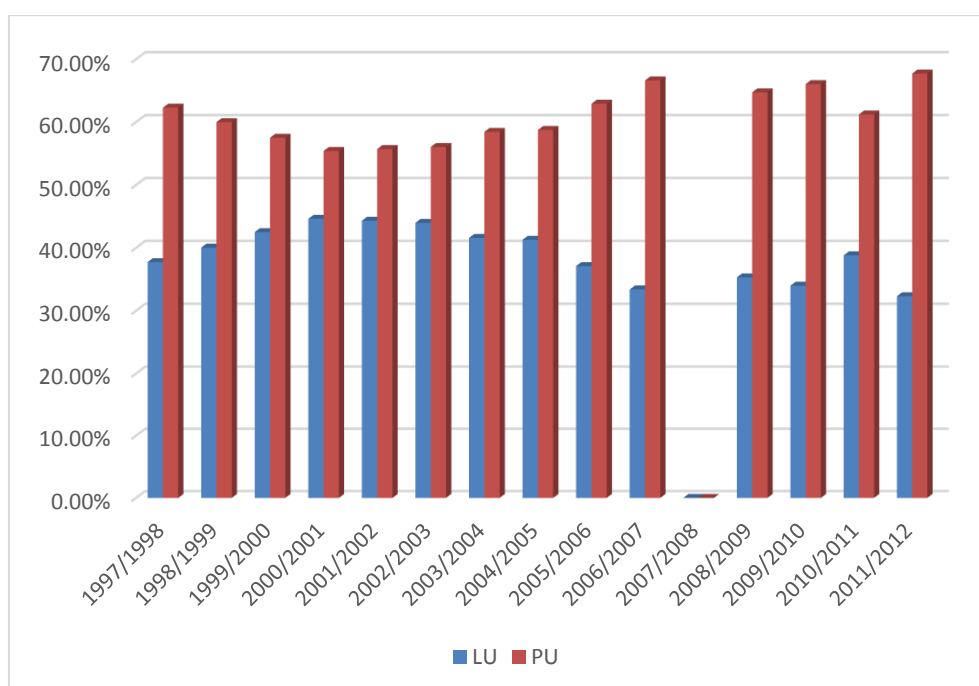


Figure 1.9: Graduates cohorts – LU versus PUs

Concerning the distribution of graduates per gender, we note that for the totality of the higher education system (i.e. LU and PUs), **female graduates number is higher than that of male graduates** with an increasing rate of the former and decreasing one of the latter. The percentage of female graduates increased from 52.10% in 1997/1998 to 57.58% in 2011/2012 with the highest rate being in 2010/2011 with 59.34%; versus a decreasing rate for male graduates from 47.90% in 1997/1998 to 42.42% in 2011/2012 with the lowest rate in 2002/2003 reaching 31.99%. This is credited to the demographic changes where the female population for the past years has been higher than that of males because of the **excessive emigration of the latter**.

Regarding the graduates' cohorts per faculty, the CERD statistical bulletins provided only data for the LU. When analysing the graduates' cohorts, we noted that graduates rates are somehow proportional to the recruitment rates. The faculties that had the highest number of recruits have also the highest number of graduates with the same decreasing or increasing trends. Till 2010/2011 the faculty of "Literature and Humanities" occupied the

first place where the graduates' rate changed in a discontinuous rate and passed from 31.06% in 2003/2004 to 31.67% in 2010/2011. However, and in 2011/2012, the graduates' rates decreased till 16.34%; the lowest rate ever. This is credited to the decrease in the number of recruits over the years that was noted previously. Such decrease made as such that the faculty of "Sciences", which used to be in the second place with graduates rates passing from 10.94% in 2003/2004 to 19.3% in 2010/2011, to take over the first place with a graduates' rate equal to 26.36% in 2011/2012. Concerning the other faculties that knew over the years a high number of recruits, their number of graduates fluctuated as well in terms of the recruitment rates. In 2011/2012, the faculty of "Business Administration and Economic Sciences" was in the third place in terms of graduates' rate with 9.85%, the faculty of "Law, Political and Administrative Sciences" in the fourth place with 6.74%, and the faculty of "Social Sciences" in the fifth place with 6.71%. Figure 1.10 shows the evolution of graduates from 2002/2003 till 2011/2012 for these respective faculties.

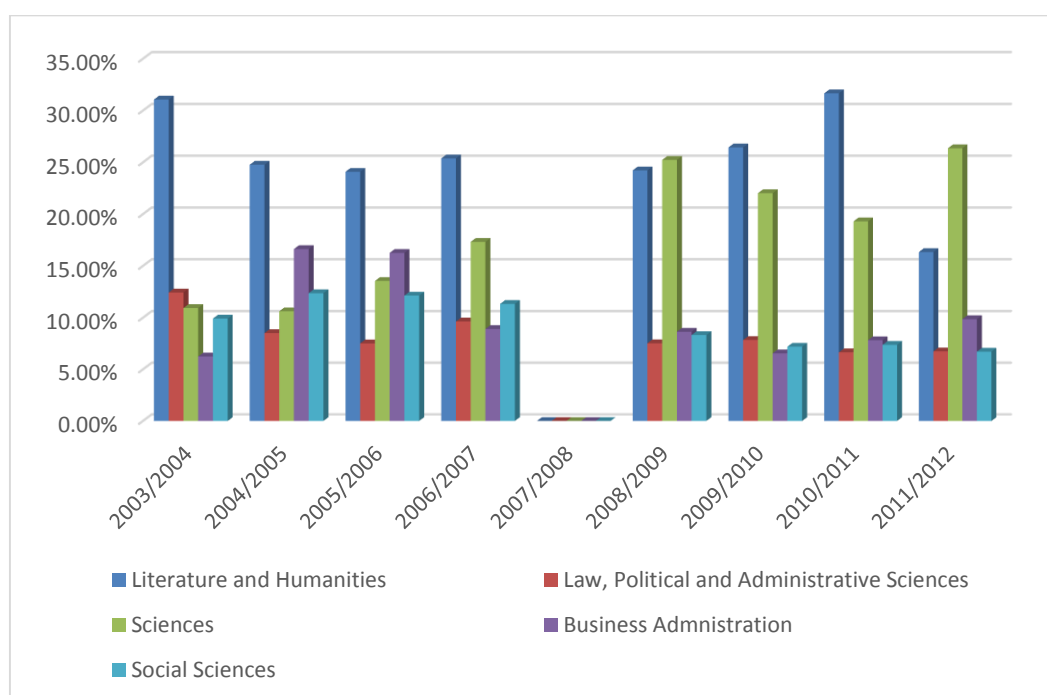


Figure 1.10: The LU evolution of graduates' rates in the most five important faculties in terms of recruits

The faculties that knew a somehow stable rate of recruits over the years because of the entrance test applied, knew also a somehow stable rate of graduates over the years respective to the recruitment rates.

Concerning the PU, and if to follow the same rational as that of the LU where the highest number of graduates is for the faculties that recruited the highest number of students over the years, we can deduct that the PU graduates' rates is in a descending order for the following faculties: "Business Administration", "Architecture", "Social Sciences" and "Art".

1.7 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

We identified in this chapter the main characteristics that shape the Lebanese higher education system. The brief reflection on the restructuring programme done at the school level permitted to identify the importance of the prior educational choices. This allowed to question the position of both the school and the higher education. Students' earlier choices at the secondary level are for tracks guiding them to choose programmes at the higher education level that challenge the effective needs within the labour market. Choices that encouraged the emigration of the Lebanese human capital and led to consider it as an integral part of the Lebanese reality.

The difference between the public and the private sectors in terms of the admission criteria⁵²; the recruitment trends; the recruitment of students per faculty; and the distribution of the students' population per gender, proved its effect on the students' educational choices over the years. The consequences at the labour market such as the

⁵² Except for the Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate – Section II

degree of saturation, the availability employment opportunities, and the like⁵³ marked the future educational choices of the students. The statistical review showed a preference for the private higher education sector by the Lebanese families. The lead of the LIU; characterized with its open access strategy, in terms of the recruitment of students proves that superiority may no longer be a priority for the Lebanese families. Having a higher diploma in hand from a private university seems the most important aspect because of its implications in what pertains to employment and salary prospects. The statistical review showed the supremacy that the private sector presumed over the years whether in terms of the number of recruited students or the number of graduates. Such dominance is associated to economic ideologies assumed by the students and to the labour market reality that correlates private tutoring associated with somehow higher tuition fees with aspiration for higher salaries.

The highest recruitment rates at both sectors are for the faculties where the access is open and not difficult. This choice proved to be not that of a preference but as being the most favourable alternative because of the students' circumstances being social, cultural and/or financial. The choices of the students for the programmes did not change over the years disregarding by that the effective labour market needs. On the contrary, and particularly at the private sector, a notable continuous increasing rates in the number of recruits were noted for fields with saturated labour markets such as the "Business Administration" field, where even the number of students choosing this field at the public sector have increased as of 2011/2012. Students seem to have hence, as a first assumption to be confirmed by the survey results, a cyclic choice for saturated labour markets pushing a majority of graduates at the end of their higher studies to consider emigration.

⁵³ For instance, the need for topographers led to an increase in students' enrolment in the "topography" programme. On the other hand, the saturation of the market in lawyers and unattractive work opportunities, led to a decrease in the enrolments in the "law" programme.

Concerning the recruitment per gender, it differs extensively between females and males. The rate of recruited females at the public sector is higher oppose to a higher rate of recruited males at the private sector. Such distribution is associated to both cultural and religious ideologies that prefer to invest in males' education. Data allowed to illustrate the impact that religious ideologies have on the choice of the sector (public or private) and the system (French, Anglo-Saxon or Arabic). Females are choosing more literary oriented programmes and/or fields that do not require high level of scientific knowledge while males are choosing more scientifically oriented programmes.

Moreover, the social ranking of the HEI had its effect on the students' distribution amid various HEIs and affected the degree of social mobility. The LU that is supposed to provide the highest degree of social mobility reference its free nature of education failed to do so. If to refer to the result of a study done by the Lebanese Association for Educational Sciences - LAES in 1999-2000 (Abou Rjaili, 2003), the interpretation of such "failure" is easy. The study identified the main programmes that allow social mobility and those that do not. The former are (in a decreasing order): civil engineering and architecture, fine arts, medical sciences, law, industrial and agronomy architecture. Concerning the latter, they are (in a decreasing order): business administration, documentation, literature and humanities, social and political sciences, educational and religious studies. Since the highest rate of the recruited students at the public sector is for the latter and not the former programmes, the LU was not able to play an active role in the social mobility opposed to the private sector. The result of the surveys will permit to validate this primary assumption and validate whether this is still part of the Lebanese reality.

The factual analysis permitted to advance a primary postulation that the economic aspirations are not the only factors that determine the students' higher educational choices. Other aspects weight on these choices. The LAES in a study done in 1997 demonstrated that other aspects such as the parents' socio-economic background, the gender, religion, residency, etc. have their effect on these choices. From this stand, the

aim of the surveys in general and the students' survey in particular is to identify the effect of the variety of these factors and their weight on the Lebanese students' choices of a HEI and a programme. Consequently, in order to study the Lebanese higher education system and the aspects that affect the choices of the students at the higher education level, and the implications of these choices at the labour market, we cannot solely assume an economic approach or solely consider a social approach. Because of the diversified characteristics of the Lebanese society and its effect on the choices of the students, a socio-economic approach considering all variables seems to fit mostly the objective of this study.

B- FACTUAL ANALYSIS: THE LEBANESE LABOUR MARKET

After reflecting on the Lebanese higher education system and its main characteristics and evolution over the years, the second part of the chapter will reflect on the situation of the Lebanese labour market. Lebanon is characterized with high rates of unemployment among the university graduates. According to the ILO regional advisor, Zafiris Tzannatos, these sky-high unemployment rates are due to the dynamics of the population where the fertility rates are very high⁵⁴. For him, the “youth bulge” in itself is not a problem but rather a blessing. However, it is the economy that did not develop fast enough to absorb the increase in the population (Qiblawi, 2011). This is one side of the coin. From the other side, the Lebanese higher education system, as discussed in the first part of the chapter, is characterized with a diversity that might be too extended for a small economy such as the Lebanese one; aggravating hence the situation at the labour market because of the increase in the number of intakes and subsequently of graduates.

To better understand the situation at the Lebanese labour market, what follows will reflect on (1) the Lebanese labour market characteristics in terms of government policy, the main sectors of activities and contributors of job creation; (2) the factors affecting the increase in the unemployment rates amongst university graduates (such as laws and regulations, expansion of the higher education system, the gap between graduates’ supply and employers’ demand, the nepotism, and absence of communication mechanisms); (3) the emigration of the Lebanese human capital as a consequence of the lack of employment opportunities within the Lebanese labour market; and finally (4) a flashback on previous studies done will be presented permitting to have a better understanding of the Lebanese context. The overview will be done in the light of the following postulations: to which extent the variety of the systems, universities, and diplomas, is fulfilling the needs of the labour market and the employers’ expectations?; to which

⁵⁴ Often referred to by “Youth Bulge”

extent the skills required by the employers are being met?; to which extent the Lebanese graduates are fulfilling their professional ambitions within the Lebanese labour market?; and how are the choices of the students for HEIs and programmes are affecting their employment opportunities?

1.8 The Lebanese Labour Market: General Overview

The Lebanese labour market is considered as an educated one. One out of five Lebanese men and four out of ten Lebanese women have a university degree. However, the supply of graduates does not and is still not meeting the demand of the labour market in one way or another (El-Ghali, 2011). **Unemployment in Lebanon is not related to a shortage in the qualified educated⁵⁵ youth but totally the opposite. Education does not seem to be a guarantee against unemployment in Lebanon. Investment in higher education seems to be creating a quantity crisis with the increase in the graduates' supply facing somehow a "weak" labour demand (*Ibid.*).**

From one hand, Lebanon is effectively producing the skills but the labour market is not in shape to retain them (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). From the other hand, and across the Arab region, where Lebanon is no exception, the employers admitted the non-expansion of their businesses because of the lack of the proper skills. For employers, **it is not a problem of "quantity of graduates" but rather of "quality of skills". A quality that is in general acquired through the vocational training** (ILO, 2008) that employers have always had a stake in it (Béduwé and Planas, 2003). In Lebanon, the vocational education and training (VET) or at least its educational counterpart is still not very well perceived and is preserved for school drop outs (United Nations, 2004). **Not all universities provide their graduates with extra-curriculum activities and training permitting to develop the types of skills requested from employers.** The absence of both the government in terms of

⁵⁵ By educated, we are referring to those holding a higher education degree.

appropriate policies and the university planning in terms of development of extra-curriculum activities created over the years a youth unemployment crisis; aggravated by the wrong educational choices done by the students (El-Ghali and McClure, 2010).

Such unemployment crisis and according to Chaaban (2009a) is dual in nature. On the demand side, the crisis is twofold. From one hand, there is a shortage in the entry level employment opportunities particularly at the productive sectors because of the economic instabilities and the deterioration of the macroeconomic conditions such as the inflation, the public debt and the budget deficit. And from the other hand, the recruitment strategy implemented by the employers that gives more importance to the personal contacts rather than the professional and the academic credentials reinforce the lack of opportunities. Concerning the supply side, the most important factor is the gap between the graduates' skills mainly in terms of professional training and quality of education received and the labour market needs; followed by the unwillingness of the fresh university graduates to accept low-skilled jobs because of the poor wages and working conditions. Adding to that, the lack of orientation and guidance, and the few internship opportunities offered to gain the needed professional experience. The result is hence being a mismatch between the supply side of the higher education and the supply side of the labour market leading to an escalation in the unemployment rates.

1.9 The Lebanese Labour Market Characteristics

Lebanon is a lower-middle-income country (Ministry of Finance, 2013; Cho et al., 2012) with a developing economy. It is **characterized with a small economy** (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013) **where the private sector is the main contributor** to the aggregated demand (CAS, 2011). Middle-income countries are characterized with the presence of large share of workers involved in low productivity activities; low female participation rate in the professional life; high unemployment rates among the youth and the university graduates; and (4) important migration flows that need to be managed (Cho et

al., 2012). These characteristics are not “strange” to the Lebanese reality. To have a better understanding of the Lebanese labour market context, what follows will reflect on: (a) the government policies, (b) the main sectors of activities and (c) the contributors to jobs creation.

Box 1.4: An overlook on the working status of the Lebanese population

The unemployment rate reached 9.2% in 2009 (CAS, 2008a) with youth unemployment (those between 15 and 24 years of old) being equal to 24% (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). In 2010, only 49.2% of the working age population was either working or looking for a job (ILO, 2010) compared to 43% in 2004 and an estimated rate of 53.5% in 2015 and 54% in 2020 (Chaaban, 2009a). Despite the increase and the expected increase over the years, this is relatively a low labour force participation⁵⁶ rate. In 2011, and according to the ILO, the world average was at 64.1%; a rate that dropped over the years from 65.1% in 2002 to 64.8% in 2007 due to the increase in global unemployment (ILO, 2012). Unemployment rates are higher among the highly skilled workers (9% for those holding a university degree oppose to an 8% unemployment rate for those holding a secondary education). The unemployment rate drops with age with male being more active than female after the age of 35 till even after the official retirement age. This is mainly related to the abolishment of problems faced by fresh graduates as to the mismatch between the education and skills; the needed time to find a job; and the emigration rates of those above 25 which contributes to lower the unemployment rate (Chaaban, 2009a).

1.9.1 The Government Policy

The government always maintained a non-interventionist, liberal, laissez-faire policy encouraged by the absence of legal restrictions. It favoured a strong role of the private sector where public ownership was mainly limited to infrastructure and utilities (Ministry of Finance, 2013). The private sector contributes to about approximately 80% of the aggregate demand. 93.5% of the private sector organizations are very small businesses with less than 10 employees. 88% of these employ less than five employees with no possibility for a fresh graduate to build a career, getting exposed and/or promoted. This was empirically validated by Kasparian (2003) who identified that 61.9% of the employed

⁵⁶ The labour force is equal to the sum of persons in employment and unemployed persons. To be counted among the unemployed, a person should not have worked (even for one hour) during the reference period and must have been actively seeking and available to take up employment (ILO definition - ILO, 2012).

educated youth are working in enterprises comprising less than five employees in jobs not directly related to their field of expertise.

1.9.2 Main Sectors of Activities

The main sectors of activities changed over the years. In developed countries, and with the increase in the investment in education, the focus shifted from the agriculture⁵⁷ and manufacturing sectors to the growing services sector (i.e. from blue collar to white collar jobs). This shift is more beneficial to the educated youth (Dahlin, 2005; Fevre, 2003). In Lebanon, and **since 1997, employment moved also from agriculture and industry towards services sector, yet, in low productivity activities**, for example in the retail trade, transportation and storage, real estate activities, accommodation and food service activities, and the like⁵⁸ (AUB et al., 2009). Other services sectors knew also a certain level of growth over the years such as the banking and insurance sectors, and the free port activities (Ministry of Finance, 2013). **Little change was noticed over the years implicating a modest if not low level of job opportunities creation** (AUB et al., 2009). **The economy is still locked in low productivity and low-wage equilibrium** because of the macro-economic uncertainty, the poor governance going hand in hand with high level of corruption, laissez-faire immigration of low-wage workers pressing the wages to their lowest levels, and the weak public infrastructure⁵⁹ (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). **Finding a job in government work, NGOs and financial institutions**, that used to supply a vast majority of work opportunities, **became lately increasingly difficult** (Chaaban, 2012). Consequently, **the labour market supply does not seem to answer to the skilled university graduates in Lebanon** (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013).

⁵⁷ Even the agriculture sector is demonstrating lack of investment, non-compliance with the EU standards of food safety standards, weak farmers organizations, limited access to water and other inputs needed (Governing Council, 2011).

⁵⁸ This is clearly the effect of the transition from production-based economies to knowledge-based economies, the shift from agriculture to industrial economies.

⁵⁹ According to the ILO (2012), the Middle East still have and has had lower productivity growth than the developed countries.

1.9.3 Contributors to Job Creation

Employment opportunities and jobs creation in Lebanon depend on several contextual factors such as the global and regional recession, and the socio-economic status of the country that mirrors the growing public debt, the emigration of the educated graduates, the market restrictions and the nature of the economy, the political instability and insecurities, and the country's educational system.

Between 2004 and 2009, the main contributors to job creation were trade and low productivity services sector with 61% and 33% respectively, followed by the construction sector with 10% contributions. **In the high productivity sectors** such as the information and communication technologies, the financial and insurance sector, and other sectors that focus on professional, scientific and technical activities, **jobs creation were not very pronounced** (Robalino and Sayed, 2012). Being service-oriented, **the government encouraged tourism-related occupations**. Such initiative “handicapped” however university graduates. Services related to this non-tradable sector rely more on low-skilled workers oppose to tradable sectors which rely more on direct rivalry with foreign competitors, and require hence high level of skills and qualifications (El-Ghali, 2011). Additionally, the **political and economic instabilities played a counter-productive role as to job creation within this sector and hindered even more university graduates chances**.

Currently, job creation is mainly noticed in sectors such as petroleum, information technology (IT), hotel management, and infirmary; according to “Waznat” founder, Mr. Samir Costantine⁶⁰. However, the students, and as demonstrated in the first part of the chapter, are shied away from these programmes because of the lack of orientation and symmetric information. According to Aya El-Mir, the senior career guidance officer at

⁶⁰ Mr. Costantine made these comments in an interview with a Lebanese Broadcast station; part of a report prepared as to assess the preparation of Lebanese youth to the university life and the orientation offered to them in what pertains to the choice of programme and the cognitive skills needed for each programme (the report was broadcasted on the 26th of June 2013).

LAU, “accounting” is another understaffed field where many job opportunities are being created (Majzoub and Carrere, 2012). Always according to El-Mir, and despite the fact that more students are going into accounting, the graduates’ rates are still below the number of jobs creation (Majzoub and Carrere, 2012). This is a clear reflection of the lack of information that the Lebanese students really have about the effective labour market needs and consequently their erroneous academic choices at the higher education level.

The structure of the Lebanese economy did not and does not affect solely job opportunities and jobs creation. **The consecutive political instability periods as well as the periods of wars especially that of 2006 had also a direct and indirect impact on job opportunities.** Because of the July 2006 war, and according to the report done by the ILO, 142 industrial organizations, more than 900 medium-sized enterprises and 2800 small enterprises suffered complete or partial damage from the war. The effect was clearly the direct loss of 2000 jobs with no incentives for new jobs creation (ILO, 2006). As a result, many organizations closed their offices. We note as an example, among others, Proctor and Gamble that used to recruit, according to the career and placement services director at AUB, between 15 and 20 AUB’s graduates. The closure of the organization premises in Lebanon will leave new graduates, prospects of being employed, without employment. The choice of these graduates is hence either to stay unemployed and search for other alternatives or do like the majority of the Lebanese university graduates emigrate for the purpose of work or pursuing higher studies (Majzoub and Carrere, 2012).

The growth is hence very slow within the Lebanese economy implicating therefore low job creation. This low growth is the main consequence of two main conditions.

From one side, it is related to the decrease in the number of domestic investments. This is the result of political instabilities, the inability of domestic organizations to compete at

the international level, and the failure to attract Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs⁶¹). This lack of investment, translated in low jobs creation, was reported by the UNDP to the high costs of start-up and shut-down of businesses (UNDP, 2009). As clearly estimated several time by the World Bank, the European Union and other renowned international organizations, **Lebanon and investment opportunities do not go hand in hand because of the lack of confidence that emanates from the political instability and insecure periods such as the July 2006 war. The most known type of FDIs at the Lebanese level is that of the money sent from the Lebanese emigrants; known by the remittances. However, and despite the increase in the emigrants' remittance, they do not add anything to the growth level (El-Ghali, 2011). On the contrary, they distort the market and cause what is known by the "Dutch disease"⁶² or the deindustrialization of the country's economy and create a form of "subsidized economy" (AUB et al., 2009). They do not permit the creation of job opportunities because the money is not the result of productive work. It is a windfall gain (Chaaban and Gebara, 2007).**

From the other side, low growth is related to **the absence of a competitive industry within the Lebanese labour market. This affects negatively the creation of job opportunities answering to graduates' demand. The Lebanese economy is considered as a service-oriented economy.** The banking and hotel management sectors are the most prominent segments within the sector. However, and if to set aside the banking sector - which proved despite the 2008 financial crisis its ability to surpass major financial setbacks because of the domestic financial policies and strict regulations set by the Central Bank - **the hotel management sector did not know the same success story.** On the contrary, it was one of the main victims of the July 2006 war and other consecutive

⁶¹ Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in its classical form is defined as a company from one country making a physical investment into building a factory in another country. FDI relationship consist of a parent enterprise and a foreign affiliate which together form a Multinational Corporation (MNC) (Dunning, 1997).

⁶² The "Dutch disease" refers to the deindustrialization of a nation's economy which occurs when the discovery of natural resources raises the values of that nation's currency, making manufactured goods less competitive with other nations, increasing imports and decreasing exports. The term originated in Holland after the discovery of the North Sea gas.

instabilities (AUB et al. 2009). The sector, as pointed out earlier, employs low-skilled workers putting university graduates from the field at a disadvantage (El-Ghali, 2011).

Box 1.5: Porter's National Diamond of Competitive Advantage

Porter's National Diamond of Competitive Advantage is an important policy tool which permits to attract FDI (Porter, 1990). Porters' diamond is compound of four attributes: (1) the factors conditions that are the factors of production required such as the labour, land, capital, natural resources; but most importantly the specialized human capital that should be promoted by the government through research efforts and training; (2) the demand conditions which is nothing but the demand of the customer. However, Porter emphasized the need to have a sophisticated demand which will lead to competitive advantage because of the innovations done to answer the customers' demand. The government in this context should enforce the strict product standards, as well as the safety and environmental standards leading to a more sophisticated and demanding customer; (3) the related and supporting industries; i.e. the home-based suppliers and related industries that should be internationally competitive; and (4) the firm strategy, structure and domestic rivalry where the government needs to encourage competition between organizations leading to innovation and new jobs creation.

1.10 The Factors Weighting on Jobs Creation and Unemployment Rate

Several factors from the policies set by the government; to the expansion of the higher education system; the jobs, field of study and orientation; the gap between the graduates' supply and the labour market demand; and the nepotism effect **affect the Lebanese graduates' probability of being employed or not.**

1.10.1 The Lebanese Labour Law and the Governmental Policies

The Lebanese labour law goes back to 1946 and is hence outdated. It did not consider new codes and changes within the market. **There is no national employment strategy to regulate the market, identify the labour market challenges, and set strategies to address them.** The Ministry of Labour has a limited role in setting a national employment strategy. **The main player of employment programmes is the National Employment Office (NEO), under the tutelage of the Ministry of Labour.** Its main function is to provide

linkages for the unemployed with areas of high employment opportunities. **However, the NEO is not able to accomplish its mission since it does neither have the financial nor the human resources to provide effective employment services** (El-Ghali, 2011). Reforms to address the situation are “infant reforms”. **A draft labour law was proposed in 1992, and again in 2000 but still remains a draft** (up to our knowledge). **Currently, the government is working with the ILO to prepare a new labour law. However, passing the new law to the parliament does not seem to be happening in the near future;** aggravating the situation even more (Chaaban 2009b). These circumstances, combined with **the political circumstances and the governmental strikes “paralyzed” the economic state and worsened the situation at the labour market in general and that of the new university graduates searching for their first-job in particular.**

Creating jobs or not is highly dependent not only from the macroeconomic policy and the economic sectors but also from the cost of recruiting and paying employees with specific level of skills (Cho et al., 2012). **Labour law, hiring and firing rules are not helping the private sector to create job opportunities because of the high cost of hiring and firing** translated in compensations, social security, transportation, insurance, and the like. Private organizations, when to recruit, are preferring to refer to the Internal Labour Market (ILM) and hire from the company’s employees as not to lose the investment done in those and endure further cost in terms of hiring expenses. This is producing a low turnover; and therefore low job creation putting first-time university graduates job seekers at a disadvantage (Orszag and Snower, 1999). **From a public sector perspective, the recruitment is mainly guided by the “preferential terms”.** Personal contacts are highly important for recruitment at the public sector where employees have long tenure contracts, minimizing job turnover⁶³ leading also to low job creation (World Bank, 2013).

⁶³ Based on OECD recommendation, recruitment at the public sector should not be more than one third of those graduating from universities; a prevailing rule that is not much respected in Lebanon given the nepotism effect leading to an increase in the number of employees at the public sector where individuals look at an public sector position as a pension plan (Kivinen, 1997; cited in: Kivinen and Ahola, 1999).

In an attempt to help graduates find a job, the government launched in September 2012 an initiative called “First Job”. The programme is managed by the NEO, under the supervisions of the Ministry of Labour with technical and financial assistance from the World Bank (World Bank website). **The programme aims to provide unemployed first-time job seekers life skills training, counselling and on-the-job training in a private firm (*Ibid.*). Incentives are given for companies to hire first-time job applicants.** To encourage companies to hire fresh graduates, the government will fully cover the National Social Security Fund subscription fees paid by the employers during the first year and partially cover the second-year’s fees (Nohra, 2012). **However, the programme will be implemented over a period of 5 years, leaving hence a lag of time.**

1.10.2 Expansion of the Higher Education System

The education system had also its effect on the unemployment crisis. The introduction of the decree number 9274 issued in 1996 permitted the increase in the number of operating HEIs (El-Ghali, 2011). The decree and the increase in the number of institutions in itself did not aggravate the situation but rather **the haphazardly expansion of the higher education system** noted in part A of the chapter. Such expansion **is looked upon as another reason of high unemployment rates among the university graduates** (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013; LAES, 2006).

The increase in the number of HEIs permitted to answer to the increased demand for higher education, however, and as noted earlier, it **negatively affected the quality of the higher education, and led to an increase in the graduates’ supply that cannot be absorbed by the domestic market.** Many “for-profit” HEIs, mainly from the mass private sector, are recruiting inadequately prepared students (LAES, 2006). Graduates number did not only sore but the skills’ offered are diversified not allowing the labour market to cope with such divergence. **Students’ perception about the higher education had also its negative implications.** Students, mainly females, are pursuing higher studies for a social purpose

rather than academic and economic ones. They are just looking for a diploma “in hand” regardless of its “meaning” and “employability”. Such behaviour encouraged the establishment of these new mass PUs, guided by political and commercial considerations at the expense of standards and educational quality and professional preparation in terms of curriculum, faculty qualifications, research, etc. The weak link between the academic education and training, in addition to the absence of counselling, support and orientation, in many of these newly created institutions aggravated the situation (*Ibid.*).

Finding a job for a university graduate became hence a long process which can take on average 10 months. The structure of the system - the division between the public and the private sectors and between elite private and mass private - and the diversity in the quality offered affected the duration of finding a job. Graduates **from top universities, renowned for their quality and extra-curriculum activities inspiring the development of personal and generic skills, find jobs relatively easier than graduates from other universities who can stay unemployed for a period spelling for over than a year** (on average 13 months for men and 10 months for women) (Robalino and Sayed, 2012). This was validated by various universities’ rectors that were questioned about the matter (El-Ghali, 2011). One third of the extremely poor university graduates are unemployed oppose to one out of five of better-heeled university graduates (El-Ghali and McClure, 2010). Employers tend to focus therefore on the elite end of graduates employment while being unaware of graduate employment experiences at the “mass generalist” end of the graduate labour market (Arthur et al., 2007).

The weak coordination between vocational education, helping graduates to acquire the needed practical skills within the labour market, and higher education; and between these two types of tertiary education and the bodies concerned with economic and employment policies, intensified the situation (LAES, 2006). HEIs, mainly mass PUs, have a weak relationship with employing organizations obstructing the graduates’ fast and easy transition to the labour market. This weak relation is translated in the absence or scarcity

of professional institutions in the advisory boards of most of these HEIs; the decisions regarding the creation of new specializations; and the joint research activities between the academia and the industry (*Ibid.*).

Box 1.6: Educated labour force versus economically active labour force per gender

The educated labour force (i.e. that holds a higher education degree) forms 24.4% from the total population with a majority of 70% having a level of education below secondary (i.e. elementary and intermediate education). The educated females with a university degree form twice the percentage of males and the double of the domestic average (45.3% educated females oppose to 18.3% educated males) (Living Conditions of Households, 2007). Such high rate of educated females is related to the interest given to educating girls starting the 1970s as a source of empowerment (AUB et al., 2009) as well as to the decrease in the number of men aged between 25-44, relative to the number of women, because of the emigration of men population⁶⁴ (Chaaban, 2009a). Nevertheless, and despite this high rate of educated women, only 23.3% were economically active in 2009 (AUB et al., 2009); a slight increase from the previous period extending from 2004 till 2009 where the rate of economically active women was equal to 21% (CAS, 2011). Such rate is three times lower than the men's activity rate of 66% - and reaching its peak before the age of 35 oppose to men who remain active even after official retirement age; i.e. at the age of 64 (CAS, 2011). This low rate of economically active females is credited to the domestic activities such as child bearing and household responsibilities. On the other hand, it is noticed that 45% of the working females hold a university degree oppose to only 20% of the working males (CAS, 2011).

1.10.3 Jobs, field of study and orientation

The choice of the major at the higher education level also had its effect on the unemployment rate. From one hand, the secondary students want to continue their studies because of their assumption that higher education is highly valued. From the other hand, most families push their children to be lawyers, doctors or engineers with no regard to the effective needs of the market. **Such behaviour is identified as being a “cultural root”.**

⁶⁴ 76% of emigrants are men (CAS, 2012).

Finding a job directly correlated to the field of study is a weak probability unless it is related to the certified and licensed occupations such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc. (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). Even graduates from these fields and if they do not have the right contacts find it difficult to secure employment given the saturated labour market. **Most of the university graduates are working in fields within the service sectors not really related to their initial education, or in basic unskilled jobs** that do not require any qualification with lower salaries than those expected from their investment in higher education. Graduates are making these choices as not to face unemployment or emigration ((Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013; CAS, 2011). **They are hence both income-underemployed (insufficient compensation) and skills-related underemployed (insufficient use of skills)** (ILO, 2009a). Additionally, employers compete in general over graduates who have general skills rather than specific ones (El-Ghali, 2011). This explains the increasing rates of graduates from general fields such as the “Business Administration”, as identified in part A of the chapter, mainly at the mass private sector. The most difficult positions to fill, as demonstrated by several empirical studies, are identified as currently being related to the skilled technicians (7-8 weeks) and qualified engineers and managers (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013; AUB et al., 2009).

The excess of Lebanese graduates in some sectors and shortages in others is credited to the lack of orientation and support provided to the students concerning their higher education choices and consequently their professional careers, and to the “greedy” HEIs that prefers quantity over compliance with the labour market needs (El Ghali, 2011). Such orientation can be either provided by family, school or the state (UNDP, 2000). Unfortunately, neither one of those is playing an efficient role as discussed in part A aggravating hence the unemployment problem and implicating **an imbalance in the number of graduates from various disciplines**. The number of graduates from the social sciences, business, law and humanities fields is double if to be compared with that of graduates from the sciences and engineering fields needed within the labour market as stated above. This explains the high rates of unemployment in certain fields (Kawar and

Tzannatos, 2013) and the orientation of graduates towards low-skilled jobs or towards regional and/or international labour markets searching for employment opportunities where 47.4% of the Lebanese emigrants have a university degree (AUB et al., 2009).

1.10.4 Gap Between Graduates' Supply and Employers' Demand

It is clear from what has been advanced that the skills of graduates, i.e. the supply side of higher education, do not meet with the labour market needs. The labour market demand suffers from a scarcity in the entry-level job opportunities in the high productivity sectors, and from the subjective recruitment practices adopted by employers based on personal connections. This leads hence to a mismatch between the demand for and supply of labour (Chaaban, 2009a; Nasser and Abouchedid, 2006).

By itself, not finding a job directly after graduation for university graduates entail within it whether the graduate acquired the needed technical, cognitive and non-cognitive skills (Robalino and Sayed, 2012). Employers have been complaining about the absence of adequate candidates in terms of the needed skills and the level of education (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013) creating hence serious gaps between the graduates and the employers' expectations (Robalino and Sayed, 2012). **These gaps are identified as being:** the ability/inability to work independently, the numerical skills, the lack of foreign language, the ability to work in a team, and the professional communication skills and problem solving skills (Robalino and Sayed, 2012). **Employers are more concerned with the soft and cognitive skills that are not provided by all universities rather than the technical ones because of the increase in jobs demanding these skills at the expense of those requiring routine skills** (Karoly, 2010). Such mismatch implicitly implies the employers' unwillingness to pay high salaries (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). This explains why **graduates from the top universities find job faster and easier than their counterpart from the other universities because of the importance given to the soft, communication, language skills, and the like** (Interview with LAU provost, 2012; El-Ghali, 2011).

Given that not all Lebanese students have access to quality higher education, this will affect the graduates' chances within the labour market. Those who do have quality education expect employment packages consistent with their investment. However, the Lebanese production structure, as noted earlier, is more biased towards labour intensive, low-skilled, and low-wage activities, with a limited number of MNCs. This is "pushing" highly skilled graduates to work in low skilled jobs or to emigrate and leaving the less-skilled ones to compete within the domestic labour market (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). Combined with the excessive immigration of foreign low-skilled workers, a depressive effect was noted over the wages. Foreign workers are more "employable attractive" to employers than their Lebanese counterparts who request higher wages, social security, benefits, and training. **The labour market, demand side, seems hence to be very rigid** because of the small businesses and entrepreneurial investments, and the regulations governing businesses' hiring and firing practices that limit job creation (El-Ghali, 2011).

Box 1.7: The Labour market demand

The labour market demand is a derived one (Fasih, 2008; Muk-Ngiik Wong and Hamali, 2006; Teichler, 2000) with two main dimensions. The first dimension deals with the types of jobs created (formal vs. informal; public vs. private; etc.) when demand increases, and the second one focuses on policy problems in what pertains to how the labour market is operating (Fasih, 2008). The labour market is hence dependent from one hand on the policies that determine how the labour market operates, and from the other on policies that determine how the markets other than the labour market operate which includes those that are related to macroeconomic stability, trade, FDI, etc. (Fasih, 2008). Additionally, it depends on the level and the structure of the production which is in its turn determined by the economic and institutional economies.

1.10.5 The Nepotism

Lebanon is a confessional state. It is a country that functions under the principle of sharing power amongst various religious sects. Positions and ranks are determined based on the authority of each religious sect. Based on that, **Lebanon is very well known by the "Nepotism" principle.** It is one factor that allowed the increase in the youth

unemployment rate because people are in general hired not on a professional basis but rather on a personal one.

The nepotism refers to offering employment on the basis of favouritism towards relatives, friends and family members rather than on an objective assessment of ability and meritocracy despite the presence of well-eligible and better qualified candidates (AUB et al., 2009). Regardless of the level of education, most unemployed people (around 80%) find their first job via personal contacts. Although it is taking a shorter time for those holding a university degree to find a job; around one year and a half⁶⁵ (CAS, 2011), the duration of unemployment for the educated graduates is equivalent to those who are less educated. For the educated unemployed less than 35 years of old, finding a job will take 1.2 years oppose to 1.4 years for those holding a secondary degree. Such “small” difference in the rates reflects the importance of the personal connections in finding employment regardless of the level of education (Robalino and Sayed, 2012).

Both the public and the private sectors consider the nepotism principle in their recruitment strategies. The nepotism effect is more pronounced at the public sector where recruitment requires to have the needed personal contacts (AUB et al., 2009). The result is translated in an overstaffed public sector (El-Ghali, 2011). Concerning the private sector, employment at banks, TVs, and any other private organization is based on personal connections (AUB et al., 2009). This is reflective of the graduates’ social capital and their families’ connections. Family owned businesses that form approximately 85% of the economy prefer to recruit from family members or friends (AUB et al., 2009). Finding a job via employment offices, public or private one, does not hence seem to be widely used by university graduates (CAS, 2011).

⁶⁵ Oppose to two years approximately for those having a secondary education and about four years for those who are not educated (primary education).

At the end of their higher education, graduates are left either with subjecting themselves to nepotism and seeking employment at the public sector if they have the adequate personal contacts; or to look for employment opportunities at family owned businesses with limited chances and limited promotion opportunities; or to search for employment opportunities at MNCs; or emigrate. Given the shy presence of MNCs, and the low job offers that they provide, **first-time job seekers university graduates are left with the first two and last options where most of them is choosing the last one** (i.e. emigrate) because of low salaries, inconsistency between the skills acquired and the professional duties and the lack of opportunities for a long path career (AUB et al., 2009).

1.11 Absence of Communication Mechanisms between the Higher Education System and the Labour Market

In Lebanon, **there is no official definition or formulation of the relationship between the higher education system and the labour market as validated by the advanced data.** Any action or initiative is done at an individual level. Most of the HEIs are adopting the “open day” strategy aiming to introduce their students to the labour market and employment opportunities. **The most reputable HEIs have employment offices working as a channel between their graduates and the employers.** Concerning the mass HEIs, their efforts are **commendable yet they remain limited.** Therefore, in the absence of clear communication mechanisms, **the link between the higher education system and the labour market is overruled by a dual relation** (Al Amine, 1997):

- (1) A monopolistic relation such as that between the LU – specifically the faculty of education - and the ministry of education and higher education. The faculty was established to answer to the need of the ministry for secondary education teachers at the public sector. Till the current date, the faculty is still assuming the same role where it is the “sole provider” of teachers for public schools.

(2) The membership relations such as that between the medical school at the AUB and the hospital affiliated to it (the American University of Beirut Medical Centre – AUBMC) or that between the USJ medical school and the “Hotel Dieu Hospital” that is a university centre hospital. The training of the students from these faculties is done in each of the respective hospitals. In these case, there is no monopoly. Graduates from other universities can be employed. However, it is noted that the employment opportunities are higher for graduates from these respective institutions than from others.

These relations explain why graduates from the education faculty at the LU are directly integrated within the labour market oppose to graduates from other universities and why graduates from elite PUs find job opportunities faster than those from the LU and mass PUs.

1.12 The Emigration of the Lebanese Human Capital

The emigration of the Lebanese university graduates is a direct consequence of the mismatch between the graduates’ supply and the labour market demand. More than half of the Lebanese university graduates are leaving the country on a yearly basis for more challenging and better employment opportunities in developed economies (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013).

Based on this prior discussion, **it is clear by now that the supply of graduates is higher than the demand for labour** (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). The excessive supply of well-educated graduates increased the competition and led not only to limited job opportunities also to lower the salaries (El-Ghali, 2011). For educated skilled graduates, it is no longer easy to find job within the domestic labour market. Concerning the employers, they are not encouraged to recruit fresh graduates because of the lack of professional experience and the needed soft skills as revealed in the previous sections. These factors combined together led to excessive emigration trends. An emigration that became both a cultural and a social expectation for the educated workforce to a certain

extent where certain universities have even started to search for job opportunities for their graduates outside the domestic labour market (Chaaban, 2012).

Despite the positive impact of the Lebanese migration flow, translated by the emigrants' remittances that reached 22.8% in 2006 according to the World Bank's estimations; and the decrease in the unemployment rates, the emigration is not foreseen without pitfalls. It is letting the country to lose its human capital of the most skilled professionals; the economy to rely on low-skilled labour mainly foreign one because it is cheaper instead of creating opportunities in high productivity activities permitting to retain educated graduates; and the loss of talent since many fields have a shortage in the skilled labour force such as nursing, translation, medical technicians, agro-food specialists, semi-skilled construction workers (Chaaban, 2009a). **The negative effects are outweighing the positive ones because the emigrants' remittances are not used in the productivity sectors but rather are financing high consumption spending that do not contribute to the country's economic growth** (AUB et al., 2009; Chaaban, 2009a).

Push and pull factors are behind the university graduates' emigration. Pull factors are the external factors that draw youth abroad. They are mainly high salaries in countries rich with petroleum (such as the Arab countries); the more fulfilling work environment, business culture, and quality of life in developed economies; the established network of the Lebanese abroad who emigrated from a long time ago; and the opportunities for better quality graduate studies (AUB et al., 2009). Concerning the **push factors**, they are the domestic factors alienating the educated graduates from their country (Chaaban, 2009b). **The main push factors are identified as being the** political instability; the high cost of living, especially for young graduates; the mismatch between the education and the labour market needs; the rigid labour market for skilled graduates; and the insufficient and expensive regulations for starting a business as entrepreneur (AUB et al., 2009).

Table 1.2 and box 1.8 show respectively the main emigration flow destination and an overlook on emigration flows as presented in the study done by AUB et al. (2009) based on a presentation by Chaaban, J. in 2008 at Dubai School of Government:

Table 1.2 Destination of Emigrants University Graduates From Lebanon To ...	
Destination	Distribution
GCC	27%
USA	19%
Australia	15%
Canada	12%
Germany	7%
Syria	7%
France	6%
Other	7%
Total	100%

Box 1.8: Overlook on emigration flows

48% of the young emigrants during 2004-2009 were unemployed before migration,

- 44% of them had a university degree (a percentage that is currently higher reaching approximately 48% - AUB et al., 2009),
- 66% of them emigrated to find a job in another country, and

77% of all emigrants during the period of 2004-2009 were under 35 years of old (CAS, 2011). These emigrants were mainly pulled to Gulf countries (39%), Europe (20%), America (19%) and Africa (12%) (CAS, 2012) where employment opportunities and salaries are expected to be higher.

1.13 “Flashback” on Previous Studies

Few studies were done in an attempt to understand and identify the Lebanese university graduate's transition to the labour market. The empirical studies done reflected, among other aspects, on the socio-economic background, the family characteristics, the parents' occupational and educational status, the occupational aspiration, and the like and their impact on the graduates' transition from higher education to the labour market. What follows will mirror the main findings of some of these studies. We will refer to the results of: (a) the Ritch Mass Institution study done in 1996, (b) the Lebanese Association for Educational Studies – LAES studies done in 1998 and in 1999-2000, (c) the National Employment Office and UNDP study done in 2000, (d) the Saint Joseph University studies done by the “Observatoire Universitaire de la Réalité Socio-Economique (OURSE)” in 2002 and in 2003, and finally (e) the AUB, UNDP and Hariri Foundation for Sustainable Human Development (HFSHD) study done in 2009.

Before discussing the results of the above studies, we note that one of the first **studies that about the relation between the higher education system and the labour market was done in 1980**. It was undertaken by the CERD and it only considered the commercial and service sectors. **The main findings of the study concluded that** there is a gap between the needs of the labour market and the offerings of the educational system; the family and the personal channels are important in the recruitment process; the division of the labour market per gender is in favour of the males; and that the reasons of the gap between the two markets are mainly related to the structure of the jobs and the duties required and hence the failure of the higher education system to respond to these requirements. **The findings and the overview over the relation between the higher education system and the labour market that was just proposed, permit to suggest that nothing has changed over**

the years⁶⁶ and that the transition from the higher education to the labour market is still governed by the same challenges.

1.13.1 The Ritch Mass Institution Study

In 1996, the Ritch Mass Institution did a poll about the “university, education, and work” to have better insight on the people’s opinion concerning the social and the economic roles of the university. **The survey concluded that the majority of the surveyed individuals regard the university as a place to build and develop skills regardless of the environment and the circumstances and opportunities available.** Still, the results of this study cannot be generalized because they were the product of a poll and not of a well-defined sample representative of the population (rf. Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

1.13.2 The Studies of the Lebanese Association for Educational Studies

1.13.2.1 The 1998 study

In 1998, the Lebanese Association for Educational Studies (LAES) undertook a study entitled (originally in Arabic): “University Students in Lebanon and Their Orientation” (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). The sample considered third year university students where 2436 senior students were surveyed. The aim was to reflect on the students’ expectations between their field of study and the future jobs; the available employment opportunities in Lebanon; the interval of time needed to find a job after graduation; the skills needed to fulfil the requirements of a specific job; and the skills gained from the university. **The study did not consider the students’ professional status after their graduation and did not therefore reflect on their effective integration within the labour market. It gave however an insight on the students’ perception about the labour market and aspects that might**

⁶⁶ except maybe for a higher proportion of females working at the service sector mainly the banking sector

help or obstruct their integration within the work marketplace. What follows will reflect on the main findings of the study.

The students' expectations concerning the labour market opportunities differed from one field to another. The majority of the students (60%) from the health, the medical sciences and the education fields found a high compatibility between the field of study and future jobs⁶⁷. They had high expectations about being employed. The lowest expectations of employment were for students from the archaeology and the social sciences fields.

Concerning the expectations of integration within the labour market, 45% of the students assumed finding a job directly after graduation with a majority being from the health, the medical sciences and the education fields followed by the art, the civil engineering, the architecture, the religious studies, the social studies, the political sciences and the law fields; 24.2% expected to find a job in less than a year; one third in two years or more or cannot really identify the exact period of time.

The main factors identified by the students as having an impact on their employment prospects, are the “qualifications” where PUs students placed more weight on this factor than the LU students; **followed by “personal connections”** particularly for the students from the fields of literature, religious studies, social sciences, political sciences, communication and documentation; **and finally the presence of “economic capital”** mainly for the students from the fields of art, business administration, medical sciences and architecture.

Concerning the emigration, students from the private sector have more tendency to emigrate. Christians have a higher predisposition than Muslims students to emigrate. Similarly, males show a higher tendency than females. These tendencies towards emigration reflect the uncertainty that students face concerning the employment opportunities within the domestic labour market.

⁶⁷ This is very rational given that for these specializations the practical aspect cannot but to be related and correlated to theoretical studies.

Regarding the salaries, students from the private sector seem to expect higher salaries than those from the LU. This is a normal inclination given the high investment done at the private sector oppose to that done at the LU. Christians expect higher salaries than Muslims and males expect higher salaries than females.

1.13.2.2 The 1999-2000 study

Another field study was done by the LAES in 1999-2000 and published in 2003 (Abou Rjaili, 2003). The study considered graduates after six to seven years of their graduation. It did not only consider the graduates transition to the labour market but provided also a broader picture about the graduates personal characteristics in terms of age, the choice of the HEI, the parents' socio-economic and educational backgrounds, the distribution per gender between the public and the private sectors, etc. However, these aspects will not be re-elaborated in this context⁶⁸. What follows will mainly focus on the aspects related to the transition process to the labour market.

After five years of graduation, **10.3% of the graduates were still unemployed with an absolute majority of female**. More than the half of the graduates (53.6%) were working since their graduation for 5 consecutive years with the majority being at the service sector, and 8.6% never worked. A majority of the 53.6% (41.2%) worked during their higher studies insinuating the importance of the professional experience for a fast integration process. **The average years of work** for the graduates forming the sample is 3.33 years. **The transition from the higher education to the labour market and the average years of work after graduation varied from one university to another**. The lowest rate of unemployment and the highest rate of employment were noticed for graduates from the

⁶⁸ Aspects stated in part A of chapter 1

AUB (average of 3.95 years), the LU (3.73 years), the USJ (3.65 years) and the LAU (3.37) which has controversially the highest rate of unemployment⁶⁹.

Elite PUs graduates unemployment is optional. All unemployed graduates from these universities are married ladies while at the LU, 9 out of 20 unemployed female graduates are single. **Graduates from the mass private sector seemed to be the most affected with the unemployment crisis**. This could be related to the absence of the social capital and adequate training provided by these universities.

Concerning the employment trend per field of study, the highest rate of unemployment is being, amongst others, for graduates from the medical sciences, law, economics and business administration fields mirroring saturated labour markets for these fields. As for **the lowest rate of unemployment and the highest rate of employment**, they are for the fields of architecture and literature. **However, being a graduate from one field and not the other, does not directly predict the employment status. The university from which the graduate completed his/her degree has an important impact on available employment opportunities**. The LU graduates from the fields of education, literature and architecture have the highest access to work opportunities oppose to those from the fields of medical sciences and social sciences⁷⁰. For elite PUs such as the AUB, the USJ and the LAU, the highest work opportunities are for the graduates from the architecture, sciences and IT fields whereas the lowest work opportunities are for the literature, art and education fields. Moreover, **elite PUs working graduates work in jobs and positions compatible with their qualifications and skills oppose to LU working graduates who do not**. The survey results permit to conclude that **employers are attracted towards the private sectors for fields that require in addition to the academic knowledge, other skills such as personal,**

⁶⁹ The LAU changed its name from BUC to LAU in 1995. Taken that the study was done in 1998, this could explain the high unemployment rate.

⁷⁰ For the first two fields this is related to the “monopolistic relation” mentioned earlier. As for the “architecture” field, the LU is very renowned with its selective process of candidates for the said faculty and hence, it “offers the best quality of graduates”.

soft and generic skills, while they refer to the LU for the fields where the personal and soft skills are not a major requirement of the tasks to be accomplished on the job.

Concerning the main channels used to find job opportunities, the most important one were identified as being “friends/personal connections” (43%); followed by “family connections/acquaintance” (17%)⁷¹. Elite PUs graduates applied mainly to jobs at multinational organizations (MNCs). This is rational because of the level of skills developed during their studies and the relation that elite PUs have with international organizations facilitating hence the recruitment of their ALUMNI. **Concerning the graduates from the low/mid-low social classes, they refer less to the use of personal connections.** Graduates from the mass PUs and the LU apply mainly to small organizations and not to MNCs where the recruitment strategies are not that demanding. The Lebanese labour market, according to this study, is socially divided based on the social class of the graduates and the choice of the HEI.

Using personal connections or not seem to be also dependent from the field of study. Graduates from the medical sciences, economics and business administration, law, refer more to the use of personal connections. The saturated labour markets and low job creation for these fields explain why these graduates are opting for this channel oppose to half of the graduates from the architecture, education, communication, interior design, sciences and IT fields who sat for a test or sent an application.

Concerning the field of work per gender, the highest proportion of female graduates work at the education field. They have double the chances to work in this sector than male graduates. Concerning the male graduates, their chances to work at the industry and service sectors are higher than those of the female graduates. Additionally, for the same qualifications and field of study, male graduates occupy higher positions than the female graduates who occupy more mid or low administrative positions.

⁷¹ Proving the importance accorded to personal contacts/nepotism principle/social capital as advanced earlier in the chapter

Regarding the salaries, the aspects that affected the most the average salaries are the field of study; the gender; and the university. Knowing that the interaction between the field of study and the university from which the graduate completed his/her degree explains up to 26.4% of the change in the salary. The study concluded that the graduates from the LU and the mass PUs and those graduating from the fields of [literature, social sciences, economics and business administration, law]; and [interior design, education, communication/TV, pure sciences, biology] have the lowest salaries with less than 550 US dollars; and between 300 and 900 US dollars per month respectively. Whereas those from elite PUs and graduating from the architecture field have better employment opportunities and highest salaries (above 900 US dollars per month). **Males have higher salaries than females** in all fields of study regardless of the HEI. Although the average salaries for males and females differ from one field to another and from one HEI to another, yet, females are still less paid than males. More than two third of the female graduates have a salary less than 550 US dollars per month and 80% of them are paid less than 350 US dollars per month oppose to one quarter of male graduates only.

The study availed also that the salaries and the graduates' qualifications are not compatible⁷². The salary, regardless of the graduates' qualifications, their skills and their expertise, seems to be more dependent on the socio-economic status of the graduate, mainly that of the father, and subsequently on the graduate's prior choices of the HEI and the field of study. The majority of the working graduates who have a salary above 1500 US dollars per month come from very well-heeled families. None of them is from the low social strata. Working graduates whose fathers hold a secretary position or is a worker are not paid per month more than 350 US dollars. Even if the children of the workers work in administrative positions rather than secretary positions, it seems that they do not go through social mobility and remain within the same economic circles. **The lowest level of income is for the graduates from the LU and the mass PUs oppose to the elite PUs**

⁷² The salary fixed for BA holders or its equivalence does not exceed 550 US dollars per month explaining why graduates are inclined to emigrate.

graduates who have the highest level of income. This indicates once again the absence of social mobility for those from the low social strata.

Graduates professions as advanced by the study are highly correlated to their fathers' field of work. 25.9% of the graduates who work in high status positions come from families where the fathers occupy the same position; 24.5% of the graduates who work in mid-status positions have a father who work in the same positions; and 32.6% of them who work in low status positions have a father who work in the same status position.

Concerning the distribution of working graduates among the Lebanese organizations, 65% work in small and mid-sized organizations (less than 50 employees). This high rate is related to the small economy and mediocre number of large organizations as stated previously. The overwhelming majority of these graduates work at the private sector (82%; with a majority being from elite PUs) oppose to only 15% who work at the public sector (the majority of these graduates is from the LU) and 2% at both the private and the public sectors. This low rate at the public sector is credited to the low work opportunities; the decision taken by the government to minimize employment because of the overstaffed public administrations; the need to have personal contacts - contacts that may not be available for the LU graduates as they are the majority that occupy the public sector; and/or to better opportunities and promotion possibilities at the private sector.

1.13.3 The National Employment Office and the UNDP Study

In 2000, a more comprehensive study was done by Najib Issa based on the request of the NEO, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the ILO and the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) (Issa, 2000). **The aims of the study were to determine the nature of the problematic relation between the higher education system and the labour market in Lebanon; analyse the reasons behind such relation; and propose a strategic framework to deal with the encountered problems. The study included**

surveys' results; interviews done with HEIs, colleges, faculties and departments; and organizations from different economic sectors and syndicates.

The study main conclusions can be summarized as follow:

- Despite the old “fashioned” curriculum, the programmes and services provided by the Lebanese HEIs respond to the need of the domestic and regional labour markets in terms of fields of study and qualifications needed;
- **the supply of graduates is much higher than the demand of the labour market;**
- the problems of adjustment of the higher education system with the labour market has a double edge: from one part, a problem of adaptation with the domestic labour market and the national economy; and from the other a problem of adaptation of the domestic labour market and economy with the international economic and technological changes;
- **the expansion of the higher education system is not the reason for the existence of graduates' surplus but such overflow is rather the result of the growing social demand and interest in quantity rather than quality;**
- the HEIs relatively bear the responsibility of preparing qualified graduates noting that the public authorities have a role in this regard by monitoring the education process and control of graduates' flow;
- **the decrease of employment opportunities in the regional Arab countries and the saturation of the most known professional sectors aggravated the university graduates' unemployment crisis;** and finally,
- the rigid structure of the Lebanese economy mainly after the war led to the limitation of employment opportunities both in terms of quantity and quality and to the lack of bridges between the organizations and the HEIs.

1.13.4 The Saint Joseph University Studies

1.13.4.1 The 2002 Study

The Saint-Joseph University published the preliminary findings of a study done in 2001-2002 which included 18243 families from a total of 860000 families (in: Abou Rjaili, 2003). **The study concluded that the unemployment rate for those between 18 and 24 years of old is higher than those between 25 and 34 years of old (71.3% versus 11.9% respectively)⁷³ and that 15% of those unemployed have a university degree.** Concerning the channels used to find a first-job, they were identified as being the personal/family/social connections with 91.8% of the respondents; the advertisements with 66% of the respondents; applying directly to the organization; publishing an advertisement in journals/magazines; and resourcing to employment offices; these three channels were used by few number of respondents. **These results ascertain the results concluded by the LAES studies. They emphasize the importance accorded to the personal connections or nepotism principle for a fast integration process.**

Concerning distribution among the economic sectors between males and females, same as the other studies, the study concluded that the majority of males works at the service and manufacturing sectors oppose to a minority of the females (12.7%) who work at these sectors. The majority of the females (63.6%) works in administrative positions such as tutors, administrative/secretary tasks, health positions, etc. oppose to only 17.9% of males who work in these positions.

Regarding the emigration trends, more than one third of the respondents showed a clear intention to leave the country permanently or temporarily with a majority of 43.3% of

⁷³ Such difference in the unemployment rates between age groups could be attributed to the lack of experience for those between 18 and 24; a lack of experience that is leading employers to shy away from fresh graduates based on the assumption that they lack the needed personal, soft and generic skills required for the job.

males and 23% females. The main motive for the overwhelming majority is the difficulties to find a first-time job within the domestic labour market and the inability to enhance job conditions.

1.13.4.2 The 2003 Study

Another study done by the Saint-Joseph University (Kasparian, 2003) through the OURSE provided more comprehensive results about the characteristics of the youth employment and the challenges faced.

The main conclusion was that the educated youth (i.e. those with a higher education degree) are the most exposed to unemployment and are more inclined to experience migration⁷⁴. An important number of the graduates waved their concern regarding the challenges they are facing to find a first-time job⁷⁵.

Similar to the previous study, **this study concluded that the educated youth is less prone to engage in the agriculture sector. They are more attracted towards the service, financial or teaching sectors.** Such tendency could be related to the changes within the labour market that altered over the years from the agriculture to the service sectors. However, the study concluded that the graduates choosing to work in the services and industry sectors are the most exposed to unemployment because of lack of employment opportunities in respective fields of work.

The challenges faced to find a first-time job are mainly related to the lack of available opportunities within the labour market the low salaries; and the inconsistencies between the field of study and the job offered. Female graduates face more challenges than their

⁷⁴ Which clearly contradicts the human capital theory

⁷⁵ **The period to find a first job for those might extend to 17.7 months** (Chaaban, 2008; cited in: AUB et al., 2009).

male counterparts. From the other hand, **the long transition period to the labour market is mainly related** to the lack of skills needed on the job; and the unwillingness of university graduates to accept subordinate or manual jobs below their level of qualifications. 51.4% of the unemployed were searching for a job for more than one year, 30.4% for a period less than 6 months, 17.5% between 7 and 12 months; with no clear difference between males and females.

The average unemployment period is identified as being equal to 19.3 months; a period that is somehow similar to that concluded by other studies. This high average is attributed to the important weight of long-term unemployment where **13% of the unemployed were searching for a first-time job for more than 3 years.**

Being employed is highly dependent from the field of study. Graduates from the education, health and business administration are integrated faster where the period to find a first job does not exceed 3 to 4 months⁷⁶. However, **an important number of those graduates is not working in a field related to their discipline.** 18.2% of the business administration graduates identified working in a different field than that related to their higher education and 8.1% find themselves overqualified. The same applies for 32.6% of the lawyers who work in a field different than law and where 6.3% found themselves overqualified for the position they hold.

The personal contacts are the most prominent channel to find a first-job. 91.8% of the surveyed students availed that they are counting on their family and the personal connections to find a job and 68.1% of the currently first-time employed employees acknowledged receiving their job through the personal or family connections. Only 10% are searching for a job via the NEO and only 1.3% found a job through this office.

⁷⁶ For the management field, the result of the survey is in contradiction with that of the LAES where amongst graduates who did not find easily work opportunities where those that graduated from the business fields. This could be attributed to differences in the data collection and the graduates that the survey was addressed to.

Concerning the level of salaries, the study demonstrated that a university graduate is paid on average 600 US dollars per month; a similar range to that identified by the LAES study (Abou Rjaili, 2003). Graduates who pursued higher studies than the BA might get paid up to 800 US dollars per month on average with a clear difference between males and females. Males are paid higher salaries than their female counterparts; convening once again with the previous studies done.

1.13.5 The AUB, UNDP and HFSHD, UNDP Study

In 2009, the Hariri Foundation for Sustainable Human Development (HFSHD) partnered with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and in collaboration with the American University of Beirut (AUB) conducted a web-based survey (referred to by AUB et al., 2009) to grasp the current status of the Lebanese human capacity and their link to the labour market. **The survey was based on ALUMNI from 1995 to 2005 from the four main universities in Lebanon: the LU, the AUB, the USJ and the BAU** which hold more than 70% of the university student body. The highest rate of respondents was from the AUB because of its developed database and ability to reach its graduates through email. 54% of the surveyed graduates were females and the majority of the surveyed graduates acknowledged having their tuition fees paid by their parents. This seems quite rational because the majority of the respondents are from the AUB and it provides at the same time an indication about the importance accredited to the investment in the youth education by the Lebanese households.

The average unemployment rate of the surveyed graduates is 6%; three points below the national average in 2009 (9.2%; CAS, 2008a)⁷⁷. **Concerning the highest unemployment**

⁷⁷ Given that the majority of respondents is from the AUB, this could explain the lower unemployment rate than that of the national average given that other studies (Abou Rjaili, 2003; amongst others) demonstrated that students from elite PUs have an advantage over graduates from other universities to find a first-time job within a short period after graduation because of the important impact of the social capital and level of personal, soft and generic skills developed throughout studies.

rates per sector, they are identified as being in the service sector (25%), agriculture (20%) and education (17%). As analysed by the researchers, such high level of unemployment is credited to the demand for skilled workers that remains below its supply, and to the excessive number of graduates expecting and demanding salaries higher than those set by the labour market. For the service sector, the demand for skilled, specialized persons is very high leading towards a mismatch with the current job needs. Concerning the agriculture sector, the major is still not answering to the technological advancement in the field such as the biotechnology, sustainable agriculture, and ecosystem management, leading graduates to have obsolete skills.

Concerning the distribution of the graduates amongst various specializations, the study found that female graduates are still taking over fields such as education, social work and medical services (nursing for instance). Over the years, a significant increase in fields such as the social sciences and business majors was noticed. Whereas a decrease in fields such as medical majors and engineering was observed despite the available work opportunities for the engineering field as identified by the Waznat institution. The study noted that doctors, engineers and business men and women make more than half of the graduate labour force, hence the penury in job opportunities and saturated labour markets for these fields.

Concerning the time taken to find a first job and the level of salaries, 91% of the graduates in all fields of studies found jobs within one year of graduation. This high percentage is explained by the fact that the majority of the respondents are from the AUB which provides its students with continuous support in what pertains to their transition to the labour market. This, and according to the researchers, reflects the importance of the social capital in the recruitment process. However, **transition to the labour market differed from one major to another as highlighted also by the previous studies.** Those

graduating from the education field are the quickest to find a job⁷⁸, yet, the less paid among the other fields. The majority is earning less than 1500 US dollars per month even though they are the fastest to find jobs after graduation (within a period of three months). **Engineering graduates are the ones that are paid the highest salaries.** 44.3% of them earns above 6000 US dollars per month followed by the social sciences, business and law graduates. Only 22% of the graduates from the latter fields earn above 6000 US dollars. **This conclusion is similar to that found by the LAES study done in 1999-2000 (Abou Rjaili, 2003) replicating that no major changes are taking places the labour market level, at least when it comes to the salaries versus the fields of study.**

In a more detailed perspective, the abundance of graduates majoring in social sciences, law and business made them the slowest to find a first time job. According to this survey's results, education graduates where the fastest to find a job (100% of them found a job within three months of graduating). 77% of graduates from Humanities and Arts, 64% of graduates majoring in sciences, 73% of graduates majoring in engineering, manufacturing and construction, 75% of graduates majoring in services and 86% of graduates majoring in health and welfare, found a job within a three months period after graduation. Concerning the agriculture field, 0% of the students found a job within a period of 3 month oppose to 17% of them of found a job in a period longer than a year and 17% who are still looking for job opportunities. The average period of time for agriculture graduates have been identified by the survey as being either from 3 to 6 months (33% of the graduates finding a job) or 6 months to 1 year (33% of graduates finding a job). **35.1% of the respondent graduates found their first job through family or friend contacts ascertaining the important effect of social capital.** Consequently, we can conclude that the period of transition from the higher education to the labour market despite being important, does not assure, if done within a short bracket after graduation, high salaries.

⁷⁸ Which could be attributed to the monopolistic relation identified earlier, especially for graduates from the LU

The combination between the field of study, the choice of the university, and personal contact used is the “real deal” as demonstrated by all studies.

Concerning the choice of the labour market, only 44% of the surveyed graduates work in Lebanon. 67.5% of the surveyed males’ graduates and 45% of the surveyed females’ graduates live and work abroad. There is a notable increase in the proportion of females working abroad. It has tripled over the past seven years indicating that even women are seeking better career opportunities and higher salaries even if they were abroad. The main reason of this choice is mainly related to the better employment opportunities and working environment. The oversupply of graduates in certain field is also identified by the graduates as a motive to flee the domestic labour market in quest of better employment opportunities in regional and international labour markets. The majority of these graduates chose to work in the Arab Countries. Lebanon is hence losing its human capital mainly in fields such as engineering, medical doctors, and business majors with saturated labour markets. 71% of the graduates working and living abroad work in financial intermediation, and 64% of them are in the construction field. Concerning graduates who chose to work in Lebanon, 100% of them work in agriculture, forestry and fishing fields, 67% work with extraterritorial agencies such as the UN, and 64% work in the education field; i.e. mainly in low-productivity sectors. Regarding the hotel and restaurant sectors, which are considered as one of the most important sectors within the Lebanese economy, graduates employment depends on times of peace and war. The survey results showed that half of the graduates working in the hotel management fields are working in the Arab world. Nevertheless, in time of peace, the average occupancy rate in Lebanon in four/five stars hotels exceeds 80%. However, this high rate is not based on highly skilled graduates who rather emigrate than stay in Lebanon but rather on low skilled workers leaving the sector in a big need for skilled workers. **The study concluded therefore that the Lebanese labour market does not really meet the graduates’ aspiration. HEIs seem to have adapted their curriculum to meet the needs of the external labour markets.** This mirrors the Lebanese reality in what pertains to the number of jobs created,

types of jobs created and salaries offered that do not meet, in the best cases, the graduates' expectations. This push graduates towards unemployment, underemployment or emigration.

1.14 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

The second part of chapter one identified the main characteristics of the Lebanese labour market in terms of structure and job creation. The overview permitted to validate the mismatch between the graduates supply in terms of quantity and quality and the labour market demand. Despite the increase in the number of educated graduates, the unemployment rates are still at stake, especially for those holding a university degree. The transition to the labour market is setting a real challenge for university graduates in Lebanon because of several reasons. This gap does not emanate solely from the structure of the economy but it holds within it as well educational routes. From one hand, the Lebanese economy is “trapped” in a low growth status. It is unable to create new employment opportunities answering not only to the quantitative bulge in the graduates' number but also to the qualitative one. From the other hand, the higher education system, and the mass private sector in particular, expanded hazardously, implicating a diversity of providers that do not offer all the same quality nor the skills needed within the labour market. The absence of appropriate training during the higher studies aggravated the situation (LAES, 2006). Having a higher education degree is hence being differentiated from the acquirement of the needed level of skills to perform certain tasks and duties. Because of the rapid pace of the technological development, the demand for more skilled labour force increased over the years especially with the shift from the agriculture to the service era (Károly, 2010).

The results of several empirical studies demonstrated that the university graduates from various Lebanese HEIs, particularly those from the LU and the mass PUs, showed concern about finding employment opportunities within the domestic market. Many of them, if

not yet working abroad, declared their intent to emigrate for better work opportunities and quality of life. Those unwilling to emigrate, and with no adequate social capital, and for one reason or another, remained unemployed for a long period of time mostly in saturated labour markets (for on average one year and a half) exposed themselves to underemployment (AUB et al., 2009; Abou Rjaili, 2003; Kasparian, 2003). For a fast transition to the labour market, all studies demonstrated the importance of the social capital (referred to as the “Nepotism principal”). Those who were integrated within a very short period after graduation found their first-job through the personal contacts and are mainly from the elite PUs. Finding a job within a short period of time depend also from the field of study. Graduates from fields of study with direct practical implications knew a faster integration process than the others without omitting the effect of the personal contacts and the fragmentation of the market in terms of gender in favour of males. Securing a first-time job is very dependent, not only from the field of study but also from the HEI. Employers are more interested in graduates from elite PUs given, not only the importance of the social capital, but also the soft and generic skills developed by these graduates during their studies in addition to the academic knowledge.

Choosing higher education for the aim of cashing higher salaries does not seem to be translated into reality for Lebanese university graduates. Given the over-supply of graduates and the emigration of low-skilled workers, the salaries are “pressed down” and are not reflective of the level of qualifications. Females are paid less than males for the same positions and tasks. The cashed salary, and as revealed by the empirical studies, is not only dependent from the field of study but mainly from the combination between the field of study and the HEI from which the student graduated. Graduates from the LU and the mass PUs, for the same field of study, and for the same job, are paid less than the graduates from the elite PUs.

The quality does not seem to be consistent among university graduates leading to a higher segmentation at the labour market and to differences in the transition period. Employers,

and for the entry-level jobs, and if not to refer to the ILM, are resourcing elite PUs graduates. Those experienced the fastest integration process mainly with MNCs with good attractive employment packages oppose to the LU and the mass PUs graduates who work mainly with small size private organizations. This is a clear evidence of the investment done by elite PUs in their students, not only in terms of the academic knowledge but also in terms of personal and generic skills, and to the important weight of the social capital within the Lebanese labour market with regard to a fast transition process.

The mismatch and gaps between the higher education system and the labour market are motivated by the absence of employment strategy set by the government that permit to identify the labour market challenges and address them. Despite the presence of a Ministry of Labour, its role is minimal in developing and implementing an adequate national employment policy. **There has been instead over the years a passive policy of encouraging emigration because the Lebanese government did not succeed in addressing the push factors.** The high reservation wages because of high cost of living and high private educational investments discouraged graduates from engaging in low-skilled professions given low financial benefits. This situation encouraged the immigration of low-skilled workers⁷⁹ who can have the same educational level as the Lebanese graduates but accept to work in low-skilled work (Chaaban, 2009b).

As a final note, the Lebanese labour market situation can be summarized by four imbalances: an unequal composition of the labour force; low wages⁸⁰ and high unemployment rates; excess of low-skilled foreign workers; and an alarming emigration

⁷⁹ A similar salary trend was noticed in the United States, nevertheless, related to the enrolment per programme. Enrolment rates witnessed a decrease in certain programmes such as humanities, social sciences and education in favour of vocational programmes such as business. Yet, such shift was not consistent with the labour market needs, where the latter witnessed poor job offerings for business students pressuring thus the wages (Geiger, 2011).

⁸⁰ The minimum wage (or SMIC) was till 2008 equal to 200 US dollars per month. After 2008, and wages reformation, the government approved an increase to the minimum wage to 333 US dollars per month (Chaaban, 2009b)

of the human capital (rf. UNDP, 2000). This leads to conclude that the Lebanese higher education system is not the sole agent that is not answering to the aspirations of the Lebanese youth but the structure of the Lebanese economy is seen also as problematic.

Part II

LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER TWO

HIGHER EDUCATION FROM “CONCEPTION” TILL GROWTH

The structure of the higher education system and its characteristics highly affect the access to higher education. The higher education system and the university underwent a lot of changes over the years to reach the current stage. Chapter two is divided into two parts. Part A reflects on the life cycle of the higher education system from its genesis to the current stage. Part B discusses the emergence of the private sector and its effect on the structure of the system and on access.

A- THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

The first part discusses mainly (1) the genesis and evolution of the higher education system and the university in particular and how its role evolved over the years, to identify at a later stage (2) the various typologies and management structure and their effect on the access to higher education and consequently on the transition to the labour market, (3) the introduction of market-like mechanisms into the higher education system, and (4) the effect of globalization on the system.

2.1 The Genesis of Higher Education - The University

“History does matter”. To better understand the concept of the “university” and the frameworks that guide it and guide access to it, we cannot but to refer to its historical progression given that an institution cannot be detached from its past.

2.1.1 The Genesis and Evolution of the University

The concept of the “university” goes down to the medieval period where political, intellectual protests and religious changes that took place in Europe at that time allowed its birth and expansion (Cabal, 2005). At first, it was a loose association, with no clear hierarchical and bureaucratic structures (Husén, 1991). Because of the societal needs and pressures, political, socio-economic, cultural and scientific developments, schools and later on universities started to emerge passing from religious affiliations to secular ones. The first medieval schools were known by “Studia Generale” (Durkheim, 1905). They targeted clerks and monks as to receive additional education. The “nub” of education came from Rome with the establishment of the first “Studia” in Bologna, Italy in 1088 (Bodner et al., 1997; Durkheim, 1905). Later on, the increase in the number of educational centres which evolved over time into the “University of Medieval Europe” was due to religious influence. In 1709, Pope Gregory VII issued a decree mandating the creation of cathedral schools for the education of the clergy (www.csupomona.edu). As a consequence of this action, other educational centres and universities emerged to an extent that each monastery had a school. The most important one was the “School of Paris” that became at a later stage the “University of Paris” attached to Notre Dame. It used to attract students from all over Europe. The autonomous, hierarchical structure of the “School of Paris” in addition to its independence from the status of the scholars combined with an increased demand for education⁸¹, permitted the creation of a new educational form, “the university”, which was till that date – till the Twelve Century - unrecognizable. The university and therefore the higher education system are considered as a social system (Van Vught, 2007). Despite the preservation of most of the characteristics of the medieval institutional framework (Cantor, 1991; cited in: Cabal 2005), higher education mission is no longer restricted to the traditional functions and missions of teaching, research and study which remain fundamental. Its mission extended

⁸¹ This idea reflects the fact that the development of the educational system, from its beginning, is associated to an increase in the demand.

to promote as well the development of the whole person committed to work for a better society in the future accommodating the new environmental demands (UNESCO, 1998).

HEIs did not develop into simple institutions (Chatterton and Goddard, 2000). They are complex entities part of complex social and institutional structures. They are composed of a composite set of related substructures which are the outcome of numerous historical changes (Scott, 2006; Rothblatt, 1995). Such complexity emanates from several ambiguities related to the history, culture, mission and goals, structure and the understanding of the institution's actions and intended outcomes (Pinheiro, 2011). HEIs can be thus regarded as a symphony orchestra formed from different individuals, each with unique and highly developed knowledge and expertise (Drucker, 1990; cited in Taylor et al., 2008). Each instrumental group has one individual responsible of orchestrating the entire operation and leads all of these groups in harmony. Taken this analogy, HEIs are described as organized anarchies (Cohen and March, 1974), a loosely coupled system (Weick, 1976), and a garbage can with goal ambiguity, client supply, problematic technology, professionalism and environmental vulnerability (Baldrige, 1983) [cited in Taylor et al. (2008)].

The higher education system is essential to the economic and political developments, vital to competitiveness, and to diffusing social equity via the preparation of educated responsible citizens able to work effectively in a globally multicultural context (Assaad, 2009; Kaissi et al., 2008; Bennell and Pearce, 2003; World Bank, 2000). It has a role in social mobility and economic growth (Amaral and Teixeira, 2000). An outcome that is not but the consequence of the “input-output” process that the higher education system is. “Inputs” are the students of various qualifications, the services of the tutors and all other types of services whereas the output is nothing but the graduates (Van Vught, 2007; Radner and Miller, 1970). HEIs are hence supposed to provide, via the transformation process based on teaching and research, highly skilled graduates that meet the expectations of the labour market in general and the employers in particular while

considering the latest technological development and new adopted methods of work (Webb, 1992; Radner and Miller, 1970).

Box 2.1: University of Paris and the evolution of the university in various parts of the world

The University of Paris was established around 1119 because of the merge of various monastery schools and the centre of Notre Dame. **The concept of the “university” started in Paris** and ignited the development of this new type of educational structure all over Europe. The University of Paris was the prototype followed by other universities (Durkheim, 1905). In 1231, another university; theological college at that time, saw the light under the sponsorship of Robert Sorbon to become later on the Sorbonne University of Paris. Between the establishment of the University of Paris and the Sorbonne University in France, other universities saw the light in other parts of Europe, such as the University of Spain (1210) in Spain and the University of Naples (1224) in Italy (Cabal, 2005). As for England, that is characterized by educational excellence and where higher education was seen as the right for the rich and elite of the society, different colleges were established between 1167 and 1185. The first established college was that of the university of Cambridge; established in 1209 (www.csupomona.edu) by a group of students who left Oxford (Bodner et al., 1997).

Religious influence and/or affiliation in what pertains to the development of universities did not limit itself to the European community. With the discovery of the new world; America in 1492, the Catholic Church and the religious authorities joined efforts with Spain to establish new HEIs such as Saint Dominguez (1538) and Mexico and Lima (1551). These institutions as well as others founded within the colonial period reproduced the Renaissance model (Brunner, 1990; cited in: Cabal, 2005).

Concerning the United States, the concept of the “university” existed from long time ago; before 1785. The most important universities were established under the edgier of religious immigrant mainly protestants such as Harvard (1636) and Yale (1701). Each state had its own perception about the “university” to become later on a more diversified scheme reflecting influences from several systems (British, French and German) (see; Cabal, 2005).

In Canada, the oldest HEI is the University of Laval established in 1852. The Canadian higher education system is similar to that of the United States in terms of the diversified schemes with one difference related to the financing of the higher education studies. In Canada, the financial support is mainly provided by the government as for the United States, the private universities are the ones that finance the educational activities because of the high tuition fees (Smith, 1991).

In Asia, different colonial periods have enforced several traditions which allowed the expansion of the sector with clear influence of the German and French systems (Husén, 1988). American effect did not impose itself till 1946. The emphasis was over three major objectives: enrich and strengthen the government, add new knowledge, allow culture evolvement, and preserve tradition (Nazai, 1971; cited in Suzuki, n/a). Two of the first established universities were Tokyo (1886) and Kyoto (1897) (Cabal, 2005). **Concerning the Arab World**, education was more related to economic and social developments and higher education was seen as a social prestige. The most primeval model is that of the Islamic university. The oldest university was that of Al Azhar in Cairo, Egypt; one the most ancient universities that still survive today. Moreover, the Arab world universities were also characterized by other models because of the colonial periods; the French and the British systems were the most dominant ones (Kazem, 1991; cited in: Cabal, 2005; Bilgramiand (1985); cited in: Nauffal, 2004).

2.1.2 The University Models

Two traits marked the establishment of the university. The first one is related to the nature of the faculties (theology, law, medicine and liberal arts⁸²,) and the second one to the linguistic character (French, Picard, Norman and English) (Durkheim, 1905). These characteristics permitted the development of four university models. Husén (1991) identified these models as follow:

- The first model is known by the “**Research University Model**” where research and teaching are two essential “legs” of the institution.
- The second model is known by the “**British Residential Model/ The Oxbridge Model**” which is built on an informal relationship between the tutor and the student permitting to integrate service to society.
- The third model is known by the “**French Model**” focusing on intellectual and social selectiveness bases.
- The fourth model is the “**American Model or the Chicago Model**” that familiarizes the students with the opinions of great thinkers in many fields and allows the integration of service to society.

2.2 The Higher Education System

2.2.1 Meaning and Aim

The UNESCO defined higher education as being “all types of studies, training or training for research at the post-secondary level, provided by universities or other educational establishments that are approved as institutions of higher education by the competent State authorities” (UNESCO, 1998; UNESCO, 1993). Concerning the university, the European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES) and the UNESCO defined it as “an

⁸²The Liberal Art discipline was for a long period of time in many universities, the corner stone for other faculties.

institution of higher learning, participating in the evolution of knowledge which provides facilities for teaching and research and authorized to hold examination and grant academic degrees” (cited in: Sanyal, 1995). According to Teixeira and Dill (2011), this definition highlights the **important fact of considering the university as an institution with a mission rather than an organization.**

Clark (1983) identified HEIs as being **embedded within strong cultures and belief systems** that work as a “bridge with the outside words” and as “buffers” relating the internal and the external forces”. Guri-Rosenblit et al. (2007) affirmed such description by recognising that HEIs are not self-sustained but rather implanted in social beliefs, regulatory framework, and cooperative or competitive relationships. Healy (2007) and Cabal (2005) identified three missions for a HEI: teaching, service and research where the latter was not but an accidental role till the beginning of the 19th Century (Husén, 1991). Seidel (1991) revealed that **HEIs have five functions:** ensure education and training; assure professional training; allow the development of research in several disciplines and multi-disciplinary fields as well as the education of qualified personnel for all occupational fields; allow regional development as well as the establishment of international relationship; and finally fulfil a social function that promotes the intellectual and the social development of the society - a role that was previously emphasized by the economics founding fathers. Teixeira and Dill (2011) and Enders (2004b) described them as “**multidimensional institutions with multiple purposes**” contributing to the generation and diffusion of beliefs; the selection and formation of elites; the social development and educational progression of societies; the creation and implementation of knowledge; and the training of the highly skilled labour force. As for Husén (1991), they are a **container** shaped into departments and units managed by individuals offering and producing general and technical subject disciplines. For Enders (2004b), these functions and roles will permit the HEIs to have **a role in the process of nation-building.**

2.2.2 Higher Education, Social Development and the Economics Founding Fathers

The outcomes of the investment in higher education are not only of economic nature such as the contribution to economic growth, and the enablement of better employment and salaries prospects. Social benefits also emerge from such an investment. **For Adam Smith, education provides social benefits through the improvement of the human behaviour, the moral standards and the provision of human capital and skills for the society.** He revealed the **importance of education especially for the low social class** where a further investment in education permits a better understanding of the policies set by the government downsizing hence the vulnerability level of this specific social class towards the educational preferences (Smith, 1963). **For John Stuart Mill,** the benefits from education are not solely social. He associated further investment in education to political and economic gains. The well-educated population will have a chance in setting governmental policies, minimizing hence the gap between the “rulers” and the “ruled” (Mill, 1965). **Alfred Marshall emphasized, in addition to the social benefits, the economic role of education.** For him, education permits to improve the capabilities and behaviour of the working class. Education, and because of the massification of the system is no longer restricted to the elites of the society. Marshall was supportive of mass education permitting the increase in the educational opportunities. He **supported the idea of general education more than technical one** because of the former positive effect on the development of the individual and its cognitive skills, and the by-product of the latter in terms of excessive specialization and thus negative effect on flexibility (Marshall, 1961).

2.3 The Typologies and Management Structure of Higher Education Institution

2.3.1 Elite, Mass and Universal

Several types of HEIs and management typologies were the result of the expansion of the higher education system. For Schofer and Meyer (2005), such expansion is the by-product

of the post-war global shift towards a laissez-faire, rationalist and developmental model; and the secondary education intensification. The promptness of such expansion is mainly noticed in decentralized systems and in societies where higher education identity is linked to world model (*Ibid.*).

Various typologies of HEIs did not emerge but after the Second World War. As identified by Husén (1991) and Trow (2010), it is not but after that period that the university transformed from an elite to a mass institution based on the labour market needs for social and office workers, teachers, etc. Trow (2010; 1973) identified three different typologies of HEIs: elite, mass and universal. Each has its own characteristics in terms of the administrative structure and the recruitment of students. Given that what was advanced by Trow in relation to the characteristics of these three typologies was widely adopted, the following will be based on his definitions⁸³.

Elite institutions target the preparation of a small cohort (up to 15%) for exclusive occupational roles and “ruling class”. They are highly homogenous with high and common academic standards and range up to 2000/3000 students in residence. They have clear and impermeable boundaries. The access and selection of the students is based on meritocratic achievement (high school grades/special examination/etc.).

Concerning “Mass institutions”, they prepare “elites” to a certain degree. The aim is the transmission of skills to a larger proportion of cohorts (between 15 and 50%) for a broad range of technical and professional roles. They are more comprehensive, have more diverse and variable standards depending on the structure and decision and range up to 30000/40000 students and staff. They have permeable boundaries allowing easy movements in and out with less clear concept of membership than the elite institutions.

⁸³ The definitions provided by Trow were adopted for the purpose of differentiating between elite and mass HEIs for the Lebanese case. The researcher considered the process of recruitment rather than focusing on the number of students recruited at each type of HEI.

Concerning the access and selection processes, mass institutions have somehow a general acceptance based on merit but are committed as well towards equality of opportunities and thus reducing inequities and inequalities. According to Marshall (1961), the development of such form of institutions has, through the expansion of educational opportunities, a prime effect on meritocracy. It allows a better evaluation of the pool of talents avoiding talents' waste if access was only restricted to a selected proportion of the population, like it is the case with elite institutions.

Regarding the “Universal institutions”, they prepare large numbers (over 50%) for life in a changing environment. They reflect more on training rather than elitism. They are characterized with a great diversity, no common standards, unlimited scope, and weak and even absent boundaries. They focus more on the “added value” rather than the “standards” while allowing access to anyone (open access policy).

Trow (1973) acknowledged that the transition from one form to another does not mean the disappearance of the prior form. Guri-Rosenblit et al., (2007) recognized that **different forms can co-exist together in one national system** where each fulfils different functions that the other cannot accomplish indicating hence a “diversified model”⁸⁴. Clark and Cartter (1998) documented that the system will change as a whole to accommodate the larger number of students. Each institution will create new functions and activities allowing for each stage to survive in some institutions and in parts of others⁸⁵. They added that these types cannot be foreseen and differentiated outside the national educational system and policies implemented. They advanced in this regard that these policies determining the relationship with the students' demand and the labour market needs, will allow the system to adjust based on various outcomes received (*Ibid.*).

⁸⁴ A diversified model refers to a model where HEIs are characterized with differences in quality, status and content contrary to an “integrated” model where these differences are not obvious (Guri-Rosenblit et al., 2007).

⁸⁵ This is similar to the Lebanese case where both “elite” and “mass” HEIs co-exist together answering to the variety of needs within the market.

For Teixeira and Dill (2011), **the students' attraction and satisfaction differ from one type of institution to another.** The most selective HEIs - the elite type – do not find themselves under the pressure of competing with other institutions in what pertains to the tuition fees, examination practices, failure rates, and the like because they attract the best and most motivated students. However, the less selective ones – the mass and universal types – feel pressured by other institutions as not to lose students to other competitors and find themselves unable to enforce high academic standards (*Ibid.*).

For Geiger (2011), the choice of the students between a **highly selective institution and a less selective one depends on the aim of having a university degree.** Evidence from the United States confirmed that the students' demand towards selective HEIs increased because of the valuable and desirable characteristics of their degrees at the labour market. Such demand, however, is not consistent between all social classes. It is only validated for the students from the upper social classes who have both the financial and social capitals (*Ibid.*).

2.3.2 Other Typologies of HEIs Reference the Orientation and Ownership Characteristics

The distinction between elite, mass and universal institutions of higher education does not reflect the whole picture. Pinheiro (2011) recognized other three new forms of HEIs that emerged as a consequence of the globalization and IT revolution:

- (1) **The globally-oriented; research intensive university**, that goes back to the 19th century; to the establishment of the University of Berlin. It is characterized by having a public, non-profit character with global orientation (Deem et al., 2008). Its main focus revolves around teaching and research, while being autonomous with variety of disciplinary fields. **It is hence discipline-oriented, with bottom-up managerial structure, internationally connected and nationally embedded.**

- (2) **The locally-embedded regional university** that goes back to the mid-1800s with the development of specialized training in Europe and Land grant in the United States. It has a vocational orientation with selected disciplines. It focuses on the local/regional context and is service oriented with linkages with the labour market. It is **society-oriented, with top-down managerial structure, nationally connected and locally-embedded**.
- (3) **The entrepreneurial university** that is considered as a new model that emerged as a result of the development in the sector especially that of the private system. Its main focus is on inter-disciplinary collaboration between science and technology, with focus on key specializations and an integrated entrepreneurial culture. It is **partnership-oriented, with top-down and bottom-up managerial structure, globally engaged and locally responsive** (Pineiro, 2011).

The above three forms cannot be discussed without reference to a differentiation between public and private typologies. Marginson (2007) defined a **public institution as a state-owned institution guided by non-market factors** whereas a **private institution as a privately owned institution guided by market factors**. Holm-Nielsen (2001) outlined the different character between public and private institutions where the former unlike the latter is characterized with a rigid, non-flexible structure that lacks the ability to innovate and pursue dynamic activities. Kerr (1990), from his side, identified six types of HEIs based on their ownership characteristics:

- (1) **Independent private:** these are private institutions independent in ownership, financing and control (such as Harvard University).
- (2) **Dependent private:** these are independent institutions in ownership and financing yet dependent in control; mainly religiously affiliated universities (such as the model of Early Paris).
- (3) **Independent public:** these are dependent institutions in ownership but independent in control and partially in financing (such as Michigan University where the board of directors and faculty have a shared authority).

- (4) **Semi-Independent public (state/guild type):** these institutions are dependent in ownership, heavily dependent in financing and mixed in control (i.e. partly from the state as an external body and partly from internal affairs). Universities in Spain, Italy and Latin America follow such structure as well as the Napoleonic model (such as that in France).
- (5) **Semi-Independent public (state/trustee/guild type):** these are institutions controlled by three parties: the state, the academic faculty and the board of trustees with heavily control on financing from the government. Universities in the United States follow such model as well as Polytechnics in Britain.
- (6) **Dependent public:** these are dependent institutions in control, ownership and financing. It is the case of the Communist model in Moscow (*Ibid.*).

These types were mostly recognizable because of the public – private divide. Some nations opted for a mixture of system. This is the case of Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Columbia and the Philippines that have both semi-independent public institutions (state/guild type) and independent private. Other nations opted for only one system as it is the case in Moscow (the dependent public), in Great Britain and the United States (semi-independent public - state/guild/trustee), and in France (the semi-independent public - state/guild) (*Ibid.*).

2.3.3 The “World-Class” University

To the above typologies, we cannot but to refer to a type that all HEIs are eager to reach regardless of their access characteristics (elite, mass, universal), orientation distinctiveness (globally oriented, locally embedded and entrepreneurial) and ownership type (public or private), that of a “world-class” university that has become a “buzzword” lately.

There is no clear definition in what pertains to the meaning of a “world-class” university. However, it is used nowadays by many universities, even the most modest ones, trying to

raise their institution into a “world-class” status. This what pushed Altbach (2004) to state that (*quote*): **“everyone wants a world-class university**. No country feels it can do without one. The problem is that no one knows what a world-class university is, and no one has figured out how to get one”.

One thing is sure is that a “world-class” university has mainly seen the light with the increased interest in prestige and quality of education offered, or that is claimed to be offered, by HEIs. According to Levin et al. (2006), **a world-class university is an institution that considers quality aspects at all levels such as the institutional features that may affect quality; the teaching and research quality as well as the students’ quality**. It reflects hence the standards of a research-oriented institution. **From a European perspective, a “world-class” university refers** mostly to the improvement in the standards and hence raising the status of HEIs by setting appropriate reforms and restructuring procedures at both the teaching and research levels (such as the Bologna process, etc.) (Deem et al., 2008). **In a global higher education system, a “world-class” university is seen as** an institution able to develop the required capacities to compete in the universal marketplace through the “acquisition, adaptation, and creation of advanced knowledge” (Salmi, 2009). **The main aim of a “world-class” university is hence to build a “productive human capital base” and permit economic growth**. In order to achieve this endeavour, **a “world-class” university needs to have enough resources** collected through tuition, grants, and the like in order to ensure the required level of quality (Heyneman and Lee, 2013), and **a good governance structure** providing independence from the government and ability to respond efficiently and quickly to the increased demand for higher education without bureaucratic delays (*Ibid.*).

Working towards a “world-class” university is not an easy task especially in a world-wide extensively competitive environment where the internationalization trend led many higher education system to “copy policy” instead of learning from others experiences and enhance their position; an approach that is extremely expensive (Deem et al., 2008).

When working towards being a world-class university, institutions might be diverted from achieving the simplest goal that is of increasing access and hence answering to the national needs.

Setting a clear criteria upon which to determine what is or “who” is a world-class university is not an easy task (Altbach, 2004). To be referred to as a “world-class” university requires an external international recognition that does not happen via self-declaration; a practice that until recently is still adopted by using the reputation as the main criteria (Salmi, 2009)⁸⁶, and a national system (rules and policies) permitting HEIs to have the needed requirements (income sources, institutional autonomy, competition, incentives to improve quality, etc.) towards becoming a “world-class” university (Heyneman and Lee, 2013). As such, and regardless of the nomination, and as stated by Levin et al. (2006), **great universities have or should have three major roles**: excellence in teaching, research and knowledge dissemination, and a contribution to the cultural, scientific and public life.

2.4 Managing a Higher Education Institution

Weber was the first to make a great contribution to the theory of organization and management. He was the first to set a comprehensive ideology about bureaucracy and defined it as a (*quote*) “form of organization that emphasized precision, speed, clarity, regularity, reliability, and efficiency achieved through the creation of a fixed division of labour, hierarchical supervision and detailed rules and regulations” (as advanced by Morgan, 1995; cited in Nauffal, 2004). For Sanyal (1995), **managing an institution refers to** the “planning, organization, leadership, control and development”. According to Cabal (2005), and in order **to understand the managing process of a HEI, two ways are to be considered**. The first is “reflexive” referring to the self-projecting of the institution

⁸⁶ The elite status given to Ivy League universities in the United States (such as Harvard, Yale, Columbia), to Universities of Oxford and Cambridge or even to the University of Tokyo, is not based on rigorous measures as to determine the superiority of these universities (Salmi, 2009) but rather on the reputation that these universities had over the years.

allowing it to fulfil its own function, and the second is “administrative” referring to the external projection permitting to serve the community. The choice of one process and not the other depend on the mission of the institution and goals set.

Since the medieval ages, universities have been given professional autonomy to organize all aspects of their administrative and academic activities. They have set since that time administrative structures to organize their work and flow of decision. (Cabal, 2005). Such professional autonomy permitted to call them “professional bureaucracies” (Mintzberg, 1979, cited in: Maasen and Van Vught, 1994) where academic, organizational and financial autonomies are seen very much essential (Heyneman and Lee, 2013, Jaramillo, 2012; Cabal 2005). The structure of the HEIs evolved over the years to a more compound structure because of the complexity of the environment especially with the introduction of business management concepts into the administration of HEIs such as that of “governance” (Moreno, 2012). **Despite the variety of management typologies, universities shared over the years some aspects of resemblance.** In addition to their administrative structure (board of directors, university council, board of trustees, directors, student affairs, etc.), **universities have always had faculties and departments taking care of academic matters.** However, and with time, the role of the faculty in the decision making process was downsized. Such minimum role given to faculty questioned the eligibility of decisions taken in terms of the supply of programmes particularly with the increased commercialization of the educational services (Moreno, 2012).

The shift of the system from elite to mass (Aziz, 2010) and the dramatic increase in the demand for higher education had their implications not only on the diversification of the system but also on the “growth” of managerialism (Trow, 1994; cited in: Nauffal, 2004). The increased privatization and the introduction of the private sector management practices in addition to the influence of globalization from the introduction of market-like mechanisms to the pull of management practices from the corporate sector to the higher education one, steered new changes altering the managerial procedures at the

HEIs which had in their turn their effect on the academic strategies implemented (Santiago et al., 2006). Based on these changes, and in addition to the various typologies of managerialism that extend from the collegial model advanced by Weber (Weber, 1947; cited in: Nauffal, 2004) to the entrepreneurialism model or collegial entrepreneurialism (Clark and Cartter, 1998) that spread the creation of the entrepreneurial universities able to face the challenges of the twenty first century, the differentiation between the public sector and the private sector management typologies is now essential to be considered. The public sector is characterized unlike the private one with rigid, non-flexible structure that lacks innovation and dynamic activities (Holm-Nielsen, 2001). It is such traditional form of management that is regarded as being inefficient and obsolete. There is therefore a need to introduce new typology of management permitting HEIs to demonstrate the relevance of their academic activities to the economy in general and the labour market in particular. Traditional collegial style to academic management is being exchanged by more executive oriented management practices (Santiago et al., 2006)⁸⁷.

The type of management adopted by a HEI is important to consider since it has a variety of effects on the strategies adopted and their effectiveness. To set appropriate strategies, HEIs need to consider the external environment in terms of the economic, social and technological changes as well as the steering power and control policies set by the government in order to make sure that their supply meets the demands of the market. Therefore, the internal environment of the institution has to be well coordinated and controlled (finance, staff, space, research, academic departments, etc.) (Sanyal, 1995) and inter-related to the external environment in order to consider the various needs and discrepancies (Porter, 1996). Based on such inter-relation between the internal and the external environments, Sanyal (1995) differentiated between four trends of management styles. The “*first trend*” is based on self-regulation and autonomy reflecting the ability of institutions to be receptive to changes; such is the case in the USA, Canada, UK and

⁸⁷ Some countries such as the United States have traditionally executive style of management, whereas for universities in some parts of Europe, the shift from the collegial model to a more executive one was slow.

Australia. The “*second trend*” is self-regulation in transition where the government intervention for self-regulation was needed and was somehow successful. This trend was mostly implemented by Sweden and Norway. The “*third trend*” is self-regulating in difficulty where the government intervention to implement a self-regulating system was not successful, such is the case in Latin America and Eastern European Countries. Finally, the “*fourth trend*” is based on centralized planning and control where self-regulated policies set by the government are compatible with their centralized systems. Such trend is mostly noted in the developing countries and some of the continental European countries such as France, Italy, Austria, and Germany.

2.5 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

The first part of chapter two introduced the evolution of the higher education system from its genesis to its current day. It walked us through the changes which occurred to the higher education system in general and the institutions in particular. Various models materialized over the years such as the research oriented model, the British residential model, the French model, and the American model where each focus on a specific mission. The development of the system permitted the emergence of additional models based on the ownership characteristics that evolved over time. The aim of the higher education that was at first solely related to teaching and research extended with the development of the system to professional training and to having a role in the social development and nation-building. In that, the HEIs were seen as embedded within strong cultures and belief systems. The benefits that they provide extended from economic to social benefits as proposed by the economic founding fathers. The expansion of the system permitted the co-existence of various typologies of institutions of higher education extending from elite, to mass, to universal but questioned at the same time the existence of a “world class” university because of the trade-off that might be done not in favour of the quality offered. The difference from one type to another was availed to the recruitment strategies and numbers of recruits adopted by each. Finally, the first part

concluded on the importance of the management style adopted by the HEI because of its effect on the academic strategies implemented that cannot not to consider the inter-relation between the internal and the external environments.

B- THE TWO “FACETS” OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

The main function of the higher education system was regarded as public, and may be still regarded as such mainly in Europe (Teixeira, 2013). However, the increased demand for higher education and the massive expansion of the higher education system over the years in almost all countries challenged the role of the public sector and its ability to provide and satisfy the increasing needs. The determination to introduce market forces into the higher education system has therefore set foot (*Ibid.*). In the developing countries, and with the limited resources available to the government and its inability to meet the financial needs of maintaining a public higher education system, the expansion of the private sector was an answer to the social demand leading or facilitating the creation of a “mass private higher education” sector (OECD, 1990; Geiger, 1985). The marketization trend, the foundation of privatization, steered the increase in the “private-like rules and practices” within the public HEIs (Teixeira, 2013). When referring to the higher education system, it is hence no longer rational to see it from one perspective. The development of the private sector reproducing a new role of the higher education in the knowledge economy should be considered (World Bank, 2000). As stated by Guri-Rosenblit et al. (2007), it is becoming more apposite to refer to binary and segment systems rather than unitary systems.

After reflecting on the aim, mission, function and typologies of HEIs, and to have a better insight on the public-private divide, the second part of the chapter will reflect on (1) the concept of public good and the introduction of market-like mechanisms to the higher education system, (2) the influence of globalization on the higher education system, and (3) the new forms of supply of higher education.

2.6 Public Good Versus Market Mechanisms

As advanced by Teixeira (2006), **market or market-like mechanisms are increasing within the higher education system** affecting both the regulative and administrative structures. Scholars argued the application of market forces to the higher education because of its **dissimilarity from traditional markets that organize the trade of goods and services in exchange of a price**. The marketization trend, which went in parallel with a drift towards privatization, was criticized by many European Countries that still believe that higher education is and will always be a public good and where the cooperation between the government and the HEIs is the basic rule (Teixeira and Dill, 2011). So what is the most apposite term to address higher education: “public good”, “quasi-market” or “market”?

2.6.1 Public Good or Merit Good?

Samuelson (1954) acknowledged that goods can be either public or private where private goods are seen as both rivalrous and excludable. For Heilbroner and Thurow (2002), the **higher education is a “public good”**, a non-rivalrous and non-excludable good where the use of one person does not diminish or prevent its use by another. Healey (2007) defined **pure public goods as those provided by the government** because of the inability of private providers to offer them. The Institute for Higher Education Policy (1998) recognised that these goods **provide “external benefits” for the whole society** such as the (*quote*) “increased tax revenues, greater workplace productivity, increased competition, increased workforce flexibility, and decreased reliance on government financial support”. Marginson (2007), from the other hand, preferred to refer to the higher education as a “club good” and not as a “pure public good”. A “club good” is also **a non-rivalrous good in consumption, yet, it is considered as excludable because of the limitation of benefits to those who consume it** (*Ibid.*).

From the other part, Teixeira (2006) advanced that most of the services provided by the system do not meet the criterion of a “public good”. This was credited by Marginson (2007) to the changeable character of the higher education system, and by Teixeira and Dill (2011) to the increase in privatization, the effect of market forces and competition, and the cost of education. Higher education is hence considered as being more and more rivalrous⁸⁸. Newman and Couturier (2002) advanced that the system has come to be competitive, shaped more by the market and less by regulations. From this standpoint, Teixeira and Dill (2011) and Teixeira (2006) redefined the higher education by seeing it as a “merit good”. Goastellec (2006b) from the other hand referred to it as an “impure public good” suitable for exclusion because of the **rival mechanisms materialized by the tuition fees and the entry requirements**. Students are no longer considered as beneficiaries of public good, but as consumers (Newson, 2004; Robertson, 2000; Sharrock, 2000, Pitman, 2000; Kogan et al., 1994; [cited: in Cardoso et al., 2006]; Morley, 2003). HEIs became hence dependent on the cooperation of these “customers” (Teixeira and Dill, 2011). Such view permitted the emergence of the idea of higher education “quasi-market” or “market” requiring the differentiation between the public sector and the private one. However, Newman and Couturier (2002) found that this new position of the higher education system is not to be totally criticized because of the ability of the market forces, translated mainly with the increased privatization, to fulfil the unmet demand (Newman and Couturier, 2002).

2.6.2 Market or Quasi-Market?

Massy (2004) refers to the higher education as a market⁸⁹ and defines higher education markets as (*quote*) “decentralized decision making structure on both the demand and the

⁸⁸ Example: places in Harvard university or any other elite private HEI

⁸⁹ By market it is meant a “socially structured process of economic exchange”. A process that includes various aspects: social, political and cultural. “Self-regulating market” as referred to by the rational or the neo-classical model is not but a fiction reality, especially those that are regulated by the government such as the higher education system (Marginson, 2004).

supply side of the provider consumer transaction and call attention to the distinction between an allocation scheme in which government is in charge and one in which disaggregate buyer and seller interactions determine allocations". For **Le Grand and Bartlett** (1993; cited in Teixeira and Dill, 2011), **"higher education markets differ from traditional markets" and are seen as "quasi-market" and not "market"** because they are financed by the government. For Newman and Couturier (2002), there is no single doubt that the market or market-like mechanisms influenced the higher education system. Van Vught (2004) affirmed that the competition rather than the cooperation is the force regulating the system particularly with the rise of globalization. However, which applies more to the higher education system: "market" or a "quasi-market"?

For Teixeira and Dill (2011) designating the higher education system by one or the other is neither easy nor simple. This is attributed by the authors to a number of reasons. First, to the elemental and regulatory role played by the government particularly in what concerns the supply of higher education that is pre-set by the government and not by the game of supply and demand, of competitive forces. Second, to the role of the market forces, the increase in privatization and managerialism trend which are the characteristics of a "corporate, business" market⁹⁰. And finally, to the co-existence between the market forces and the government. If to add to these the effect of the social class, the family educational and professional backgrounds, the gender and the religion on the students' higher education choices (to name a few: Jimenez and Salas-Velasco, 2000; Young, 1971), we conclude that **the price** – the cost of higher education mainly at the private sector that is foreseen as a problem because the educational services should be offered on the basis of merit - **cannot be referred to as the main and only determinant of the students' choices** (Geiger, 2011).

⁹⁰Despite the fact that market forces have played their role within the higher education system, yet, HEIs, or at least most of them, are not seen as institutions driven by commercial interests like any other institutions that follow the laws of the market, but rather are non-profit institutions.

The operations assumed within a “market” are different from those undertaken within a “quasi-market”. A “market system” is seen by Marginson (2004) as a (*quote*) “socially structured process of economic exchange”; a process that includes social, political and cultural aspects. According to Lindblom (2001; cited in Geiger, 2011), it is (*quote*) “a method of social coordination by mutual adjustment among participants rather than by a central coordinator⁹¹”. Teixeira and Dill (2011) from the other hand acknowledged that within a “market system”, buyers and sellers interact based on a price, an operation that does not reflect the nature of the quasi-market. The same authors categorized the **concept of “quasi-market”** as that which permits to classify systems financed originally by the government and where market forces are integrated gradually (*Ibid.*).

If to consider the increase in privatization where the government is quasi-absent from supporting HEIs financially and the competition amongst private HEIs, we might be inclined to refer to the “market” of higher education. However, this will be an incomplete image. Despite the weight of market forces, **the principles of a “market” cannot be totally applied to the education system**. From one side, the price is not the only attribute preventing students’ from continuing their higher studies. Socio-economic considerations inhibit students from affording the cost of higher education particularly private one (Mill, 1965). From the other side, and according to Amaral and Teixeira (2000), HEIs are not profit maximisers where some of them is still receiving public funds from the government. **Interaction between HEIs and students might resemble the exchanges done within an ordinary market system, yet, they are not totally similar** (Geiger, 2011). Amaral and Teixeira (2000) admitted that the “existence of market elements” rather than a “market” for higher education describes more accurately the situation. The concept of **“quasi-market” seems therefore more applicable in the case of higher education than that of the “market”**, at least as understood in economic terms.

⁹¹ By social coordination, Lindblom refers to the financial (i.e. funding of universities where governments are not the only coordinator and where private entities interfere as well) and regulatory (i.e. laws and regulations set by the ministry) coordination.

2.6.3 Market, Quasi-Market or Industry?

Santiago et al. (2006) when discussing issues related to the higher education management referred to the **“higher education industry”**. This new indication set a new classification to be added to the above nominations of the higher education system. For Teixeira (2013), viewing higher education as an “industry” emanates from the importance accorded to the market and the economic stimulus that created tensions between those who regard higher education as a social institution and those that regarded it as an “industry”; part of an economic system.

Oppose to a “market” that considers both the buyers and the sellers (Becker and Round, 2009), an **“industry” focuses only on the supply side** (Teixeira, 2013). It only considers the sellers producing the same products and using similar inputs and production processes. Taken this standpoint, HEIs are looked upon as “quasi-corporate” that produce, in a highly competitive environment, various services not restricted to educational ones (*Ibid.*). However, Teixeira and Dill (2011) advanced that HEIs are dependent on the cooperation of the consumers, according by that an importance to the demand side. Higher education considers therefore both the supply and the demand sides and cannot be considered as an “industry”. **The concept of “quasi-market” as discussed above is more descriptive. The indication of the higher education as a “quasi-market” instead of a “public good” was encouraged by the move towards competition** because of the rise in the number of institutions offering substitute services and the massive privatization of the system. Even if the trend is referring to market-like mechanisms, for Amaral and Teixeira (2000), there is no single doubt that the government is still the main regulatory body of the system. For the same authors, the most apposite nomination of the **higher education system** would be **“a government-regulated system with market like-mechanisms”** (*Ibid.*).

2.7 Globalization and the Effects on the Higher Education System

Marginson (2004) acknowledged that the understanding of the totality of the elements that overrule the higher education system cannot be attained but through a three dimensions perspective: global, national and local or what it known by a glonacal perspective. Enders (2004b) added that **the transformation and the development of the higher education system cannot be discussed without reference to the globalization trend** that redefined the (*quote*) “social, cultural and economic roles of the higher education system and its configuration in national system of higher education”. Knight (2006b) perceived **the globalization as the main reason behind privatization, marketization and liberalization of the higher education system.**

Despite the fact that HEIs experienced the least change, **this does not mean that the transformation of the system is not possible** or did not happen at all (Pinheiro, 2011; Morey, 2004). For Altbach (2005), **globalization** had and still has its effects on the system. For Enders (2004a; 2004b), this trend is an inevitable drift and **is to be considered as a central “ingredient” at the policy level** even if most of these activities are done from institutional initiatives rather than governmental one. Globalization does not refer however in any means to the elimination of the role **of the nation-state**. It is the presence of the nation-state that allowed globalization. Because of the global developments, **the nation-state role changed but it did not disappear** (Sassen, 1996; cited in Enders, 2004a). Enders (2004a) argued in this regard that (*quote*) “[...] before they became international institutions, universities had first to become national institutions – just as internationalization presupposes the existence of nation-state”. Knight (2006b) acknowledged within this context that the nations are witnessing a change in their role where they are losing their monopoly power over the higher education policy. Altbach and Knight (2006a) from their side recognised that the higher education system in general and the **HEIs in particular are national institutions challenged by the globalization trend.** Such movement permitted the emergence of new forms of higher education as an answer

to the increased global demand (*Ibid.*). However, these developments do not go without concerns. Knight (2006b) channelled its apprehension in what pertains to the effect of higher education's "marketization" on the social inclusion and educational opportunities of the students, particularly those from the low social class. What follow will reflect on the effect of globalization on the national higher education systems by referring particularly to privatisation, as to discuss at a later stage the effect of globalization on the international higher education arena.

2.7.1 Diversification of the Higher Education System

The globalization trend did not only affect the international higher education arena, but it had its effect also on national systems of higher education. To cope with the youth bulge and the increasing demand, the expansion of the higher education system was essential. **The shift of the system from elite to mass (Aziz, 2010) was translated** according to Goastellec (2008a) **by the diversity of the system and the introduction of new forms of institutions and curricula in order to allow higher level of access.** Sanyal (1995) saw the **institutional diversity essential in order to provide the appropriate mix of educational and labour market outcomes.** Concerning Meek et al., (1996), they regarded such diversity as **an necessary step to better adapt to the vast variety of individual qualifications, motivations, expectations and career aspirations.**

Box 2.2: Types of institutional diversity

To answer to the increased demand for higher studies, Trow (1996) defined institutional diversity as the co-existence of different forms of post-secondary education. For Birnbaum (1983), the expansion in the demand can be answered either by a systemic diversity; i.e. the presence of different types of institutions belonging to the same higher education system; a structural diversity that reflect the differences between institutions based on a distinction of historical background, legal foundations, internal differences, etc.; or (c) a programme diversity revealing differences between programmes of study provided by HEIs⁹².

⁹² In addition to these types of diversity, Birnbaum advanced five other types related to: programmatic diversity (i.e. mission and emphasis of programmes, diversity of degree level, etc.); procedural diversity (i.e. ways of teaching, research, etc.); reputational diversity (i.e. based on status and reputation); constituential diversity (i.e. students served, faculty, etc.); and values and climate diversity (i.e. social environment and culture).

How to diversity is still not very obvious to all educational authorities especially when **commitment to high and uniform academic standards prevents the wide diversity of the system** (Van Vught, 2007). For that reason and since the 1960s, the diversity of the system was a major preoccupation for policy makers (Teixeira and Amaral, 2001) since the broad multiplicity of both standards and provision do not really relay high and uniform academic standards (Trow, 1973). From this perspective, one cannot omit **the efforts of the World Bank** in this regard to **assist countries in the expansion of their higher education system and the improvement of the quality of institutions and programmes** via vision development, strategic planning, quality improvement, institutional diversification, science and technology development, management and governance reforms (Holm-Nielsen, 2001).

2.7.2 Ways to Diversify

Goastellec (2008a) and Guri-Rosenblit et al. (2007) demonstrated that the diversification of the higher education systems was not uniform across countries depending on the national characteristics and the market structure of each country. **Some opted to diversify the public system** by opening public institutions proposing short, professional, and technical curricula. This choice permitted to absorb not only the increased demand for higher education but provided also a diversification of academic levels and a student body representation from different social backgrounds. The most prominent examples are those of the United States where the diversification of the system was translated by the opening of “Community Colleges”; and France that provided wider chances to the public through the “Instituts Universitaires de Technologie” (IUT) and Brevet de Technicien Supérieur (BTS). Regarding **other countries**, they **chose to develop the private sector**. Such choice of diversification is credited to the inability of the government to respond to the higher education growth as it is the case in Indonesia and Lebanon (*Ibid.*).

To better comprehend these dynamic changes and the diversity in the typologies of HEIs, Teichler (2004) formulated four different concepts. First is the “*Expansion and*

Diversification” concept where the diversity of HEIs, and particularly the emergence of binary systems, is credited to the natural consequences of the expansion of the higher education system. This expansion lead to diversified students’ cohorts which require in their turn to be answered with various typologies of HEIs. Second is the “*Drift Theories*” concept where the diversity of HEIs is not related to their willingness to respond to the variety of the needs but to their eagerness to become academically closer from the most successful HEIs; or what is known by the academic drift. Third is the “*Flexibilisation*” concept where diversity is considered as a customization and adaptation process to the problems that could occur within the higher education system. It is not a definite decision. Fourth is the “*Cyclic*” concept where diversity and structural reform go in cycles. The offerings of certain programmes, the mixture of HEIs typologies depend on the market needs. Segmentation and “hierarchisation” might be favoured whenever there are fears of over-supply of graduates for certain fields. Offering new educational routes and minimizing the gap among various types of HEIs might be favoured whenever there is a shortage of graduates for certain programme(s). This cyclic behaviour was demonstrated by Diebolt and El Murr (2004) as a consequence of students’ behaviour in favour or disfavour of a certain programme and not the other.

Teichler (2004) added that each higher education system and to cope with the increased demand for higher studies has to consider **two sets of reform**. The first generation reform and the second generation reform. **The former addresses main problems encountered at the higher education level** such as financing, equity and quality. It aims to re-structure the system by adopting for example selective admission criteria rather than open-access strategies; creating non-university institution; adopting the credit system; and establishing accreditation system. **Concerning the latter, it is mainly considered by countries that have already undergone the first generation process but find a need to “adjust” actions taken based on the outcomes.**

The diversification of the higher education system cannot be discussed without a reference to the development of the private sector. For Geiger (1996), the diversity of the system, whether in terms of institutions or programmes, is better formulated by the market **rather by the state regulations which implicates a solid reason for the increase in privatization.** Levy (2002) saw in the increase in the private higher education provision a response to the loose governmental control and the limited reliance on public funding. The following section will provide more details about the private provision of higher education.

2.8 New Forms of Supply: Public Versus Private

2.8.1 Development of the Private Sector

Differentiating between the public and the private sectors in higher education was not always legitimate. Historically, there was no “public” or “private” sector but rather “fused” public – private. It is not until the development of the nation-state that the public sector overrides the private one resulting in the development of the Continental model characterized by solely public institutions. The private sector did not “saw the light” but till the 1980s (Levy, 2006). Geiger (1985) attributed such appearance to three reasons. First, to the higher demand for higher education than that provided by the government; second, to the students’ request of different types of HEIs; and third to a better quality of education that was not delivered. Geiger (1985) defined hence the private higher education as (*quote*) “an alternative to that provided by the government”. Teixeira and Amaral (2001) referred, in their turn, to the multiplicity of aims from the private provision considering real cases. The development of the private sector was either to provide a diversity of programmes and geographical distribution as it is the case in Portugal; or to be committed towards the virtues of the free market and the ability to introduce some changes and attract the most qualified academic staff as it is the case in Central and Eastern Europe; or as an alternative to the outdated public sector and hence a

way to meet the labour market needs as it is the case in Romania; or a way to meet the explosive demand that could not have been absorbed if not for the private sector as it is the case in Latin America (*Ibid.*). **Educational supply is therefore no longer considered as a public good provided only by public authorities** through public HEIs. **The monopolistic supply of higher education by public authority is challenged.** Teixeira and Dill (2011) and Levy (2006) acknowledged that the increased financial constraints and the inability of the government to play their traditional role of public funding, because of the welfare state crisis particularly in the developing countries, obliged governments to recall some of their main duties. They found in private provision of higher education a cheap and effective way to accommodate the increasing number of students. **Marginson (2007) advanced in this regard that “stamping” higher education by public or private character is not part of the “intrinsic nature” of the system but rather a policy choice.** For Amaral and Teixeira (2000), it is these developments that were the main triggers behind **the privatization trend that permitted the introduction of market-like mechanisms into the higher education system.** Private provision modified the nature of the higher education as a public provision (Kaiser and De Weert, 1994), questioned the role of the government and set the “virtues of the private sector versus the vices of public intervention” (Teixeira and Dill, 2011).

Teixeira and Amaral (2001) and Amaral and Teixeira (2000) recognized **two processes of privatization: the early process and the late process.** The former was undertaken by the universities created well before the massification trend. The latter was created as an answer to the massification and the increased demand. The privatization is therefore supposed to explore new market opportunities and be more responsive to the labour market needs by preparing better graduates (*Ibid.*). From this viewpoint, Bernasconi (2006) classified private HEIs into several categories. The aim of such categorization was to consider not only the increased demand but as well the diversity of such demand in terms of the students’ socio-economic, academic, religious, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Private HEIs, in addition to their establishment identity, range hence **from**

elite/non-elite universities, for profit/not-for-profit universities, to religious/secular institutions. It is such classification that granted the private sector its diversity.

According to Van Vught (1996), the degree of privatization and the degree of **diversity of the system depend on environmental conditions.** He advanced (*quote*) that “the larger the uniformity of the environmental conditions of higher education organizations, the lower the level of diversity of the higher education system”. Because of the **variances in environmental conditions, the development of the private sector did not follow the same intensity all over the world** despite enclosing the same rational that of the increasing demand. Levy (2006) demonstrated that the private sector was mostly developed in Asia in general and East Asia in particular followed by the Middle East⁹³ and North Africa because of the increased demand for higher education and the inability of the government to answer such demand. Regarding the Latin American countries, they were rather characterized with the presence of a dual-sector with a notable increase in the enrolments rates at the private sector. Concerning the Western Europe countries, the development of the private higher education sector was limited. These countries follow more a continental model with “Portugal” being an exception since the private sector occupies an important part of the system (*Ibid.*).

Because of the expansion of the private sector and increased competition, Grant (1998) advanced that the Structure-Conduct-Performance or the “S-C-P approach” can be implemented to the higher education “quasi-market” like any other market. The S-C-P approach presumes that the structure of the market, i.e. the degree of competition in the market will affect the conduct of the HEIs in terms of offered programmes, tuition fees, assistantships and scholarships programmes, cooperation between institutions, and research which will affect in its turn the performance of the higher education system. However, and for Dill (2003), **such approach is not to be foreseen without the government intervention where the educational policies set by the government will**

⁹³ Lebanon is an example where the increased demand for private higher education permitted the massive development of the private sector (39 private HEIs versus one public institution).

determine the degree of competition, the acceptance or not of a private system, and consequently the conduct of HEIs mainly in terms of information provided to the customers.

2.8.2 The Difference Between Public and Private Sectors

Public and private HEIs are two different institutions in terms of aims, means and ends.

Private HEIs are financed by private funds such as tuition fees and grants (to name only a few) without the government intervention oppose to the public HEIs that are financed by public funds. Such detachment from the government gives the private HEIs more autonomy (Levy, 2006). Bernasconi (2006) from the other hand advanced that the private institutions of higher education are different from public ones in their mission, and supply of a less variety of programmes. He added that they are in general smaller in size, and more oriented towards a certain niche, clientele and interests. They are in general created either by individual initiatives or religious organizations or affiliations (*Ibid.*). They focus on disciplines such as business, law, computing, hospitality and tourism and management (Middlehurst and Fielden, 2012).

The difference between the public and the private institutions of higher education is not only related to the sources of funding, mission, and offered programmes but also to their mission that is dependent from the type of the institution. Levy (2006) classified private HEIs into three types. The first type depends on “*cultural affiliation*”; in other words on the religious, gender and ethic orientations. In this type, the religious affiliation mainly catholic one affects the gender emphasis. Religiously affiliated private HEIs tend to recruit more female because of the existence of “softer” fields of study and the quasi-absence of conflicts that is highly noticed at the public sector. Regarding the ethic orientation, private HEIs are more open to a varied group of students than the public sector that search more for a sense of unity rather than plurality. The second type is that of “*elite private HEIs*” which are seen as a rare “commodity” and an alternative to quality

education that the public sector is unable to provide because of the absence of effective and efficient leadership. The scarcity characteristic is associated to the tendency of elite private HEIs to “keep getting the best”: best students, best professors, best grants, etc. And finally the third type is the “*non-elite demand absorbers*” that were mainly established because of the excess in the demand and the inability of the government to answer to such a demand. These private HEIs can either be serious and job-oriented or interested in the pursuit of financial gain benefiting from the existence of a need. Despite such undesirable goal that some of these institutions might follow, it should not be omitted that these institutions allowed for the unprivileged group to have access to higher education.

Geiger (1985) comprehended **the private higher education as a more adaptable system to various changes and conditions. An adaptability that provided the system with a high level of responsiveness and an ability to react to a variety of needs.** Bernasconi (2006) affirmed that the private sector is more market oriented focusing on the integration of graduates within the labour market. For him, competition and private sector go hand in hand. Private HEIs have to offer to students what they want and have to be competitive in doing so (*Ibid.*). Such competitive behaviour was identified by Geiger (1996) and Meek et al. (1996) as a reaction either to capture a market niche; or to imitate activities of successful competitors and attract new clienteles. By this behaviour, Pfeffer (2007) asserted that **private HEIs are both “client seekers” and “status seekers”.** In the first case, they are economically driven and aim to attract students facing fewer opportunities at the public sector (*Ibid.*). They aim to increase the enrolment rate given that their mission revolves around specific interests, clienteles and niches. Competition is therefore at its highest stake for this type of institutions (Bernasconi (2006). **Concerning the second case,** the main driven force is the quality that these institutions supply (Pfeffer, 2007). Epple et al. (2006) recognized that these private institutions have the highest market share and do not face hence a fierce competition. They aim to attract students through the quality that is seen as an obverse of the high tuition fees (*Ibid.*). Finally, Teixeira and Dill (2011)

declared that in both cases competition is a good tactic to improve both the quality and the quantity of the supplied outcome.

Levy (2006) and Dill (2003) documented that the public sector regards the private one, particularly new providers, as a business providing low quality education with a financial aim. To avoid any “clashes” between the public and private HEIs because of the differences in orientation, structure and mission, the government “took care” of that matter in many countries such as the Middle East and East Asian countries by supporting, encouraging or even creating the private sector (*Ibid.*). For Amaral and Teixeira (2000), and because of the quality problems that upsurge from the private sector, the government seemed to be more concerned about the quantity, the diversification of the system rather than the quality. This final though introduces the next idea to be discussed that of the criticism of the private provision for higher education.

2.8.3 Criticism of the Private Provision of Higher Education

The development of the private sector did not exclude itself from criticism. Proponents of private provision saw the benefits translated in the diversity of the system empowering the increased choices and the “customers” satisfaction. Opponents on the other hand saw in the development of the private sector an exclusive opportunity for the privileged wealthy students. They criticized particularly the decrease in the standards and the graduates’ surplus in certain fields because of the emphasis of private institutions on offering a specific, limited range of programmes as discussed earlier (Geiger, 1985).

The criticism of the private sector did not however target all private institutions. Newly emergent, demand absorbing and for-profit private HEIs were the ones criticized. Middlehurst and Fielden (2012) acknowledged that the rationale behind such reproach is related to the supply of these institutions of a narrow curriculum at high tuition fees, and with a clear imbalance between teaching and research. These ways of doing things

lowered the standards and the quality of education provided. Additionally, these institutions are regarded with concern because of their recruitment strategy that focuses on higher rates of enrolment with no consideration to the academic background and abilities of the students and their potential to succeed (*Ibid.*). Teixeira and Amaral (2001) admitted that coupled with insufficient information and lack of transparency in the market of higher education, this behaviour towards recruitment will result in an imbalance between the demand and the supply for graduates, therefore an over-inflation of graduates, and problems related to their success and employability.

The criticism of private higher education concerns hence in particular the **“trade in higher education” or the “commercialization” of the higher education services** because of the “privatization” drift in general and the increase in the number of for-profit private providers. Middlehurst and Fielden (2012), Knight (2006b), and Knight (2006a) addressed their fears in what pertains to the way privatisation is dealt with. Combined with unethical practices, such as profit motives where the private returns will outweigh the public benefits of higher education, will deter private provision from its essential objective to assure access to a wider population. **The increase in the privatisation and mainly for profit private sector cannot be foreseen therefore without Quality Assurance bodies and quality assurance codes and regulations to regulate the market and assure quality provision.** Examples of quality practices are the Council for Higher Education Accreditation or CHEA in the USA, the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education or QAA in UK, only to name a few⁹⁴. Quality assurance systems and processes need to be set however with extreme cautious as not to override creativity and innovation within the sector and affect negatively access to higher education⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ It should be mentioned in this regard that the Lebanese Ministry of Higher Education submitted a bill (a draft law) as to the establishment of the “National Commission for Quality Assurance” that aims in general to assure quality of higher education by setting a quality assurance system, including mechanisms, criteria and indicators (Lebanese Ministry of Education and Higher Education – Website; accessed on 8.4.2013)

⁹⁵ We can refer in this context to the Hungarian case that maintained an explosive trend in the private sector by implementing quality standards that did not allow non-accredited institutions to operate.

2.8.4 Privatization and the Economics Founding Fathers

Privatisation is not a new phenomenon. It overtook the interest of the first economic founding fathers. **Adam Smith supported the idea of privatisation because of its reliance on the competition principle;** a principle that for Smith will lead to excellence in educational supply and the ability to adapt to various circumstances. For him, such characteristic is not available at the public sector that shows more resistance to change and to the integration of new advanced knowledge (Smith, 1963).

From his side, **John Stuart Mill availed his preference for private provision of higher education and competition as long as such provision is efficient.** Like other authors, he criticised the deviation of private institutions from their original aim by offering poor quality. **He was against the diversity of the system. He favoured the establishment of fewer but larger private institutions permitting an effective use of the resources.** For him, **government intervention** is not to be removed from the equation. Totally the opposite, it **is essential to guide students' demand especially those from the low social class** unable to clearly decide given incidence of asymmetric information and lack of cultural and social capitals (Mill, 1965).

Like Mill (1965), Alfred Marshall was with the government intervention especially when it came to educational opportunities for the students from the low social strata. Marshall (1961) considered the higher education as an exception to the general rules of privatisation. He channelled his concerns pertaining to the ability of and the reliance on the parents and the students, particularly those from the low social class, to finance higher education given their insufficient economic and cultural capitals. This lack of capital, and always according to Marshall, will render a persistent low level of education for students from the low social class from one generation to another. From this stand,

However, these standards had some repercussions on the ability of HEIs to innovate and compete (Brunner and Briones, 1992; cited in: Brunner, 1993).

Marshall considered the presence of an active government as fundamental to permit social mobility (*Ibid.*).

Milton Friedman, on the other hand, was more with the market mechanisms rather than with the government intervention. He was with a limited-reduced role of the government. Friedman (2002) proposed that the higher education funding should not be a national activity directed towards the students themselves. Such move will enhance, according to Friedman, the competition between HEIs and lead to a better use of the resources.

2.8.5 Privatization – Comparative Studies

To understand the national developments related to the expansion of the private higher education sector and the formulation of relevant policies, international comparisons are foreseen as an important tool (Teichler, 2004)⁹⁶. Higher education systems that were unable to accommodate the increasing national demand for higher education opted for the privatisation (Enders, 2004a). This is the case for example in Portugal, the only Western European Country which knew an important expansion of the private sector (Teixeira, 2013) and Lebanon, our case study. Similarity in environmental conditions will lead, according to Amaral and Teixeira (2000), **different national higher education systems to present similar behaviour in what pertains to the privatization trend.** This section will offer a comparison between various systems of higher education pertaining to the development of the private higher education sector. The comparative study will permit to identify common and uncommon characteristics of the expansion of the private sector. The Lebanese case is considered as a central point of comparison permitting to gain a better understanding of the development of the private sector and the stimulus

⁹⁶ The effect of the Sorbonne declaration of 1998 and the Bologna declaration of 1999 cannot but to be considered because their effects were noticeable not only within countries that signed the declarations but also on an international level.

behind its expansion. Systems, such as England, are not considered because of the quasi-absence of a private sector⁹⁷.

2.8.5.1 USA, Latin America and Spain, Chile and Lebanon

In the U.S.A., many private HEIs were created long before the massification process such as the Harvard College (1963), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), King's College (1755), to name only a few. These institutions are part of what is called the "Noble" sector of the American higher education system (Geiger, 1996). They were created in parallel with the establishment of a public sector offering quality education to students unable to afford the high tuition fees at the "Noble" sector (Geiger, 2011).

Latin America and Spain shared the same trend with the American system. Many HEIs were created before the massification trend such as Santo Domingo (1538), Universities of Mexico (1540), San Marcos in Peru (1551), and Cordoba in Argentina (1613), to name only a few. These institutions were established to locally produce the needed educated manpower. Each one of them is considered of the noble sector in its own country.

Similar to the U.S.A, Spain and Latin America, Lebanon presents the same trend when it comes to the process of privatisation. The establishment of private HEIs, mainly the "elite" private sector, was created long before the massification trend and was not a result of such drift. Lebanon, as reflected earlier in the contextual review is a multi-dimensional country. It is characterized with a variety of geographic, demographic, religious and cultural divisions that cannot but to be considered within the division of the higher education system. Because of low level of uniformity of the environment, the higher education system is very much diversified (see Van Vught, 1996), particularly the private sector that offers a variety of institutions ranging from different origins, offering different

⁹⁷ In England, the private sector has a "shy" presence. The only private university – even if small in size – is that of Buckingham, Ireland (Guri-Rosenblit et al., 2007).

modes of teaching, and administrating a wide range of programmes. Long before the massification trend, some private HEIs with religious affiliations saw the light: the American University of Beirut (AUB, 1866), the Saint Joseph University (USJ, 1881), the Beirut Arab University (BAU, 1960), the Lebanese American University (LAU, 1950), the University of Saint Esprit (USEK, 1961) and the Notre Dame University (NDU, 1988). All of these universities are considered as prestigious, elite institutions. Their elitism is attributed, as advanced by Balan and Garcia de Fanelli (1993), to the fact they are concentrated in the most developed part of the country and have resisted to the massification trend by controlling their enrolment rates. Other private HEIs were created as an answer to the massification trend and are therefore considered as part of the “mass private sector”.

In addition to sharing the same episodes pertaining to the creation of the “elite”, “noble” private higher education sector with some countries, **Lebanon shares the same experience of the creation of the mass private sector as a response to the increased demand with the Chilean higher education system.** In Chile, most of the institutions forming the mass private sector were established after the 1980’s reform as a response to the increasing demand. The Chilean private sector is a mass sector representing 92% of the total number of institutions and enrolls more than 70% of the students. Three types of institutions form the Chilean private sector: “affiliated” that are established by one or more sponsoring institutions defining the university’s mission and retaining control over main function; “proprietary” that are established by individuals; and “independent” that are established by a merger of two or more HEIs. To be exempted from tax income, Chilean private HEIs have to be non-for-profit organizations. However, because of the global increased “commercialization” trend, some of the Chilean private HEIs are profit-oriented (Bernasconi, 2006). Lebanon case is similar to that of Chile particularly in what relates to the characteristics of the offered programmes and regional concentration. In Lebanon as in Chile, the demand was satisfied by the provision of low-cost programmes. Private HEIs forming the mass private sector are concentrated around the capital and the main urban

centres. Additionally, the Lebanese higher education system shares with the Chilean higher education system the same typologies of private HEIs, mainly the first two types, in addition to the obligation of being non-for-profit institutions to be exempted from taxes (see Bernasconi, 2006).

To sum up, in Chile, like in other countries in Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, and Lebanon, the private sector is characterized by two divisions: the elite/noble sector and the new private sector/the mass sector offering low-cost programmes and attracting students that did not have the opportunity to enter the most selective institutions (Brunner and Briones, 1992; cited in: Brunner, 1993).

2.8.5.2 Portugal and Lebanon

The Lebanese higher education system can be compared to a large extent to the Portuguese system. Both have witnessed, more or less, the same circumstances in relation to the expansion of the private sector and that were mainly of political nature.

In Portugal, the 1974 revolution permitted the rise and the expansion of the private sector because of its ability to provide programmes across various geographic regions and to offer a variety of diploma and specializations. Such expansion was encouraged by the government and was seen as beneficial for public authority since it minimized the public funding in a period where the country knew difficult economic circumstances (Taylor et al., 2008, Amaral and Teixeira, 2000). **In Lebanon, the Lebanese higher education system knew a lot of transformations over the years whether in terms of the structure of the system, the enrolment rates or the number of institutions. The consecutive wars and political instability periods permitted the development of the private sector because of the division of the Lebanese University among political parties and the inability of the government to provide enough financial support to develop and enhance the quality of programmes because of the economic circumstances of the country.** The absence of a

regulatory body able to dictate the rules and regulations played also a major role in the expansion of the private sector. Such absenteeism permitted the transfer of the Lebanese private higher education sector from elite to a mass market exploring new market opportunities and targeting new “clienteles”.

In Lebanon as in Portugal, the expansion of the private sector sets certain dilemmas for public authorities. The first problem is related to the combination between teaching, research and quality of education that was different than the expectations set by the public authorities. This is associated to the fact that the newly emergent private HEIs are treating students more like customers and looking for new market niches instead of searching for quality of education and elitism. The rapid expansion of the Lebanese and Portuguese private sector questioned therefore the quality of education provided by these newly emergent private institutions (see Amaral and Teixeira, 2000). **The second problem is related to the outcome on the labour market.** Despite the fact that the newly emergent private HEIs were supposed to provide with their geographical distribution and variety of programmes better awareness of the labour market needs, they did not prove to be more responsive to the economic requirements than the public sector. This was credited to the concentration of offered programmes in fields with low employment expectations not responding to the demands of the economy (*Ibid.*). Additionally, **the geographical distribution of these private HEIs was mainly concentrated in major cities overlooking other geographical areas.** As in Portugal, where most of the private institutions are concentrated in populated areas (see Amaral and Teixeira, 2000), in Lebanon as well, most of the private HEIs are concerted in Beirut, the most populated area. Geographical distribution is limited to branches yet with low effective of students and minimal offer of programmes.

In Portugal as well as in Lebanon, **the “lobbying capacity”; in other words the politicians’ interest and direct involvement in the private sector permitted the growth of a non-quality system because of the facility to receive governmental approval without severe**

conditions related to quality. The government is therefore, in many times, to be blamed for such an expansion because the ministry did not clearly play its regulatory role when it comes to licensing or not an institution; particularly in conflict periods. Many private HEIs opened study programmes before or without even receiving the official approval of the ministry (see Amaral and Teixeira, 2000). It is the government approach, at a certain period of time that led to the expansion of an uncontrolled private higher education system because of the lack of meticulous law implementation. **In order to restore the situation, and make the private HEIs more credible, the government needs to reconsider its position and play a more active role by re-assessing private HEIs and take appropriate action** such as reducing offered study programmes mainly those not approved by the government, and/or closing institutions not abiding by the rules. **The government needs to implement laws to allow the private sector to be more transparent** (Amaral and Teixeira, 2000). **This was translated in both Lebanon and Portugal.** In Lebanon, it was the 1996 decree that organized the private sector by setting a clearer structure and process for the establishment of new private HEIs. The decree permitted to better regulate the private sector. And in **Portugal** it was the Private and Cooperative Higher Education Act (Decree-Law 16/94) which regulates private universities and private polytechnics market and specifies the operation of the private sector and procedure for approval of new study (OECD, 2006; ENQA, 2006).

2.9 Globalization and International Higher Education

Globalization is not a new trend for the higher education system or the university (Altbach and Knight, 2006). Enders (2004a and 2004b) recognized that **despite the fact that the higher education was less international than today, the students always moved from one national context to another challenging the national frontier** (from Bologna, to Paris, to Oxford). Altbach (2005) argued however that this trend **is more pronounced today because of the merge and evolution of the Information Technology, in particular the internet.** For Enders (2004a), **changes at the higher education system are not related**

to the effect of the globalization but to the motivation behind such trend. Yang (2003) saw behind the development of the globalization trend a commercial aim. Enders (2004a) explained from a similar position that, at a first stage, the stimulus behind such evolution detained within it academic and cultural grounds. However, and with the rise in the market mechanisms and the development of for-profit private higher education sector, the incentives altered to economic ones.

Although higher education was considered for quite some time as a public good, and referred to at a later stage as a “quasi-market”, **the international higher education is regarded as a commodity, a private good**. The increase in the number of foreign students mainly from the developing countries because of the lack of educational opportunities at their home country encouraged the commercial benefits thinking (Altbach, 2005; Van Vught, 2004). From this standpoint, a differentiation between national higher education system and global higher education system was advanced by Healey (2007). For him, the **global higher education** system is considered as an “**industry**” contrary to the national higher education system where HEIs remained to be considered as “institutions” with a mission rather than “**organization**”. Wachter (1999) proposed that the extension of the **higher education across borders led to put economic considerations higher than academic ones**, challenging by this the aims and traditions of the higher education. Altbach (2005) added within this context that, when combined to international missions, HEIs become more like “business venture” seeking profit and commercial gain like any ordinary multinational corporation. Yang (2003) saw in this an increase in the **degree of consumerism where higher education output is seen as a product to be bought and sold**. **Competition** that is at its lowest level at the higher education “market” is hence more emphasized with the globalization (Enders, 2004b).

Enders (2004a) advanced that the globalization did not have the same impact in all contexts. Political, cultural and social backgrounds as well as the degree of development of the country, the type and the characteristics of the higher education system and

language adopted⁹⁸, all had their effects on the degree of acceptance and integration of the globalization tools and outcomes. Some countries saw in globalization through international cooperation and communication an essential step to be taken while others were unable to be part of the international arena because of the disparities and unequal terms between their higher education systems and that of their partners to be considered (*Ibid.*).

2.9.1 Globalization, Internationalization and Multi-Nationalization

Before discussing the effect of globalization on the higher education system in general and the market demand (i.e. students/students mobility) in particular, **a distinction between “globalization”, “internationalization” and “multi-nationalization” should be advanced.** Globalization and internationalization are always confused as being the same. However, each holds different meanings.

2.9.1.1 Globalization

For Altbach (2005), globalization includes (*quote*) “the broad, largely inevitable economic, technological, political, cultural, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education. [...]. **Globalization, as it applies to higher education, involves information technology and the use of a common language for scientific communication.** It addresses mass demand for higher education (massification) and societal needs for highly educated personnel”.

Such definition cannot but reflect the fact that **higher education always had a “global” aspect, at least at the level of the common language.** At the medieval ages, the common language was Latin permitting to serve a wide range of international students. At the

⁹⁸ Because of increasing importance accorded to the English language in internationalization/globalization trend, countries where English is the main language are more apt to adapt to internationalization trends (OECD, 2011).

present day, the dominant language is the “English” that is used to communicate knowledge on a worldwide level, and implement cross-border degree programmes (Altbach and Knight, 2006). Such **importance accorded to the English Language sheds the light on the American and British systems** and consequently gives them advantage over other higher education systems (Altbach, 2005). The dominance of English speaking destinations for foreign students (United Kingdom, Canada, United States, etc.) makes the English Language a global language (OECD, 2011).

On the other hand, Altbach and Knight (2006), defined globalization as (*quote*) “the economic, political, and societal forces pushing the 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement”. **Higher education is broadening its international activities** and considered day after day as a tool to widen students’ horizons, academic experiences and business methods. All nation states have become interconnected. **Globalization is therefore regarded being more related to the liberalization and convergence of the markets.** From this perspective, globalization is seen as (*quote*) “the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness” (Held et al., 1999). It is such trend that permitted the creation and encouraged the existence of market-like mechanisms or market elements in higher education and hence **“escorted” the development of the private sector and consequently competition amongst various institutions.**

2.9.1.2 Internationalization

For Enders (2004a), **internationalization refers to the collaboration between nations or to activities across borders.** It does not exclude the existence of the nation-state, but on the contrary, the nation-state still plays a central role. However, the weight is more given to relations of cooperation. According to Altbach (2005), **internationalization (*quote*) “includes policies and programs adopted by governments, and by academic systems and subdivisions to cope with or exploit globalization.** Internationalization permits significant

autonomy, initiative and creativity in dealing with the new environment”. **It is more related to the students and programmes mobility.** Students are day after day choosing to pursue their higher studies in foreign countries especially when national institutions cannot meet their demand. It is seen as a two way street where developed countries have the advantage in the process (OECD, 2011; Altbach and Knight, 2006).

Five types of internationalization can be distinguished, some with wide and others with narrower repercussions (Altbach and Knight, 2006).

The first type is the “**traditional internationalization**”. It is in general a non-profit activity aiming to enhance the prestige, competitiveness and strategic alliance of the HEI involved in such venture. It is the use of international programmes such as study abroad programmes, sponsorship of foreign students, and the like by prestigious HEIs in order to provide their students with international and cross-cultural perspective and improve by that their academic experience, foreign language competencies, and widen their cross-cultural perspective.

The second type is “**European internationalization**”: it is related to academic activities within the European Union (EU) and affects directly members of the EU. Programmes are tailored as to provide EU students with foreign academic experience (for example ERASMUS programmes). The internationalization aspect within the EU can be clearly identified through the “Bologna Process” that allowed the synchronization of the entire academic systems assuring accustomed degree structure, transferable credit (ECTS) and equal academic qualifications⁹⁹.

The third type is “**developing country internationalization**”. Developing countries are known to be more exporters rather than importers of students. Being part of the international higher education market by attracting foreign students entails interest in

⁹⁹It is worth mentioning that the charts adopted by the EU were also adopted by other non-EU members (Altbach and Knight, 2006). The Bologna process for instance is implemented by many non-EU countries such as Lebanon especially in what pertains to the implementation of the LMD system.

financial profit for developing countries in addition to improving academic quality and cultural composition of the student body and gaining prestige¹⁰⁰.

The fourth type is “**individual internationalization**”. It concerns mainly students that choose to study abroad searching for a better academic experience, more exposure to the international arena and better competencies for the labour market. The majority of the students choosing to study in a foreign country are self-funded and can be considered as the main source of financial returns for international higher education.

Finally, the fifth type is the “**Cross-border higher education**”. It refers to “the movement of people, programmes, providers, [...] across national boundaries”. It presents many opportunities that extend from increased access to higher education, alliances between countries and regions, exchange of new knowledge, movement of graduates, professionals and human resources, income generation, etc. (UNESCO, 2006). When referring to cross-border education, **the distinction between provider/exporting countries and receiving/importing countries should be highlighted** with regards to the differences in educational services outcomes. **Provider/Exporting countries are the source country** of the programme delivered in another country (UNESCO APQN, 2006). **They are mainly developed countries** because of their abilities (financial, experience, reputation, etc.) to expand in various surroundings. Extreme attention to the academic programmes offered abroad should be considered as not to jeopardize the academic reputation by providing low quality education. Hence, the need to have quality assurance system when it comes to cross border education (Knight, 2006a). The **receiving/importing countries**, on the other hand, **are the host country** to which the programme is delivered (UNESCO APQN, 2006). **They are mainly developing countries** that do not have the ability to develop their national higher education system as to meet the demand of the market (Altbach and Knight, 2006). They will benefit from the increase of access to higher education given

¹⁰⁰Lebanon being a developing country was not able to sustain the main element of attractions of foreign students (especially from the Arab World and other countries of the Middle East) due to periods of political instabilities and falling academic standards because of the massive expansion of the system at a certain stage. As a result, the number of foreign students fell from 29.5% in 1992 (CERD, 1991) to 16.6% in 2010/2011 (CERD, 2010/2011).

prospect of new providers and diversity of programmes. The consequence is a minimization in the percentage of brain drain to foreign countries and institutions (Knight, 2006a).

2.9.1.3 Multi-Nationalization

Multi-nationalization is a type of cross-border education. It refers to the offer of academic programme(s) in another country (Altbach, 2005) through the opening of offshore institutions (branch campus, franchise, etc.). It is often designated by “McDonalization”. Such trend is not a new one. It goes back to 18th and 19th centuries where universities opened branches or sponsored new schools in their colonies¹⁰¹.

This type of cross border education is driven by many forces from the demand and supply sides (UNESCO, 2006). **From the demand side**, the main forces are the attraction of an oversea qualification at a lower cost without having to leave the home country; the diversity of offered programmes; the insufficient supply in the receiver country; and the attraction of a more flexible mode of study offered by cross-border programmes (part-time, distance learning, etc.) encouraging the increase of cross-border ventures. **Regarding the supply side**, the aim is mainly commercial because of the pressure put on institutions to generate additional sources of income; the increased emphasis on entrepreneurship and commercial opportunities; and the desire to pilot new programmes or new modes of delivery in a foreign market.

¹⁰¹ Such as the British and the French initiatives in Africa and Asia, American Protestant missionaries that set up universities based on the US model in Lebanon (such as the American University of Beirut), etc. (Altbach, 2005).

2.9.2 Aims and Consequences of International Higher Education

Healey (2007) and Altbach and Knight (2006) identified the main aims of international higher education as being to **provide access to a wide range of students**, mainly from the developing countries with limited access to the educational services and no ability to pursue higher studies; or to **be a “niche market” that target elite students through the offering of quality programmes**. In the latter case, it is considered as an educational source for both political and economic elites in developed and developing countries.

Wachter (1999) and Altbach (1991), from their side, recognized the importance of the expansion of the higher education at the international level from the students' perspective. Students look at **international education as a source to acquire international competences permitting to increase their employability chances both at the national and international labour markets**. The OECD (2011) demonstrated that **students tend to choose HEIs** based on the quality of education offered, and the programmes that are not offered in their home country¹⁰². They tend to choose programmes not chosen by local students allowing them to have a competitive advantage.

Despite the positive effects of international higher education from allowing alliances between countries, to granting access to a wider population of students, to ameliorating the degree of dissemination of knowledge, and to the movement of graduates, professionals and human resources, Knight (2006b) acknowledged that **it might underlie negative repercussions**. These drawbacks were identified by Enders (2004a) as the possibility to prioritise financial returns over academic integrity and high standards. In that case, and always according to Enders (2004a), this will divert international higher

¹⁰² The number of students studying outside their home countries rose by 6.4% between 2008 and 2009 where the total number of foreign students increased by 77% since 2000 emulating the effect of globalization/internationalization on the higher education system. Regarding the “hosting” countries, foreign students, where most of them come from China, India and Korea, choose mainly Australia, the United Kingdom, Austria, Switzerland and New Zealand (OECD, 2011) when it comes to pursuing a foreign degree.

education from its essential objective to provide education to a wider population and “provoke” problems related to the protection of the students and quality of education.

2.9.3 International Higher Education: Developed and Developing Countries

Despite the positive effects of globalization from granting access to a wider group of students to diluting borders, **unequal effects between the developing and the developed countries were noted in addition to an underpinning of inequalities.**

Compared to developed countries, developing countries suffer the most from difficulties. The transformation of the system from elite to mass, and the development of the international higher education market combined with increased inequalities of access, inadequate quality and rigid management and governance structure (Holm-Nielsen, 2001) lead most of the students from the developing countries to search for educational opportunities outside their national borders. Consequently, globalization worked more for the benefit of developed countries given from one part that universities with strong academic background that participate to the production of knowledge are mostly present at the developed part of the world, and from the other to the unequal access and use of IT sources in favour of the developed nations. By itself, **globalization has a tendency to distribute knowledge, wealth and power to those that already possess these attributes;** mainly English speaking developed countries especially when the motive of international ventures is commercial (Altbach, 2005).

Therefore, international higher education or **cross border ventures are mostly done in one direction: from developed to developing countries.** When it comes to continuing higher studies in a foreign country, an important trend of “brain drain” from developing to developed countries is noticed (Altbach, 2005; Agarwal and Winkler, 1985a; Agarwal and Winkler, 1985b) whereas few number of students from the developed countries choose to continue their higher studies at the developing countries HEIs. **The “laissez-faire” policy**

implemented by the developing countries might be facilitating the process of studying abroad¹⁰³. Despite such “liberty”, many governments have set a list of approved foreign HEIs from which national students may acquire their degrees (such as Malaysia, India, Lebanon, etc.) (Altbach, 1991).

Many factors interfere in the choice of the students of a foreign degree. These factors extend from cost consideration, to the quality of education, to the reputation of the HEI, to weak higher education sector at home country and inability of the government to answer to the increased demand, to restrictive admission policies at home country, to employment opportunities, to government policies as regards the facilitation of transfer of credits between foreign country and home country, and to the trade and link with other countries. **For students from the developing countries, the “economic value” of a foreign degree, the opportunity to migrate to another country as well as the cost of education are the main attraction factors behind such decision.** Having a degree from a HEI at an industrialized country will render high financial and social benefits. In markets where it is hard to get hired, a foreign degree is an advantage at the labour market (OECD, 2011; Altbach, 1991), such is the case of Lebanon where the “snob appeal” of a foreign degree is very important.

Additionally, political factors as well as economic circumstances in sending/developing countries are behind such trend and have an effect on increasing the “non-return rate” of the students¹⁰⁴. The highest rate of non-return (or brain drain) is known to be from China, the Middle East and Latin America where as noted, and in addition to the lack of appreciation of skills, poor salaries and living conditions, needed academic institutions and needed equipment at home country to pursue advanced research (Goodwin and Nacht, 1986; cited in: Altbach, 1991), both political and economic aspects interfere in the

¹⁰³ In other words, no barriers are set, students may choose where they wish to study. Such policy is mainly related to the inability of the local government to provide academic support.

¹⁰⁴ Many students who decide to study abroad do not return home despite their desire to do so.

decision of the students (Altbach, 1991)¹⁰⁵. In order to increase the return rate, **developing countries should not only be receptive of the internationalization trend. They need to be more involved in the process because of the benefits and raise of revenues that could result from importing students permitting to expand participation in higher education** (OECD, 2011).

Globalization did not only had its effect on the flow of students between countries but **also on the curriculum**. The “Business Administration” programme knew a global dominance because of the supremacy of the English language, dominant in the business field (Altbach, 2005). Internationalization is no longer restricted to the students’ mobility but also to the exchange of curriculum, and to strategies related to quality assurance (Van Der Wende, 2001); an aspect that will be discussed in the following part.

2.9.4 Actions Taken and Codes of Practices

To gain confidence in international higher education, the responsibilities of all involved players are to be defined in order to build collectively a system that guarantees validity, integrity and quality of international programmes (Altbach and Knight, 2006). Given the divergence of diplomas offered at the international higher education market, **quality assurance standards in addition to shared international principles and a framework for cross-border education quality assurance are extremely important** (Knight, 2006b; UNESCO APQN, 2006). From this perspective, codes of practice were developed to guide the practice of delivering programmes across border and establishing partnerships with foreign providers (Knight, 2006a). The most well-known is the “Guidelines on Quality Provision in Cross Border Higher Education” set jointly by the UNESCO and the OECD encouraging international cooperation and enhancing understanding of the importance of quality provision in cross border education. These guidelines address six groups: the

¹⁰⁵ Such is the Lebanese case where the rate of immigrant has increased after 1975 war and other turbulent periods.

governments, HEIs, student bodies, QA and accreditation entities, academic recognition bodies and professional associations and enable the recognition of roles and responsibilities of each one of them when it comes to assuring quality of cross-border education. However, a fundamental issue remains that of the willingness of the institutions to deliver programmes that are recognized by the receiving country given that they are not legally binding.

Moreover, **international higher education market requires international agreements** in order to allow the exchange of students, scholars, scholarship programmes,¹⁰⁶ and the like (Altbach, 2005), and to cope with the increasing trend of commercialization of higher education that necessitates greater attention especially in what pertains to the quality provision of the educational services and the “portability of higher education qualifications” (UNESCO, 2006). A very well-known example about the international agreements and the processes that organize the international higher education is the European experience where students’ mobility between different countries was the main instrument of internationalization of the European Union. The Bologna process facilitated the exchange of students and scholars. Students appreciated the opportunity to study in another European country (Enders, 2004a).

Because of the free nature of knowledge, which has been freely traded between countries, comprising education in general and higher education in particular¹⁰⁷ within the GATS agreement and the WTO framework was part of the debate (Altbach, 2005) supported mainly by the United States (Enders, 2004a). **GATS is the first agreement on trade that focuses exclusively on the trade of services. It represents a “set of multilateral rules governing international trade in services” and aims to gradually promote a free trade in services by decreasing barriers to trade.** It includes all types of services that are

¹⁰⁶ Such as the Bologna framework (ERASMUS and SOCRATES)

¹⁰⁷ The GATS divide the education sector into five sub-sector of services: primary, secondary, higher, adult and other (UNESCO, 2006)

internationally traded except those provided under the authority of the government; in other words those provided on a non-commercial and non-competition bases with other suppliers (Varghese, 2007). **The globalization and consequently commercialization, marketization of the higher education system, allowed the GATS to clearly recognize the “education as a service sector to be liberalized and regulated by trade rules”.** This will take place as long as the significant development that is happening in all types of cross-border education being commercial or non-profit regardless of the trade agreements, and the impact of the GATS rules and other trade rules on domestic and cross-border higher education are carefully examined (UNESCO, 2006). **It is encouraging by that the increased competition** and creating tensions in fields such as degree recognition and quality assurance (Van Vught, 2004). Like other types of services, **GATS recognizes four modes of supply of higher education** (UNESCO, 2006). The first mode is “**cross-border supply**” where the service provided by a HEI crosses the border and the student remains within the country (examples are distance education, e-learning, virtual universities). The second mode is “**consumption abroad**” where the student moves to another country. The third mode is “**commercial presence**” where the HEI has commercial facilities in other countries such as branch campuses, twinning partnerships, franchising arrangements, and the like. And the fourth mode is the “**presence of natural persons**” where people, such as professors, teachers, researchers travel to another country on a temporary basis.

However, given from one part difficulties to quantify and codify trade in higher education (Enders, 2004a) and from the other the fact that the WTO agreements protect the sellers and not the buyers (in the case of higher education they will be protecting the developed and not the developing countries), **developing countries will be once again at a disadvantage and will not benefit from a “fair use”** of knowledge even with the existence of these agreements (Altbach, 2005). This is credited to trade inequalities and access to the market problems (Van Vught, 2004). To compensate for such deficiency, the Doha Round took particular care of issues related to the developing countries. Nonetheless,

there is still an ambiguity about the overall aim of policies set and “aid for trade” proposed (UNESCO, 2006).

Therefore, creating international frameworks, guidelines and codes of practice is not by itself enough. Countries and especially receiving ones need to assure the development of a national system of QA to guarantee the protection of students. **The government has a major and critical role to play** in this regard where it can either adopt a “laissez-faire” policy that allows a free range for cross-border education in the market under the assumption that free trade and the market can distinguish between poor and good quality; or encourage HEIs to ensure quality and put in place monitoring systems as long as these institutions are willing to abide by a certain level of provision of qualifications at the highest quality possible; or establish a regulatory system permitting to collect information about cross-border providers (type of courses, institutions, national accreditation, accountability, etc.); or regulate the supply of cross-border education with respect to national policies; or provide information to students and stakeholders; or regulate and control the quality of cross-border education which is the most important step (Sum, 2005; OECD, 2003, UNESCO APQN, 2006).

Finally, and in the case of developed or developing countries, **barriers or removal of barriers for trade in the case of higher education need to be carefully studied.** What may be seen as a barrier by a country wishing to access a market might be an important part of the regulatory system of that country. Because of the tendency of globalization to erode the national regulatory system and frameworks, each nation needs to make sure that the domestic regulatory systems and higher education policies are respected and not removed by countries wanting to access the domestic higher education market via cross-border ventures in order to ensure and assure quality. We can name in this regard, the mobility programmes such as ERASMUS/SOCRATES and European credit transfer system that have tried to stimulate internationalization of higher education while respecting national

policies (Damme, 2001). **Globalization necessitates hence a balance between international and local policies.**

2.10 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

The second part of the chapter provided an insight on the diversification of the higher education system and the divide between the public sector and the private one. Such diversification which was not addressed similarly by all governments. Some opted to diversify the public sector while others permitted the development and the diversification of a private sector of higher education. The rise and divergence of the private sector were a policy choice and were considered as the consequences of the globalization trend, and a response to the increased demand for higher education that the government was unable to provide because of financial constraints. This is highly dependent as discussed on the environmental conditions. The less the environment is uniform, the more there is a chance to diversify and expand the private sector. The private sector for higher education was therefore considered as “an alternative to that provided by the government”. The development of the sector challenged the monopolistic supply of higher education by public authorities and questioned the nature of higher education as a “public good”; that is non-excludable and non rivalrous. This long acknowledged characteristic was probed especially that the aims, means and ends of each of the sectors are different. The private sector, oppose to the public one, is market-oriented. With that, the newly emergent private sector permitted the integration of market-like mechanisms into the higher education system. The system is no longer considered as a “public good” but rather a “merit good” because of the effect of competition and the tuition fees that went along with the privatisation trend. Based on that, the higher education system was considered as a “quasi-market”, a term which acknowledges the intrusion of market mechanisms without overlooking the effect of the government intervention that is still considered as essential. The privatization trend did not go however without downfalls. Criticism developed around two main aspects: the

tuition fees which were regarded as a barrier to access particularly to students from the low social strata, and the emergence of for-profit private HEIs jeopardising the quality offered and hence the outcome within the labour market. It is thus the trade in education or the commercialization of private higher education that was criticised and rejected and not the private provision by itself. The second part of the chapter proposed also comparative studies between various higher education systems, elaborating mainly on an assessment pertaining to the development of the private higher education and highlighting the importance of the environment conditions similarities on the expansion of the private sector. It concluded on a discussion pertaining to globalization, international higher education and its effect on national systems of higher education and actions that need to be taken to assure quality.

CHAPTER THREE

HIGHER EDUCATION AND LABOUR MARKET SUPPLY AND DEMAND PONDERING FACTORS

Students' higher education choices and transition to the labour market depend on a variety of factors. To gain a better understanding of the students' process of choice at the higher education level and their integration within the labour market, chapter three offers a review of the literature pertaining to these aspects. It is divided into two parts. Part A considers the higher education sector and discusses aspects pertaining to access to higher education. Part B considers the labour market and discusses aspects related to the graduates' transition from higher education to the labour market.

A- Access to Higher Education: Policies, Strategies, Socio-Economic Traits

The first part of the chapter is divided into five main parts. After reflecting on a general overview about access, selection and equity, the second part will discuss various typologies of the education policies set by the government, as to reflect in the third part on the HEIs various admission strategies. The fourth part will reflect on both the economic and social variables that affect the students' choices at the higher education level. The chapter concludes with a conclusion summarizing the main point of discussion.

3.1 Access, Selection and Equity

Access to higher education became a major debate and a policy concern on the international level (Fleming and Gallagher, 2003). As highlighted by Scott (1995),

“everything goes back to access”; a fundamental issue of higher education promising social mobility (Goastellec, 2008a).

The UNESCO has set “**equal access**” to education as a goal with a substantial aim to achieve a universal access and an elimination of economic and social disparities (UNESCO, 1998). Access to higher education has been hence accorded a great importance because of its effect on the students’ integration within the labour market. This increased the HEIs responsibility given the need to guarantee the democratisation of access (Goastellec, 2006b).

The higher education sector developed massively and became diversified encompassing a variety of HEIs ranging from elite institutions preserved from massification to new and “open” institutions committed to massification (UNESCO Bangkok, 2010). It moved from providing education to the academic elite to providing education for all those who desire it (Johnstone, 2003). **The main concern is no longer restricted to expanding access¹⁰⁸ but to widening access¹⁰⁹** (Goastellec, 2008a; Fleming and Gallagher, 2003). Expanding or widening access, and according to the International Association of Universities (IAU) (2008), depends on the participation rate levels. Countries with low higher education participation rates are searching to “*expand access*” via the creation of new opportunities. Countries which reached a significant participation ratio are searching to “*widen access*” to permit access to students from the under-represented groups. From this standpoint, Goastellec (2008b) distinguished between three different **global patterns of access**. The first pattern is **the “inherited merit”** where access to higher education is exclusive to selected students from certain background, for instance: students from the upper class, urban area, male, etc. The second pattern is that of the “*equality of access*” where equal access should be provided to all through the elimination of any discriminatory barriers.

¹⁰⁸ By “expanding access”, it is meant to increase participation via increasing the number of recruited students and opening doors to the under-represented groups through structural differentiation

¹⁰⁹By “widening access”, it is meant to ensure equality of opportunities especially for the under-represented groups, increase retention and equal representation of the lower socio-economic group

And the last pattern is that of “*widening access*” where students from various social backgrounds and groups should have access to the higher education sector.

3.1.1 Access, Selection and Equity Chain

Young (1971) **defined** “access” as the (*quote*) “act or privilege of coming to; admittance; approach; ability to enter”. Harman (1994) advanced that the term “access” is often used in technical and policy literature to refer to student entrance to higher education. He added that (*quote*) “access means the ability of a sub-group of a certain population to enter the higher education as fully enrolled students”. And the European Council (1999) defined access as (*quote*) “the widening participation in good quality higher education to all sectors of society; the extension of participation to include currently under-represented groups; and a recognition that participation extends beyond entry to successful completion” (cf. Fleming and Gallagher, 2003).

Otero and McCoshan (2005) provided three different perspectives permitting to define “access”. The first stresses the importance of having the right to participate in educational programme regardless if the right is exercised or not. The second defines access as “participation” which reflects the ability of an individual to experience a learning opportunity; the right of learning is hence exercised. The third reflects on the outcome of the learning process highlighting the graduation and emphasising the importance of completing the educational programme. From their side, Williams and Blackstone (1983) considered that a correct and accurate definition of “access” cannot be elaborated without consideration of the following: access for whom? (secondary students or mature students, high social class or disadvantage one); access to what? (sector and institution; field of study and level of course, full-time or part-time, face to face or distance/open learning education); access on what criteria? (open access or access based on academic merit/criteria); and access paid for by whom? (government, private sponsors, parent or students).

Based on the above definitions, access **cannot be passed on without referring to the selection process**. Selection processes, and as identified long ago by Trow (1973) are as important as the access by itself if to maintain the social class and not undermine it. According to Harman (1994), the selection is the choice between qualified candidates when demand exceeds supply for student places. It can be based either on a merit system; or high school grades; or other factors such as political beliefs, group membership, open admission, etc. Such process might be done long before the higher education studies¹¹⁰. On the other hand, for Gouvias (1998), selection is not only about “sorting out” the most academically oriented students. The quality of education, the differential access to educational facilities based on the social class status, ethnic origins, religion and differential willingness of parents to provide financial and psychological support are also to be considered.

For Goastellec (2006a), the selection process questions the **equity of access**. Harman (1994) defined equity as the justice and fairness in the selection, as long as meritocracy is met. The main objective is the achievement of equal access to higher education, equal participation, equal attainments and equal opportunities. For Reilly (2008), the terms equity covers many dimensions of equality to education such as (*quote*) “equality of opportunity, equality of access, retention and participation”. Goastellec (2008a) divided equity into two levels. The first relates to the social background of the student that determines (*quote*) “who enters what kind of institution and earns what kind of degree and with what results”. The second refers to the cost of higher education and ways of payments. According to the IAU (2008); the OECD (2008); the “Access and Equity Guide” (2003); the UNESCO (1998), equitable higher education systems and equitable access cannot be ensured unless all students from various social, academic, expertise levels and regardless of their age, gender, religion, language, physical disabilities, etc. can have access to the same educational opportunities.

¹¹⁰ At least for certain higher education systems that divide secondary students into different streams allowing to pre-select post-secondary degree

To achieve that purpose, educational policies and strategies need to encourage students' participation especially those from the under-represented groups based on their social background, economic status, gender, low quality of prior schooling, and the like. Given that inequalities at the higher education level are pre-determined by what happens to various social groups at the secondary education (Holm-Nielsen, 2001), equitable access cannot be achieved without a clear and active collaboration between the secondary and the higher education (IAU, 2008). **Equity of access has hence become, along with quality, efficiency and accountability one of the main objectives of the educational policies providing that it allows to maintain social cohesion through the alteration in the social status between generations** (Koucky et al., 2009; Goastellec, 2006b; D'Addio, 2007).

Finally, and as concluded by Trow (1973), to guarantee equality of opportunities, places need not only to be extended. A specific attention to quality delivered as well as to educational policies must be accorded permitting to assure a certain balance between access and equity and guarantee consequently satisfactory outcomes¹¹¹ for all participants.

3.2 Access: Public Policies and Private Strategies

Demand for higher education changed radically over the years and expanded massively implicating changes at the higher education system which moved from privilege to right, **from elite to mass**, from mass to universal (Aziz, 2010; Johnstone, 2003; Schuetze and Slowey, 2002; Trow, 1973). These changes, that cannot be foreseen as separated, were attributed by Goastellec (2008a) and Kaiser and De Weert (1994) to a variety of forces: "*demographic*" translated with the increase in the number of high school graduates; "*political*" interpreted by the continuous search for equity and equality through the access policies formulated; and "*economic*" considering the labour market needs and economic development. To these three forces, a fourth attribute is to be added that related to the

¹¹¹ That is one of the requisites of access in addition to enrolment and retention (Jayaweera, 1987).

diversity of the students' social origins, interests, motivations and aspirations and which was long time ago identified by Trow (1973). Consequently, and as advanced by Felouzis (2011), the **demand for education cannot be detached from its complex environment** which is the educational system, the various educational backgrounds of actors and the strategies of social reproduction. Therefore and to have a better insight on the higher education systems and the factors affecting access to it, **there is a need to consider a triangular perspective** as advanced by Clark (1983). Clark's triangle considers the three main actors in higher education: **the state authority, the HEIs and the students' demand** (*Ibid.*).

As proposed by Clark (1983), demand for higher education cannot be detached from the **educational policies pertinent to access and from the admission processes**. Kaiser and De Weert (1994) recognised that the degree of access that the educational policies permit will determine the structure of the system and its size. The IAU (2008) found that the government through the educational access policies should control within the guidelines of these policies the students' choices and the HEIs strategies. In order to reduce inequalities, these policies need to be tailored in a way permitting to mobilize the productive workforce and to provide equal participation within and between the social classes, and the geographic regions which is still not totally achieved (Harman, 1994). To attain such finality, Goastellec (2008a); Harman (1994) and Kaiser and De Weert (1994), agreed with Trow (1973) on the necessity to implement a general and open access policy or what is known by the "egalitarians" point of view; pioneered by Trow. However, and because of inconsistencies amongst access policies, access to higher education did not expand equally in different educational systems with a more pronounced effect in developing rather than developed ones (Johnstone, 2003; Harman, 1994)¹¹².

¹¹² In countries such as Germany, Belgium and Netherlands (i.e. continental Europe), HEIs cannot refuse students because entry to higher education is a right set by the constitution for eligible and qualified students regardless of their social and family backgrounds. On the contrary, and in the UK, no right is exercised. The entry to higher education is very competitive and selective where HEIs control access through pre-set admission criteria (Kaiser and De Weert, 1994).

Educational policies need not only to consider demand for higher education. Goastellec (2008a) and Otero and McCoshan (2005) agreed that these policies need to consider **as well the labour market needs because of the evident correlation between education, economic progress and social inclusion.** This, and according to the UNESCO (1998) and Kaiser and De Weert (1994) will permit to respect the link between the labour market demand and the higher education offering(s). Nonetheless, and because of the increasing unemployment rates amongst the highly educated individuals, Leslie and Fretwell (1996) demonstrated that the positive association between the labour market demand and the higher education supply is rarely achieved. Based on that, Goastellec (2008a) focused on **the importance of not treating educational policies in isolation as they cannot work in a social vacuum.** These policies need to be formulated with relation to the **demographic, economic, political and social forces where the students' demand and offered opportunities by the HEIs have a great effect on shaping them** (Taylor et al., 2008; Sporn and Dill, 1995). These policies can range from the most restrictive ones, jeopardizing the principle of equity and equality, to the less restrictive ones permitting a more diversified representation of the student body (Kaiser and De Weert, 1994).

What follows will reflect on the variety of access educational policies set by the government to control the higher education system, as to reflect at a second stage on the admission processes implemented by the HEIs and their effect on access.

3.2.1 Governmental Policies

Heilbroner and Thurow (2002) **acknowledged the need of the governments to set educational policies promoting equitable access to all members of the society** given that (*quote*) “nothing pays off economically for a society more than having an educated work force”. In ordinary markets, the main reason for policy intervention is market failure. **Since market mechanisms or market-like mechanisms were introduced to the higher**

education system, discussing educational policies cannot be done without reference to the problems encountered in any ordinary market.

Suneja (2002) defined governmental policy as the rules that set the game by which different markets have to play. Through these policies, the government role extended to avoid negative implications emerging from different types of market failures. Heilbroner and Thurow (2002) identified **five potential sources of market failures where four of them can be easily applied to the higher education system** and where the government intervention is essential to avoid inefficiencies. These four types are identified as being: the prevalence of ignorance; pure public goods; lengthening time horizons; and the cost of imperfect competition. What follows will reflect on each type.

(1) *The prevalence of ignorance*: according to the rational process the market is able to regulate itself whenever there is an excess or insufficiency of demand or supply (Miller et al., 2005). However, as demonstrated by Teixeira and Dill (2011), the market does not always produce the maximum output. Many factors interfere to prevent such outcome from being realized. Teixeira and Dill (2011) explained that human beings are not fully informed as proposed by the rational perspective. They lack information and perception about knowledge that is essential for any market. In the case of higher education, clients, with reference to parents and students, are not fully informed about the HEIs, their characteristics, their official status, their offerings and their tuition fees (Miller et al., 2005). Rumours, hearsays and the like might twist their decision in relation to the choice of the HEI and programme; hence the incidence of market failure necessitating government intervention. Teixeira and Dill (2011) proposed that the government should in this case communicate clear information with the public permitting to change any erroneous decision that could be taken affecting the flow of decisions within the market.

(2) Pure public goods: Miller et al., (2005) defined a public good as a non-rivalrous and non-excludable good provided by the government through paid taxes. As discussed in chapter two, the higher education system can no longer be considered as a pure public good because of the privatization trend and the effect of market forces (Teixeira and Dill, 2011; Teixeira, 2006). Government intervention is hence regarded as essential to regulate the market and set rules for the establishment and expansion of any new private HEI¹¹³.

(3) Lengthening time horizons: Miller et al. (2005) defined this type of market failure as any type of long term investments that are very risky and whose outcomes can be unpredictable and invaluable. Investment in education is one type of these investments. Parents invest in their children education for a long time with no payoffs over a period that might exceed twenty years. Given the preference for private education, investment in higher education became a source of concern in relation to the financial outcomes. The preference towards the private sector proved over the years that it is costly because of the high tuition fees; a cost that is not always compensated by a fast and successful transition to the labour market. The government needs hence to interfere and partly finance education in general and higher education in particular (*Ibid.*).

(4) The cost of imperfect competition: the neo-classical approach supposes that the market is under the perfect competition rules (Miller et al., 2005). However, and although in higher education natural monopoly might not exist, some providers might exercise the power of monopoly by cartelizing the “market” of higher education. The government, as advanced by Teixeira and Dill (2011) should (*quote*) “oversee market concentration, prevent [...] monopolies, and promote a market structure without unjustified barriers for potential new providers entering the market”. There is a need not

¹¹³ The legislation “Standard for the Establishment of Universities” in Japan and the “1996 decree” that reorganized the private higher education sector and set new rules and regulations to be followed by private HEIs in Lebanon can be taken as examples of such intervention.

only to formulate policies, but to revise them in relation to the modifications within the market. The massification of the system and the shift from elite to mass are hence regarded as a solution to downsize the monopolistic power that certain prestigious HEIs uphold. However, and according to Jimenez and Salsa-Velasco (2000) and Harman (1994), elite institutions still exercise a monopolistic admission power if consider the social class attributes.

In the case of the higher education, and like any other “market”, **the government should respond to any source of market failure to maximize and promote participation in higher education and permit equal opportunities for students from various backgrounds** (Teixeira, 2013; Callender, 2003). It is these policies that can either **reinforce or dilute the effect of the social differences as well as the gender educational gap**¹¹⁴. Teixeira and Dill (2011) identified a variety of forms for such intervention which can be translated either in the form of public provision of education; or public subsidies; or provision of information; or preparation of needed laws and regulations. However, the authors acknowledged that the government **intervention by itself is not important. The type and the degree of intervention in relation to the social benefits acquired is what does matter.**

What follow will reflect on the various typologies of policies that a government can implement to avoid sources of market failure. We note three divisions: restrictive, structural and non-restrictive policies.

3.2.1.1 Restrictive Admission Policies

They are divided into two forms: (a) numerous clausus/quotas and (b) selection.

¹¹⁴ Policies implemented in France and in the USA can be taken as examples of policies aiming to minimize the educational gap among various social classes as well as among female and male (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

a) Numerous Clausus/Quotas

The aim of this policy is to minimize the number of students registered at certain programmes because of the labour market saturation and graduates surplus in certain fields (Kaiser and De Weert, 1997). According to the UNESCO (1998), this policy will permit to consider the link between the higher education and the labour market and consequently reduce unemployment. However, and as identified by several scholars, even the countries that chose such policy for manpower planning purposes, restrained from using it because of the lack of information pertaining to the labour market needs from one hand and from the other hand to the unwillingness of the students to enrol in alternative programmes as advised by these policies leading hence to other social and economic undesirable effects¹¹⁵ (to name a few, Hogskoleverket, 2012; Eurydice, 2009; 2008).

b) Selection

The foundation of this type of policy is “admission or entrance test”. Having a secondary education degree is no longer by itself a qualifying condition for higher education. Many countries implemented admission criteria to determine the most eligible students to be enrolled in a certain programme based not only on academic standards (such as UK; Mullen, 2011; Harman, 1994, and Denmark; Danish Ministry of Higher Education, 2010), but also on their age and work experience (such as Sweden; Hogskoleverket, 2012).

¹¹⁵ Examples of countries that have applied or used to apply such policy (Kaiser and De Weert, 1994) are Sweden that implements restricted admission policies for all study programmes (Hogskoleverket, 2012); Denmark where particular programmes require strict admission criteria as for other programmes access is granted on the basis of having a secondary school leaving examination (Danish Ministry of Higher Education, 2010); and the Netherlands (Eurydice, 2011). Concerning Germany (Eurydice, 2009), Ireland (Authority of Ireland, 2009) and Belgium (Higher Education Qualifications Framework in Flanders, 2008) and given the belief in the right to access more than the emphasis on manpower planning there are no numerous clauses. Admittance to a HEI is based on passing secondary school respective qualification or its equivalence and entrance tests are only required in certain cases for few programmes that require special skills. Concerning Lebanon, and according to the General Director of Higher Education, this is a policy that the government in general and the Ministry of Higher Education in particular do not intend to implement given the democratic and free choice that student should have in choosing their degrees (*quote*: “we cannot dictate to students what to choose and not to choose, we can guide them, advise them but not dictate their choices”) (Interview with the Director General of Higher Education, 2012).

However, and according to Goastellec (2008a), the shift in the norms of access from “inherited merit” to “formal equality” to “attempt to provide equal opportunities” require a restructuring of the admission criteria in order to consider the impact that they might have on the students from various social backgrounds. Since the materialization of the “Egalitarians” point of view, pioneered by Trow (1973), the selection process was criticized because it contradicts their ideology of open access to all. The implications of such criticism; i.e. removing admission criteria, was very much more visible in the USA more than in Europe where in the latter case entrance tests are still applicable in addition to the high school degree as an essential condition for university admission (at least for certain fields).

3.2.1.2 Structural Reforms

Structural reforms are divided into two types: (a) secondary and higher education reform and (b) higher education reform.

a) Secondary and Higher Education Reform

This type of reform considers the link between the secondary education and the higher education. Such association is regarded with great importance in order to determine the students’ future higher educational choices. It was assumed that the schools should offer the supply of young people who meet the demand requirements set by the HEIs and that the HEIs should show a certain level of autonomy when it comes to teaching and research without considering the need of the schools or their output. However, such indifference can no longer be accepted. Higher education should no longer assume that it sets the standards and that the job of the schools is to follow. The change in the school curriculum should be taken seriously by the HEIs since it affects the students choosing to pursue their higher studies and hence will have its repercussion on the higher education demand structure (Pring, 1992). For Kaiser and De Weert (1994), the reform between the school education and the higher education consists of either dividing the students into several

streams at the secondary level which will guide and maybe restrict the students' future higher educational choices¹¹⁶; or have a uniform track leading to higher education studies and hence allowing a wider choice at this level¹¹⁷. Within this context, Davies (1996) advanced that countries opting for the second option implement in general entry barriers at the higher education level permitting to filter the eligible students for each programme.

b) Higher Education Reform

The higher education reform is divided into two types: structural reform and privatization.

- Structural Reform¹¹⁸: it goes back to the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. New types of institutions were established to meet the economic needs of the society¹¹⁹. Two HEIs models appeared: the diversified and the integrated. The former became very popular and showed discrepancies amongst HEIs pertaining to quality, status and content whereas the latter was not accepted as much. This reform permitted the distinction between “multipurpose”, “specialized” and “binary” higher education system instead of a “unitary” system despite the indication in some cases¹²⁰ of the adoption of a unitary structure. A distinction between mono-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary HEIs was also noted. The former are specific in character and provide specialized studies in one field; whereas the latter provide a more diversified experience (Teichler, 2004). For Kaiser and De Weert (1994), the structural reform materialized in the development of the non-university

¹¹⁶ Such option is implemented in countries such as Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Netherland, Lebanon, etc.

¹¹⁷ Like in the UK and Sweden.

¹¹⁸ Examples of higher education systems that knew structural reform are the UK (Teichler, 2004; Mullen, 2011), and Germany (Eurydice, 2009).

¹¹⁹ Such as the polytechnics in Britain, the Instituts Universitaires de Technologie in France.

¹²⁰ Such is the case in the UK where at a certain stage during the 1980s, the polytechnics were transformed into universities in order to maintain quality. Such upgrade was seen as an indicator of a binary system; nevertheless, reality was totally different (Teichler, 2004).

sector leading to a wide range of new institutions such as polytechnics, two years colleges, distant learning, etc.

- Privatization¹²¹: it refers to the expansion of the private sector as a response to the increasing demand for higher education and the inability of some fallible governments particularly in the developing countries to expand their national systems of higher education. As discussed in chapter two, higher education is no longer regarded as a public provision because of the rise of market or market-like mechanisms within the higher education system (Teixeira, 2006; Amaral and Teixeira, 2000; Kaiser and De Weert, 1994). For Meek et al. (1996), this situation intensified the competition which permitted the offer of a variety of choices for those seeking higher studies.

3.2.1.3 Non-Restrictive Measures

The aim of these measures is to focus on the students' behaviour and the effect of the policies implemented on these behaviours.

a) Behaviour of Students

Kaiser and De Weert (1994) identified two types of policies affecting the students' higher educational choices. The first type is the "*Availability of Information and Guidance*". It refers to the presence or non-presence of special reports and guidance in relation to the number of institutions, the typologies, the admission regulations (open access or selective access), the offered programmes, the success conditions, and even the link with the labour market needs. The absence of such information will lead to a market failure¹²² and will have a reverse effect on the students' higher educational choices. However, the authors emphasized that this type of policy, when implemented, should not attempt to guide the students towards certain fields and not the others as not to create discrepancies

¹²¹ Such reform has been well pronounced in the USA, Spain, Latin America countries (Geiger, 1996) and Lebanon (CERD reports), etc. to name just few examples.

¹²² Incidence of "asymmetric information"

concerning the graduates' distribution among various industries and sectors¹²³. The second type is the “*Financial Incentives*”. Always according to Kaiser and De Weert (1994), it consists in increasing the fees for certain programmes because of the graduates surplus and/or lack of work opportunities. However, countries that are in favour of equal access and that have set their admission policies based on that principle (such as Ireland, Germany, Denmark, etc.) have not always favoured such instrument.

As a final note, **the governments are more resilient to move towards less restrictive measures because of the change in their role from state control to state supervision**. What counts is no longer the policy instrument by itself but rather the degree to which the implemented policy correspond to the different aggregates determining the demand for higher education (Massen and Van Vught, 1994). As identified by Callender (2003) and earlier by Mill (1965), **the government intervention is seen as essential not only to promote access but to guarantee equality and quality and ensure that no one is denied access to higher education because of the lack of the financial resources**.

3.3 Private Admission Strategies

The government is not the only actor to be considered in the organization of the higher education system as clearly reported by Clark's triangle (1983). **HEIs are an essential actor when it comes to setting admission strategies promoting equitable and equal access**. They should give an important emphasis to improving the admission processes while considering the students prior academic achievements and potentials (IAU, 2008). Admission processes are therefore considered as an important tool for the distribution of

¹²³ For most of the European countries (UK, France, Germany, etc.), information about the higher education sector is available and updated as to consider any new reform set in place. As regards the Lebanese case, the Lebanese Ministry of Higher Education has opted recently for such reorganization where it has displayed on its website pages information about recognized HEIs and programmes by the ministry. Furthermore, the ministry has as well updated its page recently by adding to it By Laws that regulate the Lebanese higher education market. Nevertheless, the website does not provide any studies about the labour market needs. Based on the interview with the Director General of Higher Education, there are certain lacks as regards the labour market needs and their association with higher education graduates' qualifications and research and statistics are still “introverted”.

the students among various programmes and for the provision of skilled workforce within the labour market (Albaek, 2011).

3.3.1 Selection and Admission Strategies: Types and Processes

For Harman (1994), the admission and selection processes need to guarantee equity of access. They include many steps to be followed from publicity, to application, to interview, to examination, to decision, to offer and acceptance and finally enrolment. Admission processes might range from competitive tests, to inspection of academic achievement, to open access. Harman (1994) continued and advanced that each HEI when setting admission processes need to question the following: who should be selected?; what should be the basis and criteria of selection?; and what numbers should be admitted in various fields and various courses of study?

In order to decide on the above, Goastellec (2008a) differentiated between **three types of admission processes**. The first is “*standardized tests*” where selection is based on meritocracy. A low level of diversity in terms of social class is noticed in this case. The second is “*Affirmative Action*” which considers factors such as race, gender, colour and religion to minimize the discrimination and hence allow a more ethno-racial diversity. The third type is the “*holistic*” consideration of the social background of the students. However, such process is very subjective and lack transparency, and for these reasons, it was criticized.

The QAA (2006) found the selection and admission processes as being a complex course of action. It needs to consider several aspects pertaining to the promotion of the HEI and its programmes to students, parents and employers; the organisation and/or participation in open days, recruitment fairs, summer schools, and the like permitting to provide a better insight about the institution to prospective students and allow thus recruitment; the selection of the students for specific programmes; the offering of a place; the students’

enrolment into the programme; and finally the induction and orientation provided to the recruited students.

An effective selection process is very important to determine the quality of the candidates chosen (Holm-Nielsen, 2001). For Al Amine and Faour (1998), **the selection process should be related to two aspects**: the amount of educational opportunities available and the parity or equality of educational chances. These two aspects are regarded as being essential for meritocracy. However, and always according to the same authors, such objective is rarely realized because of the unfairness and inequity of the educational systems when it comes to the choice of eligible candidates. Women have fewer chances than men, the students from the high social class have more chances than those from the low social class to go to elite HEIs, etc. According to Tsui (2003), and based on what is advanced, higher education system are accused of aggravating rather than diluting **inequitable distribution of the educational capital** because of the **selectivity processes implemented**.

3.3.2 Selection and Admission Strategies: Elite and Mass HEIs

Because of the divergence of the factors influencing the demand and the supply of higher education such as the demographic trends, the migration flow, the social transformation and the emergence of “new trend(s)” of customers, **the processes of admission and selection differ from one country context to another, from one institution to another, from elite to mass institutions**. These processes often consider the financial and the social backgrounds of the targeted candidates to maintain a certain level of prestige and standard; especially at elite HEIs.

For Harman (1994), the admission and selection criteria at elite institutions are more competitive than those implemented at mass institutions which favour open access. Within the elite institutions, the admission process varies from one faculty to another

because of the prestigious characteristics of certain professions over the others. For example, the admission to medicine, law and engineering is usually more difficult than that to humanities and education. Elite HEIs found themselves forced to favour the selection process over that of open access because of the labour market demand (Rosenbaum et al., 1990; cited in: Shavit et al., 2007). This process permit to filter the students based on the employers' demand who are only interested in the credentials transmitting signals of selectivity and quality. Tsui (2003) demonstrated that the graduates **from prestigious HEIs are better evaluated within the labour market** because of the reputation or the "labelling" effect of these institutions, the superior education quality that they provides, and the high level of success that is associated to the selectivity process¹²⁴. For Epple et al. (2006), the selective admission processes and the high tuition fees permit these institutions to attract the desirable calibre of students and hence to **create the effect of "peer quality"**. This will improve the quality and attract consequently more competent student body¹²⁵. This behaviour or process has long been validated by Collins (1979) and Parkin (1979; in: Shavit et al., 2007). The authors identified that prestigious private HEIs tended to apply enrolment strategies based on qualitative competition strategy. Such strategy provokes higher tuition fees that interconnected with high level of selectivity will ensure by itself a higher calibre of students. This will assure sustaining a "closure" over privileged positions and permit social mobility for students able to access these institutions.

Tsui (2003) once again indicted higher education in participating in a way or another in the social reproduction based on the degree of selectivity that they implement. From his side, Harman (1994) documented that **the students' recruitment in the most prestigious and selective institutions does not really reflect equitable access, nor equitable social representation**. The selection is more based on merit rather than equity. For Epple et al.

¹²⁴ Such strategy is translated in Lebanon where a very reputable architectural organization does not offer employment but to graduates from the American University of Beirut; a very reputable and prestigious Lebanese private institution.

¹²⁵ For instance, in the USA, top students tended to choose HEIs that provide academic quality. Based on the peer effect, high calibre students contributed to attract higher quality of students (Geiger, 2011).

(2006), the students from the low social class, when choosing the selective institutions, are doing so to benefit from the effect of the high tuition fees and selectivity process on cashing higher wages. For Goastellec (2008a), the selective HEIs have to revisit their admission processes in order to consider simultaneously the meritocracy and the equality principles. Elite HEIs can, instead of implementing discriminatory entrance examination permitting the recruitment of students only from the upper social class, employ an “Affirmative Action” process that considers access to the socially disadvantaged students¹²⁶. For Callender (2003), this necessitates from HEIs in general and selective ones in particular to elaborate financial assistantship programmes to cope with the rising cost to be endured particularly by the students from the low social classes¹²⁷. For Geiger (2011), these financial aids are a tool providing access and wider choice to the socially disadvantaged students unable to pursue higher studies because of the rising cost. However, and despite efforts aiming to assist students financially, **tuition fees are still**

¹²⁶ Implementation of such action by the “Parisian Institute of Political Science” and the “Indian government” proved its success and allowed not only to limit the “production” of “elite”, but to minimize as well the gap of access between different social classes. Evidence from the “University of Berkley” in the United States and the “National Higher Education Entrance Examination” in Vietnam are as well good examples where the admission criteria set allowed to consider academically eligible students regardless of their socio-economic background (Goastellec, 2008a).

¹²⁷ Evidence from the USA proved that access to higher education is function not only of families’ income and students’ social class but as well of financial aid where students from the low social class are more concerned in financial aids programmes when it comes to the choice of a HEI and a programme (Berkner and Chavez, 1997). American students from the low social class have more chances than students from the higher social class to go to a two-year course at a community college rather than attending a four-year programme at a public or private university (McPherson and Shapiro, 1999). Additionally, evidence from Britain has proven that higher tuition fees have a reverse effect on socially disadvantaged students’ enrolment (McPherson and Shapiro, 1999). Three reports in the UK reflected on different ways permitting to widen access to higher education especially for those from the low social classes. The first report was known by (1) the Dearing Report that aimed to maximize the participation in higher education and allow students from all social backgrounds to have access to all types of institutions, programmes, courses, etc. via financial support system and cost sharing principle; the second report (2) the Cubie Report where in addition to maximizing students’ participation in higher education, social inclusion was considered as the main aim where financial support is to be ensured for all students and where the government should remove financial barriers as to widen access and reach under-represented students’ population in higher education and thus assist them as to have the ability to pursue further their studies; as for the third report (3) the Rees Report that is identical in context to the “Cubie Report” yet it reflected on the importance of parity in all types of studies (Callender, 2003).

considered as a **barrier increasing the stratification** mainly at high-quality selective HEIs because the financial aids programmes still do not target all social classes¹²⁸ (*Ibid.*).

It is the massification of the higher education system that permitted to a certain extent to support the students' participation and not deter it in spite of the ever-existence discrepancies in the students' participation rate between different social groups. For the IAU (2008), the variety of institutional models and typologies, the flexible modes of study, and the diversity in the delivery modes that were developed in close collaboration with the government were all means to one end that of expanding higher education participation and promoting access. **Mass private HEIs considered progressive, redistributive, and flexible selection and admission strategies permitting to consider all social groups** (Calendar, 2003); an initiative that was not explicitly noticed at elite or prestigious HEIs (IAU, 2008).

Examples of admission strategies adopted in various higher education system can be found in appendix 3.1.

3.4 Pre-eminence of Socio-Economic Factors

The Human Rights Universal Declaration in its article 26:1 advanced that (*quote*) “higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merits” simulating by this statement that equal access is guaranteed. However, even with the development of the mass higher education sector, this is was not totally achieved. In order to understand the factors that influence the preference of the students to “whether” or “whether not” go to the next educational level (Willis and Rosen, 1979) and the quantity of education (Kenny et al., 1979) all the aspects affecting the choice of a HEI and a programme are to be

¹²⁸ They do not consider for instance students from the middle social class. Evidence from the USA and UK can be considered where despite strategies aiming to minimize the participation gap among several social and ethnics groups, the latter objective was not fulfilled and we still find stratification and discrimination when it comes to the participation in higher education (Callender, 2003).

measured because of their effect on the social mobility (Goastellec, 2008a) and the overall national level of access (Otero and McCoshan, 2005).

The World Bank (1993) described the students as being conscious decision makers in concern to their educational privileges. However, for Sharrock (2000) and Pitman (2000), the students are not rational decision makers because of the financial resources, the social and the family backgrounds shaping their decision. The students, unlike conventional clients, are unable to understand the totality of the transactions taking place because of the lack of freedom and knowledge highlighting by this the incidence of asymmetric information (*Ibid.*). Their access to higher education is hence subject to several traits.

For Jaoul-Grammare (2007), it is related to their preferences. The UNESCO Bangkok (2010) advanced that the prior academic performance, the families economic situation and the value accorded to education, the government policies (tuition fees structure, scholarship, incentives programmes for female students, etc.), and the surrounding environment (geographical distance from HEIs, quality of education available, etc.) all have an effect on determining the students' chances. For Montmarquette et al. (1998); Easterlin (1995); and Demeulemeester and Rochat (2001), the imitation effect and the chances that students' encounter have a decisive effect on their choices. According to Diebolt and El Murr (2004) and El Murr (2004), the students' choices are dependent in a cyclic way from the future expected salary and the available vacancies per sector. However, and despite the massification of the system, inequitable access is still noted (Goastellec, 2008a). Bourdieu (1986) explained such inequality with the presence or non-presence of three types of capital which are economic, social and cultural. Boudon (1974 cited in: Hansen, 2001) referred in his turn this ever existing inequality to the value of the social structure of each country and to the social class division which differ from one context to another.

After this brief overview of the aspects that weight on the students' decision, and to have a better insight of the aspects that prevent them from having equal chances at the higher education level, and to understand what shape their choices of a HEI and a programme, the first part of this section will expand on the economic variables, while the second will discuss aspects related to the sociological variables permitting by that to take a socio-economic stand¹²⁹.

3.4.1 The Economic Variables

3.4.1.1 Emergence of The Human Capital Idea

When the economic effects of education emerged after the Second World War, the investment in the human capital and its effect on future earnings was given more importance (Teixeira, 2007). Economists used to believe that the differences among individuals economic well-being is more related to the physical assets such as the financial ability, the physical capability and the technological knowledge (Becker, 1962). However, studies on income growth proved that the less tangible assets, such as the investment in education, have a direct and more pronounced effect than the tangible assets. This new explored asset is considered as one of the potential explanatory factors in the understanding of the distribution of the income (Teixeira, 2007). Consequently, the human capital and its effect on the production are to be considered (Schultz, 1961). From this stand, **education was regarded not only as an essential tool preparing the individuals for the labour market** (Fasih, 2008) **and improving their societal conditions** (Becker, 1964) **but also as an attractive investment with expected returns** (Palacios, 2002) permitting to avoid unemployment (Canals and Diebolt, 2001) and leading to economic benefits for both the individuals and the society (Palacios, 2002). John Stuart Mil, unlike other

¹²⁹ Within this context, we should refer to the "Biosocial Theory" that considers "intelligence"; a biologically inherited characteristic and not a socially transmitted one, as the first determinant of access to education (Hernestein, 1973; Jensen, 1969).

political economists, agreed with such reflection where he saw a certain economic rational supporting the investment in educational expenses. The **idea of the human capital hence emerged** (Mill, 1965).

3.4.1.2 What is a “Human Capital”?

Davis and Noland (2003) and Becker (1962) defined the human capital as a form of capital generated through investment in education. Becker (1962), Mincer (1958) and Schultz (1961) considered it as on the job-training permitting to acquire information. Adamson (2009) compared it to an investment in a physical stock, and regarded it as the (*quote*) “valuation of knowledge, skills [...]”. Palacios (2002) defined the human capital by (*quote*) “individual’s knowledge and skills are assets”. The human capital is thus different than the physical assets such as a house, a car or the like. It is an intangible asset associated to investment expenditures (Shultz, 1961). It does not correlate with consumption expenditures aiming to answer a preference but rather aims to enhance capabilities (Canals and Diebolt, 2001). However, unlike consumption expenditures, the financial counterpart of investment expenditures may not be certain (Palacios, 2002). Such uncertainty is credited to the long time horizon investment¹³⁰ which may reduce the level of knowledge if no further investment is done (Becker, 1962). For Ashton and Green (1996) and Becker (1962), the individual demand and the investment in education and because of this uncertainty and risk will increase as long as the benefits are greater than the cost and investment in time and money.

3.4.1.3 Introducing the Human Capital Theory

The introduction of the human capital theory is credited to the contributions done by Mincer (1958), Schultz (1960), and Becker (1964; 1962). In the “Wealth of Nations”,

¹³⁰ As identified earlier, lengthening time horizon is a source of market failure that necessitates government intervention.

Adam Smith defined four types of capital where one of them is the “human capital”¹³¹. For Smith, the human capital is (quote) “the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitant or members of a society [...]” (Smith, 1963: 214). For Milton Friedman, the human capital investment is (quote) “a form of investment in human capital precisely analogous to investment in machinery, buildings, or other forms of non-human capital. Its function is to raise the economic productivity of the human being” (Friedman, 2002: 94). For Mincer, the human capital can play a double role permitting to reach economic growth. It is considered first as a factor of production created through education and skills acquired, and secondly, as a stock of knowledge and hence a source for innovation. The human capital is therefore a form of capital that exists internal to the worker as advanced by Becker and not external to him as advanced by Marx. It is thus an embodied capital (Adamson, 2009) which permits to enlarge the choice available to individuals that choose to invest in themselves (Schultz, 1961).

3.4.1.3.1 Effect on Income Distribution

The concept of human capital was largely and mainly associated to the income distribution as well as to employment prospects. In addition to Milton Friedman (Friedman, 1953), Jacob Mincer was one of the first economists through his PhD dissertation to contribute to the concept of the human capital while he was attempting to understand the income distribution among a specific population (Teixeira, 2007; Mincer, 1958). Such contributions gave more importance to the relationship between education and income and an ample explanation of access to higher education.

According to the human capital theory, further education and in-job-training both have an important effect on future income distribution among individuals (Schultz, 1961; Mincer, 1958). Mincer (1958) linked the “distribution of income to the distribution of

¹³¹ The other three forms of capital are defined by Adam Smith as: machines, buildings and improvement in labour.

individual abilities". The differences in earnings are related to the differences in human investment, and level and cost of education provided that all individuals are equally able and have access to equal opportunities (Schultz, 1961; Mincer, 1958). The totality of the investment in the human capital is defined by Becker (1962) as the sum of the school education that forms one half of the total investment in human capital, and the investment in the higher education or the job learning and training. The differences in the level of earnings are most noted at the upper education level because of the augmented skills and experience acquired and the considerable cost (Mincer, 1958; 1991b). Consequently, the choice of the highest level of education depends on the equalization of the marginal returns with the marginal costs (Becker, 1964) where the early investment in cognitive and non-cognitive skills will lower the cost of later educational investment and yield high return (Fasih, 2008). If to apply the results deduced from investment on in-job-training to investment in education as suggested by Becker, choosing education over the labour market although it will reduce students' return for the period of studies yet it will render higher future returns (Becker, 1962).

3.4.1.3.2 Effect on Employment Opportunities

Investment in education will not only permit higher returns but also better employment opportunities. According to the UNESCO and the OECD (2002); Mincer (1991b); Becker (1964 and 1962); Ashenfelter and Ham (1979); and Nickel (1979), more educated individuals face unemployment less than less educated ones whether they are searching for a first employment opportunity or through the transition from one job to another. By itself, **the accumulation of the human capital improves future employment opportunities** and permit **access to well remunerated jobs**. **Employers are attracted towards individuals with the highest qualifications.** **The demand for educated workers will be more pronounced in industries where the productivity growth is high, and the unemployment of women will decrease with the increase in the level of education** (Mincer, 1991a; 1991b). For Becker (1962), the improvement in the employment opportunities is not only

related to the increase in the level of education but also to the investment in the collection of information. By this Becker referred to the degree of search undertaken to find a job in the form of spending money on employment agencies, searching for employment advertisements, visiting firms, and the like¹³².

3.4.1.3.3 Age Factor and Investment in Education

As advanced by one of the founders of the human capital theory, Becker (1962), younger individuals tend to invest more in education and change job more frequently. They are unaware of their abilities and of available investment opportunities. Although they require much time to acquire further knowledge about the return that could be generated from the investment in education, **they tend not to postpone their investment in education**¹³³. For Schultz (1961), young individuals who opted for investment in education are hence at a competitive advantage compared to older unemployed individuals' because of the level of education acquired and its positive effect on the productivity and employment opportunities.

3.4.1.4 Criticism of the Implications of the Human Capital Theory

Linking educational attainment to a productive investment was not welcomed by all theorists. **The human capital theory was faced with a lot of criticism for seeing education only as an investment.** Alfred Marshal detached the costs of education from the benefits because of the long term nature of the educational investment and the inability of the

¹³² Evidence from Czech Republic, Hungary, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States validate what has been advanced in terms of the association between the level of skills, employment and salary prospects. The earnings of 30-40 year old university graduates are 80% higher than those with only secondary education (OECD, 2004). In other words, employment is the basic labour market outcome of education in general and higher education in particular (Fasih, 2008) where labour division is limited by the scope of each market (Becker, 1962). The OECD (2004) provided evidence that the employment ratios for those with tertiary qualifications are significantly higher than for those without these qualifications with an 8% ratio in the OECD countries, 9% in the United States and 22% in Poland.

¹³³ Like they might do in the case of investment in a tangible, physical asset awaiting assortment of needed financial ability and knowledge

parents to foresee the future benefits particularly those from the lower social class. He simulated by that the incidence of “lengthening time horizons”; a type of market failure. For Kaiser and De Weert (1994), and although the increase in the access to higher education is economically driven, **the economic motives coercing the individual demand are not only composed of investment motives** as advanced by the human capital theory, but also by consumption motives. They have replicated by that what was previously advanced by Marshall (1961) who considered education as a by-product of investment and consumption motives; and Blaug (1976) who acknowledged that this investment is not necessarily linked to economic purpose but also to consumption motives where education is seen as a “good” that its purchase depends on its price. Consequently, and if to measure all the benefits obtained from the investment in human capital, **the flow of monetary returns are not to be considered alone, education consumption motives are to be introduced** (Jimenez and Salsa-Velasco, 2000; Heckman 1976; Becker, 1964). This was accepted from a long time ago where Mingat and Eicher (1982) demonstrated that the **students’ higher education choices** in general and that of the programme in particular, **are not always correlated to the future financial benefits**. Several current and future factors, not restricted to economic nature, affect access to higher education. They have identified these factors as being related to the students’ scholastic ability, social background, family income, personal tastes, and study distinctiveness. Within the same context, Demeulemeester and Rochat (2001); Sewell and Shah (1967) and Becker (1962) revealed that the **student’ choices of programmes in most cases do not correlate with the market demand insinuating the existence of other factors affecting these choices**. These factors are identified by these authors as being the age, the gender, the father’s occupation, the high school studies, the parental education, the family composition and size, and the family social background. Consequently, separating “nature from nurture” or “ability from education and other environmental factors” does not seem plausible (Becker, 1962).

Beach (2009) criticized the human capital theory on his turn by advancing that it was treated in isolation away from the political, historical, social and economic factors who

have a clear effect on altering the results of the investment in higher education. He regarded the theory as being “over simplistic” and “naïve” in considering education only as a production process. He reproached the fact, that although, the human capital theory brought respect to the labourers, yet, by reducing the value of education only to an economic investment, it did not consider the social segmentation and the discrimination within the labour market.

The main hypothesis of the human capital theory “*further investment in education will render the individual more productive*” was also criticised by the “screening or filtering approach” advanced at first by Stiglitz (1975). The “screening approach” considers the degree earned as a symbol or signal for ability (Heijke, 1996). It will only provide employers with good selection criteria and allow hence competition for jobs and earnings (El-Ghali, 2011). Similarly, the “job competition theory” advanced that employers will filter candidates based on their academic credentials, personal traits and generic skills which are the outcomes of their prior trainability. **According to these theories, having a higher diploma does not guarantee neither employment nor higher salaries.** The increasing gap between the graduates’ education and the availability of job offerings and skills needed, in addition to the screening impact, all have an impact on the employment opportunities and wages (Heijke, 1996).

Based on these criticisms, the following section will elaborate on the social variables and their effect on the students’ higher education choices. The second part of the chapter will reflect on the aspects related to the labour market; such as the screening approach, its effect on the students’ higher education choices and consequently their integration within the labour market.

3.4.2 The Sociological Variables

The sociological literature on higher education seeks to explain differences among various social groups regarding their educational choices and considering several factors in relation to their origins, age, gender and religious beliefs (Otero and McCoshan, 2005). Sociologists have always argued that the education will spin around the process of social stratification. It can either allow social mobility for those who cannot inherit prestige or reinforce the transmission of inequality between generations because of the unequal distribution among classes (Shavit et al., 2007). Education plays hence an important role in selecting those who will reach privilege and high social class (Rudd, 1987). Pfeffer (2007) demonstrated that the individual ability is not the supreme determinant of educational success. Many social and cultural backgrounds characteristics influence future educational choices. To gain a better insight on these aspects, what follow will shed the light on the main sociological factors that shape access to higher education, their effect and variation over time from the social class to the family academic and occupational backgrounds to the gender and religion.

3.4.2.1 Social class

Based on theoretical evidence that the parents' occupational background has an effect on their children's educational choices (Schuetze and Slowey, 2002; Mingat and Eicher, 1982; Glend and Elder, Jr. 1965; to name a few), the "1992 Standard Occupational Coding" (SOC) classified the **social classes according to the parents' profession. The following classification is noted:** the higher social class comprises three categories: professional (I), intermediate (II) and skilled non-manual (III_n); and the lower social class comprising: skilled manual (III_m), partly skilled (IV) and unskilled (V).

Goastellec (2006b) and Hansen (2001) advanced that the expansion of the higher education system will permit equity of access. Mare (1979) found on the other hand that

such expansion can reduce inequalities between the different socio-economic groups despite the persistence of social selection. As for Lucas (2001), he argued that the growth of the system might lead to diminishing quantitative inequalities but at the expense of qualitative ones. From these various points of view, higher education was regarded as an important promoter of social mobility (Al Amine and Faour, 1998) and a gatekeeper for the upper social positions (Tsui, 2003). It is considered by Al Amine and Faour (1998) as providing opportunity for the high and the mid-high social classes to sustain their social position and for the mid-low and the low social classes to enhance their social position.

3.4.2.1.1 Investment in Education and Social Class

The correlation between the social origins and the educational attainment is not recent. The founding fathers of economics referred to such association. Alfred Marshall advanced that the resources of the parents in “various grades of the society” have an important effect on the investment in education (Marshall, 1961). Adam Smith illustrated that students from the upper social class have an inclination to achieve a certain level of education before engaging in the labour market. On the other hand, those from the mid-low and the low classes choose the labour market over higher education at an earlier stage because of their financial inabilities to pursue higher studies (Smith, 1963). This revealed the opportunity cost of education replicating a choice of the labour market over that of the higher education for the students from the low social strata. For Becker (1962) and Mincer (1958), **although the investment in education assures higher future wages and better employment opportunities according to the human capital theory, such investment depends on the current financial ability of the families.** Wealthier families tend to invest more than poorer ones leading to an asymmetry in the amount of performed investment among the social classes proportional to the difference in the financial ability.

Although the development of the system attenuated inequalities in the total educational attainment (Mare, 1979), several theorists condemned such assumption. Shavit et al.

(2007) found that the educational attainment is highly related to the social class and origins. Pfeffer (2007) pointed out that the parents and the students are characterized by the rationality of their educational choices based on the cost, utility and success probability. He underlined the effect of the social differentiation that might lead to a variation in these elements resulting in a disparity in the educational choices between various social classes¹³⁴. Despite favouring the concept of educational equity egalitarianism and despite the massive expansion of the system and the policies objectives to widen access (IAU, 2008; Department for Education and Skills, 2003; 2006), evidence revealed that there is always selectivity among different social classes (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). As demonstrated by Vallet (2004), **any waning effect of the social origins on the educational attainment was noticed at the lower educational levels (primary and secondary levels) versus a stable or even increasing effect of the social origins at the higher education level**. This led Reilly (2008) and Al Amine and Faour (1998) to acknowledge that the **social equality of opportunities is still inexistent at the higher education level despite the development of the system and the presence of mass HEIs**. Breen (2001) and Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) credited this educational inequalities to the children's tendency to attain the same level of education as their parents and therefore maintain their social class position; a behaviour that was long time ago acknowledged by Marshall (1961). Consequently, disparities were only diluted and inequalities still exist at the enrolment level and at the choice of the HEI between various social classes.

Pursuing higher education seems like the normal step for the students from the high social classes ensuring the continuity of their social status by getting a university degree (Reilly, 2008). These students have a tendency to make risky and demanding educational decisions leading to high status professions preserving their social status (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). However, **and for the students from the low social classes**, many studies

¹³⁴ His comparative study over twenty industrialized country has clearly acknowledged the presence of a stable educational mobility at the higher educational stage despite the massive expansion of the systems.

(Chowdry et al., 2010, UK; Department for Education and Skills, 2003 and 2006, UK; Department for Education and Employment DfEE, 1999, UK; Jonsson, 1987; to name a few) demonstrated that **their low participation rate in the higher education is owed to a combination of factors. These factors range**, in addition to uncertainties and low expectations, from the educational background and passing the requirements (i.e. students' ability); to the family background and home location; and to the benefits expected from investing in further studies and cost related to such investment. These students, and if to participate at the higher education, and compared to those from the high social class, are inclined to make less demanding educational choices because they are cost and risk adverse and are satisfied by attaining the working class (Meghir and Palme, 2005; Blanden and Gregg, 2004; Callender, 2003; Carneiro and Heckman, 2003 and 2002; Al Amine and Faour, 1998; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995; Mingat and Eicher, 1982). Concerning the students from the middle social class, Al Amine and Faour (1998) found that they are the most to wager on education as a source for social mobility. According to Raftery and Hout (1993), **such inequality among the social classes will persist till the privilege social class reaches saturation or in other words** when all daughters and sons of the high social class attain higher education; a fact that is not easily achieved at the higher level of education.

Box 3.1: Variety of educational choices per social class

Evidence from Patrick Clancy (2001) in the social background on higher education (cited in: Reilly, 2008) showed that only 25% of the relevant population of skilled manual and partly skilled and unskilled manual workers (i.e. from mid-low and low social classes) joined the higher education versus one half of the relevant population of salaried employees and lower professional; and 75% of the employers, managers, higher professionals (i.e. high-mid and high social classes). Additionally, Sewell and Hauser (1993) demonstrated that students from the high social classes have 2.5 times greater chance to acquire a higher education degree than students from the lower classes. Such effects have been stressed out long time ago by Trow (1973) where he found that, despite the increase in the number of students seeking higher education, **the percentage of those entering higher education from the upper and middle classes is higher than that of students from the working classes.**

3.4.2.1.2 Social, Cultural, Economic Capitals and Access

For Boudon (1974; cited in Hansen, 2001), **the social class** has a double effect pertaining to the access to higher education and educational attainment. These effects are identified as being **primary and secondary effects**. The first is concerned with the impact of the social background on the school performance referring by that to the differences in cultural resources which permit to meet the school and the university requirements. As explained by Boudon, the prior academic achievement of the students from the low social classes will be less than those from the high social classes because of the low level of cultural resources provided by their families. On the other hand, students from the high social classes are more apt to pursue higher level of education compared to their counterparts from a lower social class because of the presence of needed cultural facilities. The second effect refers to the effect of the social background on the educational decisions and aspirations. The latter are seen as the outcome of the cost-benefit considerations where both costs and benefits repercussions differ among the social classes. The secondary effects replicate the same consequences as the primary effects yet in term of costs and not cultural aspects.

Bourdieu (1984) from his side and in addition to the cultural and social capitals reflected on the **“economic capital”** that denotes the family financial and material status. For Bourdieu, the poor economic situation has negative impact on the access to higher education. Individuals will either be prevented from continuing their studies or they will drop out and enter the labour market due to financial barriers. He added that those who experience upward social mobility may be expected to have less economic success than those who originate from the higher social class. The same incidence was acknowledged by Pfeffer (2007) who demonstrated that **a pattern of social inequalities persists over time passing from one generation to another**.

Students from the low social classes have less probability to attain the next educational level than students from the high social classes as demonstrated by Chowdry et al. (2010); Hansen (2001); Shavit and Blossfeld (1993). This is because they lean to **underestimate the benefits and overestimate the costs** since education did not really change anything major because of the absence of connections that the students from the higher social classes possess (Callender, 2003); Conner et al., 2001). The behaviour of the students from the low social classes is explained by Conner et al. (2001) through two factors: encouraging and discouraging ones. The first are nothing but the prospect for a better job opportunity and thus better income. The majority of the students from the lower social classes do not have a particular job goal when deciding to enter higher education. Their choice of higher education, if any, is not related to a preference or to a conscious choice, but it is only seen as a way to ensure a better occupation. It is “a mean to an end rather than the end itself”. Concerning the second factors, they focus on the employment and the financial matters. Students from the low social classes choose work over higher education (opportunity cost of education) because of their financial situation. Both the cost of education and the debt are considered as barriers because of the instability in their future income. These students, and according to Al Amine and Faour (1998) will have either to give up a fixed income and pursue higher education and thus endure the cost of education; or renounce the possibility of cashing future higher salaries by choosing the labour market over that of education.

3.4.2.1.3 Choice of a HEI, Programme, Selection Process and Social Class

All students with comparable academic performance should have equal qualitative and quantitative probability of representation among various HEIs and programmes (Levin, 1976). However, once the social origins are added, a different reality is revealed. As demonstrated by Cardoso et al. (2006); Goastellec (2006b); Jimenez and Salas-Velasco

(2000) and Gouvias (1998), **the socio-economic disadvantaged students¹³⁵ tend to sort themselves by socio-economic level among various types of institutions.** Tsui (2003) recognised that **the students from the low social class, if they choose to continue their higher studies, have a tendency to choose less demanding and not private prestigious HEIs. This is credited to the high tuition fees and the selective criteria implemented by private institutions and to the moderate if not low cultural capital of the socially disadvantaged students.** Shavit et al. (2007) revealed that this behaviour is encouraged **by the HEIs attitude and interest towards stratification because employers expect from them to select and filter eligible candidates determining by that the professional human resources.** This process of selectivity was referred to by Bourdieu by the “relegation” process. The relegation is considered as one form of selection. Based on it, the prestigious or elite HEIs choose a certain number of students based on their social and cultural backgrounds. As for the less valued cultural resources, they are relegated to the less selective institutions.

3.4.2.2 Family Academic Background

The social class is not to be considered as the sole determinant of the educational attainment (e.g. Shavit and Blossfeld, 1993 vs. Breen et al., 2005 cited in Pfeffer, 2007 and Hansen, 2001). **A strong positive correlation exists between the parents’ education and their children’s probability to participate in higher education** (Pfeffer, 2007; Shavit et al., 2007; Meghir and Palme, 2005; Blanden and Gregg 2004; Vallet, 2004; Carneiro and Heckman, 2003; 2002; Gayle et al., 2002; Haveman and Wolfe, 1995; Raftery and Hout, 1993; Cea and Mora, 1992)¹³⁶. Several studies demonstrated that **the parental education is more influential on the future educational choices of the children than the parents’ social**

¹³⁵ Reilly (2008) defined “disadvantaged students” that are excluded from the higher education market as those who do not show any family history of participation in higher education, come from disadvantaged school and where the revenue of their parents is low and thus are member of the “low social class” (as set by the SOC).

¹³⁶ Evidence from Ireland showed that the family background on children’s educational selection did not only matter but it was unchanged over a period of fifty years (Raftery and Hout, 1993).

class (e.g. Pfeffer, 2007; Shavit et al., 2007). Vallet (2004) acknowledged within this context that the (*quote*) **“culture inequalities in education are more persistent to change than socio-economic inequalities”** (p. 26). Vellymalay (2010) and Hout (2004) recognized that the parents with high level of education are more involved in and concerned about the education of their children oppose to those who are less educated. Montmarquette et al. (1998) found that the possession of a university degree, even by one of the parents, will enhance the children probability to continue higher education because of the better insight about the labour market needs. Educated parents have the ability to follow up on their children academic progression and orient them towards programmes that suit their academic ability (*Ibid.*). For Vellymalay (2010); Bowles et al., (2008); Knighton and Mirza (2002) and Arrow et al., (2000), the socio-economic advantaged students have better chances to access higher education because they are more exposed to educated models (teachers, peers, parents) providing encouragement in what pertains to the educational attainment and the occupational objectives.

Breen et al. (2009) **allied the educational objective of the children not only to the educational level attained by their parents but to the new job opportunities created within the market requiring higher degrees**. Students, mainly from the high social class, will seek higher level of education than that of their parents in order to maintain the social class status and be eligible for job openings. This challenged the idea of persistent inequality among generations and ascertained the existence of a declining effect of the parental income and the social class over the children’s educational decisions. However, Breen et al. (2009) illustration was contradicted by many studies that demonstrated the existence of a stable and persistent inequality at the higher education level especially when parental education is considered (Pfeffer, 2007; Shavit et al., 2007; Hout, 2004; Vallet, 2004; Shavit and Blossfeld, 1993 cited in Pfeffer, 2007). The association between the parents’ education and the future educational attainment of their children was hence referred to by the **intergenerational educational inequality known by the “Maximally Maintained Inequality – MMI”**. The MMI was first “expressed in terms of Mare’s model of

Educational transition in 1980” (see Hout, 2004). According to Raftery and Hout (1993), the MMI is referred to whenever there is a persistence over time of educational inequalities (Raftery and Hout, 1993).

Box 3.2: Correlation between parents’ education and that of their children

Pfeffer (2007) saw parental education as an incontestable educational source for children. In a study over twenty industrialized countries, he demonstrated the existence of a strong correlation between the education of the parents and the educational attainment of their children in almost all countries. For him, (*quote*) “a supportive and stimulating environment at home should be expected to exert large effect on students’ academic performance and ultimate educational attainment” (p. 5) regardless of the uniformity or non-uniformity of the system. Moreover, Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) advanced that **parents tend to guarantee the same level of education for their children as theirs’**. By itself, the education of parents adds to the educational success of the children (Hout, 2004). Additionally, **the postponement of access to higher education is also related to the level of education acquired by parents**. Students who their parents have a low level of education retard in entering higher education compared to students who have well educated parents (Berggren, 2006; Rudd, 1987). Furthermore, long time ago evidence showed that the students tend to choose the same studies as their parents especially for scientific degrees such as medicine (Rudd, 1987).

3.4.2.2.1 Types of Capitals and Investment in Education

The advanced discussion permit to recall Bourdieu two types of capital: **social and cultural capitals** which have an effect on educational choices and are hereditary by nature.

As defined by Bourdieu (1986), the “*social capital*” refers to the possession of a durable network of contacts, name of family, class, and the like. It stresses the effect of the family micro level on educational choices that will be affected on their turn by the volume or size of such network. Coleman (1988), in his turn, defined the social capital as a (*quote*) “variety of different entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure” (p. 98). For him, this capital is a productive form of capital where without it certain objectives cannot be achieved. It is therefore an

essential tool alongside other types of capitals: human capital (i.e. skills and expertise), physical capital (i.e. tools) and economic capital (i.e. financial resources). Coleman clearly reflected on the effect of the social capital on the formation of the human capital in the next generation. He acknowledged hence the importance of communication between parents and children to permit for this type of human capital to emerge from the social capital. Coleman perspective about the social capital differed from that of Bourdieu. For Coleman (1988), the social capital is not only held by elites but also by marginalized families, by families from the low social class.

Jimenez and Salas-Velasco (2000) recognised that the students belonging to specific social and academic circles such as family aware of the market needs, older brothers and sisters, etc. have a greater probability to receive prestigious education. They have better probabilities to choose appropriate study programme and institutions providing chances for a successful career and social mobility than students who belong to a lower social and academic circles. Berggren (2006) acknowledged that the students from the lower social class might choose educational paths that contradict the labour market demand. Instead of enhancing their social position, higher education will aggravate their situation given higher probability of being unemployed.

Pertaining to the “*cultural capital*”, and according to Bourdieu (1984), it is such capital that marks the difference among classes because it heavily depends on the implicit learning undertaken within the family in the past. By this, Bourdieu is asking us to think of the cultural capital the same way as we do for the economic capital. Economically dominant educational institutions; or as we name it now; prestigious or elite, are organised to favour those who already possess the economic capital. For Bourdieu, the same applies for the cultural capital, where educational institutions will favour those who already possess such capital. It is this cultural capital that schools take for granted is the most important filter for the social reproductive process. Bourdieu (1986) divided the cultural capital into three forms: embodied state; objectified state; and institutionalized

state. The first form refers to the culture, skills, knowledge, and the like specific to each person and embodied with each one. The second form is transmissible and refers to material aspects such as writings, instruments, books, and the like. Concerning the third form, it refers to the objectification characteristic through the academic qualification that one has. Consequently, and to permit the transfer of cultural capital from one generation to another, and for Bourdieu (1986), the presence of an important “economic capital” is primordial.

What was advanced by Bourdieu was later on demonstrated by various recent empirical studies. Shavit et al. (2007) validated that the family social and financial positions have their effect not only on the quantity and quality of education but also on the development of the cognitive skills that permit further educational success. Hutchings (2003) acknowledged that the act of pursuing higher studies although it might be the normal step after the secondary education for the mid and the high social classes, it is not for the students from the low social classes. He identified this as being the “*habitus*” effect that guide persons in their life; an effect that might help to understand the (*quote*) “existence of strong social inequalities in educational outcomes”. By this Hutchings replicated what was previously demonstrated by Bourdieu (1980). At first, it might seem that it is close to the concept of the cultural capital. However, it is a more personalised form of capital. Bourdieu refers within this context to the “habitus” as the way in which culture is exemplified in the individual. It is the “socialisation” process that permits the formation of such capital. It is a (*quote*) “system of durable, transposable dispositions which functions as the generative basis of structured, objectively unified practices”. “Habitus” explains the regularity in an individual behaviour based on previous orientations and ways of acting that are seen as stable (Bourdieu, 1980). Individuals will act within the line of the socially defined lines. Therefore, in order to pass from one stage to another, an individual mainly from the low social class is in need of a certain cultural capital where the consequences of the “habitus” are inevitable.

Sewell and Hauser (1993) acknowledged the importance of the family environment on the educational aspirations of the children. Families that acquired a relevant academic background will have a positive attitude towards education permitting their children to attain the necessary educational goals, while families where the environment did not and does not provide any educational motivation, will reveal a negative attitude towards education affecting consequently the children educational perception and objectives. Pfeffer (2007) demonstrated that successful means of access are conditioned by sufficient cultural capital especially if the recognition is based on “soft-skills”. Furthermore, and from a gender perspective, Baker and Stevenson (1986 cited in: Vellymalay, 2010) demonstrated that mothers who have high level of education are more likely to translate high level of educational desire and guide accordingly the educational choices of their children regardless of their previous academic accomplishment than mothers who are illiterate or have a moderate level of education.

3.4.2.3 Gender, Religion and Education

[Quote] “Gender equality, [...], entails the concept that all human beings, both men and women, are free to [...] make choices without limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices” (ABC of Worker’s Rights and Gender Equality cited in UNESCO, 1995). However, **gender disparities at the higher education level is notable** (Jacobs, 1996; Tan and Mingat, 1992) and gender parity is still considered an elusive goal (Jah, 2006) **despite the call for universal, equal access and elimination of all gender stereotyping** (OECD, 1998; UNESCO, 1998). Empirical studies demonstrated that the cultural practices are more solid than the economic growth, the expansion in work opportunities, and widening access at the higher education level that were all supposed to reduce not only the social inequalities but the gender inequalities as well.

3.4.2.3.1 Family Socio-Economic-Cultural Backgrounds and Gender Educational Disparity/Parity

The parents' educational level, the gender-oriented parental model, the students' academic attainment, the job expectations, the social class, the cultural beliefs, the economic growth, the political circumstances, the marriage prospect (Vincent-Lancrin, 2008; Jacobs, 1996; Hill and King, 1993), the age, the race, ethnicity and religion, etc. (ABC of Worker's Rights and Gender Equality cited in UNESCO, 1995) all have their effects on gender parity or disparity.

Jah (2006) and Al Amine and Faour (1998) accredited to **the parents' decision a decisive weigh in what pertains to gender inequalities**. They demonstrated, as it was acknowledged by Becker (1975), that parents tend to favour the education of their sons over that of their daughters because of the labour market, the future earnings prospects, and the roles in society. For Berggren (2006) parents tend to brought up their sons in a different way than their daughters. The latter are educated to be attractive and responsible which leave them at a disadvantage from pursuing higher education and thus gaining powerful positions. Parents expect hence from their daughters to have a full time job for fewer years than their sons.

For Butcher and Case (1994), **the composition of the family between sons and daughters and for Jacobs (1996) the number and spacing between the siblings** might reduce the parents' investment in their daughters' education. For Tansel (2002); Ono (2004) and Averett and Burton (1996), the larger and the more masculine the family is, the less are the chances for women to continue higher education. Schultz (1993); Hill and King (1993) and Stromquist (1989) linked such preference to the level of income which **render greater gender inequality**. Low income families tend to invest in the education of boys, while high income families tend to invest equally in the education of their sons and

daughters (Fogel, 1990; Becker, 1975)¹³⁷. Concerning the mid-low social classes, males seem to favour the labour market over that of the higher education while females' participation at the higher education from this social stratum seems to have increased over the years (Berggren, 2006). The behaviour of males is credited to the financial vulnerability and uncertainty of the collected outcomes and that of the females is accredited to their attempt to enhance their position within the labour market and consequently their social status.

For Sewell and Hauser (1993), the **gender educational differentiation is also related to the parents' education**. The father's education has the highest effect on the educational aspirations of the sons while that of the mother has the highest effect on the educational aspirations of the daughters with women having less educational desire than men because of their social role in society.

3.4.2.3.2 Religious/Cultural Ideologies and Gender Disparity/Parity

Sacerdote and Glaeser (2001); Hunsberger (1995); and Khashan, (1992) **linked gender educational discrimination to religious conservative ideologies**. The parents' educational preferences once correlated to religion, cultural beliefs and low economic growth cause restrictions on the women's education increasing hence gender disparity. **In oriental societies**, females are brought up into a system that renders them submissive, passive and obedient to male dominance (Abou Chedid and Nasser, 2000; cited in Abou Chedid and Nasser, 2007) where they tend to classify themselves primarily in relation to men (Berggren, 2006). Moreover, **religion has a negative impact on gender equality** (Jah, 2006). Many empirical studies demonstrated that the gender inequality and oppression are obvious in Muslim societies where women are less educated than men and do not enjoy

¹³⁷ Evidence from Sweden ascertains the latter where, despite the move towards more class and gender equalization, children of manual workers (i.e. low social class), in particular daughters, have the greatest disadvantage when it comes to pursuing higher studies.

the freedom of choice if to compare to Christian societies (Guiso et al., 2003; Forsythe et al., 2000; Dollar and Gatti, 1999; Boone, 1996 cited in: Hajj and Panizza, 2006). Jacobs (1996) accredited this to practices of Muslims societies, particularly poor ones, where boys and girls attend different schools reducing hence female access to education at an earlier stage and higher education at a later stage.

3.4.2.3.3 Choice of a HEI and a Programme and Gender Disparity/Parity:

The concern of inequality at the higher education level is not restricted to the women's participation rate because in some countries the proportion of females at the higher education is higher than that of males¹³⁸. **The concern extended to the type and quality of higher education, to the choice of the HEI and the programme.** For Al Amine and Faour (1998) and Jacobs (1996), parents tend to invest financially in the education of their sons. They enrol them at prestigious HEI with high tuition fees. And on the contrary, they tend to enrol their daughters at low cost or practically free HEI because of the social and domestic roles attributed to them.

Gender inequality is not just evident in the choice of a HEI but **also in the choice of the major**. Women are more directed towards fields with nurturing nature while men are directed towards fields with more quantitative reasoning aspects¹³⁹. Women are still under-represented in fields such as sciences and engineering (Turner and Bowen, 1999; Dryler, 1999 and Jacobs, 1996). Garnier and Hage (1991) identified that female students tend to choose programmes in correlation with the service sector (education, fine arts, literature, music studies, etc.) more than the industry sector. Turner and Bowen (1999) credited these choices to the differences in the cultural and environment factors.

¹³⁸ For instance: in Lebanon, an oriental country with religious ideologies, has known for the past years an increasing trend of women participation in higher education; a share that has exceeded that of males (refer to chapter ...). The same applies for the United States that recruit the highest number of female students than other countries and where the rate of female's participation is higher than that of males (Jacobs, 1996).

¹³⁹ In the USA, only 4% of men majored in education versus 13% of women compared to 12% of men who majored in engineering versus only 2% of women.

Berggren (2006) accredited such behaviour to the differences in the academic ability where females are considered more academically challenged than males. On the other hand, Garnier and Hage (1991); Turner and Bowen (1999) and Walters (1986) credited these choices to the labour market circumstances where in certain fields - such as the service sector - new employment opportunities were created for females. For Zafar (2009), the males' choice of one programme and not the other is associated to the financial productivity that could be collected while females' choice is more attributed to the non-financial attributes. By this, Zafar ascertained that both males and females are aware of income differences across majors. Jacobs (1996) and Woodhall (1973) demonstrated that the gender differences in earnings are obvious even in countries where parity in education is achieved.¹⁴⁰ Females chose low-income occupations and substitute full time job with a part time job. For the same level of education and for the same degree, women are still paid less than men. This is credited by Jacobs (1996) to the differences in the choice of the major between females and males. Also, he attributed the preference for one field and not the other to religious ideologies, particularly Muslim cultures which favour same-sex workers. Muslim cultures support the females' education in certain fields such as having female doctors. Berggren (2006) acknowledged that females dominate in general the shortest programmes compared to males that can be more found in more "socially prestigious" programmes. Turner and Bowen (1999) found that female students tend to choose institutions or programmes with labour-intensive emphasis rather than capital-intensive emphasis. Jacobs (1996) from his side demonstrated that females favour part-time studies especially when they have child-care duties.

3.4.2.3.4 Country's Degree of Development and Gender Disparity/Parity

Gap in terms of gender equality exists between the developed and the developing countries because of the differences at the demographic, sociological, economic and

¹⁴⁰ Mainly in the United States and other developed countries

educational levels. *At the developing countries*, two forces restrain equality of opportunities between males and females: the inherited value system and the external demand for local labour (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). The circumstances of the developing countries encourage gender disparity disfavours women mainly because of the low economic growth (Self and Grabowski, 2009) and beliefs in large families and support of religious code (Malik, 1995). On the other hand, *in the developed countries*, the same aspects do not affect gender parity that is at its highest level (Malik, 1995) and where the females' participation in higher education is extremely high (Jacobs, 1996)¹⁴¹. However, Al Amine and Faour (1998) demonstrated that despite the ideologies towards the women education, particularly at the developing countries, an increasing trend in the females' enrolment rate at the higher education level is noticed. This is credited by the authors to the mobilisation campaigns done by many women's movements and that may have started to see the light.

3.5 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

"Access" definitions did not only reflect on the meaning of "access" but have also extended the reflection to the economic and the social aspects that access to higher education withholds. Such access should be reconsidered in the light of the globalization and cannot be foreseen without the selection process that determines based on the socio-economic characteristics the equality or inequality of opportunities. To widen educational opportunities and to prevent any type of market failure that could lead to the unequal participation at the higher education level, the governments need to set appropriate policies and the HEIs need to have clear admission and selection strategies.

However, the expansion of the higher education system did not allow an equal distribution of the educational opportunities among various social classes nor did it allow gender equality that is more pronounced at the higher education level. The social

¹⁴¹ For instance, in the United States, women access to higher education is higher than that of men (Porter, 1996).

ideologies and the cultural practices proved to have a more pronounced effect on these inequalities than the economic growth and the country's degree of development. The students' economic, social and cultural capitals are still considered as a barrier to meritocratic access. The contributions of the human capital theory were hence criticized. The students' choices at the higher education level are more determined by their social and cultural backgrounds, circle of acquaintance, and parents' level of education than by the economic and financial aspirations. Empirical evidence showed that socio-economically disadvantaged students, in addition of being cost and risk adverse, tend to choose shorter, less risky, less difficult and less demanding diplomas that do not correlate with the labour market needs. This is contrary to the choices done by the students from the high social classes who tend to make more risky choices. Inequalities were also identified at the gender level where low income families, being cost adverse, tend to invest more in the education of boys rather than that of girls because of the social and domestic roles attributed to the latter. Studies demonstrated also that the cultural inequalities are more pronounced than the social inequalities. Parents with low level of education hinder their children's probabilities to continue their studies oppose to students with educated parents who tend not only to continue their higher studies but to enrol in the same programmes as their parents. Similar to the social class, studies demonstrated that the parents' education has its effect on gender parity/disparity. The father's level of education has a more pronounced effect on the education of his son(s) than that of his daughter(s), while the mother's education influence more the education of her daughter(s). Muslims families, contrary to Christians ones that invest equally in the education of boys and girls, tend to invest more in the education of boys because of the religious and cultural ideologies that render the females more submissive and supposed to assume solely social and domestic roles; a practice that is more forced if the religious ideology went in parallel with low level of parental education. At the programme level, females tend to choose or are oriented towards literary, shorter programmes while males tend to choose scientific, socially prestigious ones.

As noted, the study is placed within a socio-economic approach considering a triangular perspective; the government, the HEI and the students. This will allow to better understand how the students' higher educational choices are formulated, and the repercussions that these choices can have on their integration within the labour market. The aim, at a first stage, is to assess the effect of the economic and social variables on each other, and on shaping the students' higher educational choices as to determine at a later stage the weight of each variable on these choices. At a second stage, the aim is to consider the effect of these prior educational choices on the students'/graduates' integration within the labour market. Part B of the chapter will provide a more comprehensive overview of the aspects affecting the graduates' integration within the labour market.

B- ACCESS TO THE LABOUR MARKET: TRANSITION, EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT

After discussing in the first part of the chapter the main aspects that affect access to higher education, the second part will discuss the aspects that affect access to the labour market. What follow will reflect on (a) issues pertaining to the link between the higher education and the labour market; (b) the job search theory and the transition process while discussing the effect of the asymmetric information, the work related experience, the type of labour market and the mismatch between the skills and the labour market demand; (c) the factors that affect the transition process from the socio-economic background of the graduate, to the choice of the HEI and field of study, to the macro-economic aspects, and to the social capital and network; to reflect finally on (d) the role that HEIs can play to support the transition process to the labour market.

3.6 Higher Education and Labour Market: What Kind of Investment?

The relationship between the higher education and the labour market has long been questioned. Like Trow (1973), Berggren (2006) saw those two “markets” as exchangeable where the labour market situation and the job definition are related to the expansion of the higher education system.

Understanding the relation between the higher education and the labour market is not as easy as it seems. To understand such relation, and according to Abou Rjaili (2003), there is a need to comprehend all players: the political-economic system which defines the social and economic objectives; the HEIs which have a role to channel these objectives into educational strategies and training programmes; the employers where their role is to set appropriate employment strategies based on the social-economic system, the recruitment mechanisms, the financial and moral incentives, etc. and; finally the most

important agent the graduates themselves given that they are beneficiaries of both markets. For Kivinen and Ahola (1999), **to better comprehend the nature of the relation between these two interrelated markets, the changes which occurred over time need to be also understood.** The development of the higher education system - where **going to the university is no longer regarded as an extraordinary privilege but a must do** - lead to the creation of new job vacancies that can no longer be fulfilled by secondary graduates. **However**, and in spite of being a protection against unemployment according to the human capital theory, **a higher education degree, because of the excess in the number of graduates, is no longer guaranteeing the same benefits in terms of employment opportunities and salaries as it did before.** Nowadays, a higher education degree seems to “unlock” but not open the door towards the labour market because of the divergence between the expectations build over the years of study and the actual opportunities. **Investment in higher education is hence becoming, according to the same authors, a risky investment.**

Why a risky investment? - Diebolt (2001) sees **the educative movements as being dependent on the labour market ones.** Students will choose their programme based on the shortages within the labour market or the future earnings (cited in: Jaoul-Grammare, 2006). However, for Teichler (2000), **the increased demand for higher education translated over time with an increased supply of graduates that did not follow the same pace as the increase in the job opportunities.** For Mincer (1991b), **the educated workers have three basic advantages over the non-educated or the less educated workers: higher salaries, better upward mobility in both income and occupation, and better employment opportunities.** However, **given the increasing gap between the higher education and the labour market, these advantages were questioned with the increase of unemployment levels amongst the well-educated people.**

Students, and as discussed previously, lack the perception and the knowledge (Sharrock, 2000; Pitman, 2000). This is translated in their choices for certain fields of study where

the demand for certain programme(s) continues even after saturation. For Teichler (2000), this behaviour will lead to an over-production in certain field(s) (glutting theory) and guide the students towards new programmes until a new saturation level is achieved. **Such growth in the number of graduates made the transition even more difficult especially in countries unable to create entry-level jobs as fast as the graduates' number growth.** Finding a "first job" has become in many countries a serious problem with longer transition periods if to compare with the past (OECD, 2000; OECD, 1999). Consequently, and because of the **increased demand and the transformation of the system from elite to mass, there have been concerns of over-education going in parallel with wrong academic choices** leading either to low-employment jobs or unemployment (Teichler, 2002; Rochat and Demeulemeester, 2001).

The high incidence of over-education was considered as a sign of lack of experience among the graduates (Groot and Maasen van den Brink, 1996; cited in: Allen and van der Velden, 2001). The relevance of the diplomas has hence come to be a serious issue in the absence of close link between the higher education and the labour market (Holm-Nielsen, 2001). With time, the growing unemployment problem especially amongst the university graduates is no longer regarded as being only a cyclic problem¹⁴² but also a structural one because of the inadequacy between the graduates' skills and the jobs requirements that went in parallel with the rapid technological changes. Such shift required gradually more emphasis from the supply side; i.e. the HEI side on proper educational and labour market programmes measures. These measures are supposed to accommodate changes within the labour market to guarantee the graduates' integration (Hannan and Werquin, 1999). **The transition from higher education to the labour market has hence become an increasingly important matter that needs to be discussed not only from the labour market perspective but also from the HEIs perspective.**

¹⁴² A problem that can be resolved with temporary employment policies and strategies such as training, etc.

For Fasih (2008), and in order to understand the connection between the higher education system and the labour market, a triangular perspective should be considered where the determinants of education define the educational outcomes which determine in return the individuals' labour market outcomes. The country context, the macroeconomic aggregates as well as the educational decisions taken at the micro level and aspects affecting them cannot but to be considered as they relay different reality for educational policies. The supply side of the equation needs hence to be complemented by the demand side in order to have a complete picture. If the educational policies are to promote economic growth by allowing a wide range of employment opportunities, they must not only consider the supply side of the higher education system that reflects on quality and efficiency but should also consider the demand side by seeing the labour market policy. However, the author added that the challenge is not only about the number of jobs created, but it is more about the quality, consistency and corresponding output of these jobs to the academic skills acquired and vice versa.

3.7 Transition from the Higher Education to the Labour Market

According to the human capital theory, the relationship between employment and education is defined by a positive correlation where, and as translated by Kivinen and Ahola (1999), an individual can never be over-educated. The highest is the level of education acquired, the better is the prospect of employment and salary. Students and according to Berggren (2006) will tend towards a trade-off between the higher studies and the labour market in favour of the former and disfavour of the latter. This trade-off is the result of the advantages that the investment in education can render in terms of better employment opportunities and higher wages.

However, the hypothesis of linking higher education levels to higher salaries and better employment prospects was challenged. There has been doubt around the implications of the human capital theory with the increase in the unemployment rates of those who are

highly educated and working in jobs below their level of education and skills – in low productivity activities. This created the incidence of over-education that the human capital theory rejected (Chaaban, 2009a; Nasser and Abouchdid, 2006; Kivinen and Ahola, 1999). **Similarly to the “screening approach” which criticized the human capital theory, the “job competition theory” presumes that the skills needed to perform well a job are not gained within the educational system.** These types of skills cannot be acquired but through on the job training which induces costs for the employers. Employers, when they want to recruit, they filter the candidates based not only on their academic credentials, but also on their personal attributes and generic skills that are indicative of their trainability (Heijke, 1996). From the other hand, the ILO (2009b) acknowledged that the unemployment rates, and more specifically those of the youth, rose globally especially after the 2008 financial crisis because of the slow growth and the decrease in the job creation leaving a significant number of university graduates with no available employment opportunities. Both the employers stand from the skills and qualifications expected and the labour market situation led to question the relation between the higher education and the labour market and the pace of transition.

Teichler (2002) acknowledged that the **“match” between the educational supply and the labour market demand is rarely observed** because of the different nature of the two entities. For Bridgstock (2009) and Teichler (2002), the labour market is dynamic, an ever changing market. In response to globalization, technology and competitive pressure, the changes within the market happened faster than the higher education’s ability to accommodate to the degree of the tasks’ specialization required at the labour market. For Fasih (2008), and in order to address these challenges and differences, three factors cannot be neglected: the country’s context which plays a primordial role in the transition from university to work; the educational decisions done at the micro level and aspects affecting them; and the graduates’ skills acquired throughout their studies. **Some argue that youth unemployment including that of university graduates is not but a consequence of the lack of skills needed within the labour market; while others argue that it is more**

related to the lack of creation of job opportunities in certain economies. Regardless of the reason, for Bridgstock (2009) the reality that should not be omitted is that the unemployment rates are the highest amongst university graduates. This is a worldwide fact with a more pronounced effect in developing economies. **Graduates have to adapt quickly to such a dynamic and ever changing environment.** They need to develop generic skills¹⁴³ which can be transferrable in various occupational arenas. To achieve such finality, HEIs role is questioned given that they are major players especially when it comes to re-examining the attributes that their graduates should possess (*Ibid.*).

Based on that, what follows will reflect on the job search theory, the asymmetric information, the type of labour market, and the role that HEIs play in the transition process.

3.7.1 The Job Search Theory and The Transition Process: Cause and Effect

Before reflecting on the job theory, we shall return on the definition of “unemployed” as provided by the ILO. According to the ILO, **the unemployed are those who during the specific search period were without work** (i.e. not in paid employment nor self-employment), **currently available for work** (i.e. were available for paid employment or self-employment), **and seeking work** (i.e. had taken specific steps in a specified recent period to seek paid employment or self-employment) as a percentage of the total labour force (employment + unemployment) (ILO, 2009). Based on that, there is a distinction between three types of graduates: integrated; becoming integrated and unemployed (Trottier et al., 1997). According to Hannan and Werquin (1999), **the integration or the transition period is the intermediate status between full-time schooling and full-time employment** where the stability in the employment is an essential condition of a successful integration within the labour market (Trottier et al., 1997). **Being highly**

¹⁴³ Bridgstock (2009) defines generic skills as being those transferrable, underpinning, core skills needed for employability.

qualified does not by itself assure a successful transition process (Bowers et al., 1999). Graduates long period of search for a job might render them “inactive” which is considered as a “dangerous” problem particularly in stagnant economies. In these economies, job seekers are discouraged from searching for a job because of the lack of opportunities leading them to be inactive at a stage or another with less incentives to search for a job (Ryan, 2001). Because of this inactivity the skills and the knowledge acquired will become obsolete with time. This will reduce the chances to find proper employment where chances of future employment will be reduced by the prior unemployment period(s). Such process is known by the “lagged dependency”¹⁴⁴ (*Ibid.*).

3.7.1.1 The Job Search Theory

Based on the job search theory, **the probability to find a job and thus leave unemployment is related to the probability of receiving an offer and that of accepting that offer** (Fevre, 2003). For Perrone and Vickers (2003), the probability to receive and accept a job offer is affected by the intensity of search undertaken by the graduate; the wage offered by the employer; and the period of initiation of the search for a job which is in most cases not initiated till graduation¹⁴⁵. According to Salsa-Velasco (2007) and Van der Klaauw et al. (2005), such probability is related to the “*screening approach*” adopted by employers which set criteria based on the age, gender, level of education, university, etc. Any gap in one of these aggregates between the graduates and the employers will delay the transition to the labour market. Heijke (1996) recognised that **the transition process and the probability of finding a job for new comers is dependent from the ratio between the job openings for new comers and the inflows of university graduates**

¹⁴⁴ The correlation between prior unemployment period and future probability of getting employed has been validated for both France and Germany (Ryan, 2001). Previous unemployment increases the probability of being unemployed in the future.

¹⁴⁵ A European study demonstrated that about 40% of the graduates start searching for an employment before their graduation, more than 30% begin the search around graduation and less than 30% after graduation, whereas one quarter of the graduates do not search for employment either because they already have a job or because they have found one without even searching (Teichler, 2002).

entering the labour market. Andrews and Higson (2008) associated the failure to secure jobs to a mismatch between the graduates' skills and the employers demand. According to Perrone and Vickers (2003), such gap is because the **undergraduate students do not think about their career and integration within the labour market but till graduation**¹⁴⁶. Salsa-Velasco (2007) and Van der Klaauw et al., (2005) accepted therefore that the probability to find a job is highly dependent on the intensity of the job search and the period of initiation of that search. The more is the job search intense, the more it is probable to find a job in a period less than 6 months (*Ibid.*).

On the other hand, and according to Salsa-Velasco (2007), the university graduates are not willing to accept a wage below a certain level. This proposes that, in some cases, the unemployment after graduation is being "voluntary". According to the Cedefop (2010), the unemployment or long transition process is not always related to the **lack of work opportunities**. In certain cases, it takes place because the graduates are not willing to work in a low-skilled job and consequently they will continue searching for a more complex job with a higher salary (*Ibid.*). Allen and van der Velden (2001) identified within this context **two different situations**. The first is where there is a number of graduates working below their own level of skills and are underutilizing their knowledge; this is recognized by the "incidence of over-education". The second is where we have a number of graduates working above their level of skills and hence are in need of knowledge to perform well required tasks; this is recognized by the "incidence of under-education". In either cases, and according to the "assignment theory", such job-education relation will have an effect on the wages because of the mismatch in the use of the knowledge and the skills (*Ibid.*). The Cedefop (2010) recognised in this regard that the under-educated graduates compensate their lack of qualifications by having more experience, tenure and training permitting to guarantee employment and higher salaries.

¹⁴⁶ A European study demonstrated that about 40% of the graduates start searching for an employment before their graduation, more than 30% begin the search around graduation and less than 30% after graduation, whereas one quarter of the graduates do not search for employment either because they already have a job or because they have found one without even searching (Teichler, 2002).

3.7.1.2 The Asymmetric Information

The **job search effort depends on the level of information available**. Fasih (2008) advanced that the asymmetric information can send wrong signals to both employers and job seekers creating a skill mismatch. On the other hand, Allen and van der Velden (2001) and Heijke (1996) identified, and based on the search and job matching theories, that occurrence of **over-education or under-education can be explained by imperfect information incidence**. Heijke (1996) explained that fresh graduates, and because they have not yet tested their capabilities within the labour market and because of the lack of information, will keep on searching for the optimal job or what it known by the “job shopping”. For Kivinen and Ahola (1999), the search process might become a permanent one till the right job is secured particularly in market where employment might be at risk; market that suffers from asymmetric information.

3.7.1.3 Work Related Experience

Work related experience in addition to the generic skills¹⁴⁷ requested by employers is very important to find a job within a short interval after graduation (Weligamage, 2009; Mason et al., 2009; Allen and Van Der Velden, 2007, National Audit Office, 2002). Mason et al. (2009) demonstrated that a structured work experience gained on sandwich courses will increase the chances of the graduates to secure a job within a 6 months period after graduation. For Heijke (1996), and in order to **minimize the gap and allow a fast transition process, and based on the matching theory, the information about the types of skills and knowledge needed for each type of job should be provided**. Employers have to differentiate between both educational and occupational knowledge and skills needed permitting fresh graduates to better detect opportunities.

¹⁴⁷ Generic skills include amongst other things: self-management, problem solving, team-working, application of numeracy/of IT, communication, etc. (CBI, 2011; Muk-Ngiik Wong and Hamali, 2006)

3.7.1.4 Type of Labour Market

The transition process is also affected by the type of labour market. Fevre (2003) differentiated between two types of labour market: the internal labour market (ILM) and the dual labour market (DLM). In the former case, the employers recruit employees for any new vacancy not from the open market but from the internal market; i.e. from the organization's employees. In order not to lose the investment done in employees for another company, the organizations opt for the ILM strategy to recruit the needed human capital. **This stimulates lower turn-over and affect in its turn the number of job opportunities for new university graduates.** Regarding the latter case, **two types of employers are identified:** the primary employers; those using the ILM strategy because of the expensive and extensive training programmes they do for their employees (they recruit primary workers), and the secondary employers; using the open market because of the absence of training programme and high turn-over (they recruit secondary workers) and where issues such as race, gender, and ethnicity are considered upon employment decision. **Each of these markets has resistant barriers that neither the employees in search for a job or the employers in search for an employee could breach** (*Ibid.*).

Fevre (2003) recognised that the wages in the secondary market are lower than those in the primary market with no possibilities of training and promotion. He added that the minimal career prospects at the secondary market will affect the university graduates' decision who might not accept to be underemployed and who cannot refer at the same time to the ILM that offers higher salaries and better career prospects.

3.7.1.5 Mismatch Between Skills and Labour Market Demand

The success of the graduates in the labour market is defined as the (*quote*) "graduates securing employment jobs which make appropriate use of the skills and knowledge developed in the course of their university studies" (Mason et al., 2009). **Despite the fact that university graduates have better employability chances** and occupational status than

the secondary education graduates, and although their integration within the labour market is related to the field of study chosen (Le Rhun and Pollet, 2011), **the main problem that they are facing nowadays is mainly related to the mismatch between their qualifications and skills and the employers requirements. To overcome such mismatch, the development of generic skills** such as creativity, innovation, problem solving, ICT, analytical, numeracy, entrepreneurship thinking, (Muk-Ngiik Wong and Hamali, 2006), flexibility and ability to cope with uncertainties as well as to understand various cultures are seen as a must (Teichler, 2000). **Universities have to take part in the development of generic skills** in order to assure their graduates' employability (Bridgstock, 2009; Arthur et al., 2007) and provide them with guidance on how to transfer their academic knowledge to the professional arena (Teichler, 2000). **This explains why employers when they search to recruit they target graduates from high-status universities** (Marginson, 2004) **because of the importance accorded in these institutions to the development of personal, generic and employability skills** (El-Ghali, 2011).

3.8 Leading Factors Influencing the Transition Process

3.8.1 The Socio-Economic Background

Many studies considered the effect of the personal characteristics and the socio-economic aspects, such as gender, family educational level and graduates' level of education, on the integration of graduates within the labour market, and more specifically the duration to find a first job. The labour market, like the higher education system is characterized with a social division and a social hierarchy¹⁴⁸. Salsa-Velasco (2007) and Teichler (2002) demonstrated that the **biologic characteristics of the individual, the professional experience during studies, the gender, the level of education of the father, the job search**

¹⁴⁸ based on the former different people from different social background will act differently and on the latter there is a certain social order for actions taken and reactions within the labour market such as the social hierarchy according to gender (Fevre, 2003).

intensity, the age at graduation, the reputation of the HEI, and the field of study, all have an effect on the pace of integration within the labour market. Lassibilie et al. (2001) and Chuang (1997) found that males are more likely to find a first job faster than females. Turner and Bowen (1999) demonstrated that males are paid higher wages than their female counterparts. They attributed such wage differences, from one hand, to the females' domestic obligations and from the other, to the differences in the skills because of the choice of female students for more literary programmes oppose to male students who chose more scientifically oriented programmes (*Ibid.*).

On the other hand, Salsa-Velasco (2007); Nguyen and Taylor (2005); Corrales and Rodrigues, (2004) and Biggeri et al., (2001) revealed that the parents' level of education has a higher decisive impact on the graduates' integration within the labour market than the family social background. They explained that graduates from well-educated families with at least one parent working and with a higher education degree are more likely to find a first job faster than those who comes from families with less educated parents; i.e. with primary education. This reveals the importance of the cultural capital not only on the higher education choices but also on the pace of transition.

3.8.2 Choice of Field of Study and HEI

3.8.2.1 Choice of the Field of Study

Allen and Van Der Velden (2007) found that **the probability to hold a job is strongly related and different from one field of study to another.** Cedefop (2010) revealed that the graduates from narrow fields of study, such as law and medicine, have a better defined set of job alternatives than the graduates from broader fields of study, such as arts and humanities who are prone not to be very well informed about employment opportunities. Salsa-Velasco (2007) and Teichler (2000) recognized in this respect that the labour market

seems to be in great need for graduates from technical and health programmes than from other programmes.

For Diebolt and Jaoul-Grammare (2007), the dependency between the students' transition to the labour market and their choice of the field of study is based on the students' double-sided behaviour. From one part, the students' choice of a programme is based on the future expected revenues. From the other, they tend to choose programmes where the respective professional fields knew a shortage. For Jaoul-Grammare (2009), a substitutability effect will be hence noticed between various programmes based on the shortages within the respective professional fields. Such substitutability effect is known by the **“Engorgement” model advanced by Diebolt** (rf. Jaoul-Grammare, 2009). Within this context, Diebolt and El Murr (2004) explained that the students are attracted towards fields of study with high level of salaries and available job opportunities at the detrimental expense of other fields of study where the number of enrolled students will decrease. They mirrored by that what was advanced by Freeman in 1976 (cited in: Jaoul-Grammare, 2009; Smith and Welch, 1978) and validated for the case of Germany that the students tend to choose programmes where there is a shortage in labour and hence where there is higher wages. They represented by that an “attraction effect” leading by itself to an increase in the number of graduates in the field. However, once the shortage has been made up, the demand effect for these fields will continue as a result of the delay in the students' perception of the situation (incidence of asymmetric information). This will lead hence to an over-supply of graduates for the fields that are now considered as being saturated, and may divert students to new fields of study which may cause in the long run a new shortage. This process is identified by “the glutting theory”. **The students' choice is therefore regarded as being cyclic guided by the available employment opportunities and salaries. Such substitutability, and as demonstrated by Diebolt and Jaoul-Grammare (2007) and Diebolt and El Murr (2004), was mostly pronounced amid students from mid-**

low social classes¹⁴⁹. Those will try to “catch” with the offered possibilities in professions that know certain shortages. Jaoul-Grammare (2009); Demeulemeester and Diebolt (2008) and Fershtman and Weiss (1993) demonstrated from the other hand that **students will be more lineate towards choosing programmes rendering, in addition to wage and employment benefits, a certain social prestige.**

Moreover, and according to Trottier et al. (1997), the professional integration within the labour market is based on “objective indicators” concerning the employment opportunities, and “subjective indicators” reflecting the graduates’ anticipations pertaining to their future career; indicators that might not coincide together. According to Teichler (2000), the long transition process is related to the gap between the fields of study and the demand of certain profiles. Such gap, and as explained by the author, is either related to the fact that some graduates are prone to start from square one after graduation because they are geared to certain professions which might not be directly correlated to their field of study; or to lose the link between the field of study and the occupational areas. Consequently, **having a university degree does not imply by itself a smooth transition to the labour market** (Allen and Van Der Velden, 2007). Béduwé and Planas (2003) recognised that the link between both the higher education and the labour market rely more on the notion of skills than on an individual build. **The transition process depends on how the formal degrees and qualifications are translated into the labour market and how the skills needed are answered by the knowledge learned at universities** (*Ibid.*). However, Heijke (1996) recognised based on the “job matching theory” that these types of skills are not acquired through the education system but rather completed by training and experience on the job. Hence, the importance of applied experience for a faster transition process (Allen and Van Der Velden, 2007).

¹⁴⁹ The latter was validated for France as well where the establishment of the “Institut Universitaire de Technologie” attracted the students from the mid-low social classes (Jaoul, 2004).

3.8.2.2 Choice of the HEI

The choice of a HEI along with the choice of the field of study is highly important to secure a smooth transition process (Marginson, 2004). The students are unable to really assess, forecast or quantify with reasonable precision the effect of their investment in education on their future earnings because of the incidence of asymmetric information. When it comes to employment, what really happens is that the students have invested in a “status good” that will be used as “credential” in the labour market. Employers when choosing graduates, they do not look at the human capital but at the “status good”. They will search for students from high-status institutions and from a certain social class (Marginson, 2004). Tsui (2003) demonstrated that the graduates from the prestigious HEIs are better compensated at the labour market because they are equipped with high quality educational training. **This might explain the preference for private education in general and elite HEIs in particular.** From one hand, the high tuition fees will permit higher future wages, and from the other, the employers are more inclined to choose from these pools of graduates because of the “employability skills” acquired throughout their study in addition to their academic knowledge. **Tsui (2003) added that the graduates from elite HEIs will benefit from the “institutional reputation”. There is a “labelling” effect associated to prestige HEIs which channel the idea of better level of education and thus better acquired skills.** Elias et al. (1999) demonstrated, from the other hand, that the students from the low social class who choose less prestigious institutions will expect and accept lower than the average wages paid to graduates from the high social class and who graduated from elite institutions.

Box 3.3: Transition of business students from higher education to labour market

Given that an important number of students enrol in the business field all around the globe, Andrews and Higson (2008) identified in their study done in four European Countries (UK, Austria, Slovenia and Romania) two types of skills needed to ensure a successful transition of business field graduates to the labour market. These skills are identified as being the hard-business knowledge and skills and the soft business-related skills. The first type of skills is identified as having a business degree that is vital not only in specific business related areas but also for employment opportunities in general. However, some gaps have been identified at the level of these skills such as the non-study of certain concepts that are relevant to the work field for instance accounting programme, SAP knowledge, etc. Concerning the soft-business related skills, they have been identified as being the high level of written skills; interpersonal skills that are acquired on both levels, the university and the social life; teamwork skills; innovative thinking, etc. These skills are identified as essential by both the graduates and the employers. Moreover, the study found that the work experience gained throughout the years of study being in the form of formal training or part-time employment had an important impact on the successful and fast transition to the labour market. Therefore, hard skills are not enough. HEIs need also to equip graduates with the soft skills and the needed work experience. This can be achieved through work-based programmes, formal training, and the like.

3.8.3 Macro-Economic Aspects

Demand for higher education and incidence of over-education or underemployment is not only related to the graduates' skills characteristics, choice of a HEI and field of study. It is also dependent from the country's context, the labour market situation and its ability to create job opportunities. **Graduates in developed economies** (for example: European countries such as Norway and Germany) **have a quicker and smoother transition process than graduates in the Mediterranean developing countries** such as Lebanon (Teichler, 2000)¹⁵⁰. In Europe, the average period of transition is 3 to 6 months (Salsa-Velasco, 2007; Teichler, 2002). Whereas, and if to compare with a developing Mediterranean country such as Lebanon, the transition process is much longer where it is taking university

¹⁵⁰ Reference a comparative study - "Higher Education and Graduate Employment in Europe" and known as well by CHEERS (Careers After Higher Education – A European Research Survey), done over 30000 graduates from different 10 European countries after 3-4 years of graduation.

graduates an average of a minimum one year and a half to find a first job (Robalino and Sayed, 2012; CAS, 2011).

Graduates over-education or underemployment as identified by Teichler (2000) is credited by Berggren (2006) not only to **the graduates' skills but also to the economic status of the labour market** – i.e. whether it is witnessing an economic growth or a recession/depression – and hence its ability to create or not job opportunities. She explained that the abundance or shortage of employment opportunities might affect future participation rate at the higher education level. Stagnation in vacancies that may go in parallel with recession and/or depression periods can lower the participation rate in higher education. Students are hence reluctant to endure a high investment cost without being sure of the outcome in terms of employment opportunities. Bardhan et al. (2011) demonstrated that the growth in the employment opportunities and the demand for specific fields will increase the students' participation at the higher education level, yet, with a delay of 3 to 7 years. However, Bowers et al. (1999) found that the students might also be inclined, despite the high level of unemployment, to pursue their higher studies out of belief that the jobs on the market for the educated individuals are still better than for those who are not educated or less educated. **These behaviours were empirically validated and recognized by Freeman (1976)** (cited in: Jaoul-Grammare, 2009). Freeman (1971, 1976) reflected on the change in the salaries trend between the 1960s and the 1970s. During the 1960s, investment in higher education was highly compensated in terms of salaries because of the shortages in certain fields and the low supply of graduates. The reverse trend noted as of the 1970s was accredited by Freeman to the over-supply of graduates because of the youth bulge or baby-boom and the decrease in employment opportunities (rf. Jaoul-Grammare, 2006). **Such change in the behaviour was formalized by Freeman by a “cobweb model”; revisited later on by many authors among others Diebolt and El Murr (2004).**

3.8.4 Networks and Social Capital

Holding a job is not only related to the skills and field of study but also to the graduates' networks. O'Regan and Quigley (1991) emphasized the importance of these networks on having a first-job. **Two types of networks are identified: information and contacts networks.** Information networks are defined as the job networks that provide the graduates with information about the job opportunities. Graduates in better networks – mainly those from the high social strata – have high access to information and are less prone to be unemployed than those in “worse” networks – mainly those from the low social strata. Concerning the contacts networks, they are those related to the informal contacts and are considered as the most important source of job market information (*Ibid.*). These are not but the “social capital” advanced by Bourdieu (1986). Consequently, employment is highly dependent on the social capital of each graduate. It is based on the portfolio of friends and family members rather than on an objective assessment of ability (AUB et al., 2009). Since academic studies do not seem to conform with the level of skills required within the labour market, and because of the lack of the needed level of information, and the inconsistency of employers decision with the three-legged ladder of basis of employability (know-how; getting the job done and being the right persons), the “credentials” acquired seem to be overruled by the social networks and relations (Kivinen and Ahola, 1999).

3.9 Role of HEIs in Developing Employability Skills

Higher education and the labour market cannot be overseen as two separate entities. With the expansion of the system, the HEIs role was more emphasized. They are no longer considered as passive players in the transition process. They have an important role in the development of the employability skills especially with the raising concerns pertaining to the “graduates' employability” and the increasing number of unemployed university graduates (Teichler, 1999). Consequently, **the graduates' integration within the**

labour market is not the sole responsibility of the labour market and available opportunities but also a responsibility of the higher education system which was regarded as a bad performer when it comes to providing the labour market with the needed skills and expertise. The European Training Foundation (2003)¹⁵¹ report reflected on this reality where it revealed that many university graduates are under-prepared for the labour market in terms of the needed skills and aspirations hindering hence and delaying their transition. To secure the students' employment, adequate preparation for the transition to the world of work should be done not only through policies set by the government but also by the HEIs that need not only to relay an understanding of the requirements of the labour market but also to actively engage in the career building process (Bridgstock, 2009).

With time, the role of the HEIs was looked upon with some concerns. Some competences cannot be really acquired in a purely academic context and need to be developed through a professional on-the-job work experience (Corominas et al., 2010). HEIs have thus the responsibility to supply graduates who are capable and able to participate in the active professional life. Given that the link between the labour market and the higher education is defined by a “three-tiered” relationship where the determinants of education determine the educational outcomes which, in their turn, determine the labour market outcomes of individuals, the changes at the labour market assume changes at the higher education level (Fasih, 2008). To help in their graduates' employment and assure a smooth transition process, HEIs need to look at employability as a process and not only a product; a process of learning and learning how to learn (Weligamage, 2009). They are hence responsible for preparing and improving the graduates' employability skills and developing the “key, core, transferrable and generic skills” needed especially in high level employment able to respond to the ever changing, demanding and dynamic workplace (Bridgstock, 2009; Mason et al., 2009; Weligamage, 2009; Possa, 2006). To do so, they are accountable to develop their core functions and play the role of an “agency of transition” and not an

¹⁵¹ Report based on the OECD Survey and Career Guidance Policies and its countries summaries

“employment agency” (Kivinen and Ahola, 1999) and to develop the graduates’ international competencies in this globalized work environment (Teichler, 2000).

To achieve such finality, and best serve the growing variety of skills and talents needed within the labour market, HEIs knew significant structural modes of diversification which affected not only the quality of graduates but also their employability chances. This diversification was observed in many countries in terms of forms or structures (Teichler, 2000). It was assumed either by providing a more diversified “eventail” of programmes (Teichler, 2000; Montmarquette et al., 1998); or a more interdisciplinary learning opportunities (Teichler, 2000); or an integrated class-room teaching with actual working environment (Weligamage, 2009) that meet both quantitative and qualitative needs of the labour market. From this perspective, the development of the private sector is regarded with a “positive attitude” because of its ability to explore new market opportunities (Teixeira and Amaral, 2001). It is considered as being more responsive to the labour market needs because of its flexibility, financial ability and capability to supply better prepared graduates (*Ibid.*). Additionally, the distinction between elite (research, traditional universities) and mass (service or entrepreneurial universities) universities is a clear evidence of how the higher education system coped with the changing needs of the labour market in general and that of employers in particular (Kivinen and Ahola, 1999). Employers expect from HEIs to provide the needed high skilled persons capable of meeting the new patterns of demand within an accelerating technological development and changing working methods (Webb, 1992). They are hence interested to perceive a more diversified structure of higher education¹⁵². However, the diversity of the HEIs whether in terms of systems, number and/or structure should not be at the expense of reduction in the quality of provision as this will have an impact on the students’ fast transition to the labour market (*Ibid.*).

¹⁵² Despite this being the characteristics of the Lebanese higher education system (38 private institutions from different origins and one public institution offering a wide range of programmes, educational system (French, English ...) within a traditional learning system or even an open learning system), nevertheless, it seems not to answer to employers request in terms of graduates’ skills.

The quality of education provided was found as having an important effect on the future salaries and incentives. The higher the quality is, the highest is the wage that the graduates can expect. This might explain the interest of the students and their parents in the ranking of the HEI when it comes to the choice of the university and the field of study. Consequently, it is not only the HEIs; and mainly elite and affluent ones, that are interested in attracting the best candidates, but the students and the parents are also interested in choosing the best university because of the economic assessment on the future returns (Teixeira, 2013). According to Kivinen and Ahola (1999), prestigious universities carry more weight on the labour market than new institutions that are seen as not able to attract the same calibre of students as traditional, prestigious ones. Kivinen and Ahola (1999) found that the research universities which focus on elite access maintain a relatively good balance between the demand and the supply. The problem seems to be more with the mass universities which focus on an open access strategy leading to an over-supply of common graduates and lack of experts in certain fields. This over-supply in common fields from the supply side, mainly the mass sector, and the growing requirements for specific skills and knowledge on the demand side is creating this gap between the two “markets”. This is credited to the fact that the academic competences, the skills and the knowledge acquired by the graduates do not formulate all the employers’ expectations. Those search for other skills such as communication skills, computer literacy, team working, leadership, problem-solving, etc. (*Ibid.*). HEIs need hence not only to improve the students’ employability skills throughout the process of learning at the undergraduate level but also to engage students in an ongoing process of setting realistic career goals allowing them to obtain and maintain work (Bridgstock, 2009; Mason et al., 2009.).

Such career building process and emphasis on the development of employability skills differ from one context to another, from one discipline to another, from one department to another. For scientific programmes, such as the “biological sciences”, the focus should mainly be on teaching, communication and generic skills that allow the graduates to be employed within or outside the field. For programmes such as the “business studies” and

“computer sciences” which are seen as being more vocationally oriented, the emphasis should be on a various set of skills based on the labour market demand. The business studies’ students should be more equipped with the needed specialist subject knowledge and theoretical knowledge which are easily transferable into generic skills required for general management positions. Regarding the “computer sciences” students, the emphasis on employability skills is low because of the high demand in the labour market for these graduates (Mason et al., 2009)¹⁵³.

The effect of the change in the higher education systems and their structure on the transition to the labour market can be recognized from several studies done. Graduates in Europe and more specifically in Norway and Germany have a quicker transition process not only than graduates in Mediterranean countries (such as Lebanon) but also than graduates from other European countries such as France, Italy and Spain (Salsa-Velasco, 2007; Teichler, 2002). This is credited to the unified quality provided in Germany translated in a unified brackets of graduates’ skills and sustainability of mass apprenticeship¹⁵⁴ (Ryan, 2001) and to differences in quality provided in France for instance¹⁵⁵ translated in a variety of skills affecting employability and leading hence to a mass youth unemployment crisis (Ryan, 2001).

Information about HEIs initiatives in what pertains to the development of employability skills are found in appendix 3.2.

¹⁵³ It should be mentioned that for vocationally oriented programmes and vocational studies, the transition process to the labour market is seen as being easier and smoother because of the nature of transferable skills based on the work tasks needs (Cedefop, 2012)

¹⁵⁴ All universities maintain the same quality, in addition to a close relation between the industry and the universities

¹⁵⁵ The higher education systems accept certain differences in the rank and prestige of HEIs

3.10 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

The second part of the chapter reflected on the main aspects that might have an effect on the students'/graduates' transition to the labour market. The globalization and the knowledge management did not only affect the higher education system, but also the relationship between the higher education and the labour market. It redefined such relation which necessitated an increased attention particularly in relation to the transition from the higher education to the labour market. Governmental policies are seen as primordial in this regard. However, and as advanced by Kivinen and Ahola (1999), **there are no general frameworks to be adopted in order to facilitate such transition** where the macro-economic situation of each country has its effect on the process. The idea of having a “one-to-one matching” between education and work does not hence seem to be realistic.

The probability of finding a job and ensuring a rapid transition to the labour market is related not only to the level of studies as demonstrated by the human capital theory, but also to the choice of the field of study, of the HEI, the personal characteristics, the socio-economic background (parental education and occupational status), the individual job search effort and the match between the graduates' skills and those requested by **employers** (i.e. the degree of development of generic and transferrable skills). A failure to secure a job after a short period of graduation will result in the loss of the human capital acquired throughout the years of study and in a higher cost and waste of money invested (Salsa-Velasco, 2007). The interaction between both entities is thus essential and needs to be designed carefully by policy makers as to ensure a smooth transition process. The government policy can be either to worry of oversupply of graduates; or to pay extreme attention to the balance between the supply and the demand or what is known by “adequatisme”; i.e. producing as many graduates as needed for each labour market or field (Hannan and Werquin, 1999). Things need hence to be looked at differently. **Both the higher education and the labour market need to change and adapt.** Although each of

them is autonomous, however, their interests overlap where one produces and the other uses creating jointly socially and economically relevant skills (Béduwé and Planas, 2003). One cannot be seen without the other, they should have a “marriage” rather than a “divorce” relationship.

3.11 The Proposed Model

After this review of the main aspects that might affect students’ access to higher education and consequently their access to the labour market, the below model is proposed as to establish at the end of the thesis based on the surveys’ results and analysis advanced a more specific model for the Lebanese case denoting the main factors affecting the students’ in their choices of a HEI, a programme and the subsequent result of these choices on their transition to the labour market.

(MODEL HERE – See appendix 3.3)

The “backbone” of the proposed model is “Clark’s triangle”. The model is divided into two separate “environments”. The first is that of the higher education system, and the elements that affect the students’ choices for a HEI and programme. The second is that of the labour market, the elements that compose it, and their effect on the graduates’ integration within the labour market. The model is embedded within the “country’s context” which has an effect on both entities. The elements identified for each environment are based on the advanced literature review.

The first “environment” that of the higher education system is composed of two triangles with three central elements sharing one element in common that of the “*market demand for higher education*” – i.e. the students’ demand for higher education. The elements of the first triangle (T1) are “extracted” from “Clark’s triangle”. The elements of the second triangle (T2) are extracted from the socio-economic literature review in chapter three,

part A. Each triangle permits to identify the effect of several aggregates on the students' higher education choices and consequently their integration within the labour market.

The first triangle encompasses in addition to the "*market demand*", two other components. The first component is the "*regulatory body*" which represents the government symbolised by the ministry of education and higher education. This element permits to identify the effect of the educational policies as well as the government degree of intervention and stand from privatization and consequently their effect on the "market demand". The second component is that related to the "*supply of education*". It represents various HEIs that form the system. This element permits to determine the effect of the composition of the system between public and private, elite and mass HEIs, the effect of the admission processes adopted and therefore the degree of selectivity implemented on the "market demand".

The second triangle in addition to the "*market demand*" encompasses two elements as well. The first is the "*economic factors*" represented by the employment opportunities, the saturation level, the economic cycle, and the expected salaries. The second component is the "*social factors*" that includes the social class, the parents' socio-economic background, the religion and gender, the cultural, social and economic capitals and their effect on the "market demand".

The second "environment" that of the labour market is compounded of three parts: domestic labour market, regional labour market and international labour market. It introduces the variety of markets that a Lebanese graduate has access to. This part of the model permits to identify the main aspects that had or might have an effect on the students' integration such as the ability of the market to create job opportunities, the effect of the skills and the employers' demand, the role of recruiting agencies, the rating of credentials based on the choice of the HEI and the programme, and the role of personal contact or social capital.

The results of the surveys and the models of logistic regression will be used to identify which factor(s) had and might have a decisive weigh on the students' higher education choices and their integration within the labour market. This permits to set a "hierarchy" of the variety of factors and introduce for the Lebanese case the "ladder effect" model for the higher education system and the labour market.

Part III

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND FIELD STUDY

Chapter four discusses (1) the adopted approach; (2) describe the research methodology; (3) explain the sample selection; (4) describe the procedure(s) used in the data collection; and (5) provide an explanation of the statistical procedures used to analyse the data.

4.1 Research Queries and Hypotheses

This research aims at a first stage to study and analyse the main factors that mostly had an effect on the choices of the senior secondary students in what pertains to their higher education preferences in terms of HEIs and programmes. At a second stage, it aims to reflect on the integration of the graduates within the labour market and the effect of the prior educational choices on the transition process. **The focus is socio-economic and the case study is that of the Lebanese economy.**

To better understand the relation between the Lebanese higher education system and the labour market, the following research questions are proposed:

4.1.1 Research questions from the students' perspective

- 1) If not solely guided by the future earnings as suggested by the human capital theory, what are the factors that weight more on the Lebanese students' higher education choices and determine their demand for higher education? In other words, what role do the Lebanese students' personal, educational, socio-economic,

occupational, and social backgrounds and their interrelation have on shaping these choices?

4.1.2 Research questions from the HEIs perspective

- 2) What effect do the diversified private supply and the competition among the public-private and the private-private HEIs have on the Lebanese students' higher education choices?
- 3) To which extent the HEIs are responsible for alleviating or aggravating the youth unemployment problem? Are they creating bigger expectations among the graduates than the real existing ones?

4.1.3 Research questions from the labour market perspective

- 4) What effect do the educational choices done by the students as to the choice of the HEI and the field of study have on their integration within the labour market? And which labour market - national, regional or international?
- 5) What effect does the diversified supply of the students' academic standards, economic aspirations and socio-economic backgrounds have on their integration within the labour market and pace of transition?
- 6) Can the Lebanese students' choices be defined as being "cyclic"? Is the "cobweb model", "glutting theory" validated for the Lebanese case?

4.1.4 Research questions from the government perspective

- 7) What is the impact of the government's policies on the supply of the higher education? To which extent these policies encourage an elite and/or a mass system and hence shape the higher education choices done by the students?

- 8) To which extent the policies set by the Lebanese government are alleviating or aggravating the youth unemployment situation in Lebanon?

4.1.5 Hypotheses

From the above questions, and in addition to proposing at the end of the research based on the surveys' analysis, the reports, the statistical bulletins, and the previous empirical studies, the projected model and recommendations, we put under investigation, the validation or not of the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The higher educational choices of students, and according to the human capital theory, are based on the future employment and income prospects.

Hypothesis 2: Empirical studies demonstrated that the students from the low social class, and despite the expansion of the system, are still facing difficulties when it comes to access to the higher education.

Hypothesis 3: Empirical studies validated the effect of parents' education on their children higher education choices. Studies demonstrated that parents' education has even a more influential effect than the social background and that the cultural inequalities are more persistent to change than socio-economic ones.

Hypothesis 4: Empirical studies emphasized the important effect of the social backgrounds, the parents' education, the religious ideologies and the degree of development of the country gender parity/disparity.

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between the higher education system and the labour market is seen as an exchangeable one. Nevertheless, the increased demand for higher education translated over time with an increased supply of graduates that did not follow the same pace as the increase in the job opportunities.

Hypothesis 6: Several studies demonstrated that the students' choices for higher education programmes are cyclic based on the labour market opportunities.

4.2 Research Strategy or Research Approach

A research approach is often referred to as research strategy. A variety of research strategies can be used. However, what is mostly important is the use of a research strategy that is consistent with the research questions asked. **The analysis will be elaborated through two approaches: one static and the other dynamic** (Vinokur, 2001). The first one aims to reflect on the advanced theories (the review of literature) as for the second one, it is translated by the field study based on the surveys and interviews. In both cases, a triangular perspective will be considered reference Clark's triangle (1983) which acknowledges the existence of a coordination between the government, the HEI and the market (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: The Adopted Triangular Approach ¹⁵⁶		
Agent	Ends	Pre-set Criteria
Legislators (Political level)	Coherent educational system aiming to build competent generations	Pre-set laws governing the educational market
Practitioners (Organizational level)	Recruitment strategies and the offering of a variety of diplomas allowing to recruit a wide range of students	Admission criteria, organizational and managerial process, reputation, education cost, scholarship programmes, extra curriculum activities, etc.
Students (Actors level)	Obtain a BA facilitating the access to the labour market	Employment and higher income, social mobility, social and socio-economic backgrounds, etc.

¹⁵⁶ Table adopted from Vinokur (2001)

Given that the research studies both the economic and the sociological aspects, a socio-economic approach is considered in this research. A variety of research strategy can be adopted such as: survey research, experiments, and case studies. “*Survey research*” permits to describe the distribution of one or more variables among a sample. It is a specific type of field study that includes the collection of data from a sample of components and from a well-defined population through the use of surveys (Visser et al., n/d). “*Experimental research*” allows to describe the cause-and-effect of certain variables on other variables (Postlethwaite, 2005). Regarding the “*case study*”, it refers to the use of a small group and multiple sources of evidence to have an in depth study of a certain phenomenon (Postlethwaite, 2005). For Johnstone (2003), (*quote*) “a case study should have a “case” which is the object of the study. The case should be a complex functioning unit, be investigated in its natural context with a multitude of methods, and be contemporary”. He adds that a case study is not about the methods of investigation but rather about the interest in individual cases.

The three research strategies alone do not cover all areas of inquiry. Hybrid strategies as a combination of strategies can be also adopted. Postlethwaite (2005) distinguishes between six major types of educational research: “*historical research*” which engenders description and sometimes attempts to provide explanation of situations and events that occurred in the past; “*descriptive research*” which provides information about situations and events in the present time and permits to describe a problem, a phenomenon or an attitude towards a situation; “*correlational research*” which examines the relationship between two or more variables through the use of several measures of statistical connotation; “*causal research*” which permits to determine causal linkages between variables by examining a certain phenomenon and then searching back through available information in order to identify probable causal relationship; “*ethnographic research*” which aims to provide a detailed description of the interaction of a certain group within the context of socio-cultural norms and shared values and beliefs; and “*research and development research*” which is a formative type of research that does bring new information as the above types

of research but rather focuses on the research and the evaluation of a new product in order to modify and improve it. Other research strategies are also used by social and psychological researchers: “*grounded theory*” developed by Glaser and Strauss. It is an inductive theory characterized with the emergence of a theory derived or “grounded” from data that is systematically collected and analysed. It aims to clarify a process rather than to experiment or prove an existing theory (Lingard et al., 2008); and “*documentary research*” which refers to the use of documents containing information about a phenomenon to study. It allows investigating, categorizing and interpreting available data from a variety of documents that can be public, private or personal (Mogalakwe, 2006). A distinction is also done between exploratory study and confirmatory study. An “*exploratory study*” is when there is a lack of theoretical understanding about a certain topic or phenomenon and where further investigation will permit to better understand the key variables, their relationships and their linkages. A “*confirmatory study*” is when a theoretical model is already generated based on theory, previous research findings or detailed observation, and that needs to be verified through the data field collection and analysis (*Ibid.*).

Based on the above descriptions of research strategies, *the case study* seemed the most appropriate research strategy to provide answers to the queries posed by this study because it combines various research methods. *Descriptive research* – that is quantitative in nature – was collected from various groups of students and graduates from different faculties and different universities. The instruments used in the data collection were “*surveys*”, based mainly on a fixed range of closed-ended questions to assure standardization in the respondents’ replies; and “*semi-structured interviews*” based mainly on open-ended questions permitting free expression of opinion for the respondents with clearly defined objectives that were met through some flexibility in wording and sequence of questions. *An interpretive historical research method* was used for a better understanding of the history of the Lebanese higher education system in terms of number of HEIs, the distribution of students among HEIs, the choices done at

the faculty level, the differences in the choices between males and females and the graduates' cohorts; and of the history of the Lebanese labour market and transformation that took place at the level of productivity activities, job creation, and employment process. A documentary research technique was also used to investigate and interpret the content of various documents such as the Higher Education Act and By Laws, the statistical bulletins done by the CERD, the secondary education restructuring programme, the reports from various stakeholders about the Lebanese higher education system and the labour market characteristics, previous empirical studies, Webpages of HEIs. Such review provided a better understanding about both entities and a better insight into the extent to which the reality meet the actual documentation.

The study is an explorative research with an aim to explore the main factors that influence the students' choices at the higher education level and consequently their integration within the labour market. Based on the review of the literature, and the historical review of the Lebanese case, a specific model for the Lebanese case was generated taking as a starting point Clark's triangle. The results of the study will permit to reformulate the model, to confirm the factors that have or have not an effect on the students' higher education choices and consequently their integration within the labour market. The results of the surveys will permit to set the ladder effect for each of the factor forming the model.

4.3 The Socio-Economic Approach

The study stands within a socio-economic approach. There is a need hence to elaborate on the meaning and characteristics of such approach.

Economic and sociological approaches were always used to explain different phenomena each from different perspectives. Economics is supposed to study the economy, the

market with a main focus on scarcity¹⁵⁷ and allocation of resources while sociology is supposed to analyse the society with a main focus on the social structure and allocation of resources from a sociologically correct stand (Keizer, 2005).

4.3.1 The Economic Process

The economics neo-classical approach assumes that human beings are rational in their choices because all information and preferences are clear and that time and cost are indefinite. Individuals tend as such to behave with **self-interest** in a rational way permitting to **maximize the desired outcome** where income distribution follow the perfect competition conditions and where **factors such as gender, social status, religion, etc. are ignored**. It is such isolation from the social factors what gives the economic approach the notion of rational and independent decision making process. Additionally, the neo-classical approach focuses mostly on the **coordination processes** between various types of inputs that will lead through a transformational process to the desired outputs (Miller et al., 1996)¹⁵⁸ (Figure 4.1).

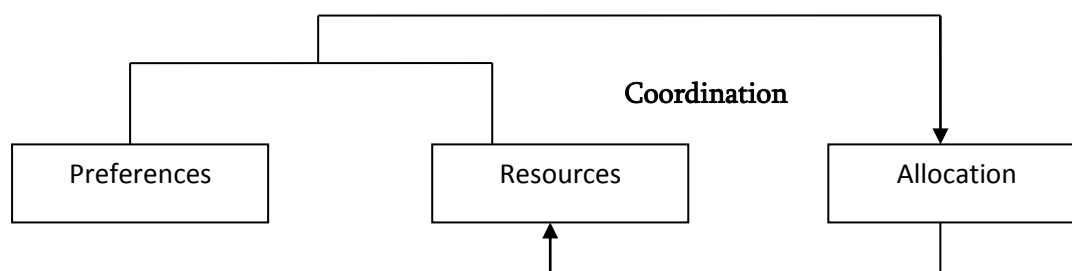


Figure 4.1: The Economic Process

¹⁵⁷ Scarcity is defined as “a confrontation between human needs and the resources that can satisfy those needs” (Keiser, 2005).

¹⁵⁸ In our case, (1) inputs are seen as the senior secondary students, (2) the transformational process is the HEI and programme chosen, and (3) the outputs are the graduates.

Nevertheless, **the rational assumptions of the neo-classical approach were regarded as non-realistic**. Simon, amongst others, advanced that in real life circumstances, individuals are “bounded” by their rationality, and they effectively tend to “satisfice” rather than “maximize” their preferences (Miller et al., 1996). This lead to pose on the fact that other aspects interfere in individuals decisions in general, and in our case in their higher education decisions in particular.

4.3.2 The Sociological Process

From the sociology point of view, **human beings are no longer self-interested**. They grow within a socialization process that renders them to be part of a group and to have personal intentions and goals similar to that of the group. Such common interest is served by the values and norms acquired, or in other words by the culture. As such, **communication**, instead of cooperation, is the main trigger of inter-relation among individuals where the social structure; i.e. the hierarchical ranking within society, determines the allocation of resources. Here, **the motive is social and the desired outcome is maximization of social utility** rather than economic utility (Keizer, 2005) (Figure 4.2).

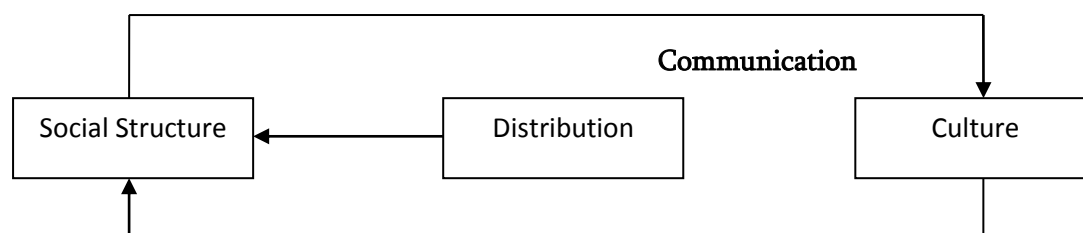


Figure 4.2: The Social Process

4.3.3 The Socio-Economic Process

(Nonetheless), considering only an economic - macro model - where decisions are not socially motivated and where social considerations are omitted from the equation seems

to uphold a certain misunderstanding about real life system. To consider the social - micro model - where no economic aspects are included and where activities are not economically motivated seems as well to withhold understanding of real communication. **If to understand the human beings motives** (i.e. motivational forces behind a certain behaviour, decision, etc.), **economic (macro) and social (micro) considerations are to be measured** given that each one has an effect on the other. Therefore, the need for a socio-economic approach permitting to acknowledge that **individuals' preferences as well as resources, even within the economic model, are socially affected**. In other words, individuals or decision makers are bi-motivational. Many of the restrictions they face are of social character rather than economic one (Ashford, 2007; Keizer, 2005; Etzioni, 1986) (Figure 4.3).

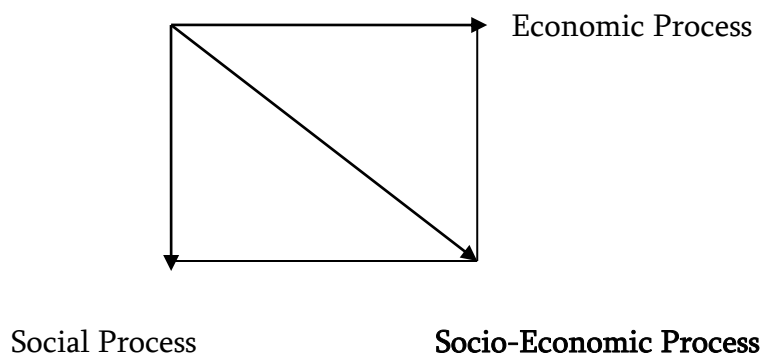


Figure 4.3: Motivational Forces – The Socio-Economic Process

Consequently, the socio-economic process or approach adopted in this research project can be schematized as follow (Figure 4.4):

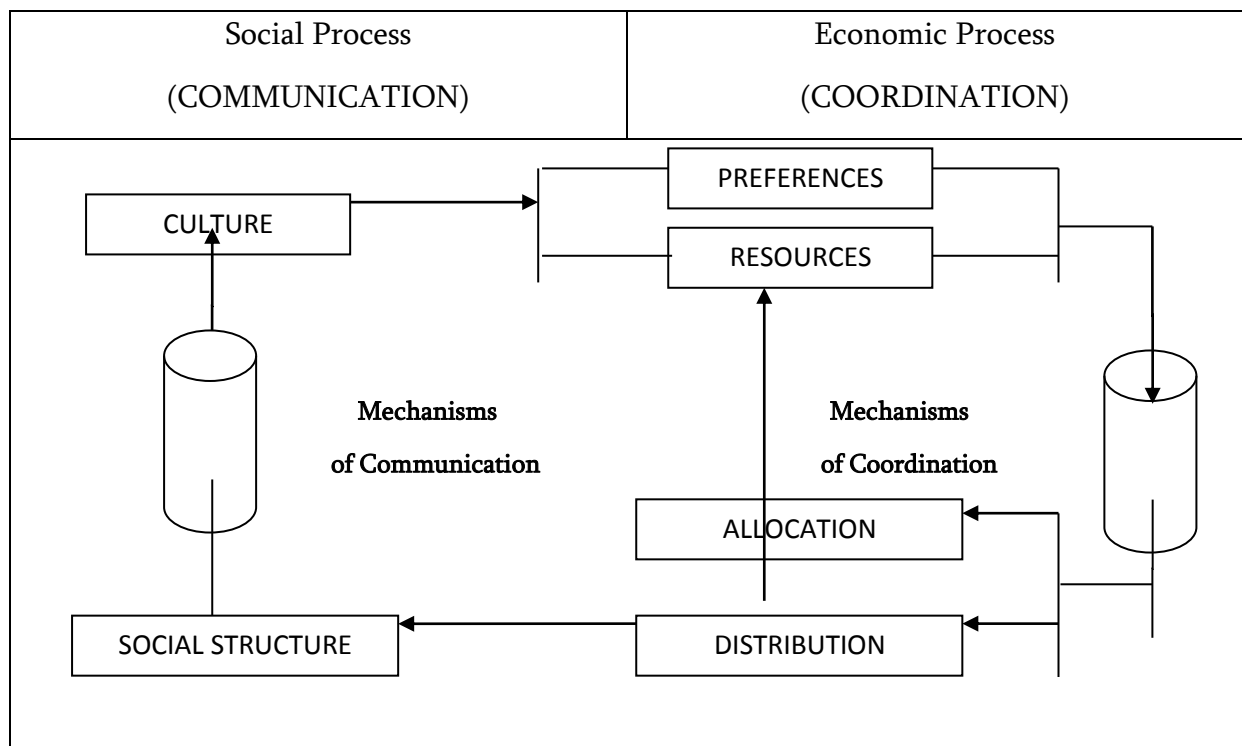


Figure 4.4: The Socio-Economic Process (adopted from Keizer, 2005)

The above illustration clearly identifies the effect of the social aspects on the economic ones and vice versa. Therefore, and as discussed above, and in order to understand the totality of decisions taken by individuals, both processes are to be considered in addition to their inter-relation. The students' survey as well as the graduates' survey reflected on both the sociological and the economic characteristics of the selected population. The analysis focus was based on both the sociological and the economic literature which allowed to suggest more comprehensive findings from a socio-economic approach.

4.4 Quantitative and Qualitative Research

Researchers classify research strategies as being either quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative/structured and qualitative/unstructured methods (i.e. triangulation method when combined together) are employed taken as a case study the Lebanese market. The most common use of a case study refers to the investigation of a (*quote*) "single

phenomenon, instance, or example” (Gerring, 2004). The use of these two methods proved to be primordial in order to understand the “Whys”; the qualitative side, and the “Hows” – How many, How often; the quantitative side. The aim through the complementary use of the two methods is to comprehend why Lebanese students choose to continue their higher education; how they choose the HEI and the programme; what are the socio-economic factors that affect these choices; and what are the repercussions of the higher education choices on the students’/graduates’ integration within the labour market. In other words, to which extent the ideology of the human capital theory is verified for the Lebanese case, and to which extent the socio-economic factors impose their effects on the Lebanese students’ higher education choices. Based on the definition of the HEIs presented in chapter 1 (pages 33-34), this study will include the institutions that are officially recognized as being “universities”.

4.4.1 Quantitative Approach

Quantitative research is often referred to by “positivist” and “empiricist” (Bryman, 1984). For Cohen and Manion (1980), quantitative approach is an investigation tool that uncovers causal links where results permit prediction and control. According to Creswell (1994), quantitative research refers to (*quote*) “explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analysed using mathematically based methods”. Therefore, quantitative approach is objective, examines cause and effect relationships (Burns and Grove, 1987). It permits to understand a certain phenomenon where its goal is to generalize the findings to the whole population. It is thus deductive or top-down (www.southalabama.edu). Methodology used is usually experimental and based on surveys while the methods are mainly sampling, measurement and scaling, survey, statistical analysis, etc. The objectivism, positivism, survey research and statistical analysis - characteristics and tools of the quantitative approach - ascertain the reliability of the research and make the outcome more credible (Crotty, 1998). It is often used to test theory (Cormark, 1991), to quantify opinions, attitudes, behaviours towards a certain

situation and thus is considered as a follow up step after a qualitative research allowing to validate the data obtained from the qualitative study. Most importantly, it is most suitable to answer hypotheses and thus identify (or not) certain correlational links. Quantitative approach exploits two types of research: the first is descriptive and leading only to describe a certain situation and the second is inferential permitting to explain a certain phenomenon instead of just describing it (Creswell, 1994).

4.4.2 Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research is often referred to as “naturalistic”, “interpretive” and “constructivist” (Bryman, 1984). It is defined by Shank (2002; cited in: Ospina, 2004) as (*quote*) “a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning”. It seeks to understand a certain reality while relying on the collection of qualitative data. It is inductive or “bottom-up” (www.southalabama.edu). It is considered as subjective by reflecting on the social world from the point of view of the researcher (Bryman, 1984). It is often used to explore a certain phenomenon and to better understand a topic or any social event (Ospina, 2004) without the intention of quantifying findings (Charoenruk, 2007). Methodology used are mainly phenomenology, ethnography, case study research, grounded theory and historical research (www.southalabama.edu), while methods are mainly one to one interviews¹⁵⁹, direct observation, documents, case study and focus group (Galt, 2009; Crotty, 1998). Unlike quantitative approaches, qualitative researches are known to lack the existence of specified hypotheses and is naturally exploratory (Bryman, 1984) aiming to discover rather than verify certain realities. It relates in general to a small and much selected sample selection (Cormack, 1991).

¹⁵⁹ Interviews are discussions between an interviewer and an individual for the purpose of collecting information about a specific topic. Interviews range from “structured”, “semi-structured” to “unstructured”; from the less controlled to the most controlled where semi-structured interview fall in between. The latter are often used in educational strategies and policy research. They go in parallel with a guide employed with different questions that need to be covered. They are used when a researcher desires to detect more about a specific matter and understand comprehensively the answer provided. As such, they allow to collect opinions, perceptions and background information (facts, expert knowledge) and resolve conflicting information given the opportunity to inquire about the conflict (Harvell and Bradley, 2009).

4.4.3 Quantitative Approach versus Qualitative Approach

On a comparison scale, qualitative research is considered more flexible than quantitative approach as it conceals new and unanticipated findings which are contrasted by the quantitative research that focuses on fixed measurements and hypotheses (Bryman, 1984). Quantitative research ignores deviant cases while qualitative approach identifies any deviant case (Cormack, 1991). Quantitative research provides information in breadth from a large number of units while qualitative research is best suited to in depth analysis. According to Duffy (1986), using one approach narrows the point of view of the researcher. Preference for a certain approach is not simply a technical choice (Moccia, 1988). The selection of one methodology instead of the other depends on the problem. There is no superior epistemology. Each methodology is useful in some contexts than others (Bryman, 1984).

4.4.4 Triangulation

The combination between the two approaches is known by “Triangulation”. It combines (*quote*) “multiple observers, theoretical perspectives and methodologies” (Bryman, 1984; Jick, 1979). Triangulation is used to validate and increase the credibility of the study (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012). Five types of triangulation are distinguished: “data triangulation” which illustrates the use of multiple sources of data; “investigator triangulation” which refers to the use of more than two researchers to collect and analyse data collected; “theoretical triangulation” which refers to more than one theoretical stand in analysing the data; “analysis triangulation” which refers to the use of more than two methods for analysing the same set of data; and “methodological triangulation” which refers to the use of more than one method to collect the data (Hussein, 2009). Two types of methodological triangulation are distinguished. “Between-method” or across method triangulation combines both qualitative and quantitative approaches to study one phenomenon. It allows to test the degree of external validity. “Within-method”

triangulation uses several techniques within the same method as to increase internal credibility of the research results (Hussein, 2009). The use of one type of triangulation and not the other depends on the purpose of the study.

4.4.5 Rational for Research Methodology

The use of triangulation in order to understand a phenomenon was seen as essential by many authors (e.g. Vidich and Shapiro, 1955; Reiss, 1968; McCall and Simmons, 1969; Spindler, 1970, etc.; all cited in: Jick, 1979). The main benefit of triangulation is that it allows to cross-check and validate qualitative results by quantitative studies leading to a theoretical advancement (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012). Qualitative knowledge permits a better understanding of the findings of quantitative studies (Charoenruk, 2007; Jick, 1979). Knowledge revealed by qualitative research can be the common ground for quantitative research that will reject or keep information found by the qualitative approach (Bryman, 1984). Combining both qualitative and quantitative methods allow to defuse the drawbacks of one method and reinforce the benefits of the other for a better understanding and research results (Hussein, 2009). Triangulation permits to overcome the challenges related to a single-method, single-theory approach. Researchers often refer to the use of triangulation for completeness purpose to increase their understanding of a certain phenomenon (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012). Triangulation assures as well the validity of a case study research (Johnstone, 2003). Reaching the same outcome by using more than one methodology provides a more solid ground for the phenomenon under study (Jick, 1979).

This study, based on a case study research, will use elements of both quantitative and qualitative approaches (defined as “between-method” triangulation). Triangulation as acknowledged by Johnstone (2003) is the most apposite methodology to validate the results of a case study. The objective of the use of such combined methodology was to permit to benefit from the advantages and compensate the weaknesses of each approach,

and thus increasing the validity, reliability and credibility of the case study findings and providing an advanced understanding of the conceptual linkages as advanced by Yeasmin and Rahman (2012); Hussein (2009); Johnstone (2003); and Jick (1979). The study will use “data triangulation” which refers to the use of several sources of data which are statistical bulletins, results of previous empirical studies, findings of the surveys; and “theoretical triangulation” given the consideration of both economic and social theoretical concepts.

4.5 Methods, Field and Data Collection

The study aims to identify the factors affecting the Lebanese students’ higher education choices and consequently the effect of these choices on their integration within the labour market without omitting the important effect that the economy, the country’ context, the policies and the strategies set have on these choices and subsequently on the transition to the labour market. There is hence a need to determine first the basis on which HEIs were chosen, and secondly to specify the criteria used in the choice of the programmes and consequently that of the students.

4.5.1 Sampling Procedure: The Choice of the HEIs

The 1961 Higher Education Act in its article 4 defined and differentiated between three types of HEIs. Based on that definition which was presented in chapter 1 (pages 33-34), this study includes HEIs recognized as “universities”; i.e. those composed of at least three faculties. As shown in the first part of chapter one, the Lebanese higher education system is divided unequally between the public sector and the private sector. The private sector is divided in its turn into an elite and a mass private sector¹⁶⁰ with a variety of origins

¹⁶⁰The differentiation between “elite” and “mass” universities is done on the basis of admittance tests. Universities that recruit students on the basis of “admission” or “entrance” exams are categorized as “elite universities”. Universities that recruit students on the basis of a formality exam, they are categorized as “mass universities” (refer to chapter one, page 48). The reputation of the university within the Lebanese

ranging from Lebanese, to Arabic, to French, to American (Al Amine Faour, 1998). To make sure that different point of views from various social, financial and cultural backgrounds were considered, the study includes samples from universities representing the diversity of sectors and origins. As such, in addition to the LU, the only public university, private universities following the American model as well as the French model, from both the elite and mass sectors were contacted.

To gain access to universities, email, letters, and personal contact were used based on the available degree of access. The purpose was to ask for approval to pass the students' survey, to have access to the ALUMNI's list and to take the interview. For the LU, and because of the dispersal of its branches and faculties, and bureaucratic structure, access was facilitated by the thesis co-director. Access was mainly provided for the first and the second branches. Other branches and certain faculties were unable to be reached because of the political instability from one side and LU professors' strikes from the other. Concerning the elite private universities, emails were sent to the most renowned universities, the AUB, the LAU, and the NDU which follows the American model, and to the USJ which follows the French model. The Balamand University was not contacted given not only geographical distance but political circumstances preventing data collection at a certain point. Despite follow up, whether through formal or informal channels, no replies were received from the AUB, the NDU and the USJ. Regarding the LAU, a reply was received within a two weeks period from sending the email. Access to the AUB and the USJ was later on done through informal channel where the students' survey was passed to a number of students. The process will be discussed in the subsequent section. Concerning the mass sector, immediate approval was granted from the AOU (I am a faculty member of the institution). Contact with the AUCE, and the LIU was done through the thesis co-director, where approvals were directly granted which facilitated the students' survey data collection (interviews were not done at these

higher education market, its date of establishment, and status were also taken as proxies to differentiate between "elite" and "mass" universities.

universities). The MUBS despite granting its approval at a first stage refrained from participating in the study for untold reasons. The Antonine University, another newly established university part of the mass private sector, was contacted through direct contact and follow-up emails. The Antonine University accepted to participate in the interview, yet, renounced from participation in the students' survey. To sum up, for the mass private sector, data was mainly collected from the AOU, the AUCE and the LIU. Among the institutions not included in the study are those where the official status as a "university" to date is either conditioned or remains questionable; those established less than a decade ago; or those who have a total number of student enrolment of less than 2,000 students.

In the choice of the HEI, special attention to sampling techniques was not necessary as the target was mainly all universities. The main focus was to make sure that the sample is representative of the variety of sectors (public and private) and origins. Some adjustments had to be done to the original plan during data collection because of the resistance faced from various universities not accepting to pass the students' survey or to do the interview or even to grant access to their ALUMNIs list. A total sample of 278 surveys (42.4%) was collected from the LU and 378 surveys (57.62%) from the private sector; 99 surveys from the elite sector and 279 surveys from the mass sector. The low number of surveys collected from the elite sector is attributed to the limited access granted to these institutions. To catch the characteristic of each sector, the data collected from various universities were re-coded into three categories: the public university, the elite private sector and the mass private sector.

For the graduates' survey, no specific sampling technique was used as well. The aim was to target various graduates' from different disciplines and universities to see the effect of their educational choices in terms of programmes and HEIs, and their personal and socio-economic backgrounds on their transition to the labour market and specifically the pace of transition. However, given the limited access to the ALUMNIs list, the survey designed

by the researcher for the study was not used. Another survey and study done in 2005-2006 was used instead and which the results till date were not yet unfold. This permitted to achieve our aim as to understand the effect of the personal, socio-economic aspects, and educational decisions, on the transition to the labour market. More detail about this survey and steps followed is found in sub-section 4.5.2.2.

The next step was to select a sample of students to complete the survey designed by the researcher to provide answers for the research enquiries. The sample had to be chosen carefully to improve the validity and permit the “generalizability” of the findings to the population of the students of various universities in Lebanon. Generalization from cases are not statistical but rather are based on reasoning. Generalizations can be done through the use of one or a combination of reasoning processes. Three types of reasoning are identified: deductive, inductive and adductive. In a case study, the different processes are often used. Inductive reasoning is that similar to the “grounded theory” where a theory normally emerges based on a conceptualisation of data from within the case; deductive reasoning proves that something is true based on experimentation and the formulation of hypotheses. It will allow through the comparison of the findings, which are deducted from a theory and a case, with the empirical findings, to verity or falsify a theory. Regarding the abduction reasoning, it is the process of facing an unexpected event, applying some rule and consequently suggesting a case that may be (Johnstone, 2003). Our case study, will mainly refer to the use of the deduction process.

4.5.2 Sampling Strategies

Sampling or sample is a subgroup of the population, a representative selection of the population from which generalizations can be done about the whole population (American Statistical Association, 2012; Latham, 2007). The choice of the sampling methods is important as it allow the researcher to reduce costs and time, have more flexibility and accurate findings. Two sampling methods are distinguished: “*probability*

(random) sampling” and “*non-probability sampling*” (Wretman, 2010; Latham, 2007). In the former, the most important step is to decide on the population of interest (Doherty, 1994). Members of the population are selected based on a certain randomization mechanism, with non-biased measures of selection. The exact probability of selection of each member is clear and each member has a chance of being selected (Latham, 2007; Doherty, 1994). This is not the case in non-probability sampling which does not choose a random sample from the population of concern. Subjective measures are rather used to include elements in the study. Non-probability sampling is mainly used when the population is not clearly or well defined or because it provides faster results and is less costly than probability sampling (Battaglia, 2011). As the aim is to typify the population as accurately as possible for the sample to be representative, probability (random) sampling seemed the most suitable for the study.

There are several types of probability sampling: “*simple random sampling*” is the classic form of probability sampling known also by “straight random sample” (Latham, 2007). It is mostly used when the sample is small, homogeneous and readily available (American Statistical Association, 2012). It does not require any information about the population elements but only requires information on the sampling frame. Perfect randomness is to be guaranteed by the researcher when this type is used (Mazzocchi, 2008). Each member of the population has hence equal chances of being selected (Latham, 2007). Samples may be collected with or without replacement. The simple random sampling refers in general to the former type of samples collection; once an element is selected, it has no further chance of being selected in subsequent selections (American Statistical Association, 2012; Latham, 2007). “*Stratified random sampling*” applied when the population holds distinct features and few characteristics are known about the population. The frame is organized into separate “strata” or sub-groups assuring hence sampling heterogeneity between sub-groups (American Statistical Association, 2012). However, each stratum includes homogenous elements and is sampled independently where random selection of sampling elements is performed at the second stage guaranteeing that each element within the

stratum has equal chances of being selected (Mazzocchi, 2008; Latham, 2007). “*Systematic random sampling*” has similar features with the simple random sampling to this extent that it is known as well by pseudo-simple random sampling (Latham, 2007). It involves a random start and then continues with a choice of every n^{th} group from then forward. By this, it is seen as a form of one-stage cluster sampling where the most important part is the start with a random process (American Statistical Association, 2012). “*Cluster sampling*” is used when the researcher is unable to have an exhaustive list of all the members in the population of concern. On the surface, it is similar to the stratified random sample, yet, with one exception that the unit of analysis is not an individual or single element of the population but rather a group referred to as cluster instead of stratum (Saifuddin, 2009; Latham, 2007). While stratified random sampling aims to increase homogeneity within each stratum, cluster sampling works best when heterogeneity within each cluster is high (Mazzocchi, 2008). Two types of cluster sampling are distinguished: “one-stage sampling” is used when all the members of the selected clusters are sampled; “multistage sampling” where the sample is selected in stages: first, select in a random way the clusters from the population and secondly, select members randomly from the clusters where clusters do not contain usually the same number of units (Saifuddin, 2009; American Statistical Association, 2012; Latham, 2007). Multistage sampling was used in this study where diverse sampling methods – stratified random sampling, cluster sampling and simple random sampling were combined to benefit from the advantage of each method. Cluster sampling permit to reduce time and cost while the heterogeneous characteristic of the stratified random sampling permits to get more accurate estimates than simple random sampling and cluster sampling.

For this study, the sampling frame or the population of interest was second and third year university students considered to have enough knowledge about the pros and cons of their educational decisions and their implications on their integration within the labour market. The strata within this sampling frame were the universities – the public university, the elite private sector and the mass private sector. Equal representation was

respected between the public university and the mass private sector. Given constrained related to the data collection from the elite private sector, fewer data was collected but it remains representative. Each stratum was divided into several clusters representing faculties and programmes of interest to the study – faculties of “Business Administration and Economic Sciences”, “Literature and Humanities”, “Sciences”, and “Service-Oriented faculties”. The choice of these faculties was extrapolated from the factual analysis in chapter one. Faculties chosen were those that showed contradictory trends of recruitment between the public and the private sector and those related to the labour market orientation. The choice of faculty also respected the type of admission criteria; selective or open. Clusters were hence heterogeneous. Simple random samples of students were drawn from the final clusters formed as to determine the aspects which had an effect on the students’ choices for a HEI and a programme from a socio-economic perspective.

The second framing sample was that of the graduates holding a university degree. The preliminary focus of the framing sample was graduates who finished their higher studies from at least one year able to provide enough information about the research queries related to the transition to the labour market and the pace of transition. As mentioned previously, because of the inability to collect enough surveys from the original survey formulated specifically for this study, an alternative survey was used. The general framing sample of the survey was the household. It was a random sampling procedure covering all the geographical areas, the six Mouhafaza: Beirut, Mount Lebanon, North, South, Nabatieh and Bekaa. All individuals forming the household; working/non-working; educated/illiterate; from all age groups were questioned. The advantage of such sampling procedure permitted to have a historical reflection between generations. The sub-framing sample for the purpose of the study was the individuals with a higher education degree. The exhaustive results of the survey particularly in what pertains to having information about all individuals regardless of their educational background, allowed to compare between those who have a university degree and those who have less than a university degree concerning the transition and pace of transition to the labour market.

4.5.2.1 *Students Sample for The Survey*

The choice of an apposite student sample size was a source of concern; first to ensure that the sample is representative of the population while maintaining a high level of validity; secondly for economic considerations and a wish to limit the cost; and thirdly for time consideration given the desire to complete the data collection within a specific time line. The students' survey data collection was done in two stages. The first stage during June and July 2012. Students were approached on campus. Two BA students were familiarized with the survey and were responsible for passing the survey amongst students. This approach was adopted at that time based on two rational: first out of conviction that students might be more honest and will be more motivated to fill in the survey if another student approaches them. Secondly, to be able to access universities that did not grant official access. However, the number of surveys collected during that period was minimal because the students did not feel the obligation to fill in the survey. They were approached outside the classes, on campus grounds. The second stage was done during October, November, December 2012, January and February 2013. Surveys were passed by the researcher. This time surveys were passed to the students in classes, the tutor was present, which gave a more serious atmosphere and obliged students to fill in the survey. To be able to pass the surveys, permission from the university/faculty or branch administration was taken in advance and this was done through private channels and with the help of the thesis co-director as most universities refused at first to pass the survey. A sample size of 656 students was collected in total: 278 surveys from the public university, 279 surveys from the mass private sector and 99 surveys from the elite private sector. Table 4.2 gives the decomposition of the sample by university and by faculty:

Table 4.2: Students' Sample Distribution per HEI and per Faculty						
University	Sample	Faculty				Total
		Business Administration	Service-Oriented	Sciences	Literature and Humanities	
Lebanese University	Effectif	165	0	84	29	278
	Percentage	59.4%	.0%	30.2%	10.4%	100.0%
Elite PUs	Effectif	31	8	21	39	99
	Percentage	31.3%	8.1%	21.2%	39.4%	100.0%
Mass PUs	Effectif	221	49	9	0	279
	Percentage	79.2%	17.6%	3.2%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Effectif	417	57	114	68	656
	Percentage	63.6%	8.7%	17.4%	10.4%	100.0%

Data collected from the public university considered both types of faculties. Faculties that have pre-set criteria of selection or entrance test and faculties with no entrance test and where the only requirement is the Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate. This permitted to identify the divergence in the students' choices between the two types of the faculties and compare these choices with those done with the students at the private sector. Table 4.3 shows the LU faculties from which the students' surveys were collected:

Table 4.3: Students' Surveys Collected from the LU faculties			
Faculty	Track	Branch	Admission Criteria
Literature and Humanities	English Literature	Second Branch – Fanar (Mount Lebanon)	Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate – Part II
	Translation	Second Branch – New Rawda (Mound Lebanon)	Entrance test + Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate – Part II
Sciences	Biology/Medical Sciences	Second Branch – Fanar (Mount Lebanon)	Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate part II for biology track, those going into the medical sciences track, will have to sit for a scientific test once they passed the first year.
Business Administration and Economic Sciences	Business Administration	Second Branch – Achrafieh (Beirut)	Entrance test + Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate – Part II
	Economic Sciences	Second Branch – Achrafieh (Beirut)	Entrance test + Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate – Part II

A fifth faculty was selected at the LU, the faculty of “Law, Political and Management Sciences” (the second branch in Jal El Dib (Mount Lebanon) and the first branch in Hadath (Beirut)¹⁶¹. However, the surveys were not included in the analysis. For the second branch, the students did not provide sufficient information to be included. Surveys were not completed or not seriously completed in addition to a very small representative sample. Concerning the first branch, appointments were taken several

¹⁶¹ This faculty as mentioned previously in chapter one does not require an entrance test

times, yet, and because of political circumstances and/or strikes at the LU, surveys were not collected.

The same faculties were considered for the elite and mass private sectors. However, and for the mass private sector data was not collected from the literature and humanities because that this major was not offered in the universities that form part of the study or no access was granted to this faculty.

4.5.2.2 Graduates Sample for The Survey

For the graduates' survey, the random sample selection is respected. No prior criteria are set pertaining to the diploma, the employment level and the labour market. For the survey formulated specifically for the study, graduates were chosen anonymously with no previous definition of the specialization and/or the work sector. In addition to the interaction with the graduates on a face to face level, one of the social media tools; the Facebook, was also used to reach as much graduates as possible. This tool proved to be interesting because it permitted to reach the Lebanese graduates who emigrated for work purposes reflecting on the initial idea that launched this research project "the emigration of the Lebanese youth". A third tool was used to collect surveys based on sending mass emails to HEIs Alumni associations. However, only few replies were received. A total number of only 30 surveys was collected not enough to have an appropriate analysis. As such, and as mentioned previously, an alternative data from a survey conducted in 2005-2006 was used with an effective of 4748 households encompassing 18938 individuals. Given that the study focuses on the integration process within the labour market based on the educational degree acquired, table 4.4 denotes the distribution of the population per educational level:

Table 4.4: Distribution of the Population per Educational Level					
		Effectives	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Percentage Cumulus
Valid	Illiterate	826	4.4	4.6	4.6
	Less than secondary	8351	44.1	<u>47.0</u>	51.6
	Secondary education	4469	23.6	25.1	76.8
	BA	2204	11.6	12.4	89.2
	Master	425	2.2	2.4	91.6
	PhD	197	1.0	1.1	92.7
	Technical Brevet	731	3.9	4.1	96.8
	TS	506	2.7	2.8	99.6
	LT	64	.3	.4	100.0
	Total	17773	93.8	100.0	
Missing	System Missing	1165	6.2		
Total		18938	100.0		

Data was collected over a period of four months, between February 2005 and June 2005. The surveys were passed by the research team formed of approximately 80 members. Surveys were distributed by the team in the majority of the cities forming the six Lebanese Mouhafaza. Cities' names were taken from the ministry of interior and the municipalities. General security forces were contacted to inform about the research team visit to various cities and to facilitate the visit of the team. The research team went door to door and asked the household to fill in the survey respecting by that a random sample collection.

4.5.2.3 *Sample for Interviews*

Semi-structured interviewed were done with the director general of education and higher education and three representatives from three different universities: one representing the elite private sector, and two representing the mass private sector. Interview with LU representative was not possible for several reasons. Such sampling permitted to consider

both the strategies and policies pondering on the students' higher education choices and consequently their integration within the labour market. Representatives were either personally contacted reference previous acquaintance or through email. The choice of the HEIs' representatives was random. Still, there was an interest in the choice of representatives able to assess the institution strategies at the level of admission, equity and equality of access, programmes offerings and students' choices at that level, the effect of competition within the market on the institution strategies, and the graduates follow up. Sampling techniques were not used as they were not significant for the semi-structured interviews that were used for the purpose of triangulation to validate and support the findings of the students' and graduates' surveys.

4.6 Research Techniques

As outlined earlier, the strategy adopted in the study is a “*case study*”. Case study permits to tell the story of a certain phenomenon. It permits to describe what happened, to whom and with what consequences leading to a better understanding of the reasons behind certain result. It provides hence detailed information and a complete picture of the investigated case (Neale et al., 2006). Case study relies on a multiple sources of information: semi-structured interviews, survey results, documents and reports, observation instruments (Constantinos et al., 2011; Neale et al., 2006). Amongst the various research methods, the case study is a meta-method. It combines a variety of other research strategies that extend from “*qualitative research*” which focuses on a holistic approach; to “*interpretive-historical research*” dependent on a logic of interpretation; to “*correlational research*” which similarly to the qualitative research focuses on the present circumstances but is rather dependent on quantitative data; to “*experimental research*” dependent on quantitative data and the ability of the research to manipulate isolated variables; and finally to “*simulation and logical argumentation*” which requires control, manipulation and an emphasis on generalisation (Johnstone, 2003).

The basic instruments used in this study were surveys and semi-structured interviews in addition to previous empirical studies, reports, and statistical bulletins. By definition, (*quote*) “survey research uses scientific sampling and survey design” employing a fixed set of questions (Harvell and Bradley, 2009). It is the most popular tool of quantitative research. Unlike focus groups, surveys allow to target an important number of surveyed population (Harvell and Bradley, 2009) which is the case in this study. The aim is to systematically collect information in order to understand certain attitudes and/or predict certain behaviours towards a specific situation (Bryman, 1984). It provides more emphasis and in depth understanding of the weight and prioritization of different factors as regards a specific matter (Harvell and Bradley, 2009). In this study, the aim of the surveys is to disclose the main factors that had an effect on the students’ higher education choices for a HEI and a programme and the aspects affecting the graduates’ integration within the labour market and the pace of such transition.

Interviews are defined as discussions, conversations usually (*quote*) “one-on-one between an interviewer and an individual” for the purpose of collecting information based on the research objectives (Harrell and Bradley, 2009). Semi-structured interviews are as well conversations. They are used when the researcher aims to explore deeply into a certain subject matter and understand comprehensively answers provided. A guide is in general used and questions are standardized with discretion as to the order in which questions are used (*Ibid.*). In this study, semi-structured interviews were used to investigate more the information provided about the higher education system and the choices done and their effect on the transition process.

The descriptive research was done through the use of the “Effectif” feature in the SPSS. It permitted to describe for the students’ survey, the students’ choices in terms of programmes and HEI and define these choices in the light of gender, age, secondary education, social status, parents’ educational and occupational backgrounds; and for the graduates’ survey, the graduates’ status after graduation, the period of time taken to find first-employment in the light of gender, social class, level of education of both the

graduates and their parents, the choice of programme, the channels used to find employment, the difficulties encountered and emigration aspirations.

The correlational research was used to identify the relationship and to study the effect of various personal, socio-economic factors, governmental policies and HEIs strategies on the students' higher education choices and the graduates' transition to the labour market. It was done through the use of the "cross tables" feature in SPSS. It permitted to identify for the students' survey, what variables have an effect on the students' choices of a HEI and a programme ranging from the students' personal characteristics, to the social background, to the family educational and occupational conditions, to the admission strategies adopted by the HEI, to their employability status, and how these variables are inter-related to each other(s); and for the graduates' survey, what variables had an effect on their fast or slow pace of transition to the labour market ranging from the graduates' personal characteristics, to their choice of programme, to their choice of type of higher education, to their social background, to their parents' educational and occupational backgrounds, and finally to their social capital.

The explanatory research which aims to better understand and explain the students' choices and the effect of these choices on their transition to the labour market, was done through the use of the "logistic regression models". It permitted a better understanding of how and why different socio-economic aspects interfere together and determine the higher education choices of the Lebanese senior secondary students and consequently their integration within the labour market. Descriptive, correlational analysis complemented with the explanatory research permitted to answer the research queries and validate (or not) the hypotheses.

4.7 Surveys Design

4.7.1 Students' Survey Design

The students' survey was designed by the researcher specifically for the study. The literature relevant to the aspects affecting the students' higher education choices in addition to the factual analysis informed the construction of the survey. The students' survey consisted of seven sections each with a specific topic specified at the onset of each section.

The first three sections explored general information about the student ranging from “*personal information*” (gender, age, religion, marital status, place of birth); to “*geographical information*” (the place of residency); and finally to “*family composition*” (number of brothers and/or sisters).

The fourth section examined the “*academic choices*” both at the secondary and the higher education levels. It permits to identify first the type of school (public or private), the secondary track chosen, the reason(s) of that choice, and the orientation received, and secondly the choice of the university and aspects weighing on such choice, the timeline between the secondary education and the higher education, and the sources of information about the university and their effect on the students' choices. The aim of the section was to identify what guided the students' choice for a HEI.

The fifth section is related to the “*higher education choices*”. It was divided into four sub-sections. The first sub-section considered the reasons upon which the students decided to pursue their higher studies and choice of the HEI. It investigated the considerations measured by the students for pursuing higher studies in addition to the aspects weighing on their choice of the university: the specific characteristics of the HEI; the affiliation and reputation; the extension to the labour market and graduates' follow up; and students'

specific interests in a HEI. The second sub-section considered the choice of the programme. It explored the reasons pondering on the students' choice for the programme, and the preference of the students for another programme (if any). The third sub-section explored the students' employment status. It examined whether the student is a working student or not, the field of work, the relevance of her/his work with the choice of the programme, and their awareness of the labour market needs. The fourth sub-section reflected on the students' prior academic choices at the higher education level, if they regret any of these choices and the reasons of regret (if applicable). Finally, the section explored, from the students' perspective - specifically those who have not yet found work - the aspects that could have played a role in delaying their employment.

The sixth section considered the “*family academic background*”. From one part, it explored the father and the mother highest level of education, the system of education chosen, and the choice of the HEI and programme (if applicable). At a second stage, the section reflected on the brothers and/or sisters educational choices, the choices of a HEI and programme (if any). The aim of this section is to investigate the correlation between the choices done by the parents, brothers and sisters and that of the students mainly in what pertains to pursuing higher education, the choice of the HEI and the programme.

The seventh and last section explored the “*family socio-economic background*”. It identified from one part the working status of the father and the mother, the nature, the type and sector of work of each. On the other hand, it investigated the brothers and sisters working status, whether they are working and studying at the same time, as well as the sector of work. On a third and final stage, the section examined the total level of income of each household and its distribution amongst various categories (education, health, leisure, consumption and savings). The aim of this section is to identify the effect of the parents' income and employment status on the students' higher education choices and reflect on the effect of the family socio-economic background and class division on the choice of the HEI and programme.

Seventy-Seven of the 89 questions are closed-ended questions. Closed-ended questions offered either a list of alternatives from which the students had to choose one alternative based on the specific case of each; or a list of alternatives where for each the students had to identify whether this has affected her/his choice or not by marking “Yes” or “No”; or questions offering three options for the students to select the alternative that best reflected their opinion. For the open-ended questions, students had to specify the number of brothers, and/or sisters, and/or children (if any), the faculty, the number of brothers and/or sisters who work; who work and study at the same time; and the distribution of the income amongst various categories. Examples of some closed-ended questions are given below:

Example 1: list of alternatives from which the student had to choose one alternative

D1.	<u>Secondary education</u>	1) Public System
		2) Private System
D2.	Track Chosen	1) General Studies 2) Life Sciences 3) Literature and Humanities 4) Sociology and Economy 5) Other

Example 2: list of alternatives for which the student had to specify which had and which had not an effect on her/his choice

Please specify next to each alternative “yes” or “no”			Yes	No
E3.	Why have you chosen this field of study?	1) Out of personal interest		
		2) Polyvalent field allowing easy access to the labour market		
		3) By chance/did not have any previous preferences		
		4) Encouraged by friends already enrolled in the programme		
		5) Tutor advice		
		6) Parents field of work		
		7) Easy admission criteria/no entrance test		
		8) Already have a professional experience in this field		

Example 3: list of alternatives for which the student had to choose which suit most her/his case

Key: 1= Agree 2= Neutral 3= Disagree

	What are the aspects that guided your choice of the higher education institution?			
	Aspects related to specific characteristics of the university			
E2.a	Educational system (American, French, Egyptian or Lebanese) and thus language of instruction	1	2	3
E2.b	Easy admission criteria; i.e. easy access	1	2	3
E2.c	Selective admission criteria; i.e. access on merit (entrance exam)	1	2	3
E2.d	Practically free tuition fees	1	2	3
E2.e	Financial support (grants, loans, scholarship, etc.)/external body providing financial support	1	2	3
E2.f	New field of studies not offered in other universities	1	2	3
E2.g	Flexible schedule allowing to work and study at the same time	1	2	3
E2.h	Electronic/library resources	1	2	3

Example 4: list of alternatives for which the student had to choose which suit most her/his case

Key 1= High 2= Average 3= Mediocre/Low
 (>70) (69-50) (<50)

D9.	Level of information that you received about the university you have chosen	1	2	3
D10.	Was the information your received helpful and did it affect or redirect your choice?	1	2	3

The closed-ended questions were considered appropriate for a variety of reasons. They permitted to ascertain that the respondents reply to the same alternatives which are seen as essential to study the effect of various aspects on the students' higher education choices allowing hence a certain standardization, greater efficiency and minimal ambiguity.

Some questions ended up by being open-ended given that the replies are specific to each student. Examples of open-ended questions are given below:

Example 5:

C1.	Number of Brothers	
C2.	Number of Sisters	
C3.	How many brothers/sisters are older than you?	
C4.	How many brothers/sisters are younger than you?	

Example 6:

G11.	What is the percentage of expenditure for each of these categories:	1) Education	____%
		2) Health	____%
		3) Leisure	____%
		4) Consumption	____%
		5) Savings	____%
		<u>Total</u>	100%

The questionnaire was originally written in English, the languages of instruction in all universities adopting the American model. For the respondents in universities adopting the French model and those at the LU, the survey was translated into French, the main language of instruction at both. Respondents in all universities were given the choice to complete the questionnaire in the language of their choice. The survey in English and French can be found respectively in appendices 4.1.1 and 4.1.2

4.7.2 Graduates' Survey Design

The graduates' survey designed specifically for the study was extrapolated from the students' survey. The survey aimed to investigate the students' previous higher educational choices of a HEI and a programme; the interrelation between the graduates' higher education choices and the labour market needs; their current working status; the pace of transition to the labour market; and the family socio-economic status and its effect on the graduates' working life and pace of transition. The survey was not however used for reasons elaborated in the "limitations" section (section 4.12; page 315). The only ALUMNI list that we were able to access was that of the AOU where I am a faculty member of the institution. Other contacted institutions did not grant access to their ALUMNI list. Regarding the LU, its ALUMNI list is not that developed which did not allow to have an exhaustive list. Despite the fact that we have tried to contact graduates through several routes, personal contacts, friends, email or Facebook, few respondents

replied back which did not allow to consider the findings of the collected surveys given the non-representative sample. The survey can be found in appendix 4.2.

An alternative survey was referred to in order to assess the effect of students' educational choices, the socio-economic background on their transition to the labour market and the problems faced. The survey used was conducted in 2005-2006 by a group of researchers. The survey was specifically elaborated by the researchers. The aim was to investigate the educational, professional, economic characteristics of the Lebanese households and their aspirations towards emigration. The children will be referred to as the graduates in this study and will be considered as the sampling frame. More explanation about this consideration will be provided in chapter eight, part B.

The survey consisted of nine sections. It is originally elaborated in Arabic and translated for the purpose of this study in English. The first three sections identified the household geographic and residential characteristics. The fourth section explored general information about the parents and their children such as the age, the gender, the marital status, language knowledge, educational status, the reasons for not pursuing education, the economic activity and the professional status. The fifth section investigated the children educational choices. It is those that are considered as the sampling frame; the graduates. This section reflected mainly on the anticipated educational level, the reasons of choice of technical education, the reasons of choice of university, the programme chosen, the reasons of choice of the programme, the reasons of choice of the HEI, the academic level, the reasons of failure and the reasons of changing the HEI. The sixth section described aspects related to the official examination such as difficulties encountered, and general characteristics of the official examination. The seventh section investigated the professional status of the graduates. It explored channels used to search and find a job, the period taken to find a first job, the aspects weighting on employment chances, the positive and negative factors related to the job, the reasons for leaving the job and the difficulties encountered. The eight section considered the level of income and

consumption with a special focus attributed to the possession of furniture, car, private properties, level of educational consumption and average monthly income. The ninth and the last section reflected on the general status and the future aspirations of the household. It investigated mainly the parents' influence on their children educational choices, the importance of internship, the tendency towards emigration and the reasons for considering emigration. Given that the survey is very comprehensive, and that not all questions are directly related to the aim of this study, such as those in the first three sections, in section six and in section eight, only questions related to the aim of the study were used in the analysis. Questions that investigated the educational and occupational choices of the desired population were selected permitting to have a better understanding of the graduates' personal characteristics, social background and educational choices effect on their transition to the labour market, pace of such transition, and problems faced. All questions are closed-ended with specific alternatives provided, yet, allowing the respondent to provide any additional comments.

4.8 Pilot Study

A pilot study is a small, trial study passed out before a large-scale study to test the soundness, feasibility and consistency of the questions and research method, to improve the estimation process being piloted before its use on a larger scale, and to assist in the preparation of a more comprehensive study (Thabane et al., 2010). A pilot study was done for the student survey during the academic year 2011-2012, fall 2011. It involved a sample of 40 third year students from the AOU¹⁶². All students filled the English version of the survey. Four students out of the 40 students accepted to fill in, alongside with the English version, the translated version into French as to identify any pitfalls in this version. The respondents were notified of my interest in their feedbacks and were

¹⁶² A pilot study was as well done to the graduates' survey where graduates were either personally contacted or via Facebook. However, it will not be discussed given that an alternative survey was used. The pilot study of the latter survey will be elaborated.

encouraged to note their comments. Upon completion of the survey, respondents shared their comments on various issues related to the format, the language and vocabulary used, the clarity of the questions, the ambiguities and difficulties faced filling the survey. The findings of the pilot study permitted to do the necessary modifications to both surveys. It also allowed to identify the completion time of the survey which ranged between 20 to 25 minutes.

Concerning the alternative survey used to assess the integration within the labour market, a pilot study was done in December 2004. 50 surveys were collected mainly from cities in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. The surveys were collected by the research team. The survey was assessed as being long. The pilot study permitted to reformulate certain questions, to remove others, and reassess certain redundant aspects. The survey may be found in Appendix 4.2.

4.9 The Semi-Structured Interviews

Two semi-structured interviews were specifically prepared for the study. The first semi-structured interview was addressed to the ministry of education and higher education. The interview was done with the director general of education and higher education in his office in two phases based on a prior appointment. The second semi-structured interview was done with HEIs representatives. Three interviews were done with three different representatives aware of their institutions mission, bylaws and regulations, and strategies. The researcher visited each faculty member at her/his institution based on a prior appointment fixed in advanced and carried out interviews in personal. Each interview took approximately one hour.

The questions of the interview with the director general of education and higher education covered various aspects related to the expansion of the higher education system; previous absence of an official body to regulate to the market; the ministry

creation and role played since 1993; the educational policies set by the ministry; the aspects affecting these policies; the competition within the market and its effect on the quality of higher education; the privatization, its pros and cons and its effect on the general structure of the market; and the role of the ministry in linking higher education outcomes to the labour market demand and policies set in this regard. The following offers an example of the questions asked:

Q4: The 1961 law set in 26 December 1961 has regulated the higher education system and set clear boundaries that helped to maintain a certain level of order, structure and coherence and protect the system from subjective judgment. Yet, we cannot overlook the presence of some “overrides”. A number of operating HEIs do not respect all the requirements and still they are part of the competition. The following is to be questioned:

- a.1. Do the technical committee advise before providing a new HEI with the license? (campus visit, etc.)
- a.2. How many demands for opening new HEI has been declined by the ministry? – (objective of the question: to assess the quality of supply and how is it regulated by the government)
- a.3. To which extend politics/other influences affect decision taken as to provide license for a new private HEI? (Objective of the question: to determine aspects affecting higher education supply decision).
- a.4. The 1961 law (close 16) specified that any HEI assuming activity before being granted the official agreement of the ministry, will be “shut down” in a decree reference the suggestion of the minister of higher education and the license will be canceled. Where is the ministry from implementing this close given the hazardous increase in the number of private institutions?

The questions of the interview with the HEIs representatives covered on their part aspects related to the choice of admission criteria; the reinforcement of equity and equality of access; the strategies implemented to recruit students; the changes in the recruitment cohorts over the years in terms of gender and choice of programme; the

choice of programmes offerings; the interpretation on students' stereotyped choices for certain programmes; the effect of competition on their admission rate and recruitment strategy; and graduates' follow up. An example is provided below:

- What determine your choice between a flexible or a selective admission criteria?
- What aspects are taken into consideration once setting a recruitment strategy? i.e. Do you focus more on students' academic background, or other aspects are as well considered such as the social standards, religious beliefs, political associations, etc.
- How often are admission criteria revisited? What aspects induce such review and what do they take into consideration the most?
- Do you have any strategy to follow up on your graduates' employment? If yes, do you have any statistics how long does it your graduates to be employed?
- To which extent the university (and its reputation) plays a role in the employment of graduates?

When necessary “probes and prompts” were used to reach a clearer representation of the reality especially that the interview technique was used as a complementary source to support the findings obtained from the surveys, the analysis of the statistical bulletins, and the discussion of the findings of previous empirical studies. Semi-structured interviews with the answers of representatives can be found respectively in appendices 4.4 and 4.5.

Another set of interviews were to be addressed to the banking, touristic and various industry sectors to categorise the basis of recruitment, the effect on future educational choices and the integration of graduates. However, professionals seem very tightened up about their recruitment strategies. Interviews were not easily granted. Any information used in this regard were collected through unofficial channels or reports.

4.10 Documentary Analysis

One of the research techniques used was documentary analysis. It is an indirect research method. Documentary analysis was used in this research to provide an insight on the higher education system and the labour market realities. Documents used related to the higher education were the 1961 By Law, the 1996 decree, the statistical bulletins published by the CERD from 1997-1998 to 2012/2013, specific documentation for each HEI permitting to determine its establishment, evolution, admission criteria, tuition fees, and programmes offerings. These documentations permitted the researcher to have a better insight about the system and identify the existence of a trend or stereotyped behaviour or not over the years. Concerning the labour market, documents used permitted to gain a better understanding of the situation and mainly the problem of unemployment that is translated implicitly in an increase in the rate of “brain drain”. Documents used for that purpose were reports published by international organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and previous empirical studies focusing on the link between the higher education and the labour market.

4.11 Data Analysis

At this stage, the information collected was transformed into data through the process of analysis. Data are defined as facts collected from observations or recordings about events or people from which others may be deduced. They are facts, concepts or derivatives suitable for communication, interpretation or processing by humans or by any automatic mean (Checkland and Holwell, 2009). The Statistical Package for Social Sciences – SPSS was used to analyse the data obtained from both surveys. A code book was done for each survey and responses were codified into the SPSS systems based on each question. For example, for questions entailing two probabilities “Yes” or “No”, 0 was attributed to “No” and 1 for “Yes”. For questions where the respondents had to choose between several

alternatives, each alternative was assigned a specific number respecting a chronological order.

For the purpose of describing the findings of both surveys, the use of the “effective” feature in the SPSS was used. It permitted for the students’ survey to gain better insight on the distribution of the population in terms of gender, age, religion, place of residency, social class, academic performance and marital status; to identify the choices done by the students at the level of the secondary and higher education in terms of programme and university; to recognize the reasons which pushed students to pursue their higher studies and the reasons pondering on their choices of a specific programme and university; to pinpoint whether the students have any regrets about their academic choices and whether those related to the programme or the university; to determine whether the choices done by the students are a first preference or whether they have dropped from a previous programme and if it is the case what are the main reasons guiding this choice; to categorize students’ working status; and finally to reflect on the family educational and socio-economic backgrounds.

Concerning the graduates’ survey, such process permitted to gain a better understanding of the distribution of the population per gender, age, educational and occupational levels; to identify the choices done at the higher education level in terms of programme and the preference for vocational education or academic education; and to explore the reasons for choosing a specific programme and a specific HEI. Additionally, it pinpointed the respondents’ professional track where it allowed to recognize the channels used to find a job, the period of search for a job, the aspects weighing on the possibilities to find a job and the difficulties encountered, the importance of the internship for a fast process of transition, and the positive and negative aspects of the job. The descriptive part permitted finally to recognize the respondents’ tendency towards emigration, willingness to emigrate and reasons for considering emigration.

Cross tabulation was also used with reference to Chi-Squared test, Phi and V de Cramer using a significance level of 0.05. Correlational research attempts to detect the existence of an association between two or more aspects (Kumar, 2005; Dawson, 2002; Kothari, 1985). For the students' survey, the process permitted to identify the students' choices with reference to their gender, age, religion, academic level, secondary education, social class, level of income, father's occupational status and level. It allowed to associate at the programme and university level, the reasons guiding the students' choices for a specific programme and not the other and for a specific university and not the other. The process permitted hence to compare between the three systems – public, elite private sector and mass private sector – and to identify what weigh more on the students' choices in each sector. For the graduates' survey, the correlation amongst various variable permitted to detect the respondents' choices with reference to gender, age, secondary education, social class, father's occupational level as well as to their choice of programme and ability to find a first-job, time taken, channels used, difficulties encountered with a comparison between one programme and the other, one labour market and the other.

To understand what weigh more on one choice and not the other, the “how” and the “why” of a certain association between two or more aspects of a certain phenomenon (Kumar, 2005; Dawson, 2002; Kothari, 1985), logistic regressions were also performed using the SPSS software. For the students' survey, the logistic regressions were done for the choice of a HEI and the choice of a programme. For the choice of programme, and for each faculty, and after more than 20 models created, three models were chosen. The first model and for each faculty, included the effect of gender, the HEI, and the secondary education track. The second model considered, in addition to the variables of the first model, the working status of the student. The third model considered besides the variables of the second model, the reasons of choice of the programme. A fourth model was elaborated measuring the effect of the fathers' choice of programme on that of the students, however, it was omitted from the analysis because of its insignificance effect. The three models adopted for each programme can be found in Appendix 4.5. For the

choice of a HEI, and for each sector (public, elite and mass), four models were chosen from more than 30 models. The first model included the age, the gender and the religion. To the second model, the secondary education system, the working status of the student and the faculty of choice were added. The third model comprised in addition to the variables of the second model, the criteria affecting the choice of a HEI. The fourth model measured besides the other variables, the effect of the father choice of a HEI on that of the student. The four models for each HEI can be found in Appendix 4.6.

For the graduates' survey, logistic regressions were elaborated for the period of transition to the labour market. Four intervals were considered: within 3 months, within a year, within a year and a half and more than a year and a half. For each interval, three models were chosen from approximately more than 30 models done. The first model comprehended the age and the gender. The second model considered in addition to the variables of the first model, the educational level and the choice of programme. The third model included in addition to the variables of the second model, the occupational status and the channels used to find or search for a job. The three models for each interval of time can be found in Appendix 4.7.

The semi-structured interviews were used to support the findings of the surveys, the documentary analysis and to gain a better understanding of the policies and the strategies underpinning the government and the HEIs work. The interview process for the HEIs representatives was standardized. The same questions were asked for all the representatives in somehow the same order. The audio-recording of all the interviews were transcribed considering as well the notes taken during the interviews. The transcriptions were at a later stage summarized and categorized reference the research questions.

4.12 Limitations

The findings and conclusions of the surveys, documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews are to be interpreted within the bounds of the following limitations:

1. When adopting sampling as a method, quantitative approach relies on a random sample selection and permit the generalization of the findings (Charoenruk, 2007). A random sample is however rarely random because of the pre-definition of the population, contact methods and time constraints (Harrell and Bradley, 2009; Charoenruk, 2007). In this study, despite the use of probability (random) sampling technique, the sample collection was to a certain extent guided and modified based on the willingness of the HEI to be part of the study. Universities were very reluctant to accept to pass the survey for their students. Despite guarantees that the survey does not include any questions of political nature or any other viewpoint that might create conflict, some of the contacted universities did not accept to pass the survey and some did not even reply back.
2. Because of the geographical dispersal of the LU branches, we were not able to access all branches and therefore gain a real understanding of the divergence in the students' criteria determining their educational choices and consequently their transition to the labour market. This was mainly related to insecurities in certain areas or to strike done by the LU faculty members. The lack at this level was compensated by the use of reports and findings of previous empirical studies.
3. The students' survey was extensive causing slight boredom for the respondents who became unenthusiastic as they progressed through the survey. As a result, some students did not complete the survey with the required seriousness. Most of those students did not complete the part related to the parents' educational and socio-economic backgrounds. Additionally, it was noted, when it comes to

disclosing financial information, that students were reluctant about providing a sincere answer. From another part, the students believed that their replies will be of negligible significance to both the HEIs and the ministry because nothing changed over the years.

4. For the graduates' survey, it would have been better if we were able to study the transition to the labour market of the same cohorts of students' where criteria determining their educational choices were investigated. Because of data collection problems where no access to the ALUMNI lists were granted and where other channels used such as emails, Facebook, personal contact did not permit to collect an exhaustive sample, the researcher had to refer to an alternative study. However, the findings of the study permitted to gain an understanding of the Lebanese reality in terms of transition from the higher education system to the labour market and aspects dictating such transition.
5. It is possible that the respondents to the interviews perceived certain issues as delicate. In spite of being aware of the presence of certain discrepancies between laws and regulations and the practice, the respondents might have felt obliged to respond to the interview questions in a manner they believed acceptable despite confirmations of confidentiality.

4.13 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

This chapter elaborated on the research strategy and research techniques used in the study. The research strategy used is "case study". The study is an exploratory one using descriptive, correlational and explanatory research permitting to better understand the Lebanese students' higher education choices and the factors leading these choices as well as the graduate's pace of transition to the labour market and aspects affecting such transition. The approach is a socio-economic approach considering both the economic

and sociological concepts. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used or what is known by triangulation. Research techniques are based on surveys, semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis. Triangulation is used to validate the results of the quantitative study. The interpretation of the data was done using several features of the SPSS software.

PART IV

LEBANESE UNIVERISTY STUDENTS ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION: ATTRACTION AND EXPULSION FACTORS

Part IV is divided into four chapters. The first chapter (chapter five) will provide an overview of the characteristics of the surveyed population. The second chapter (chapter six) will reflect on the students' choice of a HEI and aspects guiding that choice. And the third chapter (chapter seven) will shed the light on the students' choice of programme and the reasons of that choice. A general conclusion will be provided at the end of part IV as a summary of all the findings discussed in the three chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHAT ARE THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LEBANESE STUDENTS POPULATION?

The fifth chapter will provide an overview of the surveyed population distribution per higher education sector in terms of gender, religion, age, place of residency, social class and academic performance. At a second stance, the chapter will shed the light on the students' educational choices at the secondary level and the subsequent effect of these choices on the choice of the HEI and the programme. The overview will also reflect on the family (i.e. parents, brothers and sisters) educational and socio-economic backgrounds. An overview that is detailed in appendix 5.1.

As stated previously, the students' survey is addressed to students in their senior year, students at the encounter of the labour market. And as mentioned in chapter 1, the higher education in Lebanon is provided by university institutes, university colleges, universities and technical and vocational institutes (Al Await, 1997). The main higher education system chosen in this study is only that of the universities and focusing solely on general and not vocational higher education.

5.1 Students' Population Profile

The below table (table 5.1) provides a summarized overview of the main characteristics of the surveyed students' population

Table (5.1): Surveyed Students' Population Profile				
Criterion	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Total
Number of surveys collected				
	278 surveys (42.4%)	99 surveys (15.1%)	279 surveys (42.5%)	656 surveys
Gender	V Cramer = .150**; Sig. = .001***			
Female (69.4%)	<u>43.6%</u>	<u>18.5%</u>	37.9%	100%
Male (30.6%)	36.2%	10.6%	<u>53.2%</u>	100%
Religion				
Christian (77.3%)	<u>48.3%</u>	9.9%	41.7%	100%
Muslim (22.7%)	23.6%	<u>33.1%</u>	<u>43.2%</u>	100%
Gender/Religion	<i>Gender/Christian:</i> V de Cramer = .136**; Sig. = 0.14** <i>Gender/Muslim:</i> V de Cramer = .233**; Sig. = 0.19**			
Female Christian	<u>50.6%</u>	11.8%	37.6%	100%
Male Christian	39.7%	8.1%	<u>52.2%</u>	100%
Female Muslim	19.8%	<u>41.7%</u>	<u>38.5%</u>	100%
Male Muslim	28.6%	18.4%	<u>53.1%</u>	100%
Age				
Between 18 and 21 (64.6%)	<u>55.2%</u>	10.2%	34.6%	100%
Between 22 and 25 (29.7%)	20.6%	<u>27.8%</u>	<u>51.5%</u>	100%
More than 25 (5.7%)	8.1%	5.4%	<u>86.5%</u>	100%
Geographical Area	V de Cramer: .255***; Sig.: .000***			
Beirut (45.1%)	<u>40.6%</u>	<u>29%</u>	30.4%	100%
Mount Lebanon (49%)	45.3%	3.8%	<u>50.9%</u>	100%
Remote Areas (5.9%)	39.5%	5.3%	<u>55.3%</u>	100%
Social Class based on the Level of Income (in US dollars)	V de Cramer = .238**; Sig. = .000***			
Between 600 and 900 (16.9%)	46.2%	3.1%	<u>50.8%</u>	100%
Between 900 and 1200 (19%)	<u>57.5%</u>	1.4%	41.1%	100%
Between 1500 and 2400 (17.1%)	56.1%	15.2%	28.8%	100%
Between 2400 and 2600 (10.6%)	<u>41.5%</u>	22%	36.6%	100%
Between 2600 and 4800 (14.3%)	<u>56.4%</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>43.6%</u>	100%
Between 4800 and 6000 (7.8%)	<u>60%</u>	<u>0%</u>	40%	100%
Social Class based on the Father's Occupational Status	V de Cramer = .193*; Sig. = .001***			
Senior Positions	<u>55.9%</u>	10.3%	33.8%	100%
Administrative Positions	40%	<u>20%</u>	40%	100%
Secretary Positions	38.5%	4.6%	<u>56.9%</u>	100%

5.1.1 Distribution of the Collected Sample

The Lebanese higher education system is divided, as stated in chapter 1, part A, between a public and a private sector. The Lebanese University (LU) is the only public university that shared the market with 39 PUs in 2012/2013 (CERD, 2012/2013).

An effective of 656 surveys was collected from both the public and the private sectors. *The sample is divided as follow between the LU and the PUs:* 278 surveys from the LU (42.4%) and 378 surveys from the private sector (57.6%) out of which 99 surveys are from elite PUs (15.1%) and 279 from mass PUs (42.5%). The sample is as such coherently divided among sectors. Elite PUs that were included in the survey are: the AUB, the LAU-Beirut Campus and the USJ. Concerning the mass PUs, they are: the AOU, the AUCE and the LIU¹⁶³. *The differentiation between “elite” and “mass” universities is done on the basis of admittance tests.* Universities that recruit students on the basis of “admission” or “entrance” exams are categorized as “elite universities”. And universities that recruit students on the basis of a formality exam, they are categorized as “mass universities” (refer to chapter 1, page 47)¹⁶⁴. Additionally, *the reputation of the university within the Lebanese higher education market, its date of establishment, and the status were also taken as proxies in order to differentiate between “elite” and “mass” universities.*

¹⁶³ Data should have been collected from a fourth mass PU (approximately 150 surveys were supposed to be collected). Nevertheless, the university did not approve to pass the surveys even after getting the approval for reasons said administrative.

¹⁶⁴ The primary categorization of universities was done on one on one basis; i.e. universities were not categorized into elite and mass universities. However, because of low effective collected at certain universities, data were divided into three categories: 1) the Lebanese University (LU), 2) the Elite PUs and 3) the Mass PUs.

Box 5.1: Elite versus Mass PUs – Admission Criteria

Based on the interviews done with representatives from both elite and mass PUs, we can deduce that none of the universities is willing to change its strategy concerning the admission criteria. According to the academic provost at LAU, one of the elite PUs, the university is not disposed to replace the selective admission criteria with a flexible one in order not to jeopardize the quality and hence increase the failure rate; a rate that the university seeks to minimize especially after the accreditation it has received. Better standards are currently required and the selection criteria are becoming more primordial than before. According to the representatives of two different mass PUs, there is no will either at the mass private sector to change the admission criteria. Based on the interview done with the business faculty dean and board member at the Antonine University, the university does not intend to modify the admission criteria from flexible to selective ones at least at the undergraduate level. He added that the students' selection is done at a later stage during their studies and based on their academic performance.

5.1.2 Distribution of the Surveyed Students' Population per Gender

From the responding students, 69.4% are females and 30.6% are males indicating that the **female students' population registered at the higher education sector is higher than that of the males' population** as indicated in chapter one, 41.3% of the total population (i.e. females and males) is registered at the LU, 16.1% at the elite PUs and 42.6% at the mass PUs. *These ratios match what was advanced in chapter 1 concerning the increase in the recruitment rate at the private sector in disfavour of the LU because of the students' preference of a private diploma.*

The gender is a determinant of choice of the university (V Cramer = .150 and Sig. = .001). *For the surveyed female population, 43.6% are at the LU, 18.5% at the elite universities and 37.9% at mass universities.* These proportions were also noted by a study done by the LAES in 1999-2000 (chapter one). The study concluded that the female proportions at the elite Anglo-Saxon PUs is lower than other PUs. Female recruitment is increasing at PUs with affordable low tuition fees; i.e. at the mass private sector. This is credited to the parents' desire to invest in the education of boys rather than that of girls. However, the

proportion of female students enrolled at the public sector remain higher than that at the private sector. *Concerning the surveyed male population*, 36.2% are at the LU, 10.6% at the elite PUs and *53.2% at mass PUs*. These proportions affirm that the males' students favour the private sector over the LU as indicated in chapter one. The investment in the female education is more evident at the LU. If to consider the HEIs viewpoint, mainly private ones, no discriminatory policy is set pertaining to the recruitment per gender. On the contrary, they encourage the recruitment of both the female and male students. The only requirement is the Lebanese Baccalaureate – Section II. For instance, the representative of an elite PU advanced that *they currently have a division of 51% versus 49% for the benefit of male students. He added that they are working on their recruitment strategy in order to have an equal proportion of female students versus that of males. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that most of the Lebanese families send girls to the public system. Therefore, they aim as a HEI with this strategy to reverse the trend. To do so and encourage gender parity, and always according to the same representative, the university aims to offer programmes which provide opportunities for women such as nutrition, nursing, fashion design and translation* (cf. appendix 4.4.1).

Adding the religion to the choice per gender, we noted that the choice of the university per gender per religion explains more the choice of the Muslim students (V de Cramer = .233; Sig. = 0.19). *Muslim students, being female or male, tend to choose the private Anglo-Saxon system*. The lower proportion of the Muslim females' students at the LU compared to the private sector, is credited to data collection reasons. Data was mainly collected from the LU second branches with a majority of Christian population. Concerning the Christian surveyed population, we noted that the recruitment of the female is in favour of the LU whereas the majority of the surveyed Christian male students are enrolled at the mass private sector. These figures validate once again the investment in boys' education at the private sector level (V de Cramer = .136; Sig. = 0.14).

5.1.3 Distribution of the Surveyed Students' Population per Age

64.6% of the surveyed students' population are between 18 and 21 years of old, 29.7% between 22 and 25 years of old and only 5.7% are above 25 years of old. **There is a strong dependency between the students' age and the choice of the HEI** (V de Cramer = .283; Sig. = .000). *Students choosing the LU are younger than those choosing the private sector.* The majority of the surveyed students at the LU are between 18 and 21 years of old. However, the majority of the surveyed students at the mass private sector are either between 22 and 25 years of old (51.5%) or above 25 years of old (86.5%). Concerning the elite PUs, the majority of the surveyed students' population is between 22 and 25 years of old (27.8%).

The data collected contradicts somehow what was advanced in chapter 1 concerning the students' distribution per age per university. The data collected showed that the students registered at the private sector are much older than those registered at the LU while previous studies done proved the opposite (rf. Chapter one). This difference between the previous studies and the current one might imply that the "age criterion" is not a very influential variable and that the students' distribution per age between the public and the private sector depend on the sample collected.

5.1.4 Distribution of the Surveyed Students' Population per Geographical Area

The majority of the surveyed students resides either in Beirut area (45.1%) or in Mount Lebanon area (49%) where main universities exist (chapter one). The rest of the students is scattered among other geographical areas ¹⁶⁵(5.9%); i.e. remote areas (Bekaa 0.9%; North 4% and South 0.9%). Consequently, *the distribution of the sample is representative of the population distribution where the main universities exist in Beirut and Mount Lebanon regions.*

¹⁶⁵ By other geographical areas, we refer to remote areas: Bekaa, South and the North

The relation between the place of residency and the choice of the university is highly dependent and correlated (V de Cramer: .255; Sig.: .000). 40.6% of the students who reside in Beirut Area are enrolled at the LU, oppose to 30.4% and 29% from the same geographical area who are enrolled at mass and elite PUs respectively. Concerning the students who reside in Mount Lebanon, 50.9% are registered at mass PUs oppose to 45.3% enrolled at the LU and only 3.8% at elite PUs. The low proportion of the students who reside in Mount Lebanon and who is enrolled at elite PUs is related to the geographical distance. All elite PUs that form the sample are in Beirut. Concerning the students that live in remote areas (i.e. Bekaa, South, and/or North), a majority of 55.3% is registered at mass PUs. This high rate of students from remote areas enrolled at the mass private sector is dependent from the recruitment strategy adopted by these universities. It is very acquainted for mass universities to expand their recruitment campaigns to remote areas because of the “shy” higher education provision. To tend to the need of the various clientele in various geographical areas, PUs, and mainly mass ones, opted for dispersed geographical campuses answering to the students’ demand in these remote areas and who are unable to relocate to Beirut or Mount Lebanon (rf. Chapter one). According to a representative of a mass PU, this diversity of campuses is part of the recruitment strategy (rf. appendix 4.4.3).

5.1.5 Distribution of the Surveyed Students’ Population per Religion

The majority of the surveyed students is Christian (77.3%). 48.3% are registered at the LU, 9.9% at the elite PUs and 41.7% at mass PUs. Concerning the remaining 22.7% of the surveyed students’ population, they are Muslim with 23.6% being at the LU, 33.1% at the elite PUs and 43.2% at mass PUs. **The students’ religion explains to a large extent the choice of the HEI** (V de Cramer: .295; Sig: .000)¹⁶⁶. These figures affirm what was advanced in chapter one pertaining to the choice of Muslim students to the private

¹⁶⁶ To avoid low effective, the religion variable was recoded to include two components rather than three as originally stated in the survey.

Anglo-Saxon systems. The sample collected from elite PUs include two Anglo-Saxon universities; the AUB and the LAU- Beirut campus, and that collected from the mass PUs include also American or English affiliated universities such as the AOU, the AUCE and the LIU.

Always from a religious point of view, the students' choice of the HEI is highly dependent from the current place of residency (V de Cramer: .327; Sig: .000). All PUs that form the sample are located in Beirut area where 73% of Beirut residents forming the sample are Muslim oppose to only 19.6% Christian. *From the private HEIs perspective, no discrimination is done at the level of recruitment per religion.* All interviewed HEIs' representatives confirmed such reality. For instance, the dean of the business faculty and board member at the Antonine University; a Christian affiliated university, clearly acknowledged the recruitment of Muslims students highlighting the equal opportunities strategy that the university implement. Concerning the LU, the higher rate of Christian students is credited to the data collection which was mainly done at the "second branches" of the LU. These branches are located in areas populated with a majority of Christian¹⁶⁷. Consequently, the chances of Christian students are much higher because of the geographical location of these branches (rf. Chapter one). As mentioned previously, the data collection from the first, third, fourth and fifth branches were unfortunately difficult because of administrative and/or security problems.

5.1.6 Distribution of the Surveyed Students' Population per Social Class

Two variables are taken as proxies to determine the students' distribution per social class, and to reflect on the students' socio-economic background. **For the first purpose, we will consider the total level of income of the family;** i.e. both parents and siblings¹⁶⁸. **For the**

¹⁶⁷ 58.1% of the Christian students reside in Mount Lebanon (main geographical location of the LU second branches) versus 15.2% of the Muslim students.

¹⁶⁸ A new variable is created where the levels of income were downsized to three rather than nine. This is because of the low effective received for certain ranges.

second aim, we will consider the father's occupational status¹⁶⁹ because the percentage of the working fathers is higher than that of the mothers. By considering these two proxies, we will be implementing a similar approach to that adopted by Al Amine and Faour in their study of the higher education system (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). Moreover, this is also based on Abou Rjaili (2003) position where he considers that the fathers' occupational status describes and weights more on the students' choices than that of the mother or any other variable pertinent to the parents.

47% of the students come from families with a total level of income between 900 and 2400 US dollars. 32.7% come from families with a total level of income between 2400 and 6000 US dollars and 20.3% come from families with a total level of income less than 900 US dollars. These figures validate the fact that Lebanon is a middle-income country as advanced Cho et al. (2012; pp. 5).

Concerning the students' distribution per income per university, and to have a more accurate explanation of the interdependent effect between the choice of the university and the total level of income, the original variable of nine ranges of income was considered. **The choice of the university is very much dependent from the total level of income that significantly explains the choice of the university** (Khi-deux de Pearson = .000; V de Cramer = .238; Sig = .000). *For elite PUs*, the highest level of income is reported for the ranges between "1500 - 2400" US dollars (40%) and "2400 - 2600" US dollars (36%). Concerning the ranges of income between "2600 - 4800" US dollars and "4800 - 6000" US dollars, 0% of the surveyed students reported such level of income. These figures are somehow surprising given the high tuition fees at elite PUs¹⁷⁰. Some of the elite PUs students benefit from the financial assistantship programmes while others

¹⁶⁹ A new variable is created where the fathers' occupational levels were downsized into three instead of seven because of the low effectives received for certain ranges.

¹⁷⁰ We note that 14% of elite PUs' students are working students versus 16.9% who do not work.

benefit from their fathers' employment at the public sector which provides its employees with attractive educational packages for their children.

Box 5.2: Elite PUs financial assistantships to students with excellent academic standards yet mediocre financial means

In order to encourage the students with excellent academic standards, yet, who do not have the financial ability to go to elite PUs, the LAU collaborates with USEP grant. The USEP has “externally funded programmes” allowing to recruit the top two students from the public schools from each casa with a full scholarship. Concerning other academically eligible students that do not have the financial ability to go to the LAU or any other elite PU with high tuition fees, the academic provost at LAU stresses the importance of the LU that tend for the academic needs of these students (rf. Appendix 4.4.1).

For the mass PUs, the highest levels of income reported are between “600 – 900” US dollars (21.2%) and “900 – 1200” US dollars (19.2%). Interviews done with the representatives of two mass PUs validate these figures. Both representatives acknowledged recruiting students from the “modest” social background (rf. Appendices 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). As discussed in chapter one, **these students are looking for the prestige of a private education, hence their choice of a mass private university - instead of the LU - with affordable tuition fees compared to an elite PU**. The majority of the mass PUs students are working students (59.1%) which indicate their need to work to pay their tuition fees because of the mediocre income of their families.

For the students registered at the LU, the highest rates of income are, in a descending order, between “900 – 1200 US dollars” (20.6%); “1500 – 2400 US dollars” (18.1%); “2600 – 4800 US dollars” (15.2%); and “600 – 900 US dollars” (14.7%) from the total families having these ranges of income (i.e. 19%, 17.1%, 14.3% and 16.9% respectively). For the highest ranges of income; that between 4800 and 6000 US dollars, 8.8% of the surveyed LU students reported having this income (oppose to 0% of students from elite PUs). These

figures affirm what was advanced in chapter one in relation to the choice of the LU not only by the students from the mid-low and low social classes but also from the mid-high/high social classes especially for the selective faculties characterized with high academic standards¹⁷¹. These proportions ascertain the fact that **the LU is not really playing its role in answering to the educational needs of the students from the low social class. It is more contributing to the education of the students from the middle and high social classes.** As mentioned in chapter one, the LU does not really allow or assure social mobility for the students from the low social strata. 0% of the surveyed students who have a total level of income less than 300 US dollars are enrolled at the LU. 1.3% of the surveyed students from the same range of income chose the mass PUs instead of the public one. This is credited to the high academic standards imposed by the LU oppose to the mass private system that has less demanding requirements and an open access admission strategy.

The students' distribution per total level of income validates the fact that the students' enrolment rate from wealthier families is more than the double than the students' enrolment rates from less privileged families. Less financially affluent students, and if they choose or are able to pursue their higher studies, do not attend private and more prestigious universities because of the high cost at these universities (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013).

The second proxy considered to determine the socio-economic background of the students and hence the choice of the HEI, is the fathers' occupational level¹⁷². **Both the total level of income and the choice of the HEI are dependent from the father's occupational status.** However, the total level of income is less dependent from the father's

¹⁷¹ As noted most of the LU faculties that form the sample are selective ones.

¹⁷² The father occupational level is chosen given that the working fathers' population is higher than that of the mothers (89.9% versus 35.6% respectively).

occupational status (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .039) than the choice of the HEI (Khi-Deux De Pearson = .001).

Concerning the inter-relation between the fathers' occupational status and the total level of income of the family, we note that the majority of the surveyed students (41.4%) who has a working father in senior positions (i.e. director, vice director or senior position) reported a level of income between 2400 and 6000 US dollars. For families where the father works in administrative positions, the majority of 69.6% conveyed a total level of income between 900 and 2400 US dollars. Concerning the families where the father works in secretary positions, the majority has also a total level of income between 900 and 2400 US dollars with only 26.8% having a total level of income between 300 and 900 US dollars.

Box 5.3: Choice of the LU selective faculties according to the income distribution

The students' choice from the high social class for the selective faculties at the LU can be better understood if to compare between the selective and the non-selective faculties at the LU per level of income. Selective faculties forming the sample are: the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration" and faculty of "Literature and Humanities" for both tracks "Translation" and "English Language". The non-selective faculty, it is the faculty of "Sciences". If to compare between faculties, for the range of income between 2600 and 4800 US dollars, 16.7% of the surveyed students are enrolled at the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration" and 21.4% are enrolled at the faculty of "Literature and Humanities" oppose to only 8.9% are enrolled at the faculty of "Sciences". The same applies for the range of income between 4800 and 6000 US dollars, where the proportion of the surveyed students from this range of income enrolled at the selective faculties is higher than that of the surveyed students enrolled at the non-selective faculty (9.2% are enrolled at the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration", 10.7% at the faculty of "Literature and Humanities" and 7.1% at the faculty of "Sciences"). Given that these selective faculties implement an entrance test and hence "quantify" the number of eligible candidate, students from the high social strata might and effectively are "jeopardizing" the chances of the students from the low social strata. Consequently, this does not allow the LU to play its original role in assuring social mobility for students from the low social class.

From another perspective, and *if to consider the students' distribution per university based on the fathers' occupational status*, the latter seems to averagely explain the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .193; Sig. = .001). ***For the fathers who work in senior positions, the majority of the surveyed students are enrolled at the LU (55.9%)*** validating the fact advanced above in relation to the attraction of the LU selective faculties to students from the high social strata. For the same occupational position, the lowest proportion of the surveyed students is enrolled at elite PUs (10.3%). *For the surveyed students where the father works in administrative positions*, they are equally distributed between the LU and the mass PUs (40% at each). Among the three occupational positions, the highest proportion of the surveyed students enrolled at the elite PUs is for this occupational position (20%). Finally and ***for the students where the father works in a secretary position, the majority of 56.9% is registered at mass PUs***. This is validated by the fact that these students do not have the financial means to go to elite PUs and maybe nor the academic standards to go to the LU. Their choice of the mass private sector is out of believe that private education will better “serve” them within the labour market.

Box 5.4: LAES results as concerns parents' socio-economic background

The LAES study done in 1999-2000 (Abou Rjaili, 2003) revealed the same results pertaining to the graduates' socio-economic status based on their fathers' employment status. An overwhelming majority of the surveyed graduates (70%) had a father who works in mid-administrative positions (amongst others: entrepreneur, employer, traders, etc.) and only a minority (12%) had a father who works in secretary positions (low social class). Concerning the mothers, the majority does not work. Fathers seem to be well-educated oppose to the mothers where only 13% have received a higher education degree. When comparing the graduates' characteristics per university, the study concluded that, whether at the LU or PUs, the majority of the graduates have a father that works in administrative positions or senior positions; with the highest proportions being at PUs. Only 18.3% of the LU graduates have a father working in secretary positions. The study concluded on an important remark. Universities in Lebanon seem to be “customized” for students from mid and mid-high social classes whereas students from the mid-low and low social classes are excluded from the equation even at the LU that should be aiming towards recruiting this category. Similar results were concluded in our survey where none of the surveyed students with a total level of income below 300 US dollars is enrolled at the LU and only 1.3% is enrolled at the mass private sector.

5.2 Students' Educational Profile

5.2.1 Students' Distribution per Academic Performance

5.2.1.1 Students' Distribution per Academic Performance per University

The average over 20 is used as a proxy for the academic performance. Three divisions are noted¹⁷³: average above 16 (20.62% of the total students' population); average between 15.9 and 12 (63.47% of the total students' population); and average between 11.9 and 10 (15.91% of the total students' population).

The surveyed students' academic performance highly explains the students' distribution per university (V de Cramer = .203; Sig. = .000). *At elite PUs*, 34.7% of the students have “an average above 16”, 64.2% have an “average between 15.9 and 12”, and only 1.1% have an “average between 11.9 and 10”. The high proportions of high level of academic performance at these universities are related to the selection process. *Concerning the LU and mass PUs*, they share approximately the same students' distribution per academic performance yet in different proportions. The highest percentage at both systems is for the students who have “an average between 15.9 and 12” over 20. Nonetheless, the proportion at the LU is higher (72.5%) than that at the mass PUs. This is related to the success level at the LU that is 12/20 whereas it is at most mass PUs (if not all) 10/20 (rf. Chapter one). Concerning the other averages' ranges, 26.3% of the students at mass PUs and 9.9% of the LU students have “an average above 16”, and 17.6% of LU students oppose to 19.7% of mass PUs students have “an average between 11.9 and 10”. The highest rate at the LU is for the students who have an “average between 15.9 and 12” and not more could be explained by the fact that an important number of the surveys is collected from the faculty of “Sciences”. The faculty does not implement an entrance test.

¹⁷³ A new variable was created for more accuracy in order to avoid low effective for certain ranges. The six divisions were minimized to three.

The students' admission is based only on the Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate – section II.

On a comparison level between universities, the students' higher proportion in all systems is for the range of “average between 15.9 and 12” over 20. However, if to compare per academic performance, for the range of average above 16, the highest proportion of students is at elite PUs (34.7%). This emphasizes the selection process done by these universities. For the range of average between “15.9 and 12”, the highest proportion is at the LU (72.5%). This “mirrors” the selectively process done at the LU without omitting the fact that the highest proportion is not for the highest range of average because the surveys are also collected from a non-selective faculty. Concerning the average between “11.9 and 10”, the highest proportion is for the students at mass PUs (19.7%). This reflects somehow the flexible admission process and easy admission criteria at these universities. Finally, we note that the academic performance is independent from the student's gender (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .093).

5.2.2 Students' Educational Choices

5.2.2.1 Choice of the Secondary School and the Secondary Track

64.4% of the surveyed students' population received their secondary degree from the private sector versus 35.6% from the public sector. Concerning the choice of the track, the highest rates are for the “Sociology and Economy” (43%) and the “Life Sciences” tracks (29.1%). Only 12.3% chose the “Literature and Humanities” track and 7.9% the “General Studies” track. These results ascertain what was advanced in chapter one pertaining to the choice of the secondary education tracks. The choice of the track is not dependent from the system - public versus private (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .181) nor does the choice of the system explains the choice of the track (V de Cramer = .098; Sig. = .181).

5.2.2.2 Reasons for Choosing One secondary Track and Not the Other

For the surveyed students and for the tracks that have the highest proportions of enrolled students - the “Sociology and Economy” and the “Life Sciences” tracks - the main reasons of choice are summarized in the below table (Table 5.2):

Table (5.2): Reasons of Choice of the Track at the Secondary Level						
	Economy and Sociology Track		Life Sciences Track		Significance	
Reason(s)	Yes	No	Yes	No	V de Cramer	Sig.
Grades received allowed to choose only this track	47.6%	41.8%	15.6%	33.1%	.208 **	.000 ***
Grades received allowed to choose any track but chose this out of preference	39.7%	50.2%	33.3%	20.2%	.145 *	.008 ***
Allows me to continue my higher studies in a field of preference	45.7%	33.6%	28%	33.6%	.109 *	.099 **
No specific preference – This track provides wider choice of higher education programmes	41.1%	45.1%	34.9%	23%	.193 **	.000 ***
Family pressure	26%	44.4%	28%	29.3%	.208 **	.000 ***
School-Tutor advice/pressure	40%	43.7%	30.9%	28.8%	.054 (ne)	.758 (ns)

V de Cramer - *: barely explains; **: averagely explains; ***: highly/significantly explains; ne does not explain

Sig. - *: barely significant; **: averagely significant; ***: highly significant; ns: non-significant

All reasons seem to explain the choice of the track except for the “school-tutor advice/pressure” where both V de Cramer and Sig. are insignificant. **The choice of one track and not the other does not hold the same reason(s).** *For the “Economy and Sociology” track*, the surveyed students’ choice seems to be more in relation with “the grades received did not allow to choose another track” (47.6%); or because “the track allows them to pursue higher studies in a field of preference” (45.7%). *Concerning the*

“Life Sciences” track, the surveyed students’ replies were controversial. 33.3% identified the reason of choice as being the “grades received allowed to choose any track but chose this out of preference”, 34.9% identified the main reason as “no specific preference – this track provides wider choice of higher education programmes”. What is really evident is that for both tracks the interest is to pursue higher studies and have more options at the higher education level. The parents’ pressure and for a majority of the students did not have any effect on the choice of the track.

5.2.2.3 Orientation Received at the Secondary Level

The majority of the surveyed students’ population (62.3%) received an orientation at the secondary level. **Being a public or a private school explains in a significant way the orientation received at the secondary level pertaining to the choice of the track** ($\Phi = .146$; Sig.: .000). The majority of the students at public schools did not receive any guidance in relation to the choice of the track (44.7%) oppose to a majority of the surveyed students at private schools (69.8%) who did. For the surveyed students who received an orientation at the secondary level (i.e. the 62.65%), the main sources are summarized in the below table at each of the public and the private sectors (Table 5.3):

Table (5.3): Orientation Sources at the Secondary Level				
Source(s)	Public System	Private System	Significance	
	No	No	Phi	Sig.
School	45.2%	34.3%	.103*	.036*
Open Days	67.7%	47.9%	.183**	.000***
Parents	60.5%	65.7%	-.050 (ne)	.309 (ns)
Older Brothers/Sisters	70.2%	72.7%	-.026 (ne)	.595 (ns)
Family Members (cousins, uncles, etc.)	61.3%	75.2%	-.141 (ne)	.004* (ns)

Phi. - *: barely explains; **: averagely explains; ***: highly/significantly explains; ne: does not explain

Sig. - *: barely significant; **: averagely significant; ***: highly significant; ns: non-significant

The only dependent sources are those related to the orientation received from “the school” and the “open days” with the latter being more explicative of the effect of orientation on the choice of the secondary education track. We note two different proportions for these sources at the public and the private sectors. **The proportion of surveyed students who benefited from school orientation at the private sector is higher than that at the public sector** (65.7% and 54.8% respectively). Concerning the open days, the private schools’ students also benefited more from this source. 52.1% of private schools’ surveyed students acknowledged having “open days” as a source of guidance whereas the majority at the public schools (67.7%) acknowledged “open days” as not being part of the orientation process. This difference is credited to the public schools financial constraints and administrative bureaucracy that do not allow them to provide adequate orientation and follow up.

These results permit to conclude that the schools, although not playing an explicit role, seem to be directing students towards the tracks permitting to choose a wider range of programmes at the higher education sector. However, it looks like the labour market needs are not considered. As identified in chapter one, the choice of the secondary tracks

is leading students to choose higher education programmes with saturated labour market; such as business administration, medical studies, etc.

5.2.2.4 Secondary Education versus Higher Education Choices

5.2.2.4.1 Choice of School versus Choice of a HEI

The choice of the HEI is highly dependent from the students' secondary school (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .000; V de Cramer = .294; Sig. = .000). The majority of the surveyed students who received their secondary education from a public school chose the mass PUs (54.9%), followed by 43.3% who chose the LU and only 1.7% who chose elite PUs. Concerning the surveyed students who received their secondary education from private schools, the majority of 42% chose the LU, 35.4% chose mass PUs and 22.6% chose elite PUs.

5.2.2.4.2 Choice of the Secondary track versus Choice of a Field of Study

The choice of a programme at the higher education level is highly dependent and highly explained by the choice of the track at the secondary level (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .000; V de Cramer = .432; Sig. = .000). Table (5.4) summarizes these choices.

Table (5.4): Choice of the Secondary Track versus the Choice of the Programme				
	Business Administration	Service-Oriented Faculties/Tracks	Sciences	Literature and Humanities
General Studies	<u>75.0%</u>	7.7%	11.5%	5.8%
Life Sciences	41.9%	4.2%	<u>51.8%</u>	2.1%
Literature and Humanities	28.4%	6.2%	2.5%	<u>63.0%</u>
Sociology and Economy	<u>83.3%</u>	11.3%	1.4%	3.5%
Other	<u>76.0%</u>	16.0%	6.0%	2.0%

V de Cramer = .432; Sig. = .000

The majority of the students who opted for the “Sociology and Economy” and “General Studies” tracks chose the “Business Administration” field with 75% and 83.3% respectively from the total surveyed students’ population. Concerning the students from the “Literature and Humanities” track, the majority chose the “Literature and Humanity” faculty (63% from the total students’ population) and only 28.4% chose the “Business Administration” programme. Concerning the “Life Sciences” track, 51.8% of the surveyed students choosing this track at the secondary level selected the “Sciences” faculty oppose to 41.9% who opted for the “Business Administration” faculty. Regarding the students who do not hold a secondary degree and might have a vocational degree (i.e. other), the majority (76%) opted for the “Business Administration” programme at the higher education level. **These choices permit to ascertain the trend towards the choice of the “Business Administration” field regardless of the track of the student at the secondary education.** However, students who are oriented more towards “sciences” or “literary” programmes opted in their majority for the same choice at the secondary and higher education levels.

Based on the review presented, table (5.5) summarizes the educational profile of the surveyed students’ population per university.

Table (5.5): Educational Profile of the Surveyed Students' Population per Sector				
Criteria	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Total
Academic Performance (over 20)	V de Cramer = .203; Sig. = .000			
Average above 16	20.5%	26%	53.5%	100%
Average between 15.9 and 12	48.6%	15.6%	35.8%	100%
Average between 11.9 and 10	46.9%	1%	52%	100%
Secondary Education Sector	V de Cramer = .294***; Sig. = .000***			
Public System	43.3%	1.7%	54.9%	100%
Private System	42%	22.6%	35.4%	100%
Secondary Track	V de Cramer = .315***; Sig. = .000***			
General Studies	34.6%	13.5%	51.9%	100%
Life Sciences	59.7%	11%	29.3%	100%
Literature and Humanities	24.7%	45.7%	29.6%	100%
Sociology and Economy	43.3%	11.3%	45.4%	100%

5.2.2.5 Continuing Higher Studies after Secondary Education

5.2.2.5.1 The Majority of the students continued their higher education studies directly after the secondary education

93.7% of the surveyed students' population continued their higher studies directly after the secondary education. 67.5% of them have a range of age between 18 and 21 years of old. Concerning the students who did not continue their higher studies directly after the secondary education (the 6.3%), they are older with a range of age between 22 and 25 years of old.

Continuing higher studies or not directly after the secondary education does not seem to be dependent from the level of income of the family (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .257). **The level of income slightly or barely explains the fact of continuing higher studies directly after the secondary education** (V de Cramer = .084; Sig. = .257). A majority of 46.2% of the surveyed students having a total level of income between 2400 and 6000 US dollars did not continue their higher studies directly after secondary education. This leads to speculate that other aspects had an effect on their choice.

5.2.2.5.2 Only 6.3% did not continue their higher education studies directly after secondary education – What are the reasons?

Before reflecting on the reasons of not continuing higher studies directly after the secondary education, we note that such decision and the choice of the HEI are two highly dependent variables (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .000). 70.7% of the 6.3% are enrolled at the mass PUs oppose to 24.4% enrolled at elite PUs and only 4.9% at the LU. Table (5.6) provides a summary of the main reasons for not pursuing higher education directly after the secondary education.

Table (5.6):Reasons for Not Continuing Directly Higher Education	
Reason(s)	No
Took a break to relax and have fun	85%
Needed to work to pay tuition fees	<u>52.5%</u>
Not sure whether I want to continue my higher studies	72.5%
Financial reasons – inability to pay tuition fees	68.3%
No guidance from parents/tutors	85%
Geographical location – far from university	90%
Personal circumstances (marriage, giving birth, etc.)	90%

The only valid reason seems related to the students’ “need to work to pay the tuition fees” with a slight difference between those who identified this criterion as a main reason and those who did not. To have a better insight on this criterion, we correlated it with the total level of income. These two variables are slightly dependent (Khi-Deux de Pearson =

.032). The level of income seems to explain to a certain extent the students' need to work in order to pay their tuition fees ($V \text{ de Cramer} = .526$). What was surprising is that 75% of the surveyed students who wanted to work before continuing their higher studies to pay the tuition fees reported having a total range of income between "2400 and 6000 US dollars" and only 8.3% reported having a total level of income "less than 900 US dollars". These debatable percentages might explain the low dependency level between the two variables.

Concerning other criteria such as the **"geographical location"**, and as reflected in chapter 1, many PUs opted for branches in various geographical areas aiming to provide access to students in remote areas (rf. Chapter one). The same applies for the LU that has various branches in all Lebanese geographical areas (rf. Chapter one). This explains hence the high proportion of students who did not identify this criterion as a reason. **Concerning the "personal circumstances"**, only 2.8% of the students are married which explains the low proportion of students who chose this criterion. Regarding the **"financial reasons"**, 50% of the students who did not identify this criterion as a reason have a total family level of income between "900 and 2600 US dollars" and 33.3% of the same students' strata have a total family level of income between "2600 and 6000 US dollars"; explaining hence their choice. Concerning the **"guidance received from parents/tutors"**, this criterion does not have any effect because, and as discussed previously, parents and/or tutors did not play a major role in the students' orientation process.

Table (5.7) summarizes the main reasons for not pursuing higher studies directly after secondary education per HEI

Table (5.7): Reasons for not Pursuing Higher Studies per Sector					
	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Significance	
Reasons	YES			V de Cramer	Sig.
Took a break to relax and have fun	0%	0%	<u>100%</u>	.259	.262 (ns)
Needed to work to pay tuition fees	0%	10.5%	<u>89.5%</u>	.373	.062 (ns)
Not sure whether I want to continue my higher studies	0%	<u>54.5%</u>	45.5%	<u>.480***</u>	<u>.010**</u>
Financial reasons – inability to pay tuition fees	0%	25%	<u>75%</u>	<u>.408***</u>	<u>.009***</u>
No guidance from parents/tutors	0%	0%	<u>100%</u>	.259	.262 (ns)
Geographical location – far from university	0%	0%	<u>100%</u>	.205	.430 (ns)
Personal circumstances (marriage, giving birth, etc.)	<u>50%</u>	0%	<u>50%</u>	<u>.695***</u>	<u>.000***</u>

V de Cramer - *: barely explains; **: averagely explains; ***: highly/significantly explains; ne does not explain

Sig. - *: barely significant; **: averagely significant; ***: highly significant; ns: non-significant

Not all criteria explain per HEI the reasons for not continuing directly higher studies after the secondary education. However, it seems that **mass PUs surveyed students are the most to face obstacles in relation to pursuing their higher studies directly after the secondary education**. 100% of these students did not pursue directly their higher studies because they “wanted to take a break to relax and have fun”; 89.5% because they needed to “work to pay their tuition fees”; 75% because they “did not have the ability to pay the tuition fees”; 100% because they “did not receive any guidance from their parents and/or tutors”; 100% because of the “geographical location”; and 50% because of “personal circumstances”.

Nonetheless, the criteria that mostly explain the decision of not pursuing higher studies directly after the secondary stage, seems to be those related to the “financial ability”, the “personal circumstances”, and the “uncertainty”. Taking these criteria into consideration, the LU students do not face real predicaments when it comes to pursuing higher studies directly after the secondary education contrary to PUs’ students, particularly those enrolled at the mass private sector because of the financial cost.

5.2.2.6 Information Policy Adopted by HEIs and its Effect on Students’ Choices

Table (5.8) shows the level and helpfulness of the information received per HEI

Table (5.8): Information Received From the HEI			
	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs
Level of Information	V de Cramer = .306; Sig. = .000		
High	30.4%	<u>34.4%</u>	35.2%
Average	49%	3.3%	<u>47.7%</u>
Low	<u>61.7%</u>	1.7%	36.7%
Helpfulness of the Information	V de Cramer = .303; Sig. = .000		
High	27%	<u>31.3%</u>	<u>41.7%</u>
Average	47.4%	6%	<u>46.7%</u>
Low	<u>77.3%</u>	1.3%	21.3%

5.2.2.6.1 *The majority of the students is well informed about the HEI – The highest level of information received is for the surveyed students enrolled at elite PUs*

46.68% of the surveyed students reported being averagely informed about the HEI of their choice, 40.58% reported being highly informed and only 9.7% reported being

weakly informed about the HEI. These percentages are validated by the sources of information received about the university and its programmes where 52% of the students received their information from the “university itself” (through brochures, leaflets, etc.) and 64.3% from “friends”. Concerning the “open days”, the “advertisements on Radio/TV”, the “parents and relatives”, these criteria do not seem to be a source of information with 74.7%, 88.8% and 53.3% respectively of the surveyed students reporting these sources as not having a major impact on their choice.

The level of information received is highly dependent from the HEI (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .000; V de Cramer = .306; Sig. = .000). A majority of 88.7% (from the 40.6%) of the surveyed students who received a high level of information are enrolled at elite PUs¹⁷⁴. Concerning those who received an average level of information (i.e. the 49.7%), the majority is equally divided between the LU and the mass PUs with 57% of the surveyed students for each. Regarding the minority who considered the level of information received as low (i.e. the 9.7%); the majority is at the LU with 14.1%. These figures correlate with the support and follow up that each university provides where for some LU branches, it is not easy for the student to receive the needed information because of the administrative, logistic and financial constraints.

5.2.2.6.2 Majority of the students find the information received as helpful – the highest rate is for the surveyed students enrolled at elite PUs

Regarding the helpfulness of the information received and its effect on the choice, most of the surveyed students found the information received as being highly (41.2%) and averagely helpful (46.6%) oppose to 12.3% who found it not very helpful.

¹⁷⁴ This high percentage of well-informed students at elite PUs is validated by the interview done with the academic provost at LAU who acknowledges the implementation of a “public disclosure” policy permitting to be honest and clear with the students in what pertains to all matters related to the academic life (from tuition fees, to programmes, to accreditations, etc.) – he advances (*quote*): “what they hear and see is what they get” (rf. Appendix 4.4.1).

Again, there is a high dependency between the helpfulness of the information and the HEI (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .000; V de Cramer = .303; Sig. = .000). *The majority of the students who found the information highly helpful are at elite PUs with 81.4%. For the LU and the mass PUs, an approximately equal proportion of the surveyed students found the information averagely helpful with 51.7% and 52.4% respectively.* From the 12.3% of the students who did not found the information received helpful, the majority of 22.2% is at the LU. Once again, and for financial constraints, the LU is unable to provide the administrative and/or logistic support needed to all students especially in remote branches and areas.

5.2.2.6.3 Sources of information received from each HEI

Table (5.9) provides a summary of the sources of information per HEI

Table (5.9): Sources of Information per HEI					
	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Significance	
Source of Information	Yes			V de Cramer	Sig.
University itself/leaflets/brochures	37.9%	15.8%	46.4%	.151**	.001**
Open days	41.6%	25.3%	33.1%	.197**	.000***
Advertisement on Radio/TV	23.5%	29.4%	47.1%	.188**	.000***
Parents/Siblings/Relatives	59.2%	12.7%	28.2%	.270***	.000***
Friends	48.2%	6.6%	45.2%	.283***	.000***

V de Cramer - *: barely explains; **: averagely explains; ***: highly/significantly explains; ne does not explain

Sig. - *: barely significant; **: averagely significant; ***: highly significant; ns: non-significant

For the LU surveyed students, the main sources of information are mainly the “parents/siblings/relatives” (59.2%) and the “friends” (48.2%). Other sources are not identified as a main source of information about the university and its programmes. For elite PUs surveyed students, the main sources of information are the “advertisement on Radio/TV” (29.4%), the “open days” (25.3%) and the “university itself” (15.8%). Concerning mass PUs surveyed students, the equation is totally different. Most of the sources are identified as a source of information about the university and its programme. 47.1% knew about the university and its programme through “advertisement on Radio/TV”; 46.4% from the “university itself/leaflets/brochures”; 45.2% from “friends”; and 33.1% from “open days”. Parents do not seem to have an effect which is quite normal because the mass education sector was not that developed at the time of the parents. For both the elite and the mass private sectors, the first criterion affecting the surveyed students’ choices and awareness about the university and its programmes is related to the advertisement campaign done by the universities. This highlights the importance of the publicity campaigns done by private HEIs, especially mass PUs, to attract potential students.

5.2.2.7 Reasons for Choosing Higher Education instead of Employment

Table (5.10) shows per HEI the main reasons that lead surveyed students to choose the higher education sector instead of the labour market

Table (5.10): The Reasons for Choosing Higher Education instead of the Labour Market ¹⁷⁵								
	LU		EPU		MPU		Significance	
	A	D	A	D	A	D	V de Cramer	Sig.
Better employment opportunities, managerial positions and higher salaries	<u>44.3%</u>	44.4 %	16.2 %	<u>33.3%</u>	39.4%	22.2%	.129*	.000***
Normal step after secondary education	<u>46.2%</u>	28.6 %	<u>16.7 %</u>	14.3%	37%	<u>57.1%</u>	.128*	.000***
Ambition to do a master/PhD	<u>47.3%</u>	17.4 %	<u>16.7 %</u>	8.7%	36%	<u>73.9%</u>	.154**	.000***
Decision taken by chance	19.7%	<u>51.3 %</u>	<u>30.3 %</u>	11.8%	50%	36.9%	.190**	.000***
Parents pressure	24.2%	<u>48.2 %</u>	<u>17.7 %</u>	14.9%	<u>58.1%</u>	36.9%	.127*	.000***
Self-fulfilment	<u>49.1%</u>	25%	11.1 %	16.7%	39.8%	<u>58.3%</u>	.168**	.000***
Social status	<u>50.8%</u>	33.3 %	<u>16.4 %</u>	14.8%	32.8%	<u>51.9%</u>	.139*	.000***
Scientific curiosity	<u>53.3%</u>	36.8 %	<u>19.2 %</u>	11.4%	27.5%	<u>51.8%</u>	.156**	.000***

V de Cramer - *: barely explains; **: averagely explains; ***: highly/significantly explains; Ne does not explain
Sig. - *: barely significant; **: averagely significant; ***: highly significant; ns: non-significant

When asked about the reasons of choosing the higher education instead of the labour market, (rf. Chapter one), the surveyed students' replies were distributed as follow¹⁷⁶:

- (1) 89.7% of the surveyed students related their choice to the *“better employment opportunities/managerial position/higher salaries”* that a higher education degree permits to acquire which reflects, even if implicitly, on the awareness of the human capital theory. **Choosing to continue higher studies because of better employment opportunities, managerial positions and higher salaries is highly dependent from the choice of the university** (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .000; V de

¹⁷⁵ Only the percentages of “agree” (A) and “disagree” (D) are represented in the table. The percentages of the surveyed students who identified the criteria as being neutral are not represented.

¹⁷⁶We have high ratios because the students were asked to choose among several alternatives.

Cramer = .129; Sig. = .000). What is yet surprising is that the female students found this reason more valid with 71.2% of the surveyed female students agreeing versus only 28.8% of the surveyed male students (V de Cramer = .135; Sig. = .004). This might be credited to the problems that females encounter at the labour market. These results are also validated with the sisters' professional experience (cf. Appendix 5.1);

- (2) 73.8% of the surveyed students found it a "normal step after the secondary education". A majority of 46.2% and 16.7% of those are respectively at the LU and elite PUs. However, the majority of the mass PUs students did not identify this as a main reason;
- (3) 75.5% of the students chose to continue their higher studies because they have an "ambition to do a master/PhD degree". 47.3% of these students are LU students, 36% are mass PUs students and 16.7% are elite PUs students;
- (4) 71% because they see it as a "self-fulfilment". 49.1% are LU students, 11.1% are elite PUs students and 39.8% are mass PUs students;
- (5) 50.8% chose to continue their higher studies because it "improves the social status and permits social mobility". 50.8% of those are LU students, 32.8% are mass PUs students and 16.4% elite PUs students;
- (6) Concerning the "scientific curiosity", for a majority of 43.5% this does not really have an effect on their choice. For the 38.3% of the surveyed students who chose to continue their higher studies because of "scientific curiosity", more than the half (53.3%) is enrolled at the LU. This is once again reflective of the high academic standards offered by the LU faculties;

(7) *Concerning the effect of “chance” and “parents’ pressure”, the majority* of the surveyed students *did not identify these criteria as a source of decision* with 67.8% and 69.8% respectively. In both cases, the majority is LU students with 51.3% and 48.2% respectively. We note however that for the surveyed students who chose the HEI by chance (10.4% of the surveyed students’ population), 50% are mass PUs students and 30.3% are elite PUs students.

On a comparison level between the HEIs, we note that the criteria of choice between the LU and the PUs are different. A majority of the *LU surveyed students* agreed that *continuing higher education will allow “better employment opportunities”* (44.3%); will *“fulfil an ambition of doing a master and/or PhD degree”* (47.3%); and will *“fulfil scientific curiosity”* (50.8%). Additionally, 49.1% of the LU surveyed students continued their higher studies rather than going directly to the labour market because it allows *“self-fulfilment”* and 50.8% because it *“allows social mobility”*. The majority of respectively 48.2% and 51.3% did not identify the “parents’ pressure” or the “chance” as decisive criteria of choice. This is rational because the majority of the LU faculties forming the sample are selective. The students need to prepare for the entrance test and cannot just decide “by chance” the choice of the faculty. Consequently, *students who choose the LU seem to have a preliminary plan and do not “just” choose it accidentally.*

For elite PUs, a majority of 19.7% chose higher education rather than the labour market because of *“scientific curiosity”*; 16.7% because they have an *“ambition to do a master and/or a PhD degree”*; and 16.4% because it *“allows social mobility”*. 17.7% of elite PUs students were guided by *“parents’ pressure”* (something that was not acknowledged by the LU students) and a high proportion of 30.3% took the decision by *“chance”*. Oppose to the LU, 33.3% of elite PUs students did not choose to continue their higher studies because of *“employment opportunities and higher salaries”*. Concerning the *“self-fulfilment”*, the majority (26.8%) had a neutral stand from this criterion.

Concerning the mass PUs, the only criterion identified by the surveyed students as a reason for continuing higher education rather than going to the labour market is related to the “parents’ pressure” with 58.1% of the surveyed mass PUs students. Concerning the other reasons, 73.9% of the surveyed mass PUs students did not chose to continue their higher studies because they have an “ambition to do a master and/or a PhD degree”; 58.3% do not find “self-fulfilment” as a criterion of choice; 51.9% did not identify the “social mobility” that higher education allows as a reason of choice; and 51.8% did not continue higher studies because of “scientific curiosity”. Concerning the “employment prospects and better salaries”, 66.7% of the surveyed students have a neutral stand pertaining to this criterion. This is credited to the fact that the majority of the mass PUs surveyed students are working students (59.1%). Their choice of higher education is not done over the labour market since they already have a job but rather to improve their professional status. This aspect will be more elaborated in the subsequent sections.

5.3 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

Chapter five shed the light on the general characteristics of the surveyed students’ population in terms of gender, age, religion and other demographic and socio-economic factors. It permitted to identify that the students’ personal characteristics and socio-economic background have a decisive effect on their higher education choices either in terms of institution or programme. Students’ prior academic choices at the secondary level in terms of system (public or private) and academic track are prior indicators of their future choices in terms of the HEI and the field of study. Students choices, whether being in compliance with the needs of the market or not, seem to be dependent from the level of information and orientation received at both the secondary education and the higher education levels. A stereotyped behaviour is noticed. The latter is based on the orientation plan adopted by both the schools and the HEIs. Students acknowledged choosing to continue their higher studies instead of going directly to the labour market in anticipation of higher salaries and better employment packages. However, and as a

preliminary conclusion, the higher education system seems to be divided into clusters. Students from various socio-economic backgrounds do not have the same odds of going to the same higher education sector implicating divergence in the outcomes at the labour market. The following chapters will reflect more on these choices per HEI and per programme as to reflect at a later stage on the effective inter-relation between the students' anticipated outcome and the Lebanese reality.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHOICE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION

The sixth chapter permits to understand the “Whys” of choosing each HEI. It will provide, in addition to a general discussion on the general criteria that had an effect on the student’s choices of a HEI, a comprehensive discussion of the interrelation of such choice with various factors such as gender, religion, choice of programme and characteristics of the admission process. This detailed discussion will be followed by a reflection on the reasons of regret of the choice of the HEI, if any. Chapter six will provide in its last section the results of the logistic regression permitting to better understand factors weighing on being or not/choosing or not a certain HEI.

6.1 Factors Weighing on the Choice of a HEI

The majority of the surveyed students identified the *“financial cost”* - tuition fees, registration fees, scholarship, etc. - and *“the admission standards, reputation and credibility”* of the university as the most influential factors affecting the choice of the HEI with 71.6% and 63% respectively. 50.7% of the surveyed students found in the *“validity of the diploma and accreditation”* an encouraging criterion of choice. Concerning the other criteria, such as the “easy admission criteria”, “the double degree” (agreement with a foreign university), “the prospects of employment/internship” and “the social interaction and extra curriculum activities”, 69.2%, 79.2%, 60.6% and 72.1% of the surveyed students did not respectively identify any of these aspects as having an effect on their choice. Table (6.1) summarizes per university the main criteria of choice.

Table (6.1): Criteria of Choice of the HEI					
	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Significance	
Criteria of choice	Yes			V de Cramer	Sig.
Financial cost	49.3%	7.8%	42.9%	.284**	.000***
Academic standard, reputation, credibility	53.8%	16.4%	29.8%	.297**	.000***
Easy admission criteria	32.1%	16%	51.9%	.177*	.000***
Double degree	32.5%	18.3%	49.2%	.128*	.000***
Validity of the diploma and accreditation	54.2%	14.3%	31.5%	.202**	.000***
Employment prospects, internship prospects	47.5%	15.8%	36.7%	.073	.201(ns)
Social interaction, extra curriculum activities	34.7%	19.4%	45.9%	.141*	.002**

V de Cramer - *: barely explains; **: averagely explains; ***: highly/significantly explains; ne does not explain

Sig. - *: barely significant; **: averagely significant; ***: highly significant; ns: non-significant

Almost all criteria (except that related to employment prospects) **seem to significantly or highly explain the choice of the HEI**. As reflected previously, *the main criterion of choice of the LU* is related to the academic standards that this university offers at its selective faculties. *Concerning the PUs, the criteria of choice differ between elite and mass PUs. Elite PUs students* are interested in the academic standards and the social interaction. *Mass PUs students* on the other hand are more attracted by the easy admission criteria. The following subsection will reflect on the criteria of choice affecting the choice of each sector.

Box 6.1: Importance of the tuition fees in what concerns the choice of the HEI

Students search nowadays for affordable tuition fees. From this perspective, and given that most mass PUs are offering more or less the same variety of programmes, and in order to face fierce competition, tuition fees along with financial aid and easy access come at the first place in their competition policy and hence are considered as the main guiding factors of competition with other mass PUs. However, these strategies might at the same time jeopardize the quality because of the variety of providers and competition over limited clienteles. This is based on the interviews with two representatives of two different mass PUs (rf. Appendices 4.4.2 and 4.4.3).

6.1.1 For the LU students, the most influential factors of choice are related to the validity of the diploma, the academic standards, the reputation and the credibility

The LU surveyed students were mostly affected by (in a descending order), the “*validity of the diploma and accreditation*” (54.2%); the “*academic standards, reputation and credibility*” (53.8%); the “*financial cost*” (49.3%); and the “*prospects of employment/internship*” (47.5%)¹⁷⁷.

Concerning the other criteria - such as the “easy admission criteria”, the “double degree” and the “social interaction” - LU surveyed students did not identify any of these criteria as having an impact on their choice. These figures, particularly those related to the “academic standards”, “easy admission criteria” and “validity of the diploma”, ascertain that *the LU reputation is still omnipresent particularly for the faculties where admittance is conditioned by an entrance test*¹⁷⁸. Students, regardless of their socio-economic background, are choosing the LU for the academic standards that it offers.

¹⁷⁷ Still the choice of the HEI does not seem to be that dependent from this criterion, Khi-Deux de Pearson = .201).

¹⁷⁸ This is the case of the majority of the faculties that form the sample.

6.1.2 For mass PUs students, the most influential factor is the easy admission criterion

For mass PUs, the most influential criterion of choice is to a majority of the surveyed students (51.9%) **the “easy admission”**. This validates what was advanced in chapter one concerning the choice of the students for mass universities because of the flexible admission process. This end result is not unexpected because most mass PUs do not apply scientific entrance tests. They rather focus on general language tests.

The majority of the surveyed students at this sector are either enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” (53.3%) or at the “Service-Oriented faculties/tracks” (86%). If to compare with the LU, particularly at the level of the entrance test, the students’ choice for the mass private sector is no longer ambiguous. The surveyed students at the mass private sector may not have had the academic ability to be admitted at the LU¹⁷⁹. For these programmes, the LU apply a scientific entrance test oppose to mass PUs where students’ admittance is only based on a general language test conditioned by the Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate – Section II¹⁸⁰. Therefore, students would favour the mass private system over the LU.

From the HEIs perspective, the choice of a flexible admission criterion by the university over a selective one is based on the policy and will of these universities to provide equal opportunities to all students having their Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate – Section II. Such objective would be hindered if selective admission criterion would be implemented. Having “open access” and accepting students based only on a linguistic aptitude test regardless of their gender, social background, religious and political beliefs is what guides

¹⁷⁹ This reality was highlighted in chapter five when elaborating on the academic performance of the surveyed students per HEI.

¹⁸⁰ Such reality is acknowledged by the dean of the business faculty and board member at the Antonine University who identified that at the level of tuition fees the main competitor is the LU. Nevertheless, nowadays most students are searching for private education especially those who do not have the academic standards to attend the LU; hence their choice of a mass PU.

these universities¹⁸¹. Moreover, and concerning the quality of the recruited students, and according to the interviewed representatives of the two mass universities, flexible admission criteria do not deter the quality because of the follow up done by the university and the prerequisites set. Even if the selection is not done at the beginning, it will be done at the end of the first year. Students who fail will not be able to pursue their degree. Pertaining to the competition with the LU, it is seen as an important factor, yet, private mass universities see themselves as complementing the role of the LU that has limited capacities (rf. Appendices 4.4.2 and 4.4.3).

In addition to the flexible admission criteria, other factors had also an impact on the surveyed students' choice for the mass sector. 49.2% of surveyed students at this sector identified the “double degree” as being a main criterion of choice. This is validated by the fact that one out of the three mass PUs that form the sample offers a double degree¹⁸². Based on the interview done with the academic assistant to the director at the AOU, the dual degree is an attraction strategy for mass universities (rf. Appendix 4.4.2). Additionally, *45.9% and 42.9% of the surveyed students chose this sector because of the “social interaction” and “financial cost” respectively.* This is validated by the interviews done with the representatives of two mass PUs where reasonable, competitive tuition fees in addition to the financial aids provided are prominent elements of the strategy adopted to attract students (rf. Appendices 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). On the other hand, 50.5% of the surveyed students did not identify the “validity of the diploma” as a criterion of choice. This put in retro-perspective the choice of the mass PUs by the students aiming for private education regardless of the consequences within the labour market (rf. Chapter one).

¹⁸¹ Based on the interviews done with two representatives of two mass PUs (one Anglo-Saxon and the other Francophone) (rf. Appendices 4.4.2 and 4.4.3).

¹⁸² The AOU offers a double degree: Lebanese and British degrees given its affiliation with UK- Open University in Britain. The academic assistant to the director at AOU identified such “dual degree” as the main attraction tool especially because of the intense competition within the market.

Box 6.2: Employment prospects and mass PUs students

The lower percentage of mass universities students that chose the university based on “employment prospects/internship” if to compare with the LU and elite PUs is based on the fact that mass universities, and according to the interviewed representatives of the two mass PUs, have not yet clear employment strategies oppose to elite PUs that do have such strategies. The academic provost at LAU (one of the elite PUs), clearly acknowledged that the university and its reputation play an important role in the graduates’ employment where employment officers; an initiative that was launched three years ago, help students to find jobs. The initiative consists of extending invitation to employers as well as to lecturers and students and permits consequently to enhance the students’ opportunities to be employed.

6.1.3 For elite universities students, the financial cost is not the main concern, the social interaction and the academic standards seem to weight more on the choice

The equation at elite PUs is totally different. Most surveyed students (19.4%) identified the “social interaction” as a main criterion affecting their choice; followed by the “double degree” (18.3%); the “academic standard” (16.4%); and the “validity of the diploma and accreditation” (14.3%). Concerning the “financial cost”, it was identified by 29.5% of the surveyed students as the least influential criterion. This is not surprising because elite universities’ students come from well-heeled families (rf. Chapter one). As stated by the representative of one elite PU, the students who choose elite universities have to have the financial means in addition of course of good academic background (rf. Appendix 4.4.1).

Regarding the “easy admission criteria”, and controversially with the academic standard criterion, 16% of the surveyed students identified this as being a reason of choice. This is validated by the students’ distribution among the faculties. The majority of the surveyed students at elite PUs are enrolled at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities” (56.5%) which has an easier admission criterion if to compare with the other faculties. The difference in the difficulty level of the admission criteria between various faculties was highlighted by the academic provost at LAU. He acknowledged that (*quote*) “the

selectivity process and admission criteria differ from one faculty to another depending on the academic demanding level. For instance, medicine and engineering schools are more demanding than other schools in terms of admission criteria” (rf. Appendix 4.4.1).

Box 6.3: Elite PUs and academic standards

The academic provost at the LAU advanced that the selective admission criteria that the university implements permit to preserve the academic standards and hence the quality that is an essential condition set by the accreditation body. Selective admission criteria are not solely opted for to maintain the quality. The university is also selective as concerns the qualifying schools from which the students come. The rank of the school for the students who want to be admitted at the LAU does matter. From this perspective, he does not consider the LU as a competitor. Students that had as a first choice the LU, rarely if they fail, go to elite PUs given high tuition fees compared to the LU; always according to the representative.

6.2 The Most Influential Factor(s) Distressing the Choice of a HEI

To have a better understanding of the students’ preferences pertinent to the choice of the HEI, the surveyed students were asked to identify the criteria that had a more significant effect on their choice. Students had to rate criteria related to the “university itself”, the “university’s affiliation and reputation”, the “university and the labour market”, and the “effect of personal relations and characteristics”. What follows will reflect on surveyed students’ replies.

6.2.1 Criteria Related to the University Itself – the LU students are attracted by the practically free tuition fees and academic standards (selective admission criteria); mass PUs students by the easy admission criteria, financial support provided, and flexible schedule; and elite PUs students by the language of instruction and electronic resources

For 52% of the students, the “educational system adopted” and consequently the “language of instruction” had an important effect on their choice. 45.6% and 15.8% of these students are respectively enrolled at the mass PUs and elite PUs where the main language of instruction is the “English”. However, the choice of the HEI is not that dependent from this criterion (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .121) where the language of instruction does not really explain the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .076; Sig. = .121).

45.7% of the surveyed students were attracted by the “practically free tuition fees”. This criterion highly explains the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .233; Sig. = .000). 60.9% of these students are enrolled at the LU, which has the lowest tuition fees compared to the PUs.

41.2% of the surveyed students were attracted by the “flexible schedule” which allows them to work and study at the same time. This criterion highly explains the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .381; Sig. = .000). *The majority of these students (66.9%) are enrolled at the mass private sector.* We have identified in chapter one that the mass private sector offers for the students the possibility to work and study at the same time. The majority of these students are working students (75.1%) explaining their choice (V de Cramer = .367; Sig. = .000).

Concerning the “financial support” provided by the university, surveyed students were approximately equally divided between those who agree (32.9%), those who disagree (34.3%), and those who identified this criterion as not having a real effect on their choices (neutral) (32.9%). This criterion significantly explains the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .212; Sig. = .000). *For those who agree (the 32.9%), 50.5% are at mass PUs* oppose to 24.5% at elite PUs *and 25% at the LU.* Having the highest proportions at the private sector is quite rational because the LU has practically free tuition fees. From an income perspective, most of the mass PUs students (49%) acknowledging this as a reason of choice have a total level of income between “900 and 2400 US dollars”. For the same

range of income, the majority of 70.8% from those who did not acknowledge this criterion as a reason of choice are enrolled at the LU. *For those who disagree* (34.3%), *58.5% are LU students*. This is quite expected because once again of the practically free tuition fees of the LU.

Regarding the “offer of a new field of study that is not offered by other universities”, the majority of the surveyed students (40.4%) did not identify this criterion as a reason of choice and attraction towards the HEI. This criterion slightly explains the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .101; Sig. = .011). 46.5% of these students are at the LU, 38.3% at mass universities and 15.2% at elite universities. Being not a criterion of choice can be validated and explained by the choice of programme. 67.7% of the students disagreeing are enrolled at the “Business Administration” programme; a programme that is offered by all universities (V de Cramer = .142; Sig. = .001).

Surveyed students do not seem that interested by the “electronic/library resources”. 38.9% showed a neutral stand concerning the effect of this criterion on their choice. The majority of 58.5% is LU students (V de Cramer = .254; Sig. = .000). Because of the financial constraints, it is very well-known that the LU does not have an extensive repertoire of electronic resources nor big libraries if to be compared with PUs. *Concerning the minority of the surveyed students who showed interest in the electronic/library resources* offered by the university (24%), *41.1% are mass PUs students and 34.4% elite universities students*. This is very reasonable because elite universities are quite renowned for their libraries and electronic resources that other universities do not have because of the financial constraints.

Concerning the “admission criteria”, the surveyed students had to choose between the effect of “easy admission” and “selective admission” criteria on their choice of the HEI. Students were divided between those who agree/disagree and those who found each of these criteria as not having a real effect. *Regarding the easy admission criteria*, 38.3% of

the surveyed students reported that the effect of easy access on their choice is “neutral” versus 30.2% who found this criterion as a reason of choice and 31.5% who did not. The choice of the university is highly explained by the characteristic of the admission criteria (V de Cramer = .246; Sig. = .000). *The majority of the students (59.3%) who acknowledged this aspect as a criterion of choice are mass PUs. Students who did not chose the HEI based on the easy admission criteria are in their majority LU students (65.3%).* These figures are explained by the choice of programme. We note that 79.8% of the surveyed mass PUs students who identified this criterion as a reason of choice of the HEI are enrolled at the “Business Administration” programme. As noted previously, no entrance test is required at the mass private sector for this faculty oppose to the LU where it is a selective faculty and the students’ acceptance is conditioned by passing a scientific examination test (V de Cramer = .334; Sig. = .000). 81% of the LU surveyed students choosing this criterion as a reason of choice (27.3%) are enrolled at the faculty of “Sciences”; a faculty that does not require an entrance test (V de Cramer = .230; Sig. = .017). *For the selective admission criteria*, 41.1% of the surveyed students reported the effect as being “neutral” oppose to 37.1% who chose the university because of its selective admission criteria. *58.6% of the 37.1% are LU students oppose to 50.6% of the 41.1% who are mass universities students* (V de Cramer = .178; Sig. = .000). The choice of the programme explains more these proportions. 61.4% of the LU students who acknowledged choosing the university because of its selective admission criteria are enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”; a faculty adopting a selective process as mentioned previously (V de Cramer = .270; Sig. = .000) and 66.7% are enrolled at the “Literature and Humanities” faculty where the tracks forming the sample (translation and English language tracks) are also selective ones (V de Cramer = .370; Sig. = .010).

The choice of the HEI based on the characteristics of the admission criteria is also significant from a gender perspective. The majority of the surveyed female and male students registered at *the LU* responded that their choice is not based on the easy

admission criteria but rather because of the selective admission criteria. This is very reasonable since most of the surveyed students come from selective faculties at the LU. This validates the academic standards of the public university. *Concerning the elite PUs*, the majority of the surveyed female and male students did not identify the admission criteria as a decisive element of choice. The equation is totally different at *mass PUs* where, most of the surveyed female students chose the university because of the easy admission criteria while surveyed male students seem to have a neutral stand from this criterion. Table (6.2) summarizes the choice of the university based on the admission criteria characteristics per gender.

Table (6.2): Admission Criteria as a Reason of Choice of the HEI per Gender ¹⁸³					
University	Admission Criteria	Female		Male	
		Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
LU	Easy Criteria	17.8%	<u>47.6%</u>	22.1%	<u>41.2%</u>
Elite PUs		26.9%	30.8%	25.0%	<u>40.0%</u>
Mass PUs		<u>46.8%</u>	15.4%	36.5%	12.5%
LU	Selective Criteria	<u>53.0%</u>	19.5%	<u>39.1%</u>	28.1%
Elite PUs		31.6%	14.5%	21.1%	<u>42.1%</u>
Mass PUs		27.6%	27.6%	21.5%	21.5%

Easy admission criteria: Female (V de Cramer: .249; Sig: .000)/ Male (V de Cramer: .230; Sig: .001)

Selective admission criteria: Female (V de Cramer: .196; Sig: .000) / Male (V de Cramer: .188; Sig: .014)

¹⁸³ Only the percentages of “agree” and “disagree” are represented in the table. The percentages of the surveyed students who identified the criteria as being neutral are not represented.

6.2.2 University's Affiliation and Reputation – LU students are interested in the reputation of the university while PUs students are more attracted by the affiliation and accreditation

When students were asked to assess and categorize the effect of the reputation, affiliation, accreditation, of the university on their choices, the replies permitted to validate the criteria of choice.

62.8% of the surveyed students chose the HEI because of its “reputation, public confidence and academic standard”. By itself, the choice of the HEI is significantly explained by this criterion (V de Cramer = .234; Sig. = .000). From the 62.8%, 51.4% are LU students oppose to 29.3% at the mass PUs and 19.3% at the elite PUs. For the 6.9% who did not choose the HEI because of this criterion, the majority of 69.8% is at the mass private sector.

The majority of the students did not choose the HEI based on the “accreditation from an external body and/or affiliation with other Arab and/or European universities”. 41.7% and 44% respectively of the surveyed students had a neutral stand pertaining to the effect of these criteria on their choice. The accreditation (V de Cramer = .300; Sig. = .000) and the affiliation (V de Cramer = .279; Sig. = .000) of the university highly explain the choice of the university. As such, the majority of the students who did not seem to be that interested in the “accreditation and/or affiliation of the university” are LU students (with 70.9% of the 41.7% and 57.9% of the 44%). This is reasonable because the LU is not really accredited by an external body nor affiliated to any foreign body. On the other hand, for the surveyed students who chose their HEI because of the “accreditation of the university by an external body” (39.3%) and/or “affiliation with other institutions” (33.3%), the majority are PUs students. 31.8% and 39.7% of the 39.3% are respectively elite PUs and mass PUs students. 35% and 34.5% of the 33.3% are respectively elite PUs and mass PUs students. This is consistent with the Lebanese reality because most PUs, and especially

those that form the sample, have agreements with foreign universities. Interviewed representatives of PUs acknowledged that the international cooperation with foreign universities and accredited programmes are part of their recruitment strategy (rf. Appendices 4.4.1; 4.4.2. and 4.4.3).

Box 6.4: Private Universities – Examples of Accreditations and Affiliations

Many PUs opted for international cooperation with foreign HEIs and worked on having accredited programmes by external bodies in order to attract more students. For instance, and based on the interview done with the dean of business faculty and board member at the “Antonine University”, the university is sending each semester five students from the business department based on their academic performance to complete one semester in China. Such cooperation has been a good marketing strategy permitting to attract more students (rf. Appendix 4.4.3)

Concerning PUs that are accredited by external bodies, we name (amongst others): (1) The American University of Beirut (AUB) that is accredited since 2004 by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools (AUB website – www.aub.edu.lb – 26 June 2013); (2) The AOU is affiliated and accredited with and by the UK-Open University and offers a double degree (a Lebanese degree accredited by the Lebanese Ministry of Education and Higher Education and a British degree from the Open University in the UK) (AOU website – www.aou.edu.lb - 26 June 2013).

Concerning international agreements examples, we name amongst others, (1) The AUCE has agreement with a number of international universities and bodies such as Schiller International University (SIU) USA - France - Germany and Spain, European International College of Hotel Management and Tourism U. A. E, The Institute of Commercial Management - ICM- UK, American Hospitality Academy –USA, London Chamber of Commerce & industry international qualifications – UK, Educational Institute of the American Hotel and Lodging Association – AHLA, Internshp4America – USA (AUCE website – www.auce.edu.lb - 26 June 2013); (2) The USJ cooperates with more than 82 universities in France and has as well cooperation agreements with universities from 20 different countries (Belgium, Canada, China, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Syria, Switzerland, Tunisia, the U.A.E. and the U.S.A.). Additionally, the USJ is also a committed partner in many International organizations (such as Association of Arab Universities (AAU) Association of Jesuit Higher Education Establishments of Europe and Lebanon (ASJEL), Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie (AUF), International Association of Universities (IAU), etc.) (USJ website – www.usj.edu.lb – 26 June 2013).

Concerning the “religious and political affiliation”, 40.5% of the surveyed students did not consider this criterion in their choice of the HEI and 37.9% credited a neutral effect.

The choice of the university seems hence to be significantly explained by this criterion (V de Cramer = .202; Sig. = .000). LU students in their majority either attributed a neutral effect (49.1% from the 37.9%) or did not identify this criterion as a decisive element of choice (49.6% of the 40.5%). This is reflective of the LU mission that aims to target all fragments of the society¹⁸⁴. However, when choosing a private institution, religion might be a decisive element of choice. Consequently, and concerning the 21.7% of the surveyed students who identified this aspect as a decisive criterion of choice, the majority are at mass and elite PUs with 49.3% and 29.1% respectively. The LU is very-well known of not being a religiously affiliated university oppose to some PUs that have religious affiliations (rf. Chapter one). However, and despite that interviewed representatives ascertained the fact that no religious discrimination is implemented in relation to the recruitment process, students selecting the private sector seem to consider the religious belief in their choice and preference of a HEI (rf. Appendices 4.4.1; 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). Religion seems hence to explain significantly the choice of the HEI. Muslim students are more selective of the HEI reference its religious affiliation than Christian ones. *Muslim surveyed students who chose their HEI based on this criterion are in their majority enrolled at the elite and mass PUs* (40.5% and 48.6% respectively). This complies with what was previously advanced pertaining to the *preference of Muslim students to Anglo-Saxon systems*. Concerning the Christian surveyed students religious affiliation is not a decisive criterion of choice for the majority. 58.5% of those are enrolled at the LU. Table (6.3) summarizes the choice of the university based on the religious affiliation per religion.

¹⁸⁴ Segmentation per religion at the LU between branches, when noted, is related not to a religious discriminatory policy but to the demographic and geographic characteristics of the population and location of the LU branches.

Table (6.3): The Choice of the HEI based on the Religious Affiliation per Religion ¹⁸⁵						
		LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Significance	
					V de Cramer	Sig.
Christian	Agree	25.8%	24.7%	49.5%	.213**	.000***
	Disagree	58.5%	7.4%	34.0%		
Muslim	Agree	10.8%	40.5%	48.6%	.246**	.002**
	Disagree	23.0%	45.9%	31.1%		

6.2.3 Ability of the HEI to Provide Employment Opportunities – PUs students seem to be more prone to choose their HEI because of its ability to provide such opportunities

When asked about the reason(s) of choosing the higher education over employment, the majority of the surveyed students found in higher education “better opportunities for employment and higher salaries”. When asked about the reasons for choosing the HEI based on its ability to provide employment opportunities, the surveyed students’ replies validated this behaviour.

52.9% of the surveyed students chose their HEI because the “programmes offered are in correlation with the labour market needs”. The choice of the HEI is explained to a certain extent by the programmes offerings (V de Cramer = .134; Sig. = .000). From the 52.9%, ***41.4% are LU students, 37.2% mass PUs students and 21.3% elite PUs students.*** ***However, we noted that from the 10.2% of the surveyed students who did not identify this criterion as a reason of choice, 54.7% are at the LU, 40.6% are at mass PUs with only 4.7% at elite PUs.*** This is reflective of the support provided by elite PUs to their students through the employment and ALUMNI offices. This reality was emphasized by the academic provost at LAU (rf. Appendix 4.4.1). When adding the choice of the programme to this criterion, we note that the majority of the surveyed students who identified this aspect as a

¹⁸⁵ Only the percentages of “agree” and “disagree” are represented in the table. The percentages of the surveyed students who identified the criteria as being neutral are not represented.

criterion of choice are – for the LU and mass PUs - enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” programme with 45.6% and 45.2% respectively (V de Cramer = .131; Sig. = .009).

Concerning the “internship and employment opportunities”, 46.6% of the surveyed students chose their university because of its ability to provide such opportunities. The choice of the university is significantly explained by this criterion (V de Cramer = .212; Sig. = .000). From the 46.6%, 38.4% are at the LU, 36% at mass universities and 25.7% at elite universities. However, *from the 17.1% of the surveyed students who did not identify this criterion as a reason of choice, 61.7% are LU students.* This emphasizes once again the support that PUs extends to their students in order to find employment opportunities. This role is not effectively assumed by the LU because of the financial constraints.

6.2.4 Personal Relations - Friends have an effect on the choice of the HEI oppose to the student council, family tradition, geographical location, extra curriculum activities, etc. that do not have a real effect

39.6% of the surveyed students chose the HEI because of the “active student council” oppose to 41.4% who found this criterion as having a neutral effect on their choice. This criterion seems to significantly explain the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .220; Sig. = .000). From the 39.6%, 40.9% are at mass PUs, 31.2% at the LU and 27.9% at elite universities. Concerning the surveyed students who had a neutral stand from this criterion, 48.1% are at the LU, 45% at the mass PUs and only 7% at elite PUs. This leads to speculate that other aspects have a more pronounced effect on the choice of the HEI.

36.2% of the surveyed students chose the university because they have “friends studying or have already finished their studies from the same institution”. However, having friends who are currently studying or finished their studies does not but slightly explain the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .112; Sig. = .003). The majority of the 36.2% of these

students are at mass PUs (47.6%), oppose to 39.6% at the LU and 12.8% at elite PUs. This reflects the importance of “mouth to ear” in the recruitment process of mass PUs and validates what was previously advanced pertaining to the sources of information at the mass sector (page 347).

Regarding the “family tradition”, the “aspect of chance”, the “extra curriculum activities offered” and the “geographical location” (close to home), 60.3%, 57.3% 44.8% and 41.4% respectively of the surveyed students found these aspects as not having a decisive effect on their choice. Each of these criteria explains the choice of the HEI from one stand or the other and validates what was previously advanced in what pertains to the potential reasons of choice of the HEI. For the surveyed students who did not identify the “extra curriculum activities” as a criterion of choice (44.8%), 67.1% are at the LU, 30% at mass PUs and only 2.8% at elite PUs. Concerning the 24.1% of the surveyed students who identified this criterion as a reason of choice, the majority is equally divided between the elite and mass PUs (44.7% for each) (V de Cramer = .414; Sig. = .000). This validates what was previously advanced pertaining to the importance of the social life in the choice of the private sector (page 368). For the surveyed students who did not choose the university by “chance” (57.3%), the majority with 47.6% is at the LU. Whereas those that chose the HEI based on chance (13.8%), the majority (57.5%) is at the mass PUs (V de Cramer = .133; Sig. = .000). This validates what was previously advanced. Concerning the “geographical location”, it significantly explains the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .238; Sig. = .000). For the majority of the surveyed students who did not find in geographical location a main criterion of choice (41.4%), most of them are at the LU validating what was advanced. The latter is also related to the residency of the surveyed students where most of them resides either in Beirut or Mount Lebanon areas where the main LU branches exist. For the 24.7% of the surveyed students who did find in the geographical location a criterion of choice, the majority of 55.8% is at mass PUs. This validates what was previously advanced concerning the students’ choice for the mass private sector because of the geographical location of the university.

6.3 Regret of the Choice of the HEI

83.5% of the surveyed students' population does not regret the choice of the university. Regretting the choice of the HEI is independent from the institution itself (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .202) where **the choice of the university barely explains the fact of regretting or not the choice** (V de Cramer = .072; Sig. = .202). *At the mass private sector, the proportion of the surveyed students who regret their choice of programme is higher than those who do not* (51% versus 41.4% respectively). This can be credited to the “chance factor” that many mass PUs surveyed students identified as a decisive factor of choice. *Among the three sectors, the highest percentage of those who do not regret their choice of the HEI is for the LU surveyed students* (44.3%) *followed by elite PUs surveyed students* (14.3%). Both sectors, compared to the mass private sector, have lower percentage of surveyed students who do regret their choice with 37.3% and 11.8% respectively.

For the 16.5% of the students who do regret their choice of HEI, the main reasons of regret are summarized in table (6.4).

Table (6.4): The Main Sources of Regret of the HEI per Sector					
	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Significance	
Reason(s)	Yes			V de Cramer	Sig.
Not very well acknowledged within the	21.6%	10.8%	<u>67.6%</u>	.270**	.026*
Low academic standards	<u>0%</u>	5.6%	<u>94.4%</u>	.411***	.000***
No follow up of graduates	<u>54%</u>	6%	40%	.337***	.003**
No clear guidance as to the choice of the programme	<u>51%</u>	2%	46.9%	.341***	.003**
High miscellaneous costs	21.9%	6.3%	<u>71.9%</u>	.286**	.017*
No social activities/No campus	<u>42%</u>	2%	<u>56%</u>	.288**	.016*

V de Cramer - *: barely explains; **: averagely explains; ***: highly/significantly explains; ne does not explain

Sig. - *: barely significant; **: averagely significant; ***: highly significant; ns: non-significant

Students were equally divided when referring their regret to the following reasons: “the university programmes are not customized with the local market needs”; “no follow-up of the students after graduation”; and “no social activity/campus”. 50% of the surveyed students identified each of these criteria as being a reason of regret and 50% did not find any of these criteria as a source of regret. What follow will elaborate more on each criterion.

The first reason, which is “programmes not customized to the labour market needs”, is totally independent from the choice of the HEI (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .118; V de Cramer .207; Sig. = .118) and that of the programme (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .816; V de Cramer = .097; Sig. = .816). Such choice could be hence related to the structure of the labour market and/or the erroneous choices at the programme level which do not go in parallel with the labour market demand.

Concerning the “absence of graduates’ follow-up”, the HEI where the student is enrolled highly explains whether the student identifies this criterion as a source of regret or not (V de Cramer = .337; Sig. = .003). For the 50% of the surveyed students who recognized this criterion as a source of regret, a majority of 54% are at the LU. This percentage is not surprising. Despite the good academic standards offered at the LU, and the acknowledged reputation within the labour market, the lack of graduates’ follow-up because of the university’s financial constraints, has many negative repercussions on LU graduates in terms of employment and salaries. This is leading them to regret their choice of the university. This end result validates what was advanced in the previous section concerning the criteria that had the most effect on choosing the HEI where the LU surveyed students did not identify the ability of the university to provide employment and/or internship opportunities as a criterion of choice.

Regarding the “absence of social activities and campus”, the choice of the HEI also significantly explains this source of regret. For the 50% of the surveyed students who identified this as being a reason of regret, the majority of 56% are mass PUs students and 42% are LU students. If to compare with elite PUs, mass PUs and LU do not have “big” campuses¹⁸⁶ and/or active social life.

Pertaining to the following criterion “no clear guidance as regards the choice of the programme”, 49% of the surveyed students identified this criterion as a source of regret versus 51% who did not. The choice of the HEI highly explains the choice of this criterion (V de Cramer = .341; Sig. = .003). For the 49% of the surveyed students who recognized this as a source of regret, 51% are at the LU. Those who did not recognize this criterion as a source of regret, the majority is either at the mass PUs (54.9%) or elite PUs (19.6%). This is explained by the mass PUs interviewed representatives. They both agreed

¹⁸⁶ Except for the LU – Hadath Campus that was build few years ago in order to allow student to have a real university experience including that of a campus. Nevertheless, surveys were not collected from this branch because of political and strikes constraints.

on having a general advising strategy without dictating the choice of the students. Concerning the elite PUs, and according to the interviewed representative, the first year is common to all majors after which the students are advised on programmes to choose (cf. Appendix 4.4.1).

Concerning the remaining reasons “*not very well acknowledged within the labour market*”; “*low academic standards*”; “*no financial cost*”; and “*high miscellaneous cost*”, **the majority of the surveyed students regretting their choice of the HEI did not identify any of these criteria as a source of regret** with respectively 63%, 81.8%, 62% and 68%. However, except for the criterion related to the “absence of financial support” (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .512), the criteria of regret highly depend on the HEI chosen by the student.

Consequently, for the 37% of the surveyed students who did regret their choice of the HEI because it is “not very well acknowledged within the labour market”, 67.6% are at mass PUs (V de Cramer = .270; Sig. = .026). This affirms the fact that despite choosing private education over public one hoping for better employment prospects, the reality provides a totally different image. Employers are still interested in the source of the degree and the reputation of the university. This will be elaborated more in chapter eight. Concerning the criteria of regret related to the “low academic standards”, the HEI chosen by the student also highly explains the source of regret (V de Cramer = .411; Sig. = .000). For the 18.2% of the surveyed students who did regret their choice of the HEI because of its “low academic standards”, 94.4% are at the mass PUs with only 5.6% at elite PUs and 0% at the LU. This validates what was previously advanced in relation to the criteria of choice of the HEI. Students choosing the mass sector are mostly attracted by the easy admission criteria oppose to those choosing the LU and elite PUs because of their academic standards. *Also, and for the “high miscellaneous costs”, the HEI chosen significantly explains this source of regret* (V de Cramer = .286; Sig. = .017). Out of the 32% of the surveyed students who regret their choice of the HEI because of this criterion, the majority of 71.9% of the surveyed students are at the mass private sector. As reflected

previously, most mass PUs students come from mediocre families and are in their majority working students. They chose the sector because it is affordable private education. This explains the difficulties encountered pertaining to any additional costs to be endured.

Table (6.5) in appendix 6.1 summarizes the main criteria of choice per HEI.

6.4 Students' Choice of a HEI versus Family Choices

Before reflecting on the interrelation between the students and the parents choices of a HEI, a review of the academic and socio-economic backgrounds of the family can be found in appendix 5.1.

6.4.1 Students' Choices versus Parents' Choices

The father's and the mother's HEI highly and significantly (respectively) explain the choice of the HEI by the students (father: V de Cramer = .325, Sig. = .000; mother: V de Cramer = .229, Sig. = .000). Most students chose the same university as their parents. The below table summarizes these choices (Table 6.6)

Table (6.6): Students' HEI versus Parents' HEI							
	LU	EPU	MPU	University Outside Lebanon	Vocational HEI	No Higher Education Degree	Significance
	Father's University						
Student HEI							
LU	<u>14.7%</u>	4.7%	5%	3.9%	1.2%	<u>70.5%</u>	V de Cramer = .325; Sig. = .000
EPU	9.3%	<u>41.9%</u>	0%	11.6%	0%	37.2%	
MPU	<u>10.5%</u>	2%	4%	2.8%	0.4%	<u>80.2%</u>	
Male Student HEI							
LU	<u>14.1%</u>	6.3%	12.5%	4.7%	3.1%	59.4%	V de Cramer = .387; Sig. = .000
EPU	11.1%	<u>44.4%</u>	0%	11.1%	0%	33.3%	
MPU	<u>7.9%</u>	0%	3.4%	4.5%	0%	84.3%	
Female Student HEI							
LU	<u>14.5%</u>	3.5%	2.9%	4.1%	0.6%	74.4%	V de Cramer = .348; Sig. = .000
EPU	8.8%	<u>41.2%</u>	0%	11.8%	0%	38.2%	
MPU	11.2%	2.1%	4.2%	2.1%	0.7%	79.7%	
	Mother's University						
Student HEI							
LU	<u>15.8%</u>	6.6%	3.9%	2.7%	2.3%	<u>68.7%</u>	V de Cramer = .229; Sig. = .000
EPU	14%	<u>25.6%</u>	2.3%	7%	0%	51.2%	
MPU	<u>12%</u>	0.8%	4.8%	1.2%	0.8%	<u>80.3%</u>	
Female Student HEI							
LU	<u>17.3%</u>	5.2%	2.9%	4%	1.2%	69.4%	V de Cramer = .244; <i>Sig. = .000</i>
EPU	14.7%	<u>26.5%</u>	0%	5.9%	0%	52.9%	
MPU	<u>10.4%</u>	1.4%	4.9%	1.4%	1.4%	80.6%	
Male Student HEI							
LU	<u>15.6%</u>	6.3%	7.8%	0%	4.7%	65.6%	V de Cramer = .295; <i>Sig. = .002</i>
EPU	11.1%	<u>22.2%</u>	11.1%	11.1%	0%	44.4%	
MPU	<u>13.3%</u>	0%	5.6%	1.1%	0%	80%	

The highest proportions of the fathers and the mothers who do not have a higher education degree are for the surveyed students enrolled either at the LU or the mass PUs.

The proportion of the parents with no higher education degree is lower at the elite PUs.

Except for the mass PUs, the students are choosing the same HEI as their parents. This is not the case at the mass private sector because this sector was not as developed as today at the parents' time and only few mass universities were opened. We noted that a

proportion of the surveyed students whose parents were enrolled at the LU are currently choosing the mass sector.

The comparison per gender showed that the surveyed students' choices at the HEI level do not change a lot. Female and male surveyed students keep on choosing the same HEI as their parents. **The choice of both female and male surveyed students is more dependent from the fathers' HEI** (male: V de Cramer = .387; Sig. = .000; female: V de Cramer = .348; Sig. = .000). However, it is noted that the female surveyed students' choices are more dependent from the mothers' choice of a HEI than that of the male students (female: V de Cramer = .244; Sig. = .000; male: V de Cramer = .295; Sig. = .002).

The level of education of the father and that of the mother significantly explains the choice of the HEI between the public and the private sector. Students who have a father and/or a mother who hold a BA degree have better probability to choose the private sector, particularly the elite PUs than students whose fathers and/or mothers do not hold a BA. Table (6.7) provides a summary of these choices.

Table (6.7): Students' Choice of HEI versus Parents' Level of Education							
Students' University		Less than Secondary	Secondary Education	BA	More than BA	V de Cramer	Sig.
LU	Fathers' Level of Education	30%	34.3%	27%	8.6%	.186	.000
Elite PUs		7.9%	15.8%	63.2%	13.2%		
Mass PUs		33.7%	37%	23.4%	6%		
LU	Mothers' Level of Education	19.6%	44.3%	31.5%	4.7%	.156	.001
Elite PUs		5.9%	26.5%	55.9%	11.8%		
Mass PUs		23%	49.7%	24.1%	3.1%		

6.4.2 Students' Choices versus Siblings' Choices

The same distribution seems to be valid for the brothers and the sisters where the surveyed **students' choices of the HEI are highly explained by the choices done by their brothers and/or sisters**. The choices done by the first brother and/or first sister were

considered because of the low effectiveness for other siblings. The below table summarizes these choices (table 6.8)

Table (6.8): Students' HEI versus Siblings' HEI						
	LU	EPU	MPU	University Outside Lebanon	No Higher Education Degree	Significance
	First Brother University					
Student HEI						
LU	<u>13.3%</u>	4.7%	6.6%	2%	<u>73.4%</u>	V de Cramer = .299; Sig. = .000
EPU	1.9%	<u>42.3%</u>	3.8%	3.8%	48.1%	
MPU	7.5%	7.5%	<u>17.2%</u>	4.4%	<u>63.4%</u>	
Male Student						
LU	<u>17.2%</u>	6.3%	4.7%	1.6%	70.3%	V de Cramer = .304; Sig. = .000
EPU	11.1%	<u>55.6%</u>	0%	0%	33.3%	
MPU	7.3%	8.5%	<u>14.6%</u>	2.4%	67.1%	
Female Student						
LU	<u>11.6%</u>	4.7%	6.4%	1.7%	75.6%	V de Cramer = .313; Sig. = .000
EPU	0%	<u>39.5%</u>	4.7%	4.7%	51.2%	
MPU	8.2%	7.5%	<u>19.4%</u>	4.5%	60.4%	
	First Sister University					
Student HEI						
LU	<u>27.1%</u>	5.9%	5.9%	1.2%	<u>60%</u>	V de Cramer = .248 , Sig. = .000
EPU	5.5%	<u>25.5%</u>	1.8%	3.6%	63.6%	
MPU	8.6%	5.6%	<u>11.6%</u>	3%	<u>71.1%</u>	
Female Student						
LU	<u>27.5%</u>	4.7%	6.4%	0.6%	60.8%	V de Cramer = .297; Sig. = .000
EPU	4.4%	<u>31.1%</u>	0%	4.4%	60%	
MPU	<u>10.9%</u>	4.4%	<u>10.2%</u>	2.9%	71.5%	
Male Student						
LU	<u>26.6%</u>	4.7%	3.1%	3.1%	<u>62.5%</u>	V de Cramer = .233; Sig. = .030
EPU	10%	<u>0%</u>	10%	0%	80%	
MPU	6%	6%	<u>14.5%</u>	2.4%	<u>71.1%</u>	

The surveyed students have the same choice of a HEI as their brother and/or sister even at the mass private sector. *Similarly to the case of the parents, the surveyed students whose brother and/or sister finished their studies from a mass HEI are distributed between the mass sector and the LU.* This could be availed to the difference in the entrance criteria, as discussed previously, where those unable to attend the LU are choosing the less demanding mass private sector.

On a gender level, similar to the fathers, **being a female or a male, the choice of the HEI is highly dependent from the brothers' choice of the HEI** (female: V de Cramer = .313; Sig. = .000; male: V de Cramer = .304; Sig. = .000). **However**, and if to compare the surveyed students' choice of a HEI per gender with the sisters' choices, we note that **the female surveyed students' choices are more dependent from their sisters' choice** (V de Cramer = .297; Sig. = .000) than those of the male students (V de Cramer = .233; Sig. = .030).

6.5 The Choice of One Institution and Not the Other: What Does It Really Entail?

This last section will provide the results of the logistic regression. **For each HEI, four models were done.** *The first model included* the “age”, the “gender” and the “religion”. *The second model integrated* the “secondary education system”, the “working status” and the “choice of programme”. *The third model covered* in addition to the variables of model 1 and model 2, the “main criteria affecting the choice of the HEI”. *The fourth and last model considered*, in addition to what was advanced, the “fathers' HEI”¹⁸⁷. Summary of the odds and ratios of the four logistic regression models for each HEI can be found in appendix 4.6. Table (6.9) reflects on the fourth model odds and ratios for each of the LU, elite PUs and mass PUs.

¹⁸⁷ Based on the comparison between the students and their family choices at the HEI level, and because the father HEI seemed to have the most decisive effect on the surveyed students' choice of a HEI, the father HEI was chosen as a representative variable.

Table (6.9): Logistic Regression Odds/Ratios – Choice of a HEI – Model 4			
	LU	EPU	MPU
Variable(s)	Model 4		
Age			
Age(0): 18-21	Ref	Ref	Ref
Age(1): 22-25	.304***	n/s	3.035***
Age (2): More than 25	n/s	n/s	n/s
Male (ref: female)	n/s	n/s	9.002**
Muslim (ref: Christian)	.264***	8.546***	n/s
Secondary Education (ref: public system)	n/s	20.030***	.486**
Working Student	.112***	n/s	11.541***
Programmes			
Programme(0): Business Administration	Ref	Ref	Ref
Programme (1):Service-Oriented	n/s	n/s	25.723***
Programme (2): Sciences	3.875***	n/s	.128***
Programme (3): Literature and Humanities	3.767**	18.408***	n/s
Criteria Affecting Choice of the HEI (ref: no)			
Criteria (1): Financial cost (tuition, registration fees, scholarship, etc.)	4.186***	.198***	.427**
Criteria (2): Academic standards/reputation/credibility	4.786***	n/s	.196***
Criteria (3): Easy admission criteria	.278***	n/s	4.450***
Criteria (4): Double degree (agreement with foreign universities)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Criteria (5): Validity of the diploma and accreditation	2.342***	n/s	.360***
Criteria (6): Employment and internship prospects	n/s	n/s	n/s
Criteria (7): Social interaction and extra curriculum activities	.339***	n/s	2.911***
Father - University			
Lebanese University (LU)	Ref	Ref	Ref (n/s)
Elite Private Universities (EPU)	.238**	14.119***	n/s
Mass Private Universities (MPU)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Others	n/s	n/s	n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.630	0.581	0.71
Global Percentage	83.90%	95.50%	86.50%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Considering the first model, we noted, for the LU, that the religion and the age are the most two significant variables. However, the gender does not seem to play a significant role in the choice of the university. This is not the case at the mass private sector where the age and the gender seems to play a more significant role oppose to the religion that has a non-significant impact. At the elite private sector, all three factors had a significant effect on the selection or not of an institution from this sector. Taking these notes as a starting point, what follows will reflect more on the students' chances to choose or not a sector and not the other and the aspects affecting these chances.

6.5.1 What factors weight more on the students' chances of being enrolled than not at the LU from not being enrolled?

For the LU, Muslim students and those between 22 and 25 years of old have respectively 2.4 and 5 times less chances to be than not to be at the LU. This does not alter much over the four models. When adding other variables such as the “secondary education”; the “students’ working status”; the “choice of the programme”; the “criteria affecting the choice of the HEI” and the “fathers’ HEI”, ***Muslim students and those between 22 and 25 years of old remain with smaller chances of going than not to the LU*** with respectively 3 times and 3.8 times less chances (model 1). From a gender religion perspective, and for the age group between 22 and 25 years of old, Christian female students have better chances of going than not to the LU than Christian male students with respectively 23.55% and 18.49% probabilities. Muslim female students have also better chances than male Muslim students of being than not at the LU with respectively 11.29% and 8.5% probabilities. Consequently, the ***female chances of choosing than not the LU are higher than those of the male chances with a higher proportion for the Christian females***. Figure (6.1) reflects the probabilities of being at the LU between Christian/Muslim female/male students. These odds and probabilities confirm what was discussed in chapter five.

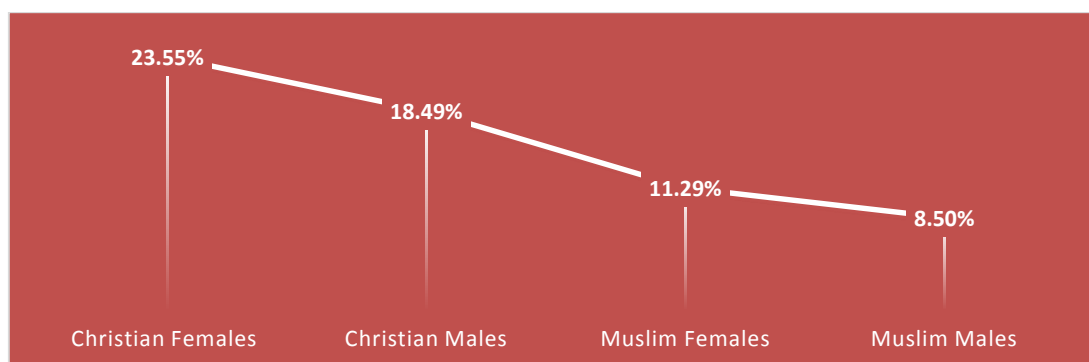


Figure (6.1): Probabilities of being at the LU per Gender Religion

The “secondary education system” does not seem to have a significant impact on the students’ chances of being or not at the public university. *Being from a public or a private school does not have an effect on whether the student will go or not to the LU. This does not change from one model to another.* However, the “working status” significantly affects the students’ chances of going or not to the public sector (model 2). These chances do not change when adding other variables indicating that the working status has an important effect on determining the students’ chances of being than not at the LU. Consequently, *working students always have less chances of being enrolled than not at the LU.* Their chances change over the models from having 5 times (model 2), 7 times (model 3), and 9 times (model 4) less chances of going than not to the LU. *Being a working student discourages therefore the students from choosing the public university.*

Compared to the programme reference variable that is the “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, *the students who chose the “Sciences” or the “Literature and Humanities” programmes always have better chances of being than not at the LU* (model 2). These chances increased for the “Sciences” programme from 2.4 times (model 2) to 3.4 times (model 3) to 4 times (model 3), and for the “Literature and Humanities” programme from 2 times (model 2) to 2.4 times (model 3) to 3.7 times (model 4) more chances of being enrolled than not at these faculties at the public sector. *This is explained by the less demanding entrance requirements imposed by these faculties.* As discussed previously,

the “Sciences” faculty does not have any entrance test¹⁸⁸ and the “Literature and Humanities” faculty requires a simple language test and not a scientific one. For both programmes, non-working Christian female students have better chances of being at the LU than Christian male students and Muslim female and male students. We note that the probability of the Christian female students of being at the “Sciences” faculty at the LU is higher than their probability of being at the “Literature and Humanities” faculty with 68.24% and 65.9% respectively. This validates what was advanced in chapter one. Being from a public or a private school does not change much to these probabilities. Figure (6.2) reflects the probabilities of being enrolled than not at the LU per gender, per religion for non-working students from the public schools.

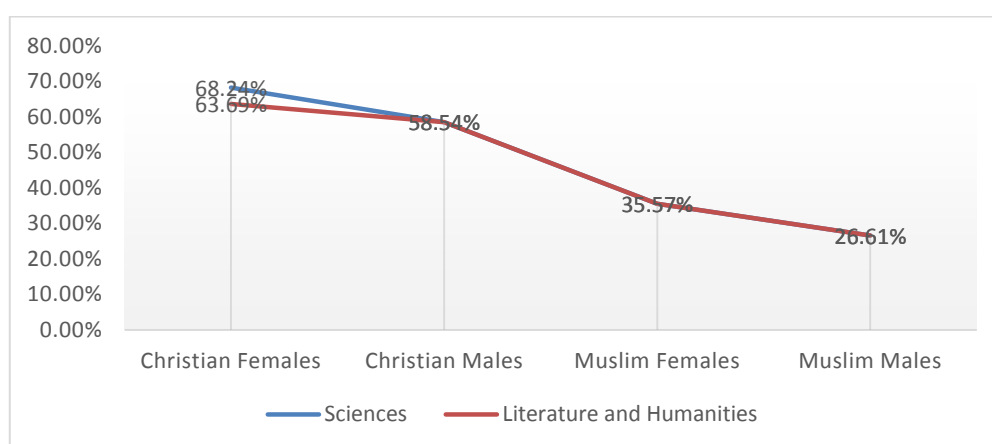


Figure (6.2): Probabilities of being at the LU faculties per gender religion for non-working students

Concerning the criteria which mostly affected the fact of being than not at the LU, the most influential factors are those related to the “financial cost”; the “academic standards/reputation/credibility”; and the “validity of the diploma and accreditation” (model 3). The surveyed students have respectively 5 times, 3.7 times and 2 times more chances of being than not at the LU because of these factors. *Adding the fathers’ HEI (model 4) does not change much to the significant effect of these reasons on being or not*

¹⁸⁸ except at the end of the first year for students intending to pursue medical studies

at the public sector. On the contrary the effect of the “academic standards/reputation/credibility” and the “validity of the diploma and accreditation” increased respectively to 4.7 times and 2.3 times more chances of being than not at the LU. Concerning the effect of the “financial cost”, it decreased from 5 times to 4 times more chances of being than not at the public university. These ratios validate that *the students choosing the public sector are choosing it not only because of its affordable tuition fees but also because of the academic excellence it offers.* This is confirmed by the fact that the students have 3.6 less chances of being enrolled than not at the LU because of the easy admission criteria; confirming by that what was discussed in chapter five. Similarly, the probabilities of the female Christian students of being at the LU at these faculties are higher than the other students; i.e. the female Muslim; male Christian and male Muslim students. Figure (6.3) reflects the difference in these probabilities for the “Sciences” faculty for the non-working population coming from public schools. *Concerning the “employment and internship prospects” criterion, it has an insignificant effect on the students’ chances of being or not enrolled at the LU.* This validates what was previously discussed in chapter five in what pertains to the inability of the LU to provide its graduates with an adequate follow-up.

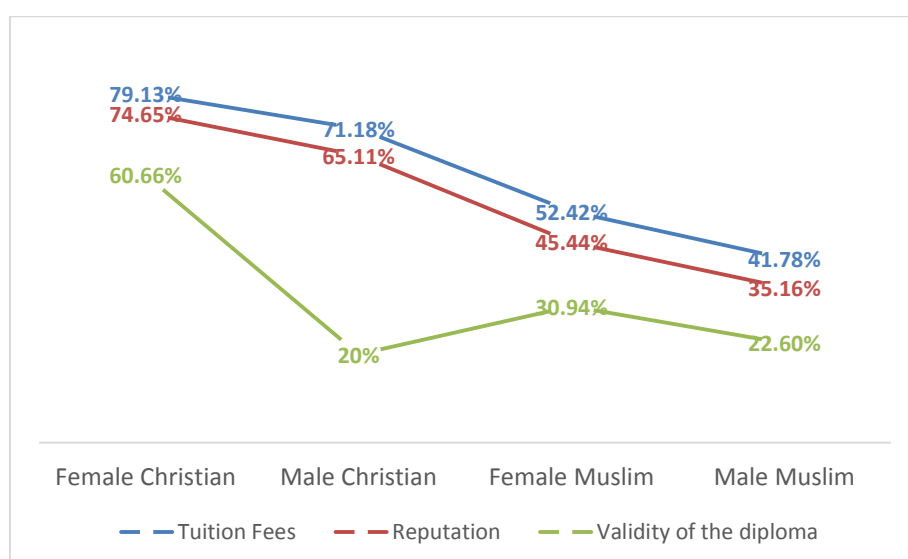


Figure (6.3): Probability of going to the LU for the Sciences faculty – Criteria of Choice

Adding the fathers' HEI (model 4), does not change much to the significant effect of the other variables as already noted. On the contrary, the effect of some variables became even more pronounced indicating that *other things than the social reproduction "play" when it comes to being enrolled or not at the LU*¹⁸⁹. Compared to the reference variable that is the LU, surveyed students whose fathers received their higher education degree from elite PUs have 4.2 less chances of being enrolled than not at the LU. Concerning the surveyed students whose fathers received their higher education degree from a mass PU or other HEI, the effect of being enrolled or not at the LU is not significant. This indicates a certain social distribution where *the students from a certain social class do not choose the LU*. The students with high level of income who are choosing the LU for its academic standards as discussed previously in chapter five seem not to be from families with certain social and cultural capitals.

In summary, older students have less chances of being than not enrolled at the LU. Muslim students have also less chances of being than not at the LU. This is credited to the fact that the data was collected from the LU second branches located in geographical areas where the Christian population is higher than the Muslim one. Being a working student also has a counterproductive effect on the students' chances of being or not at the LU. Because of the mandatory attendance system and the strict standards enforced, the students are obliged to attend on a regular basis which does not permit them to work and study at the same time. Students have more chances of being enrolled at the faculties where the entrance requirements are not too strict. However, this does not eliminate the fact that they are choosing the LU because of its academic standard, reputation and credibility within the labour market and not just because of the easy admission criteria. As demonstrated previously, even if there is no entrance test at the beginning permitting to filter eligible students, LU faculties impose a test at the end of the first year sorting out

¹⁸⁹ This is, as just discussed, the case of the criteria of choice "academic standards/reputation/credibility" and "validity of the diploma and accreditation" where the surveyed students' chances of being than not at the LU increased when adding the fathers' education.

academically eligible from non-eligible candidates. This is particularly the case of the faculty of “Sciences” for students choosing to pursue their medical studies.

6.5.2 What factors weight more on the students’ chances of being enrolled than not at the mass private sector?

Considering the first model, and unlike the LU, older students, those “between 22 and 25 years of old” and those “above 25 years of old” have respectively 2 times and 11 times more chances of being enrolled than not at the mass private sector. Also unlike the LU, ***the gender is a highly significant variable of choice of the mass private sector contrary to the religion that does not have a significant effect.*** Male students have approximately twice the chances of being enrolled than not at one of the mass PUs. When adding other variables (model 4), the chances of the male students of being enrolled than not at the mass private sector increased to 9 times compared to their female counterpart. However, we noted, for model 3, an insignificant effect of the gender variable indicating that the reasons of choice of the HEI does not seem to differ much between the male and the female students at the level of the mass private sector. Consequently, the increase in the male chances from model 1 to model 4 permits to validate the investment done in the males’ education at the private sector; particularly mass one, contrary to the female students where the investment is more pronounced at the public sector as just discussed. From a gender religion perspective, and for the age group “between 22 and 25 years of old”, the reality at the mass private sector contradicts that at the public sector. It is the Christian male students who have better chances of going to one of the mass PUs than the Christian female students with respectively 63.44% and 48.63% probabilities of being enrolled than not at the mass private sector. Muslim male students have also better chances than the female Muslim students of being than not at the mass private sector with respectively 58.76% and 43.73% probabilities. ***Male seems hence to have better chances of being than not at the mass private sector*** with higher probabilities than those

for the female students. Figure (6.4) reflects the probabilities of being at the mass private sector between the Christian/Muslim female/male students.

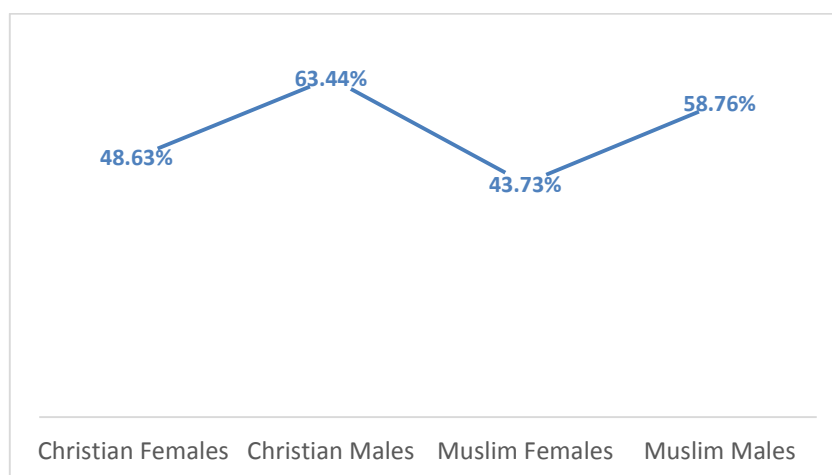


Figure (6.4): Probabilities of being at the mass private sector per gender religion

Always unlike the LU, *the “secondary education system” and the “students’ working status” both have a significant effect on being enrolled or not at the mass private sector. Students completing their secondary education from the private sector have 3 times less chances from being than not at one of the mass PUs.* Working students on the other hand have 6.5 times more chances of being enrolled than not at the mass private sector (model 2). When adding other variables, *the chances of the working students of being than not at the mass private sector increase to 8.4 times (model 3) and then to 11.5 times (model 4)* more chances of being than not at this sector. This ascertains what was previously discussed concerning *the preference of the working students for the mass private sector because it allows them to study and work at the same time because of the flexible attendance system that cannot be found at the public university.*

The effect of the programme’s choice on the probability of being than not at the mass private sector is comprehensively pronounced (model 3). Compared to the programme reference variable that is the “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, students

who chose the “Service-Oriented Track” have 7 times more chances of being enrolled than not at the mass private sector. These chances, when adding other variables, increase to 14 times (model 3) and 26 times (model 4) more chances of being enrolled than not at this faculty at the mass private sector. Additionally, the probability of both the females Christian/females Muslim and the males Christian/males Muslim working students, whether from a public or a private school, of being than not at this faculty at the mass private sector is extremely high (figure 6.5).

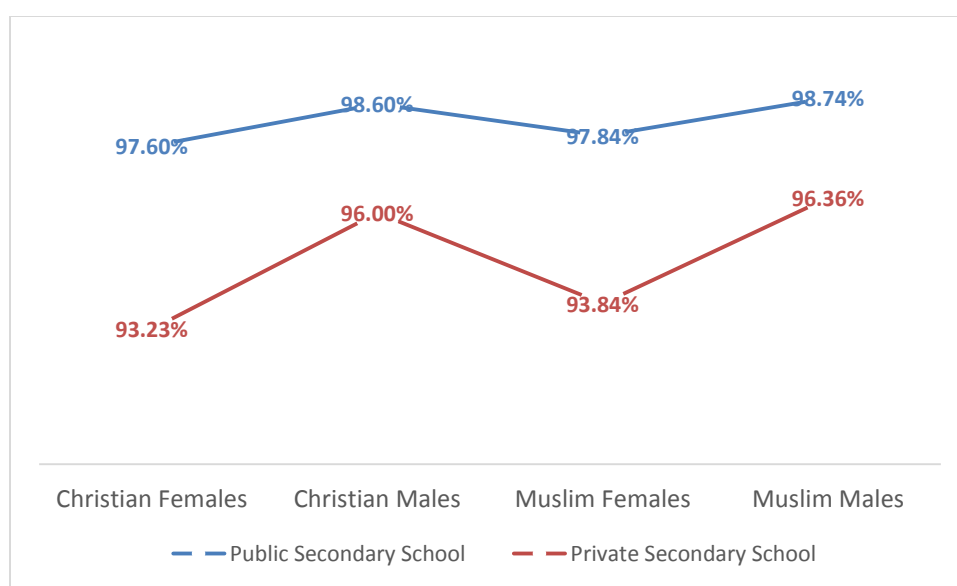


Figure (6.5): Probabilities of being at the mass private sector faculties per gender religion for working students

Concerning the faculty of “Sciences”, students have 7 times less chances of being enrolled than not at this faculty at the mass private sector. These chances, when adding respectively the criteria of choice of the HEI and the fathers’ HEI, changed to 10 times (model 3) and 8 times (model 4) less chances of being than not at this faculty at the mass private sector. It is a well-known fact that the faculty of “Sciences” at the mass private sector enforces a scientific entrance exam oppose to the “Service-Oriented tracks” that do not. This explains the chances that the students’ have of being enrolled or not at one

faculty and not the other at the mass private sector. These chances are validated by the criteria of choice of the HEI discussed below.

Students have 2.6 times more chances of choosing the mass private sector than not because of the “easy admission criteria. These chances increase to 4.5 times more chances when adding the father HEI validating the imposition effect of this variable on being or not at the mass private sector. Concerning the “financial cost”, the “academic standards/reputation/credibility” and the “validity of the diploma”, students have respectively 2.3 times, 5 times and 2.8 times less chances of being than not at the mass private sector because of these criteria (model 4). This validates that *being enrolled or not at the mass private sector is more related to the easy access to the programmes that these institutions offer than any other aspects*, particularly for the working students. For programmes that do not enforce strict admission standards, such as the “Service-Oriented Tracks”, the probability of working students, being female or male, Christian or Muslim, from private or public schools of being than not being at the mass private sector is 99.9%.

Concerning the fathers’ HEI (model 4), it has no significant impact on the students’ chances of being or not a one of the mass PUs. This is an indicator that *there is no social reproduction at the level of the mass private sector.* Students choosing this sector are doing so not because of the family tradition but rather because of the facility that these universities offer to the students, particularly working ones. The system adopted by these universities allows students to have access to a higher education degree; a degree that could not have been obtained either because of the high tuition fees at the elite private sector or strict academic standards at the LU.

To sum up, male candidates, older and working students from the public secondary system have higher chances of being enrolled than not at the mass private sector. Being enrolled at the mass private sector holds within it a choice based on the easy admission criteria for faculties that do not require scientific entry requirements. The fathers’ HEI

does not have any significant effect on the chances of being enrolled or not at the mass private sector. This affirms that the students choosing the mass private sector are attracted by the flexible attendance and easy admission standards implemented by these universities. They come from families where the social, economic and cultural capitals are not pronounced.

6.5.3 What factors weight more on the students' chances of being enrolled at the elite private sector from not being enrolled?

At the elite private sector, the age, gender and religion have a significant effect of being or not at an elite HEI (model 1). Muslim students have 4 times more chances of being than not at one of the elite PUs. Older students or those “between 22 and 25 years of old” have 3 times better chances of being than not at this sector compared to those between 18 and 21 years of old. Controversially with the mass private sector, male students have less chances of being at the elite private sector. They have twice less chances of being than not at an elite HEI. However, when adding other variables such as the “secondary education”, the “working status” and the “choice of the programme” (model 2), the criteria of choice of the HEI (model 3) and the fathers' HEI (model 4), the gender becomes an insignificant variable suggesting that other variables have a more pronounced effect on the students' chances to choose this sector. Still, we note that both the females' Muslim and males' Muslim students, for the age group 22 and 25 years of old, have higher probabilities of being than not at the elite private sector than the females Christian and males Christian students with respectively 55.5%, 37.82%, 23.38% and 12.97% (Figure 6.6). Female students regardless of the religion have higher probabilities than the male students validating their higher chances of being enrolled than not at one of the elite PUs.

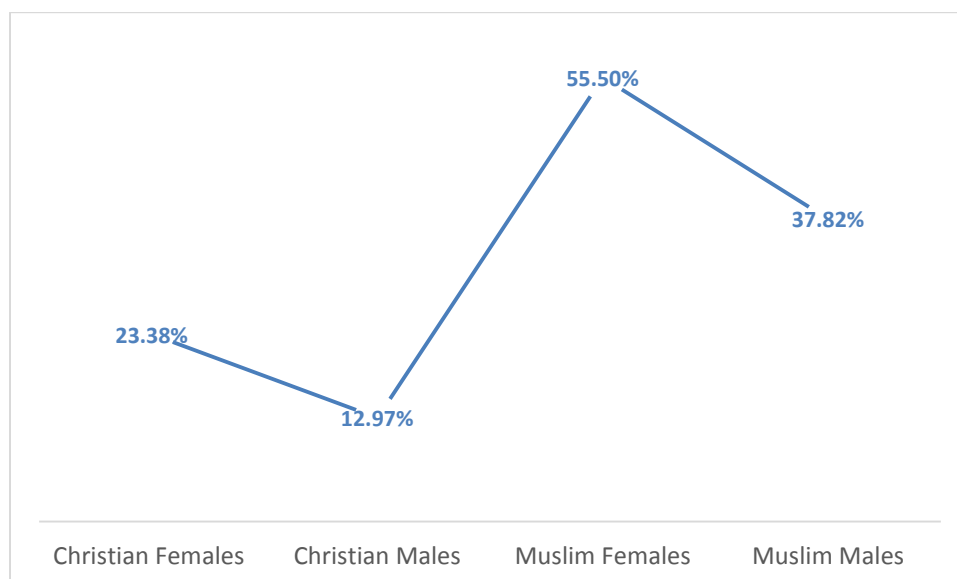


Figure (6.6): Probabilities of being at the elite private sector per gender religion

Being from a private school increases the students chances of being than not at an elite PU. Students from private secondary schools have 24 times more chances of being enrolled at the elite private sector than not (model 2). When adding the “criteria of choice”, these chances increase to 38 times (model 3) and decrease to 20 times when adding the fathers’ HEI (model 4). ***The continuous significant effect of this variable reflects the selectively process done by the elite PUs that do not recruit students but from a certain social background.*** This mirrors what was advanced by the representative of an elite PU who acknowledged being selective even when it comes to the school of the students (rf. Appendix 4.4.1). Unlike the LU and the mass PUs, the working status of the students has, and for all models, an insignificant effect on being or not at the elite private sector.

Compared to the programme reference variable that is the “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, the programmes that have a significant effect on being enrolled than not at the elite private sector are the “Sciences” and “Literature and Humanities” (model 2). Being or not at a “service-Oriented track” at an elite PU does not really have

any significant effect. Consequently, the students choosing the “Sciences” or “Literature and Humanities” programmes have 2.5 and 14 times more chances of being than not at this sector. When adding the “criteria of choice of the HEI”, these chances become more pronounced and increase respectively to 2.8 and 16 times more chances of being than not at these faculties at an elite PU (model 3). *However, when adding the fathers’ HEI, the chances of the students of choosing than not choosing the elite private sector for one programme or the other became insignificant* (model 4). This indicates the important weight that the fathers’ HEI hold; an impact that will be discussed subsequently.

Concerning the criteria which affected mostly the choice of the elite private sector, the most influential factors are those related to the “easy admission criteria”, the “double degree and the agreement with foreign universities”, and the “social interaction and extra curriculum activities”. Students have respectively 3.5, 2.8 and 3 times more chances of being than not at the elite private sector because of one of these aspects (model 3). Concerning the “financial cost”, students have 8 times less chances of being than not at the elite sector because of this criterion. This validates the fact that the elite PUs students are from the high social strata and that the financial cost is not a real predicament. Oppose to both the LU and the mass private sector, *when adding the fathers’ HEI, the effect of the criteria of choice of the HEI on being than not at the elite private sector, like that related to the choice of the programme, become insignificant* (model 4). The insignificant effect of the various variables¹⁹⁰ when adding the fathers’ HEI indicates ***the presence of a social reproduction at the level of the elite private sector***, a reality that was not noticed for the LU or the mass private sector. Such social reproduction is validated by the fact that *students who have a father who completed his higher studies from an elite PU have 14 times more chances of going than not to an elite PU compared to the reference variable that is students who have a father who completed his higher studies*

¹⁹⁰ Except for the gender, secondary education, literature and humanities, and financial cost indicating the selectivity process done at these institutions.

from the LU. This is indicative of previous result where we noted that the choice of the students at the elite PUs is mainly guided by the parents' pressure.

In summary, and for the elite private sector, nothing seems to have a significant effect when it comes to the students' chances of being or not at the elite private sector. Despite the fact that Muslim, females, older students from the private secondary sector have better and higher chances of being than not at the elite private sector, when adding the fathers' HEI, nothing "plays" anymore. This is a clear indicator of a social reproduction at the level of the elite private sector. These students come from families with certain social and cultural capitals. There is a family tradition and a social reproduction. Parents send their children to the same HEI aiming for a better integration within the social and work environments.

6.6 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

Chapter six shed the light on the main factors that guided the students' choices for a HEI. It allowed us to acknowledge the existence of certain segmentation at the level of choice of a HEI. The reasons of choice differ from one sector to another. The gender, age, religion, working status and choice of programme are all influential factors of choice at both the LU and the mass private sector. The LU students seem to be more attracted by the practically free tuition fees and the academic standards that the university has to offer, oppose to mass PUs students who are attracted by the easy admission criteria. Mass PUs students are the most to regret their choice of institution particularly because it is not very well acknowledged within the labour market and because of low academic standards. The only source of regret for the LU students is that related to the university's inability to provide internship and employment opportunities. Concerning the elite private sector, the socio-economic factors do not have but a primary influential effect. When adding the father HEI, all other aspects become obsolete leading to conclude the existence of social reproduction at the elite private sector.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHOICE OF THE FACULTY

The seventh chapter permits to have a more comprehensive understanding of the choice of the faculty or programme at the higher education level. It identifies the main reasons of choice of the programme; the choice of the programme from a gender perspective; the prior academic preference of the surveyed students and their compatibility with the current choice of faculty; the students' prior academic choices and the history of dropping a previous programme; the reasons of regret of the choice of the programme (if any); and the students' awareness of the labour market needs and the academic choices at the faculty level done in line with such awareness. The last section of the chapter will provide the results of the logistic regression pertaining to the factors that weighted more on the students' choices of choosing or not one programme and not the other.

7.1 Distribution of the Collected Sample

The sample is distributed among the faculties as follow¹⁹¹: 63.6% at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 8.7% at the “Service-Oriented faculties/tracks”, 17.4% at the faculty of “Sciences” and 10.4% at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”. Table (7.1) summarizes the distribution of the sample per programme per HEI.

¹⁹¹ Original variable was recoded as to minimize the effect of low effective.

Table (7.1): Distribution of the Sample per Faculty per HEI					
	Faculty/Programme				Total
	Business Administration	Service-Oriented Faculties/ Tracks	Sciences	Literature and Humanities	
LU	59.4%	.0%	30.2%	10.4%	100.0 %
Elite PUs	31.3%	8.1%	21.2%	39.4%	100.0 %
Mass PUs	79.2%	17.6%	3.2%	.0%	100.0 %
Total	63.6%	8.7%	17.4%	10.4%	100.0 %

7.2 Reasons of Choice of the Faculty

From the multiple alternatives provided¹⁹², *the majority of the surveyed students either chose the programme “out of personal interest” (67.5%) or because it is “a polyvalent field” (69.1%)*. Other reasons did not seem to have a decisive effect on their choice of the programme.

For the 67.5% of the students who chose the programme “out of personal interest”, the majority of 79.8% did not choose the programme by “chance”. This high proportion of the surveyed students choosing the programme out of personal preference was highlighted by one of the interviewed representatives; the academic assistant to the director at AOU. She mentioned that the students’ choice for a programme and not the other is based on their personal interest and current employment status (Appendix 4.4.2). By itself, the “personal interest” criterion significantly explains the choice of the faculty (V de Cramer = .186; Sig. = .000). *From the 67.5%, 71% of the students are registered at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”; 52.9% at the “Service-Oriented faculties/tracks”; and 73.7% at the faculty of “Sciences”*. Concerning the faculty

¹⁹²High percentages reflect the fact that students had to answer questions with multiple alternatives

of “Literature and Humanities”, the majority of 52.9% from the surveyed students did not choose the programme out of personal preference. Those choosing the programmes out of personal interest seem to have therefore a preference towards the programmes falling under the tertiary or service sector such as accounting, marketing, banking and finance, teaching, hotel management, etc.

Additionally, **having a personal interest for a field and not the other highly explains the choice of the HEI** (V de Cramer = .353; Sig. = .000). *The majority of the surveyed students choosing their programme out of a personal interest (52.6%) are at the LU oppose to a majority of 46.9% of those who did not choose their programme out of personal interest at the mass private sector.* This emphasizes the impact of the “personal interest effect” for the LU students and the “chance effect” for the mass private sector students. The majority of these students are enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”; that is selective at the LU and non-selective at the mass private sector.

The “polyvalent character” of the programme chosen by 69.1% of the surveyed students also significantly explains the choice of the programme (V de Cramer = .207; Sig. = .000) **and that of the HEI** (V de Cramer = .167; Sig. = .000). 80.4% of the students who identified this criterion as a reason of choice of the programme are enrolled at the “Service-Oriented Faculties/Tracks”; 74.2% at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”; and 57% at the faculty of “Sciences. Concerning the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”, students were equally divided between those who chose this as a criterion of choice and those who did not (50% for each). Regarding the HEI, **both mass PUs and the LU have the majority of the students who chose their field of study because of this criterion.** 44.9% of the surveyed students are at the LU oppose to 44.3% at mass PUs. Once again, students are choosing the business field out of belief that “management” is needed everywhere. This permits to ascertain what was advanced in chapter one in relation to the choice done by the students for the “Business

Administration” programme and its affiliation out of belief that any organization needs management skills permitting thus a wide range of employment prospects.

Concerning the other reasons – “friends already enrolled in the programme”, “tutor advice”, “parents’ field of work”, “easy admission criteria”, “already have a professional experience in this field” - ***most of the surveyed students did not identify these factors as having a decisive effect on their choice of the programme*** with respectively 62%, 72.8%, 88.7%, 81.7% and 75.8% who answered “No”.

The ***parents field of work*** seems to slightly explain the choice of the programme (V de Cramer = .141; Sig = .052). ***For the majority of the surveyed students who did not identify this as a reason of choice of the programme***, 38% have a ***father*** who ***works at the secondary sector*** oppose to 41.8% who have a father working at the tertiary sector. For the small proportions of the surveyed students who did identify this criterion as a reason of choice (i.e. 11.3%), a majority of 63% of the fathers work at the tertiary sector.

Regarding the 81.7% of the students who ***did not choose the programme because of the absence of an entrance test***, and if to correlate between the choice of the programme and the surveyed students’ university, ***the only significant association is for the LU***. The non-absence of an entrance test highly explains the choice of the programme (V de Cramer = .466; Sig. = .000). ***Concerning the elite and the mass PUs, there is an independent relation between the absence of an entrance test and the choice of the programme*** (for elite PUs: Khi-Deux de Pearson = .222; for mass PUs Khi-Deux de Pearson = .183). Such independency at the private sector is attributed to the easy admittance for certain faculty compared to the LU; particularly those forming the sample. Consequently, and for the LU, 95.7% of the surveyed students enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” and 96.6% of those enrolled at the “Literature and Humanities” did not choose these programmes because of the absence of an entrance test. This is in compliance with these faculties’ academic reality where the students have to sit for an entrance test. Concerning the “Sciences” faculty, the surveyed students’ who did choose the faculty because of the presence of an entrance test is lower than the above faculties (59.5%). Despite the fact that this faculty does not implement an entrance test, the

students wishing to continue their medical studies have to sit for an exam at the end of the first common year. We can presume therefore that these 59.5% are planning to continue their medical science. They have chosen the LU because of its academic standards determined by the assessment done at the end of the first year.

Concerning *the surveyed students' working status*, it significantly explains the 75.8% who did not choose their programme because of their professional experience (V de Cramer = .195; Sig. = .000). 47% of the 75.8% are non-working students. Regarding the 24.2% who did choose their programme because of their professional experience, 75.5% of them already have a job.

Table (7.2) summarizes the main reasons of choice of a programme.

Table (7.2): Main Reasons of Choice of the Programme						
Reason	HEI	Business Administration	Service-Oriented	Sciences	Literature and Humanities	Notes
Personal Interest	The majority of the students who did identify this as a criterion of choice are LU students (52.6%)	√	√	√	-	Having the majority of the students at the LU and at the faculty of "Business Administrative"; one of the selective faculties of the LU, validate this high proportion

Polyvalent Field	Majority of the students are at the LU (44.9%) and mass PUs (44.3%)	√	√	√	-	These high rates permit to ascertain the choice of students for the “Business Administration” programme and its affiliation out of belief that any organization needs management skills.
Easy Admission Criteria	On the contrary, most LU chose their programme because of the selective admission criteria and not the easy one	-	-	-	-	
Already have a professional experience		-	-	-	-	Students who did not identify this as a criterion of choice are non-working students.

Box 7.1: Determinants of the offering of new programmes according to the universities' representatives

For the representatives of mass PUs, the available resources and the students' demand determine the offerings of new programmes and tracks. On the other hand, and for the elite PUs, and according to the representative of an elite university, the labour market, the students' demand and the competition are all determinants of the introduction of new programmes. Because of the lack of data pertaining to the labour market, the LAU representative advanced that the university has an advisory board for each faculty formed from professionals in the field. The aim of the board is to assist the university in assessing the market. However, he acknowledged that the board cannot provide solid data, but rather indicators.

7.3 The Choice of a Programme from a Gender Perspective

The choice of the programme is significantly explained by the students' gender (V de Cramer = .207; Sig. = .000). For the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration", 68.1% of the students are female oppose to 31.9% male students. As discussed in chapter one, the students' recruitment per gender for this faculty differs between the public sector and the private one. In order to better understand these percentages and validate whether the LU is still attracting the highest proportion of female students as mentioned in chapter one, a comparison between the public sector and private one is presented. The significant effect of enrolment per programme per gender per university seems more pronounced for the LU (V de Cramer = .272; Sig. = .000) and elite PUs (V de Cramer = .291; Sig. = .038). For the mass private sector, no dependency is noted between these variables (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .192). By itself, the comparison will be done between the LU and the elite PUs.

For the LU, 75.9% of the surveyed students enrolled at the faculty are female students oppose to 24.1% male students. For the elite PUs, the highest rate of recruitment for the same faculty is in favour of the female students, yet, with lower proportions than those at the public sector; that is 64.5% female students versus 35.5% male students. These proportions ascertain that the LU is still attracting the highest proportion of female students for the "Business Administration" programme. However, and for the private sector, it does not allow to ascertain or deny the recruitment trend per gender because of the low effective of the collected sample from this faculty mainly at the elite sector (only 31 surveys) because of the difficulties encountered in the data collection as mentioned in the methodology chapter (chapter four). The interview done with a representative of a mass PU permits to acknowledge that for the "Business Administration" programme the number of male students is more important than that of the female students (Appendix 4.4.2). The results of the logistic regression that will be discussed at the end of the chapter

will permit to better understand the distribution of the surveyed students' population per gender per HEI.

Likewise, and for the *“Service-Oriented Faculties/Tracks”*, ***the proportion of the female students is higher than that of the male students*** with 63% and 37% respectively. The data collected for these tracks was mainly done at the private sector particularly from the “Banking and Finance track”. Statistical review in chapter 1 showed that, for the private sector, the female recruitments for the “Banking and Finance” track is higher than that of the males (rf. Chapter one). This is accredited to the working conditions that the banking sector provides to a female employee who has in addition to her professional duties domestic responsibilities. The proportions that we have validate such reality where, and for the elite PUs, 75% of the students are female oppose to 25% male students.

Box 7.2: Evolution of the Lebanese Banking Sector and Recruitment per Gender

A report published by Annahar newspaper (a very well renowned Lebanese newspaper published in Arabic) – the online version - on 25 June 2013 mentioned that the banking sector in Lebanon which includes 42 commercial banks, 12 Arabic and Foreign commercial banks, and 17 corporate banks employs 22637 employees (till the date of the report). The report clearly emphasized that the number of the employees at the banking sector is increasing (a 3.5% increase between 2011 and 2012 is noticed where the highest increases were in 2010, 2009 and 2008; always as per the report) unlike other economic sectors that knew shortages in employees and needed qualifications because of the national and regional circumstances. Furthermore, the increase in employment at the banking sector was referred to by the “Lebanese Banks Association” to the increase in the banks’ operations, the increase in the number of the branches (984 branch in 2012), and to the diversity of services and specialization in the banking activities. Concerning the increase in the number of employees at the banking sector, it has been in favour of the females where 52% of the new employees in 2012 were females versus 48% male new employees. The banking sector employees are characterized with high level of qualifications. At the end of 2012, 45.6% were female employees (oppose to 45.4 in 2011) versus 54.4% male employees and where the proportion of the female human capital exceeds that in other sectors about 25%.

Concerning the *faculty of “Sciences”*, we note that ***61.3% of the surveyed students are female***¹⁹³. As discussed in chapter one, for the medical sciences programme, female students tend to choose the public sector over the private one. The study proportions confirm this fact. *For the LU, 59.3% of the surveyed students are female ascertaining the trend of higher rates in their favour at the public sector.* Regarding the private sector, the effective collected were too low to permit to advance or determine any trend in this regard. Once again, problems encountered during the data collection created certain downfalls in respect to the analysis of certain aspects. The logistic regression results at the end of the chapter will provide a better insight on this aspect.

For the “Literature and Humanities” programme, and for both sectors, the number of female students is higher than that of male students. 100% and 92.3% of the students are female at the LU and elite PUs respectively. These figures ascertain what was advanced in chapter one in relation to the female attraction towards the literary oriented programmes.

On a comparison level between “scientifically oriented” and “literary oriented” programmes, the sample did permit to acknowledge that, for the literary oriented programmes, the rate of the female students is much higher than that of male students. However, it did not allow to validate what was advanced in chapter one in relation to the choice of the male students for more scientifically oriented programmes. Nevertheless, the interview done with the academic assistant to the director at AOU permitted to validate to a certain extent the preference of male students for scientifically oriented programmes oppose to the preference of female students for literary programmes. She acknowledged that over the years the number of male students for computer studies have been higher than that of the female students oppose to a totally opposite trend for the education and language programmes (Appendix 4.4.2).

¹⁹³ We remind in this context, that for the faculty of “Sciences”, surveys were mainly collected from the “Biology/Medical Sciences” track. Additionally, surveys collected from the LU are higher than those collected from the private sector (with 30.2% versus 1.1% respectively).

From a religion perspective, we noted that for both Muslim and Christian students, the majority of the surveyed female and male students chose the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”. The proportion of female Muslim students enrolled at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities” is slightly higher than that of the female Christian students. The below table (Table 7.3) reflects on the choice of programme per gender per religion.

Table (7.3): Choice of Programmes per Gender Per Religion							
Gender	Religion	Programmes				Significance	
		Business Administration	Service-Oriented	Sciences	Literature and Humanities	V de Cramer	Sig.
Female	Christian	64.5%	6.4%	15.8%	<u>13.3%</u>	.179**	.002**
Male		66.9%	8.1%	22.8%	<u>2.2%</u>		
Female	Muslim	50%	12.5%	16.7%	<u>20.8%</u>	<u>.292**</u>	.006**
Male		57.1%	18.4%	24.5%	<u>0%</u>		

7.4 Students' Prior Programme Preference Oppose to Current Choice

7.4.1 The highest rate of students not enrolled in their programme of first preference is at the mass PUs

62.3% of the students affirmed that their current choice of programme is their first preference. 58.6% of the 62.3% had a first preference for the "Business Administration" field; 9.4% for the "Service-Oriented" tracks; 20.8% for the "Sciences" field; and 11.2% for the "Literature and Humanities" field. They are all currently enrolled in the respective programme of their first preference. **However, and for the 37.7% of the students who are not currently enrolled in their programme of first preference**, 71.3% are currently registered at the "Business Administration" field, oppose to only 12.3% enrolled at the "Sciences" faculty, 9.4% at the "Literature and Humanities" faculty, and 7% at the "Service-Oriented" tracks. These rates ascertain what was advanced in chapter one. Students finishing their high school with a certain scientific background and having no intention to drift towards literature or pure sciences fields find the business administration field as the most suitable one with its wide applied orientation.

Box 7.3: Rational for choosing the Business Administration programme

Andrews and Higson (2008) identified in their study done over four European Countries (UK, Austria, Slovenia and Romania) that the business qualification is chosen by most of the students because of its wide professional implications and need in almost all fields (graduates' quotes: "It was very important to have a business degree in order to get a job", "Having a business degree is definitely an advantage in employment..."). The students' behaviour within the Lebanese market seems to follow the same rational.

The majority of 42.7% of the students who are currently enrolled in the programme of their first preference are LU students, 18.9% are elite PUs students and 38.5% are mass PUs students. However, and *for the mass PUs, the students' proportion that is not*

enrolled in the first preference programme is much higher than those who are (48.4%). This validates once again that the choice of the LU and elite PUs is not done by chance oppose to that of a mass PU.

7.4.2 Regardless of the prior preference, most students who did not enrol in their field of first preference chose the “Business Administration” field

The below bar chart (figure 7.1) shows the first preference for a programme according to the official faculty classification.

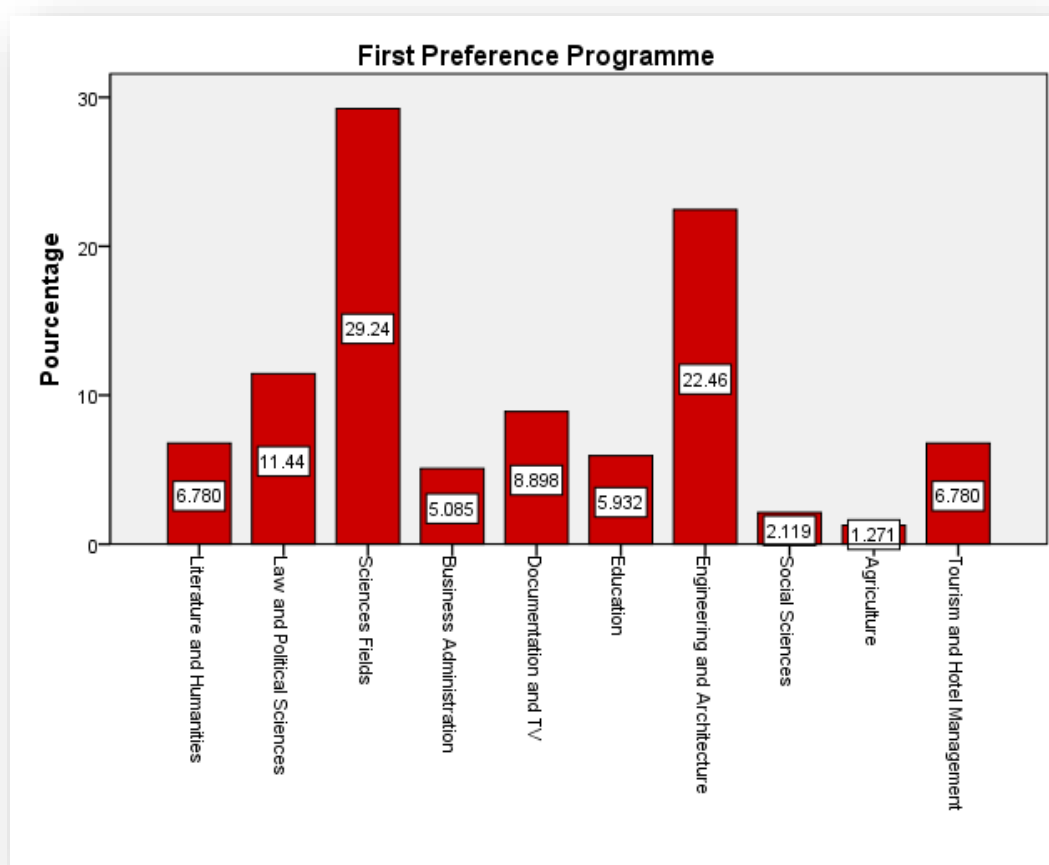


Figure (7.1): First Preference Programme¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ A new variable was created with 10 programmes instead of 13 to ensure a better analysis

Before discussing the main first preferences of the surveyed students, we should mention that this variable is not really explicative by gender (V de Cramer = .269; Sig. = .073). However, it seems that *the first preference does significantly explain the current choice of programme* (V de Cramer = .290; Sig. = .000). The below table (table 7.4) reflects on the first programme preference for the 37.7% of the students who are not currently enrolled in the programme of their first preference oppose to the current programme that they are currently enrolled at:

Table (7.4): First preference programme versus current choice	
First Preference Programme	Currently enrolled at
29.2% first preference for the “Sciences” field	82.6% enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”
22.5% first preference for “Engineering and Architecture”	75.5% enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 11.3% at the “Service-Oriented Tracks/Faculties”, 9.4% at the faculty of “Sciences”, and 3.8% at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”
11.4% first preference for “Law and Political Sciences”	77.8% enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 11.1% at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”, 7.4% at the faculty of “Sciences”, and 3.7% at “Service-Oriented Tracks/Faculties”
8.9% first preference for “Documentation/Journalism/TV”	66.7% is enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 14.3% at each of the faculties of “Sciences” and “Literature and Humanities”, and 4.8% at the “Service-Oriented Tracks/Faculties”
6.8% a first preference for the “Literature and Humanities”	93.8% is enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”
6.8% a first preference for the “Tourism and Hotel Management”	56.3% is enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 18.8% at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”, and 2.5% at each of the faculty of “Sciences” and “Service-Oriented Tracks/Faculties”
5.9% a first preference for the “Education” field(s)	42.9% is enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 21.4% at each of the faculty of “Literature and Humanities” and the “Service-Oriented Tracks/Faculties”, and 14.3% at the faculty of “Sciences”
Only 5.1% a first preference for the “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” ¹⁹⁵	58.3% is currently enrolled at the faculty of “Sciences”

V de Cramer = .290; Sig. = .000

¹⁹⁵ Concerning the other faculties (social sciences and agriculture); the proportions were low (less than 2%) to be mentioned.

Regardless of their inclination, *students not choosing the first preference are in their majority choosing the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”*.

7.4.3 Reasons for not Choosing the Field of First Preference

The reasons that precluded the choice of the first preference programme were identified by the 37.7% of the surveyed students as follow:

The “Parents’ advice”, the “university’s advice”, the “difficult academic requirements” and the “previous professional experience”, did not have any effect on altering the students’ choice of a programme with respectively 59.1%, 82.6%, 66.8% and 76.6% of them answering “NO”.

Concerning the “labour market situation and saturation”, 54% of the surveyed students did not identify this as a cause oppose to 46% who did. An important majority of the 46% had a first preference for programmes with saturated labour market validating hence their reply (rf. Chapter one). 66.7% of these students had a first preference for the faculty of “Law and Political Sciences” (rf. Chapter one), 43.9% for the “Sciences” field which include the “Sciences” faculty and the medical sciences, and 56.3% for the faculty of “Tourism and Hotel Management”. For these 56.3%, the reason for not choosing the first preference programme is not explicitly related to the labour market saturation but rather to the volatility and fragility of the sector, particularly during the past years where political and insecurity circumstances affected severely the tourism industry in Lebanon.

7.5 Students’ Current Choice of Programme based on their Own Awareness of the Labour Market Needs

The choice of the programme based on the students’ personal perception of the labour market needs is highly dependent and explained by the programme they are currently

enrolled at (V de Cramer = .540; Sig. = .000). If to add to the equation the students' first preference of a programme, we note that such choice is also highly dependent and explained by the students' first preference (V de Cramer = .510; Sig. = .000). Their current choice of the programme based on their own perception of the labour market needs is also correlated to their working status which in its turn significantly explains their current choice if given the option (V de Cramer = .295; Sig. = .000).

Box 7.4 : Tourism and Hotel Management sector

The hotel management and tourism industry are identified as an important industry of the Lebanese service sector and the Lebanese economy. It is recognized by the "Waznat" institution¹⁹⁶ as a booming sector with excessive working opportunities to offer. Nevertheless, it knew over the past years many ups and downs because of the political and security instabilities which took place in Lebanon as in other countries in the region. These circumstances affected severely the sector and influenced negatively work opportunities and salaries offered. Hotels and touristic companies had to downsize their working force by either laying out employees and/or deduct from their salaries and benefits. The situation was effectively bad during the past years particularly because of the decrease in the number of tourist by 7% in 2013 compared to 2012 (Ministry of Tourism website).

Accordingly, and *if given the choice to change their major, a majority of 47.7% would currently choose the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration". Only 8.7% of these students had a first preference for the programme* oppose to a majority of 36.2% who had a first preference for the "Sciences" fields. *85.8% of the 47.7% are currently enrolled at this programme and 69.1% are working students.* This explains their continuous choice of a programme which is well known with a saturated level of job opportunities. These students already have a job and do not find in the lack of job opportunities a real predicament.

¹⁹⁶Waznat was established in 2001 with the main purpose of developing educational institutions through the development of the school systems, the training and the development of the human resources, and the counselling of school students (mainly career counselling). Waznat identified the three most demanded programmes as being: the petroleum (given that Lebanon will start the petroleum excavation soon), hospitality management, Information Technology and all related fields, and Infirmary.

18.9% of the surveyed students would choose the “Sciences” field. 56.5% of these had a first preference for the field and 74.3% are currently enrolled at the programme. 68.5% of the 18.9% are unemployed which explains the low proportion choosing the programme if given the option because of the lack of job opportunities.

7.8% would choose the field of “Tourism and Hotel Management” with a majority of 44.4% having had a first preference for the field. 53.3% of these students are currently enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” oppose to 31.1% currently enrolled at the “Service-Oriented faculties/tracks”. 71.1% of these students are working students explaining their choice if given the option.

7.6% would choose the “Engineering and Architecture” fields with 54.5% of them being working students. A majority of 71.4% had these fields as a first preference. However, the majority of 70.5% is currently enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”.

5.7% would choose the faculty of “Literature and Humanities” with a 57.7% of them having had the field as a first preference. A majority of 69.7% of the 5.7% are currently enrolled at this faculty and 51.5% are working students.

3.8% would choose the faculty of “Documentation/Journalism/TV”. 46.2% of these students had a first preference for the field. A majority of 40.9% of the 3.8% is currently enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”.

3.6% would choose the faculty of “Law and Political Sciences”. A majority of 64.3% had a first preference for this field. However, the majority of 71.4% is currently enrolled at the

faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” and a majority of 61.9% holds a job¹⁹⁷.

These figures permit to advance two main behavioural characteristics of the surveyed students: (1) *The students kept on selecting either their first preference programme* or the programme that they are currently enrolled at without real consideration or reflection on the labour market needs, (2) the highest percentage is for *the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”* where *students kept on choosing it, even if not being a first preference choice*. This is credited to the fact that many students consider this major as a last resort for a higher education degree. Such behaviour ascertains what was advanced in chapter one where students find the field as the most suitable one with its wide applied orientation.

The rationale behind such repetitive behaviour or choice is assessed as follow by the interviewed mass universities representatives (Appendices 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). The dean of the business faculty and board member at Antonine University sees that students find certain programmes with general and no specific emphasis more appealing which allows more work opportunities because of the low level of specialization. This will provide students with the ability to work in several fields. Hence, their choice of a programme such as the business administration. And according to the academic assistant to the director at AOU, she sees, from one hand, the choice as a personal preference of the student. From the other hand, she specifies that, as a university, they have a general advising strategy to guide the students’ choices in relation to the major to choose, yet, they do not dictate their choices. This is leading therefore to high recruitment rates for certain programmes such as the business administration.

¹⁹⁷ Concerning other faculties (education, social sciences and agriculture), the proportions were low (less than 2%) to be mentioned.

After this review, we noted that the students' choices of programmes is not for programmes that allow social mobility. As discussed in chapter one, and reference a study done by the LAES, *the programmes that permit social mobility are* the "civil engineering and architecture", "fine arts", "medical sciences", "law", "industrial and agronomy architecture". *An important number of the surveyed students showed an interest and preference for these programmes. However, their current choice is totally different. The programmes that the surveyed students are currently enrolled at fall within those identified as not assuring social mobility* such as the "business administration", "documentation", "literature and humanities", "social and political sciences", "educational and religious studies". Given that the majority of the surveyed students are working students, they seem not to choose the higher education for the purpose of securing a job - since they already have one - and therefore not for the purpose of assuring social mobility. A higher education diploma for those having a job seems to be a way of getting promoted within their current job. This assumption was also concluded by the LAES study done in 1999-2000 (Abou Rjaili, 2003). Consequently, choosing programmes with saturated labour market for working students does not weight much since they are already within the system.

Box 7.5: Choice of programme based on the labour market needs – Difference between elite and mass PUs

According to the academic provost at LAU, the students' enrolment rates increased for the "civil engineering and architecture" fields at the university because of the labour market needs for related expertise. This is a clear reflection on the effort and follow up done by elite universities in this regard. Moreover, he adds that the university has a guiding office where students are in general guided towards a different major than that of their first choice after their first year where the main courses are language courses and liberal art skills. If to comment on that, we note that the students that do not need "social mobility" choose programmes that do provide such purpose oppose to mass universities and LU students that do need "social mobility" yet they choose programmes that do not allow them to achieve such purpose. This is because of the lack of orientation.

7.5.1 Reasons of these Choices

As discussed above, **the majority of the surveyed students** - and if given the possibility - **kept on choosing either the programme of their first preference or the programme they are currently enrolled at**. What follows summarizes the surveyed students' main motivators of such choice¹⁹⁸.

83% and 81.3% of the surveyed students identified their choice as being respectively based on a "better awareness of the labour market needs" and on "personal observation".

However, their choices question the real awareness of the labour market needs because work opportunities for the "Business Administration" and the "Medical Sciences" fields are saturated. Nevertheless, as just discussed, this does not seem to weight much on their perception because most of them already have a job.

66.6% and 64.5% would respectively currently choose a different programme because of their "different field of work" or because "it is another diploma that would allow them to fulfil a job requirement". This entails, that if given the choice, the students' current choice of programme is based on the job they already have and not the opposite validating what was just discussed. The students' choice of university explains these choices. A majority of 44.8% and 45.2% of these students are respectively at the mass PUs. This validates the choice of the mass private sector because of its flexible admission criteria. The aim from having a university degree for these students is to enhance their job status rather than to search for a job.

67.6% replied that they had a "previous preference for the programme". For these students, the current choice of programme is highly explained by their previous preference (V de Cramer = .584; Sig. = .000). The majority of the students that would, if given the option, currently choose either the faculty of "Literature and Humanities" or

¹⁹⁸ The high percentages are due to the fact that students had to choose from several alternatives

the faculty of “Law and Political Sciences” or the faculty of “Documentation, TV and Journalism” or the faculty of “Education” or that of “Social Sciences” had a previous preference for the same programme (66.7% for each). 76.5%, 72.7% and 60% that would currently choose the “Engineering and Architecture”, the “Sciences”, and the “Tourism and Hotel Management” faculties had respectively a previously preference for these fields. However, and for the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, the trend is totally the opposite. Only 7.5% of the surveyed students who would currently chose the programme if given the option had a previous preference for it. *This implies that the stereotyped choice of the “business administration” field is not out of personal preference but out of belief that this field will secure better employment opportunities regardless of the labour market situation.*

7.5.2 Students’ Awareness of the Labour Market Needs

An important majority of the surveyed students justified their current selection of a programme if given the possibility to their better awareness of the labour market needs.

Data collected from the survey complies with this answer. When asked about their awareness of the labour market needs, the majority of the students answered that they are either “very well” (24.7%) or “well” (54.7%) aware of the labour market needs. As illustrated in table (7.5), and regardless of the programme, the majority of the surveyed students consider themselves “well aware” of the labour market needs.

Table (7.5): Students’ Awareness of the Needs of the Labour Market per Programme				
	Very Well	Well	Mediocre	Not Very Well
Business Administration	23.6%	54.2%	19.1%	3.1%
Service-Oriented Tracks	32.5%	55.0%	12.5%	.0%
Sciences	25.0%	47.7%	17.0%	10.2%
Literature and Humanities	24.6%	67.2%	4.9%	3.3%

V de Cramer = .120; Sig. = .015

78% of the surveyed students enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” identified having a good awareness of the labour market needs. However, data from the labour market does not comply with the students’ answers. The “Business Administration” field is very-well known with the saturation of its labour market to an extent where the Lebanese graduates extended their job search to regional labour markets. This *reality questions the students’ “effective and real” awareness of the labour market demand and consequently their choices of a higher education degree that seems to be guided by other attributes than the labour market “effective” needs*¹⁹⁹. According to the “Waznat” founder, Mr. Samir Costantine²⁰⁰, the main needs of the labour market are in fields related to “petroleum”, “Information Technology”, “hotel management” and “infirmary”. These are “booming” fields with many work opportunities being created. Except for the “hospitality management” - that would be chosen by only 7.8% of the surveyed students if given the choice - none of the them selected the other fields which are seen as offering important work opportunities²⁰¹. We can deduce that *the students’ choices and “awareness” of the labour market needs are not but a stereotyped behaviour*. This is validated by the choices done at the family level where the overview of the family academic background mainly that related to the higher education choices showed that the overwhelming majority kept on choosing over the years one same major that of the “Business Administration” (Appendix 5.1).

¹⁹⁹ From this perspective, the academic provost of LAU acknowledges that the students adopt a “bad approach” from education where they look at the degree which gives enough prestige rather than looking at the education that it provides. He adds that regardless of the students’ choices, the labour market will be the main filter, where from the huge over flow of engineers, doctors, business graduates, etc. in Lebanon only the top are making it within the labour market (Appendix 4.4.1).

²⁰⁰ Mr. Costantine made these comments in an interview with a Lebanese Broadcast station; part of a report prepared to assess the preparation of the Lebanese youth to the university and the guidance offered to them pertaining to the choice of programme and the cognitive skills needed for each programme (report was broadcasted on the 26th of June 2013).

²⁰¹ It should be noted that the petroleum field was not stated amongst the programmes. It is not yet offered by so many universities in Lebanon. The most known university offering this field is the AUB. The petroleum field has been currently under debate given prospect for Lebanon to extract petroleum from the Mediterranean Sea.

7.6 Students' Enrolment History: How Many Have Dropped a Previous Programme?

7.6.1 Proportions of Drop Outs: Comparison Between Programmes and HEI

16.6% of the surveyed students' population dropped a previous programme and then enrolled in the current one. 32.1% of these students dropped immediately, 36.8% dropped after one year, 16% dropped after two years and 15.1% finished the first major and this is their second degree.

Dropping a previous programme significantly explains the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .228; Sig. = .000). 67.3% of the surveyed students who dropped a previous programme are currently enrolled at the mass PUs oppose to only 22.4% currently enrolled at the LU and 10.3% at elite PUs. These figures emphasize once again the importance of the flexible admission criteria that the mass PUs use as an attraction tool. This gives students who "hesitate" in the choice of a programme a chance to pursue their higher studies. Additionally, having a majority of 47.1% of the surveyed students who were not enrolled in a previous programme at the LU ascertains that the students' choice for the LU is not done by chance. They have a prior intention to enrol in a specific programme at the LU; a conclusion that was previously discussed.

The majority of the surveyed students (73.8%) who dropped a previous programme are currently enrolled at the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration" (V de Cramer = .126; Sig. = .017). This does not only validate the stereotyped behaviour for the programme but also identifies it as a last resort for a "hesitant" student. For the surveyed students who dropped a previous programme, the below table denotes the programme they are currently enrolled at per HEI (Table 7.6).

Table (7.6): Drop outs current enrolment per programme per HEI			
	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs
Business Administration	17.7%	8.9%	<u>73.4%</u>
Service-Oriented	0%	0%	<u>100%</u>
Sciences	<u>44.4%</u>	22.2%	33.3%
Literature and Humanities	<u>75%</u>	25%	0%

V de Cramer = .364; Sig. = .000

The highest proportion of drop outs enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Science and Business Administration” is at the mass private sector. Oppose to the LU and elite PUs, mass PUs do not have an entrance test for the faculty. By that, they seem to attract the majority of the drop outs. *For the LU, the highest proportion of drop outs is also noted for the faculties that do not exert an entrance test* such as the faculties of “Sciences” (free entrance conditioned by the baccalaureate – section II) and that of the “Literature and Humanities” (only a language test). 44.4% and 75% of drop outs are respectively enrolled at these faculties. *Concerning elite PUs, the highest proportion is for the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”.* 25% of the students who have dropped a previous programme are enrolled at this faculty. The faculty implement an easier entrance test compared to other faculties. Therefore, we can deduce that *the students with previous academic experience and who have dropped a previous programme have a tendency to choose programmes with easy or easier admission criteria*²⁰².

7.6.2 The Main Reasons of Drop Outs

The most valid reason that the surveyed students identified as a reason for dropping a previous programme is that related to the fact that *they “did not like the first choice”* with a slight difference between those who answered “YES” (51.5%) and those who

²⁰² Unfortunately, we cannot add to our analysis the programme that the students chose to drop. Given the length of the survey, some consensuses had to be done. Variables that will not affect our analysis as to the main reason that lead students to choose their HEI and programme were not included.

answered “NO” (48.5%). The period after which the student dropped the programme is not dependent from that reason (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .475).

Concerning the other factors - “financial reasons”, “geographical location”, “advice from parents/tutors based on the labour market needs”, “unawareness of the preferences”, and “failure in the programme”, all seem not to have an impact on the students’ decision to drop with respectively 74.3%, 72.5%, 61.8%, 67.6%, and 78.2% answering “NO”.

7.7 Regret of the Choice of the Programme

15.2% of the surveyed students do regret their choice of the programme. However, **regretting such choice is more dependent from the choice of the university** (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .007; V de Cramer = .127; Sig. = .007) **than that of the programme** (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .532). *57.7% of the surveyed students who do regret their choice of the programme are at the mass PUs*, 33% at the LU and only 9.3% at elite PUs. The highest proportion being at the mass private sector could be related to the reputation and academic standards that were previously identified by the students as having a negative effect on their employability chances. Concerning the LU, this somehow high rate could be credited to the fact that one of the faculties that form the sample does not really impose an entrance test (faculty of “Sciences”).

7.7.1 Reasons of Regret of the Choice of the Programme

The main reasons of regret of the choice of the programme for the 15.7% of the surveyed students are identified as follow:

54.3% regret their choice because of the “lack of work opportunities”. The university chosen does not explain the choice of this criterion (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .162) oppose to the choice of the programme that does (V de Cramer = .302; Sig: .035). 82.4% of the 54.3% are enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”,

9.8% at the faculty of “Sciences”, 5.9% at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities” and only 2% at the “Service-Oriented Tracks/Faculties”. *The highest percentage being for those enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” is very consistent with the Lebanese reality.* “Business” graduates find difficulties to encounter employment opportunities because of the saturated labour market and the lack of creation of jobs.

56.8% of the students chose the programme because of its “affordable tuition fees”. The university is independent from this reason of regret (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .463) unlike the choice of the programme which significantly explains the choice of this alternative (V de Cramer = .330; Sig. = .016). 64.8% of these students are enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 22.2% at the faculty of “Sciences”, 9.3% at the “Service-Oriented Tracks/Faculties” and 3.7% at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”.

Concerning the “low salaries”, students were approximately equally divided between those who identified this as a source of regret (49.5%) and those who did not (50.5%). The current programme of the student explains the choice of this criterion (V de Cramer = .306; Sig = .031). A majority of 83% of the 49.5% are enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 8.5% at the faculty of “Sciences”, 6.5% at the “Service-Oriented Tracks/Faculties” and 2.1% at the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”. Identifying this cause as a reason of regret for these programmes is rational because the salaries for these fields are not that high. This was demonstrated by several studies as discussed in chapter one. Concerning the university, it is independent from the choice of such criterion. The HEI does not seem to have a real effect on having or not low salaries (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .277).

Concerning the other alternatives such as the “parents’ pressure” and the “prior professional experience”, they seem not to have had a decisive effect on the students’ choices with respectively 63.8% and 57.4% of the surveyed students not identifying these

as a potential sources of regret. Concerning the “prior professional experience” criterion, and from the 42.5% of the students who did choose their programme because of their professional experience, 82.5% are working students ($V \text{ de Cramer} = .239$; $\text{Sig.} = .021$); validating hence their choice.

To sum up, **the main reasons leading students to regret their choice of the current programmes are particularly related to the “lack of work opportunities” and “low salaries”** contradicting by that the aspiration that the students have acknowledged as a reason of choice for pursuing higher studies.

Table (7.7) in appendix 7.1 summarizes the main criteria of choice per programme.

7.8 Students’ Choice of Programme versus Family Choice of Programme

Concerning the choice of the programme, we note an independent relation between the students’ choices and that of the father and the mother ($\text{Khi-Deux de Pearson} = .642$; $\text{Khi-Deux de Pearson} = .070$; respectively). Even when the comparison is done at the gender level, the choices of the surveyed male students and their fathers and that of the surveyed female students and their mothers are independent from each other (male/father choice of programme: $\text{Khi-Deux de Pearson} = .179$; female/mother choice of programme; $\text{Khi-Deux de Pearson} = .026$).

7.9 The Choice of One Programme and not the Other: What does it Entail?

This last section will provide the results of the logistic regression models. ***For each programme three models were done. The first model included the “HEI”, and the “secondary education track”. The second model included in addition to these two variables, the “working status” of the student. The third model covered in addition to the variables of model 1 and model 2, the main “criteria affecting the choice of the***

programme”. Summary of odds and ratios of the logistic regression for each programme can be found in appendix 4.5. Table (7.8) reflects on the third model odds and ratios for each programme:

Table (7.8): Logistic Regression Odds/Ratios – Choice of Programme				
	Business Administration	Sciences	Literature and Humanities	Service-Oriented Tracks
Variable(s)	Model 3			
Gender (ref: female)	n/s	n/s	.142**	n/s
Choice of HEI				
Lebanese University (LU)	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Elite Private Universities (EPU)	.303***	n/s	3.636*	n/s
Mass Private Universities (MPU)	n/s	.118***	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track				
Secondary Track (0): General Studies	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Secondary Track (1): Life Sciences	.409**	4.376***	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track (2): Literature and Humanities	.245***	.017***	70.242***	n/s
Secondary Track (3): Sociology and Economy	2.849**	.024***	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track (4): Other	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s
Are You a Working Student? (Ref: No)	2.714***	.148***	3.943**	.416**
Reason of Choice of the Programme (Ref: No)				
Criteria (1): Personal interest	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s
Criteria (2): Polyvalent field allowing easy access to labour market	1.636**	.234***	n/s	n/s
Criteria (3): By chance/Did not have any previous preference	1.866**	n/s	n/s	n/s
Criteria (4): Friends already enrolled at the programme	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s
Criteria (5): Tutor advise	n/s	n/s	5.101***	n/s
Criteria (6): Parents field of work	3.535***	.223**	n/s	.162***
Criteria (7): Easy admission criteria/ No entrance test	.460***	.4.652***	n/s	n/s
Criteria (8): Already have a professional experience in the field	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.433	0.726	0.756	0.32
Global Percentage	81.70%	94.70%	96.50%	92.20%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

7.9.1 What factors weight more on the students' chances of being enrolled than not at the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration"?

Gender is never a significant variable of choice for the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration". However, *both the HEI and the secondary track determine the students' chances of being or not enrolled at the faculty* (model 1). Concerning the students' HEI, and compared to the reference variable that is the LU, the students at the elite and mass PUs have respectively 3 times less chances and 2.8 times more chances of being enrolled than not at the programme. Those chances do not change much when adding the working status (model 2). Students from elite PUs always have less chances of being enrolled than not at the programme (precisely 3.6 times less chances), oppose to students from the mass private sector who always have more chances of being enrolled than not even if at a less significant rate (1.7 times more chances). This validates what was discussed in chapter 6 concerning the students' chances of going to one university and not the other from a programme perspective. When adding the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3), elite PUs students always have less chances of choosing than not this programme (3.3 times less chances). However, and for the mass private sector students, the odd of choosing this programme than not become insignificant implicating that other aspects are at interplay.

Concerning the secondary track, and compared to the reference variable that is the "general studies", students who have chosen the "life sciences" or the "literature and humanities" tracks at the secondary level have respectively 3.5 times and 5 times less chances of being enrolled than not at this programme. The chances of the students who chose the "sociology and economy" or "other" tracks at the secondary level are insignificant (model 1). However, adding the students' working status (model 2) and the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3) changes the students' odds of being or not enrolled at this faculty; particularly for those from the "sociology and economy" track. Students who chose the "life sciences" or the "literature and humanities" tracks at the

secondary level always have less chances of choosing than not the business administration programme (respectively 2.4 and 4 times less chances – model 3). However, *the students' chances from the “sociology and economy” track* changed from insignificant to 2.4 times (model 2) and 2.8 times (model 3) *more chances of choosing than not this programme*. Figure (7.2) shows the differences in the probabilities of choice per secondary track and per gender for the mass private sector²⁰³. The highest probabilities are for both female and male students from the “sociology and economy” tracks validating hence what was advanced in chapters one and five concerning the choice of this track that is considered by the students as a general not specific track permitting a wider and freer choice of programme at the higher education level.

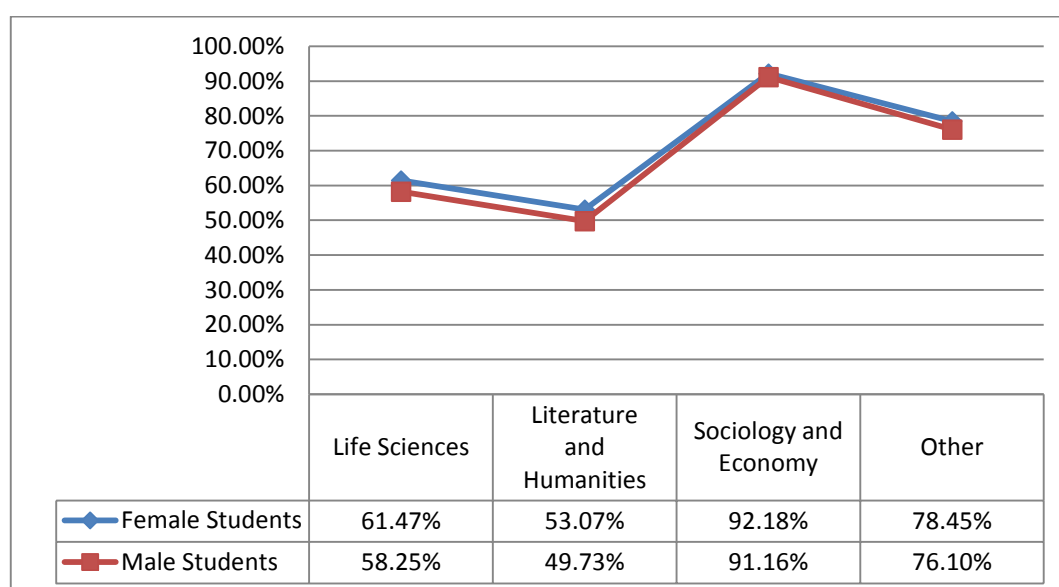


*Figure (7.2): Choice of the Business Administration Programme per Secondary Track per Gender
– Mass PUs*

Working students have 2.6 times more chances of being enrolled than not enrolled at this programme (model 2). Adding the reasons of choice of the programme does not reduce the significant effect of this variable (model 3). Working students always have 2.7 times

²⁰³ The mass sector was illustrated because the chances for choosing this track for students at the mass sector are higher than those at the elite private sector (compared to the reference variable that is the LU).

more chances of being enrolled than not. The working status of the student has therefore a lot to say about choosing or not a programme at the higher education level.

Concerning the reasons of choice of the programme, students have respectively 1.6 times, 2 times and 3.5 times more chances of choosing this programme than not because it is a “polyvalent field allowing easy access to the labour market”, or they just chose it by “chance and did not have any preference for the programme”, or because it is their “parents’ field of work”. Concerning the “easy admission criteria”, students have 2 times less the chances of choosing the programme than not choosing it because of this criterion. This might explain why being a mass PU student and choosing this programme become an insignificant variable when adding the reasons of choice of the programme to the model. Regarding the other reasons, such as the “personal interest”, “friends already enrolled in the programme”, “tutor advice” and “already have a professional experience in the field”, all have an insignificant effect on choosing or not this programme. These figures validate the fact that the choice of the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” might not be really based on a real assessment of the labour market needs but is rather a random choice for students who have a certain working experience and would like to support it with academic credentials.

In summary, being a female or male student does not change much to the equation of choosing or not the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”. This could be related to the general nature of the field that is neither considered as a literary nor scientific field. Other variables, such as the working status, the polyvalent character of the programme, and the factor of chance, have the most pronouncing effect on the students’ chances to choose the programme.

7.9.2 What factors weight more on the students' chances of being enrolled than not at the faculty of "Sciences"?

Unlike the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration", *the gender is a highly significant variable of choice of the "Sciences" faculty*. Male students have 2.6 times more chances of being enrolled than not at the programme (model 1). Adding the working status (model 2) does not change much to these chances that slightly decrease to 2.1 times more chances of choosing than not this programme. These chances validate our discussion concerning *the choice of male students for scientifically oriented programmes*. However, when adding the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3), the gender becomes an insignificant variable denoting that other factors count more than the gender.

Compared to the reference variable that is the LU, elite PU students' chances of choosing than not this programme are insignificant. These chances remain insignificant even when adding the working status (model 2) and the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3). *Regarding the mass PUs students, they have 18.5 times less chances of choosing than not this faculty*. Adding the working status (model 2) and the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3) do not change these chances (respectively 6.8 and 8.5 times less chances of being enrolled than not at the faculty). This validates *the students' preference for the LU when choosing the "Sciences" faculty*.

Concerning the choice of the secondary track, and compared to the reference variable that is the "general studies" track, *students who chose at the secondary level the "life sciences" track have 7.6 times more chances of choosing this faculty than not choosing it* (model 1). These chances remain positive when adding the working status (5.5 more times of being enrolled than not – model 2) and the reasons of choice of the programme (4.4 more times of being enrolled than not – model 3). This is an indicator that *the students choosing the "Sciences" faculty at the higher education level have somehow a pre-determined choice for the faculty and it is not done by chance as it is the case for the*

faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”. Concerning the students who chose at the secondary level the “literature and humanities” or the “sociology and economy” tracks, they have respectively 8.6 times and 17.5 times less chances of choosing this faculty than not choosing it. Adding the students’ working status and the reasons of choice of the programme do not change the course of these chances, on the contrary they intensify them. Students will have respectively 60 times and 42 times less chances of choosing than not this faculty (model 3).

Oppose to the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, *the working students’ chances of choosing this faculty are not high*. They have 6.8 times less chances of choosing it than not. Adding the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3) does not change these chances. This is an indicator that the working status and the choice of the “Sciences” faculty are too highly dependent variable. **If working, students are not to choose this faculty.**

Concerning the reasons of choice of the programme, students have 4.6 times *more chances of choosing this faculty than not choosing because of the “easy admission criteria”*. This is rational because, as demonstrated above, students seem to prefer the LU when it comes to choosing this faculty that does not require an entrance test. Students have 4.3 times and 4.5 times less chances of choosing than not this faculty because of its “polyvalent character allowing easy access to the labour market” and because it is their “parents’ field of work”. Regarding the other factors, they have an insignificant effect concerning the choice or not of the programme.

In summary, the students choosing the “Sciences” faculty have more chances of choosing it than not if they are from the “life sciences” secondary track and are non-working students. Male students’ chances are higher than their female counterpart. When choosing this faculty, students seem to be in favour of the public sector rather than the private sector.

7.9.3 What factors weight more on the students' chances of being enrolled than not at the faculty of "Literature and Humanities"?

The chances of choosing the "Literature and Humanities" faculty from not choosing it are sometimes dependent from the gender and sometimes not. When considering the HEI and the secondary track (model 1), male students have 4.6 times less chances of choosing this faculty than not choosing it. When adding the working status to the model (model 2), the gender become an insignificant variable. However, when adding the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3), the gender becomes once again a significant variable where male students have 7 times less chances of choosing this faculty than not. These chances validate what was previously advanced in chapter 1 and chapter 5 concerning the choice of literary programme by female rather than male students.

Concerning the HEI, and compared to the reference variable that is the LU, being enrolled at the mass private sector or the elite private sector has an insignificant effect on choosing or not this programme. However, when adding the working status and the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3), the students' chances for choosing than not this faculty at the elite private sector change from insignificant to 3.6 times more chances compared to those at the LU. The chances of the mass PUs students to choose than not this faculty do not change and remain insignificant.

Choosing the "Literature and Humanities" track at the secondary level increase the students' chances of choosing than not this programme at the higher education level. Compared to the reference variable that is the "general studies" track, students who chose the "literature and humanities" track at the secondary level have 36.7 times more chances of choosing than not the faculty. These chances increase to 62.7 times when adding the working status (model 2) and to 70.2 times when adding to all the variables of model 1 and model 2 the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3). Similarly to the "Sciences" faculty, the choice of the secondary track is an important determinant of the

choice of the programme at the higher education level. Other secondary tracks do not have any significant effect on the choice or not of the faculty.

Working students have 3 times more chances of choosing the faculty of “Literature and Humanities” than not choosing it (model 2). When adding the reasons of choice of the programme (model 3), these chances increase to 4 times. **The most significant reason of choice for this faculty is the “tutor advice”.** Students have 5 times more chances of being than not at this faculty because of the tutor advice. Other reasons have a totally insignificant effect on their choice. *This is an indicator that the students are not really choosing this programme because of a personal preference or because of the labour market needs but rather did not have any preference and received guidance from their tutor concerning the choice of the faculty.* Having 3 times more chances of choosing this faculty as an elite PU student when adding the reasons of choice of the programme - whereas it was insignificant before adding this variable - is an indicator of a social reproduction. Students have to go to the elite private sector because of the family tradition however they do not have any preference for a specific programme; hence the tutor advice effect.

In summary, choosing the faculty of “Literature and Humanities” is in favour of the female rather than the male students. Choosing at the secondary level the “literature and humanities” track and having a job increase the students’ chances of being than not at this faculty. Concerning the reason of choice, none of the reasons played a significant effect except for the “tutors’ advice” denoting that the decision of choice for this faculty is not done out of preference or labour market needs but rather by chance.

7.9.4 What factors weight more on the students' chances of being enrolled than not at the "Service-Oriented Faculties/Tracks?"

The logistic regression models for choosing or not the "Service-Oriented Faculties/Tracks" are not that significant as the other faculties. Neither the gender, nor the HEI, nor the secondary education track seem to have a significant or determinant effect on the students' chances of being or not at a service-oriented track (model 1). Adding the working status does not change much to the students' probability of going or not to this faculty (model 2). *It is not until we add the reasons of choice of the faculty, that the working status becomes a significant and determinant variable of the choice of the faculty* (model 3). *Other variables remain insignificants.* By itself, *working students* have 2.4 times less chances of choosing than not this faculty. Concerning the reasons of choice, all variables except one have an insignificant effect on choosing or not one of the tracks. Students have 6 times less chances of choosing than not this track because of their "parents' field of work".

7.10 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

Chapter seven shed the light on the main reasons of choice of a programme and compared between the students' personal characteristics, HEI and previous academic choices and the effect of these aspects on the students' choices of a programme. Male students have a tendency to choose scientifically oriented programmes oppose to female students who are inclined to choose literary oriented programmes. The students' working status weight on their choice of a particular programme. A working student has more chances to choose the faculties of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration" and "Literature and Humanities" than the faculty of "Sciences". The choice of a specific programme does not hold a similar rational among the HEIs. Despite a majority acknowledging their choice of the programme because of "personal interest" and "polyvalence character", mass PUs

students were more guided by the element of “chance” oppose to elite PUs and LU students that had a “personal preference” and therefore a prior planning for the choice of the programme. Regardless of the first preference, students chose and will choose if given the possibility the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” because of its polyvalent character. They have consequently showed that they do not have a real awareness of the labour market needs despite acknowledging the opposite. They kept on choosing programmes with saturated labour markets and that do not allow social mobility. Based on that the main reasons of regret of the choice of particular programme were identified as being related to the “lack of work opportunities” and “low salaries” with a majority of those being at the mass private sector.

Part IV – MAIN FINDINGS

The data collected validated what was advanced in the factual analysis chapter (chapter 1) pertaining to the students' distribution between universities in terms of gender, religion, social class, geographical area; and the higher education choices of a HEI and a programme. It provided a better insight on the students' choices and aspirations, and reflected on what really guides or have guided their higher education choices.

On the general demographic and geographical levels, the students' distribution between universities ascertained the distribution of the population among the geographical regions. The majority resides either in Beirut or Mount Lebanon where the main universities exist **with a majority of the students being “between 18 and 21 years of old”**. Young students (between 18 and 21 years of old) have more chances to be than not at the LU. Whereas older students (between 22 and 25 years of old) have more chances to be than not at the elite or mass private sectors. Those “above 25 years of old” have the highest chances to be than not at the mass private sector. This, and as referred to in the discussion, is credited to the differences not only in the admission criteria of each sector but also to the students' pre-planning process.

From an educational perspective, the data exhibited that the **recruitment trends are in favour of the private sector** mirroring what was advanced in chapter 1 pertaining to the students' preference to private education over public one mainly the mass private sector. Similarly to the discussion in chapter 1, the ***LU students are attracted by the “practically free tuition fees”, the “high academic standards offered in the selective faculties”, and “the reputation and recognition of the university within the labour market”***. They have therefore more chances to be than not at the LU because of the financial cost, academic standards and validity of the diploma and less chance to be than not because of the easy admission criteria. Concerning ***the mass PUs' students***, they are mostly attracted by the

“easy admission criteria” and “the affordable tuition fees and financial support”. Although they are attracted by the somehow reasonable tuition fees if to compare with the elite private sector, *they have more chances to be than not at the mass private sector because of the easy admission criteria and less chance to be than not because of the financial cost, validity of the diploma, and academic standards.* This is credited, as revealed by the data, to the fact that mass PUs students “depend” on the chance factor when choosing a mass PU, and that most of them are older than the students enrolled at the LU with a majority having been hesitant about the choice of the programme and having dropped a previous programme. Regarding the elite PUs students, **they are more attracted by the “social life” and the “academic standards”** that these universities offer because of their selective admission criteria. They have therefore more chances to be than not at an elite PU because of the social interaction, the extra curriculum activity, and the double degree and agreement with other universities. From this perspective, *both the mass and elite PUs share one more attraction tool in common the “accreditation and the international agreements” that they offer to their “clientele”.* However, when adding the fathers’ HEI, the effect of the criteria of choice of the HEI differ from one sector to another. For the LU and the mass private sector, the criteria of choice remain respectively valid with an even more pronounced effect when adding the father HEI implicating the non-existence of a stereotyped behaviour concerning the choice of the institution at these sectors. Nevertheless, and for the elite private sector, adding the fathers’ HEI, render the criteria of choice insignificants indicating the existence of a social reproduction at this sector.

The secondary education school (public or private) has an effect on the choice of the HEI. Although it has an insignificant effect at the LU where the academic standards and the tuition fees weigh more on the students’ decision to be or not at the public sector, it has a highly significant effect at the private sector. Being from a public school increases the students chances to be or not at a mass PU whereas and for the elite PUs, students from private schools have more chances to be than not. This validates the selectivity done by the elite PUs even at the school level. Additionally, and at the secondary track level, the

students are still choosing the same tracks that lead them to higher education programmes with saturated field of work.

From a gender perspective, the female students are still choosing the public sector over the private one despite the fact that gender, and for the LU, is not a decisive factor as other factors such as the age and religion. Efforts to promote gender parity are not equally translated at the mass and the elite private sectors. Elite PUs seem to have succeeded in the attainment of this objective where females have more chances to be than not at an elite PU oppose to the mass PUs where males have more chances to be than not at the mass private sector. **Christian students have more chances to be than not at the LU** whereas Muslim students have more chances to be than not at the elite private sector. This validates **the preference of Muslim students, whether female or male, to the Anglo-Saxon system.** Concerning the mass private sector, the religion does not have a significant impact. Being Christian or Muslim, always male students have better chances than female students to be than not at this sector. The choice of the programme is also divided among gender. **Female students have more chances to be than not at literary oriented programmes rather than scientific ones.**

From a socio-economic background perspective, the students from the low and mid-low social classes are still choosing the LU and the mass PUs because of its practically free tuition fees and affordable tuition fees (respectively), if to compare with the elite PUs. The majority of the students at the mass PUs are working students in order to be able to pay their tuition fees. Consequently, working students have more chances to be than not at the mass private sector. This might explain why the students' proportion with low level of income (i.e. less than 900 US dollars) is higher at the mass private sector than that at the LU. The expectations would have fallen in the opposite direction because of the LU aim to assure quality higher education for those who are not able to afford an expensive one. Concerning the **students from the mid-high and high social classes, they do not only target elite PUs but also selective faculties at the LU** because of their higher academic

standards with a higher proportion being at the elite private sector. However, these students targeting the LU do not seem to come from families with a certain social and cultural capitals. Their parents may have high salaries but not interested in the social reproduction. The students whose fathers went to elite PUs have less chances to be than not at the LU compared to those whose fathers went to the LU.

Regarding the fathers' occupational background, a reverse trend is mainly noted between the LU and the elite private system. The majority of the LU students have fathers who work in senior positions oppose to elite PUs students where the majority of the fathers work in administrative positions. Concerning the mass PUs students, their fathers working status translates their reality where the majority of the fathers work in secretary positions. **These figures permit one again to ascertain that the LU is not really playing its genuine role that is to provide education to the lower social strata. It is not succeeding in promising social mobility for the students from the low social class. LU students admitted, from this perspective, their regret of choosing the university because of the absence of graduates' follow up leading to long period of unemployment.** Because the LU accepts in its selective faculties only a limited number of students based on who passes the entrance exam, recruiting students from well-heeled families is minimizing the chances of the students from the low social strata. Those, if they do not have the financial capacities, seem to be choosing the mass private sector; less demanding in terms of tuition fees if to compare with the elite private sector.

Most students identified the reasons for continuing higher education as **being related to the better employment opportunities, better salaries and social mobility**. However, the last aim does not seem to be achieved because of the choice of programmes that do not allow social mobility as demonstrated by various empirical studies. **The aim of continuing higher education differ between the LU, the elite PUs and the mass PUs students.** For the LU and the elite PUs students, continuing higher studies rather than choosing the labour market directly after the secondary education, hold within it a planning process and it is

not just a “factor of chance”. The majority of the students enrolled at these universities identified the causes of such behaviour as being either to “improve employment opportunities” or for “scientific curiosity” or to “pursue a higher degree at a later stage; Master/PhD”. Such deliberate behaviour is accredited to the selective process implemented by these universities. Students have to prepare before sitting for the entrance exam and cannot just choose to apply to either one of these universities by chance. Whereas for the mass PUs students, the most influential factor identified as a decisive factor is related to the “parents’ pressure”. Additionally, they accredited to the “effect of chance” an important weight. This ascertains that their choice is not based on a prior planning but rather is coincidental and emergent. Unlike the LU and the elite PUs students, the majority of the mass PUs students did not see in their choice of pursuing higher studies an aim to improve work opportunities. This is credited to their working status where the majority are working students.

Students, like their parents and brothers and/or sisters, have a stereotyped behaviour concerning the choice of the programme. Most students, even if they do not have a preference for the “business administration” field, kept on choosing the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” with no clear difference between one sector and the other. Students having completed their secondary studies in “economy and sociology” have the highest chances to choose than not this faculty. Such stereotyped, repetitive choice for the same programme permits to ascertain that for the students finishing their high school with scientific background and with no intention to drift towards pure sciences or pure literature programmes, their choice will be in favour of a more general programme such as the “Business Administration” field. This was recognised by the surveyed students who acknowledged choosing the programme because it is a “polyvalent field”. The drift towards the “Business Administration” programme despite “humble” employment opportunities can be also attributed to the globalization trend which had its effect on the curriculum. The “Business Administration” programme knew a global dominance related to the supremacy of the English language, dominant in the

business field (Altbach, 2005). Students' odds to choose than not this programme increase at the mass private sector compared to the LU and the elite private sector where the students at the latter sector have less chances to choose than not this programme. This is credited to the facility that the mass private sector offers to the students choosing this programme where no scientific test is imposed.

Students' first preference for a programme is for fields needed within the labour market (such as Engineering, Infirmary, etc.). **However, and because of the students' lack of perception and asymmetric information** in what pertains to the effective labour market needs, **their final choice of programme does not seem to correlate with the job market needs**. Students declared regretting the choice of the programme because of the "lack of work opportunities" and the "low salaries offered". This contradicts what they identified as being the main reasons for choosing the higher education over the labour market and that is "higher salaries" and "better work opportunities" emphasizing their unawareness of the effective needs. More insight on this will be provided in chapter eight.

Students, especially at the LU and the mass PUs, kept on choosing programmes which do not allow social mobility oppose to those at the elite PUs where the recruitment rate for programmes that permit social mobility is increasing. This behaviour is credited to the follow up and advising strategy implemented by each of these universities. According to the interviews done with the representatives from both the elite and the mass private sectors, *elite universities* seem to provide a more accurate counselling pertaining to the choice of programmes (after the first year) oppose to *mass PUs* that do not really guide the students' choice. *Concerning the LU*, it is well known that it promotes not only equal opportunities but freedom of choice. The "ministry of education and higher education", and according to the director general, is not really with a quota system or any other system that aims to set and specify the number of recruits for each programme (Appendix 4.3). The choice of elite PUs students of more "trendy", "booming" sectors can be

accredited to the information strategy adopted by the elite universities. The data disclosed that elite universities' students are the most informed ones.

Part IV in its 3 chapters provided an insight on one part of the transformation process that of the students' choices at the higher education level and aspects guiding them (input). It permitted also to reflect on the transformation process by revealing the students' current thought about their choices. To gain an understanding of the whole transformation process, Part V will provide an insight on the transformation process output or the graduates' integration within the labour market and aspects guiding it.

PART V:

FROM HIGHER EDUCATION TO THE LABOUR MARKET

Part V encompasses one chapter divided into two parts. Part A will consider the students' survey in order to reflect on the working students' population characteristics. Part B will consider the second survey and reflect on the graduates' integration within the labour market characteristics.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WORKING STUDENTS AND INTEGRATION WITHIN THE LABOUR MARKET

Chapter eight will discuss aspects related to the labour market. It is divided in two parts. The first part reflects on the working population characteristics of the surveyed students' population. It will consider the data collected from the students' survey. The second part will consider the second survey and will reflect on the graduates' integration within the labour market and characteristics shaping such integration.

A- HIGHER STUDIES AND THE WORKING POPULATION

8.1 Type and Field of Work

58.7% of the surveyed students' population holds a job. The high percentage of working students was also noted in the LAES study where 41.2% of the surveyed graduates worked before their graduation; a proportion assessed by the researcher as being very high (Abou Rjaili, 2003). Having the same drift among years permit to confirm the presence of a trend.

The working status of the student is dependent from and is significantly explained by the age of the surveyed students (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .000; V de Cramer = .248, Sig. = .000). 55.8% of the working students are "between 18 and 21 years of old" and 36.2% "between 22 and 25 years of old". Additionally, the age per gender significantly explains the working status of the students. The below table summarizes such dependency (Table 8.1)

Table (8.1): Working Status per Age per Gender					
Age	Gender	Working Status		Significance	
		Yes	No	V de Cramer	Sig.
Between 18 and 21	Female	58.9%	76.3%	.193**	.000***
Between 22 and 25		35.5%	22.5%		
More than 25		<u>5.6%</u>	1.2%		
Between 18 and 21	Male	53.9%	83.3%	<u>.320***</u>	.000***
Between 22 and 25		32.4%	14.3%		
More than 25		<u>13.7%</u>	2.4%		

V de Cramer - *: barely explains; **: averagely explains; ***: highly/significantly explains; n: does not explain

Sig. - *: barely significant; **: averagely significant; ***: highly significant; ns: non-significant

For the male students, age highly explains the working status. *For the female students*, the age slightly explains their working status. Discrepancies are noted between female and male working students. For the range of age “between 18 and 21 years of old”, the proportion of female working students is higher than that of male students (58.9% oppose to 53.9% respectively). However, and for the range of age “higher than 35 years of old”, the proportion of male working students is higher than that of female students (13.7% oppose to 5.6% respectively). These proportions shadows the domestic responsibilities altering females from pursuing their career path at a certain age.

51.1% of the working population has a full time job versus 48.9% who has a part time job. ***A majority of 83.1% of the “working students” works at the tertiary sector.*** This is empirically validated by Chunlei and Konglai (2009) who demonstrated that the majority of university students and graduates (72.8%) work at the tertiary sector oppose to a majority of those with lower level of education (primary education) who work at the primary and secondary sectors (47.3% and 32.8% respectively). **The high proportion of the students working at the tertiary sector is dependent from the choice of programme (V**

de Cramer = .154; Sig. = .003) where 77.4% of these students are currently enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”.

Concerning the family inter-relation, the data collected demonstrated that the students’ field of work is independent from that of the father (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .843) and that of the mother (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .216).

8.2 Distribution of the Working Students Population

The below table summarizes the distribution of the working students’ population (Table 8.2):

Table (8.2): Distribution of the Working Students' Population				
	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Significance
Working students	26.9%	14%	59.1%	V de Cramer = .422; Sig. = .000
Programme				
Business Administration	28.3%	6.5%	65.2%	V de Cramer = .416; Sig. = .000
Service-Oriented tracks	0%	7.9%	92.1%	
Sciences	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	
Literature and Humanities	39%	61%	0%	
Father occupational status				
Senior Positions	34.4%	12.5%	53.1%	V de Cramer = .188; Sig. = .033
Administrative Positions	34.4%	15.6%	50%	
Secretary Positions	21.4%	3.6%	75%	

8.2.1 Working Students Population per HEI

The choice of the HEI is highly explained by the working status of the students (V de Cramer = .422; Sig. = .000). *A majority* of 59.1% of the working students are *enrolled at*

mass PUs oppose to only 26.9% and 14% enrolled at the LU and the elite PUs respectively. This high rate of working students at the mass private sector was also confirmed by the LAES study done in 1999-2000 denoting hence a behaviour similarity over the years (rf. Chapter one; Abou Rjaili, 2003).

Interviews done with mass private sector representatives validated these percentages. Both representatives acknowledged that the high percentage of working students at their institutions is related to the students' need to work in order to pay for their tuition fees (Appendix, 4.5). Because an important majority of mass PUs students come from not very well-heeled families this reinforces their need to work and study at the same time. This reality is validated by Barke et al. (2000) who clearly advanced that the students from the low social class are more likely to occupy during studies more time work than those from the high social class because of the need to finance their higher studies.

Having a low proportion of working students at the elite private sector is validated by the interview done with the academic provost at LAU. He acknowledged that the proportions of the working students decreased over the years because of the implementation of new financial restructuring strategies. This, in addition to the fact that the students choosing the elite private sector, and if to compare with the mass private sector and the LU, come from well-heeled families who can afford in general the high tuition fees. This, however, and always according to the academic provost at LAU, does not mean that the students are behind the labour market needs. Most programmes - if not all - have one active learning component which consists of training or any other interaction with the labour market allowing students to have some professional background.

The low proportion of 26.9% of working students at the LU could be credited to the practically free tuition fees applied by the university. Additionally, compared to mass PUs, the LU is more strict in what pertains to the students' attendance where the

attendance system is not that flexible as the mass private sector which permits students to work and study at the same time.

8.2.2 Working Students per Programme

The choice of the programme is highly explained by the students' working status (V de Cramer = .378; Sig. = .000). 73.6% of the surveyed working students' population are enrolled at the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration", 10% at the "Service-Oriented faculties/tracks", 10.8% at the faculty of "Literature and Humanities" and 5.5% at the faculty of "Sciences".

Additionally, the students' working status highly explains the choice of the programme per HEI (V de Cramer = .416, Sig. = .000). For the "Economic Sciences and Business Administration" programme, the highest proportion of the surveyed working students is for those at the mass private sector with 65.2% from the total surveyed working students' population. For the "Service-Oriented Faculties/Tracks", where surveys were mainly collected from the private sector, 92.1% of the surveyed working students are enrolled at mass PUs. Concerning the "Sciences" faculty, the proportion of working students is equally divided amongst the three sectors (33% for each). These figures ascertain ***the need for mass PUs students to work and study at the same time in order to pay their tuition fees***. It mirrors these students' socio-economic background and social class. It also permits to affirm that mass private sectors students consider the higher education degree as a plus and not a must when it comes to finding employment opportunities, particularly for those who already hold a job.

8.2.3 Working Students per Social Class

Two proxies are considered as indicators of the social class. The first is the family total level of income and the second is the fathers' occupational level. Taking the first proxy,

we note an independent relation between the total level of income and the working status of the students (Khi-Deux de Pearson = .740). Taking the second proxy, we note a certain **dependency between the father's level of employment and the working status of the student** (V de Cramer = .154; Sig. = .046). 56.8% of the surveyed working students have a father who works in a secretary position oppose to 21.6% who have a father who either work in an administrative positions or senior positions (for each). These percentages confirm once again the previous results where students from the low/mid-low social classes need to work and study at the same time.

The father occupational status also slightly explains the choice of the HEI by the working students (V de Cramer = .188; Sig. = .033). 75% of the surveyed working students who have a father working in a secretary position are at the mass private sector oppose to 21.4% who are enrolled at the LU and 3.6% at the elite PUs for the same occupational status. This confirms the financial need of these students and justify somehow their choice of the mass private sector.

8.3 Field of Work and Choice of Programme

62.4% of the surveyed working students answered that their **choice of programme is correlated to their field of work**. **The choice of the programme and the field of work are highly dependent** (V de Cramer = .216, Sig. = .000). From the 62.4% of the surveyed working students, 87.6%, 91.3% and 87.5% of those who are respectively enrolled at the “Business Administration” programme, “Service-Oriented Faculties/Tracks”, and “Literature and Humanities” faculty work at the tertiary sector²⁰⁴. 50% of those enrolled at the “Sciences” faculty work at the quaternary sector²⁰⁵. Working students seems hence to choose programme related to their field of work in one way or another.

²⁰⁴ The tertiary sector or service sector includes (amongst others) the following fields: accounting, marketing, banking and finance, hotel management/tourism, etc.

²⁰⁵ Quaternary sector or intellectual science includes (amongst others) the following fields: sciences, engineering, programming, etc.

8.4 What are the Reasons of Unemployment of the 41.3% of the Surveyed Students?

Students forming the sample are senior students who should be at the verge of searching or finding job opportunities. Based on a European study, 40% of the graduates start searching for an employment before their graduation, more than 30% begin the search around graduation and less than 30% after graduation, whereas one quarter of the graduates do not search for employment either because they already have a job or because they have found one without even searching (Teichler, 2002). According to Van der Klaauw et al. (2005), the graduates' integration within the labour market is much easier and faster whenever the students start searching for a job prior to graduation. The majority of the working students forming the sample are enrolled at mass PUs confirming the fact that the choice of higher education, particularly at the mass private sector, is not to secure a job but rather to get promoted within the job. Taking this as a starting point, the below table (table 8.3) summarizes the main reasons which prevented the 41.3% of the non-working students from finding employment.

Table (8.3): Reasons of Unemployment ²⁰⁶		
Reason(s)	Average	Low
Reputation of the university/Not very well known and acknowledged	21.3%	69.3%
Absence of personal connections	<u>41.1%</u>	51%
Low GPA	19.5%	74%
Low salaries	29.9%	48.5%
Shy presence of companies that offer positions related to my field of study	<u>33.3%</u>	43.6%

²⁰⁶ Students had to choose between three effects: high, average and low.

8.4.1 Reputation of the University/Not Very Well Acknowledged

The effect of the reputation of the university on the employment/unemployment status is significantly dependent and explained by the choice of the HEI (V de Cramer = .256; Sig. = .000). For the 9.4% of the surveyed non-working students who identified the *“reputation of the university” as being highly decisive on their unemployment status, 52.6% are mass PUs students, 42.1% are LU students and only 5.3% are elite PUs students.* For the 69.3% of the surveyed students who found a low correlation, 77.1% are LU students, 10.7% are mass PUs students, and 12.1% are elite PUs students. These figures are very consistent with the Lebanese reality. LU students despite the difficulties they face at the labour market are still better evaluated by employers than the graduates from the mass private sector. For elite PUs, and because of the support provided to graduates, and as demonstrated in the previous discussion and affirmed by the academic provost at LAU, the percentage of the non-working students who found this cause as a reason of unemployability is insignificant.

8.4.2 Absence of Personal Connections

The absence of personal connection is not as dependent as the reputation of the university from the HEI. Still, it slightly **explains the unemployability of the surveyed students** (V de Cramer = .162; Sig. = .032). *Elite PUs unemployed students did not attribute an important effect to the absence of personal connections.* This is explained by the social class and social circles that these students have, as demonstrated by many empirical studies (chapter one, Part B, section 1.13). *For the LU, 62.5% and 72.8% of the surveyed unemployed students attributed a respectively high and low effect to this criterion on their unemployability status.* Given that the LU does not only recruit students from the low and the mid-low social classes as previously demonstrated explain these percentages. Students from good social circles do not find this as a predominant factor oppose to those from less affluent social circles. *37.5% of mass PUs unemployed*

surveyed students found the absence of personal connections as having a high effect oppose to 12.6% who attributed a low effect to this criterion. As discussed previously, a majority of the mass PUs students come from not very well-heeled families affecting their access to social circles assisting in the provision of employment opportunities. We can conclude, that the students who have access not only to financial capital but also to social capital, seem not to have a real concern pertaining to their employability chances after graduation.

8.4.3 Low GPA (General Performance Average)

The students' average over 20 slightly explains the impact of the academic performance on being unemployed (V de Cramer = .163; Sig. = .044). A majority of 74% identified the low GPA as having a low effect on their unemployability. 67.9% of these students have an average "between 15.9 and 12 over 20". The majority of 68.6% of the 19.5% of the unemployed surveyed students who credited an average effect to their academic performance on being unemployed is also for those within the same range of average (i.e. between 15.9 and 12 over 20). The plausible reason that might explain why the academic performance does not seem to explain much the fact of being unemployed is credited to the fact that a majority of 45.5% of the 6.5% of the surveyed students who identified the low GPA as having a high effect on their unemployment have an average "above 16 over 20". This does question the real effect attributed by the students to this criterion.

8.4.4 Low Salaries

48.5% of the surveyed unemployed students accredited a low effect to this criterion. *The students' HEI slightly explains the variation in relation to the effect of low salaries on being unemployed* (V de Cramer = .162; Sig. = .031). Whether the effect is identified as being high, average or low, the majority is from the LU. It is a known fact that the salaries within the Lebanese labour market are to a certain extent determined based not only on

the expertise and skills of the graduate but also on the HEI of the graduate. The LU students were always, and for the same degree, expertise, load of work and position, been less compensated than the graduates from the private sector. This reality was discussed in chapter one, part B.

8.4.5 Shy Presence of Companies that Offer Positions Related to the Field of Study

43.6% of the students identified this criterion as having a low effect on their unemployment oppose to 33.3% who credited an average impact. **The programme in which the student is enrolled explains to a certain extent the effect attributed to this criterion** (V de Cramer = .182; Sig. = .032). The majority of the 33.3% is either enrolled at the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” programme (57.4%) or the faculty of “Sciences” (30.9%). For the 23% *who credited a high effect to this criterion on being unemployed*, the majority of 55.3% and 31.9% *is also enrolled at the faculties of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” and “Sciences” programmes* respectively. These results validate the saturation of the labour market for these two fields²⁰⁷. From a HEI perspective, 72.3% and 68.5% of the unemployed surveyed students attributing a respectively low and high effect to this criterion are LU students; 27.7% and 13.5% are respectively mass PUs students and 0% and 18% are respectively elite PUs students. These figures ascertain once again the follow-up that the elite PUs provide to their graduates²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁷ As mentioned previously surveys collected from the “Sciences” faculty are mainly from the “Biology/Medical Sciences” track.

²⁰⁸ Elite private universities seem to have a more developed strategy in relation to the follow up of graduates. Interviewed representatives of the two mass universities acknowledged either the absence of graduates follow up strategy and advanced that it is the graduates responsibility to find a job (such as the Antonine University) or have just established an office (ALUMNI) to follow up on graduates’ employment (such as the AOU). As for the representative of elite private universities, he clearly acknowledged the importance of graduates follow up via the ALUMNI office that permit to keep contact with graduates. Moreover, he emphasized the importance of such follow up as it is a condition of the accreditors professional bodies (ABET and ACPE).

On a comparison level between the working and the non-working students, and if to consider the fathers' occupational status, we note that the non-working students have a higher proportion of fathers who work in senior positions (32.7%) and a lower proportion who work in secretary positions (41.45%) oppose to 21.6% and 56.8% for the working population respectively. These figures reflect somehow the non-working surveyed students' population "life-style" that might not force them to work and study at the same time.

Table 8.4 provides a summary of what was discussed per HEI:

Table (8.4): Main Criteria for being Unemployed					
Criterion	Effect	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Significance
Reputation of the HEI	High	42.1%	5.3%	52.6%	<i>V de Cramer = .256; Sig. = .000</i>
	Low	77.1%	12.1%	10.7%	
Absence of personal connection	High	62.5%	0%	37.5%	V de Cramer = .162; Sig. = .032
	Low	72.8%	14.6%	12.6%	
Low Salaries	High	77.3%	2.3%	<u>20.5%</u>	V de Cramer = .162; Sig. = .031
	Low	62.6%	17.2%	<u>20.2%</u>	
Shy presence of companies	High	72.3%	0%	27.7%	V de Cramer = .185; Sig. = .007
	Low	68.5%	18%	13.5%	

The most influential factor is the reputation of the HEI. This conclusion comes in compliance with the literature review and the empirical studies.

B- LEBANESE GRADUATES' ACCESS TO THE LABOUR MARKET: EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT, EMIGRATION

The second part of the chapter reflects on the graduates' integration within the labour market. A survey conducted amongst the Lebanese households in 2005-2006 was considered. **The aim of the survey was to reflect**, in addition to the general characteristics pertaining to each individual (marital status, social activity sector, residency, hobbies, languages knowledge, etc.) **on:**

- (1) the individuals' educational experience including questions related to the level of education, the choice of higher education, the choice of Vocational and Technical Education, the reason(s) of each choice, the choice of a programme, and the choice of a HEI,
- (2) the individuals' professional experience including - among other aspects - the economic activity, the ways of searching for a job, the invested period of time to search for a job, the aspects having an effect on getting a job, the difficulties encountered to find a job, the negative and positive aspects of the job, the importance of internship, etc., and
- (3) the individuals' tendency towards emigration including questions related to their willingness to emigrate and reasons for considering emigration.

As advanced in the methodology chapter (chapter four), this survey was used instead of a prior one formulated specifically for the thesis. The rational of this choice was because of difficulties encountered in collecting enough data from the graduates. Most of them did not reply to emails sent, did not complete the survey appropriately, or did not show any interest in completing the survey. Moreover, access to universities Alumni's list was not granted and the absence of a central data did not facilitate the task. Consequently, the data of the survey done in 2005-2006 was used permitting to have a better insight on the graduates' integration within the labour market and aspects affecting it. Not all questions were used in the analysis. Only those permitting to answer the study's objectives were

considered. Consequently, questions related to the educational and occupational choices permitting to gain understanding of how students' personal characteristics, social background and educational choices had an effect on their integration and pace of integration within the labour market were referred to in the analysis.

The chapter will mainly reflect on the difference in the transition process based on the gender; the socio-economic background; the choice of the field of the study and HEI; the channels used, as suggested by the literature review in chapter three, part B. Given that the survey considered both the parents and their children, a historical overview will be also projected permitting to identify changes (or not) over the years pertaining to the transition process. For this purpose, the parents' holding a university degree were only considered in order to have a consistent comparison between generations. For comparison purposes, the choice of the programme, of the HEI and the channels used to find a job were particularly referred to in order to better understand the transition process to the labour market from one generation to another. One limitation to this survey is that it did not reflect on the HEI of the student or graduate despite asking about the reasons of choice of the HEI. This limitation is however made up by the previous study done which permitted to identify the students' stand from the HEI and its ability to assure or not an easy transition process.

8.5 Distribution of the Sample

The survey covered 4748 households enclosing 18938 individuals. 52.2% of the surveyed population are male oppose to 47.8% females. Concerning **the distribution per age**²⁰⁹, 21.7% of the population is "between 1 and 17 years of old", 17.2% is "between 41 and 50 years of old", 16.7% is "between 18 and 22 years of old", and 16.5% is "between 23 and 30

²⁰⁹ The age variable was collected into age brackets for easier interpretation purposes.

years of old”. It is the last bracket of age that is out of interest to the researcher permitting to reflect on the integration within the labour market.

47% of the surveyed population have an **educational level** below secondary education, 25.1% have a secondary education, and 12.4% have a BA level. As stated previously, very few are choosing the vocational education, where only 4.1% of the surveyed population have a technical brevet and 2.8% an LT (license technique). This is credited to the social perception that both families and employers still have about the vocational education despite being more practically oriented and providing skills which employers are sometimes requesting but not encountering amongst university graduates (rf. Chapter one). The highest percentage of illiterate is amongst the fathers and the mothers, where 35% of the fathers and 35% of the mothers are illiterates. Concerning those holding a BA degree, the highest percentage seems more evident at the children’s level. 31% and 21% of the first and the second child have respectively a BA degree oppose to the fathers and the mothers where 16% and 15.6% have respectively a BA degree.

At the secondary and BA levels, females are better educated than males (V de Cramer = 086; Sig: = .000). 52% of the females have a secondary degree oppose to 48% of the males and 53% of the females have a BA degree oppose to 47% of the males. However, males seem to have better chances to pursue higher level of education. 57.5% of the males have a master degree oppose to 42.5% of the females, and 66% of males have a PhD degree oppose to only 34% of the females. This is credited to the domestic duties that the females have to assume at a certain stage of their life preventing them from pursuing higher level of education (Figure 8.1).

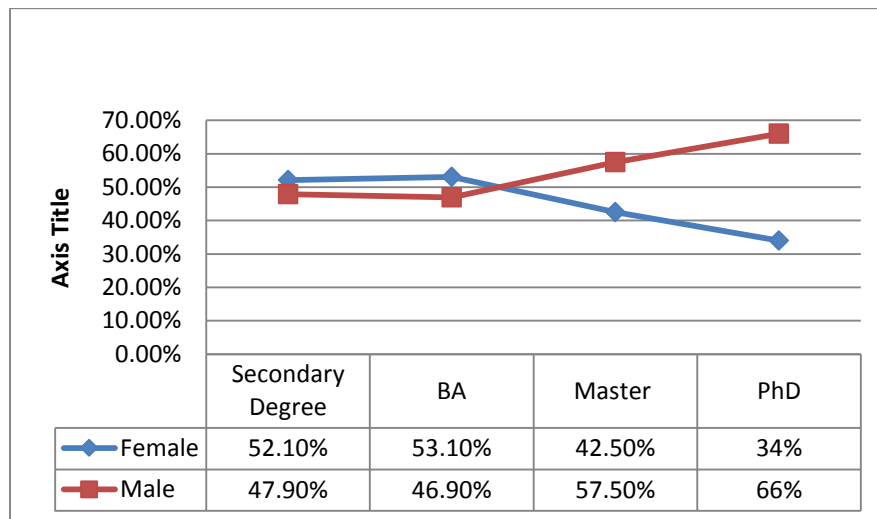


Figure (8.1): Level of Education – Female versus Male

Concerning the **economic activity sector**, 58.8% of the surveyed population work at the tertiary sector. 30.8% of the respondents work as a full time employee in “administrative positions” followed by 16.7% of them who work as “entrepreneur”. The sector of activity highly explains the occupational status of the individuals (V de Cramer: .318; Sig: .000). A majority of 46.8% of those working at the tertiary sector are full time employees oppose to a majority of 42.5% of those who work at the secondary sector and who are entrepreneurs.

8.6 Educational Choices

8.6.1 Educational Aspiration

The majority of the surveyed population affirmed its aspiration for higher level of studies. 39.8% of the surveyed population is aspiring to have a BA degree and 41.5% a master and/or a PhD degree with only 7.9% choosing vocational education. Moreover, 44% of those who have a secondary degree stated their will to pursue a BA degree, 63.9% of those who are pursuing a BA degree or hold a BA degree expressed their will to do a

master and/or a PhD degree and 81% of those pursuing a master degree or having a master degree expressed their will to do a PhD degree. **These figures are a clear evidence of the importance of investment in education for the Lebanese households** as stated in chapter 1.

25.7% of the respondents did not continue their studies because of the “war”²¹⁰, 22.5% because of “marriage”²¹¹, 14% because of a “personal decision/did not want to continue”, 9.6% because they “found a job”²¹², 8.1% because of their “financial status”²¹³, and 7.5% because of the “parents’ pressure”²¹⁴.

8.6.2 The Choice between Vocational Higher Education and General Higher Education

Most of the surveyed population who would choose or had chosen the vocational education instead of the general track justified their choice either because this type of education is “more practical” (36.6% of the respondents), or because “it allows to learn a profession faster” (27.2%), or because they “did not pass the baccalaureate test” (17.4%²¹⁵) or because “it is an easy, non-difficult type of education” (14.9%).

Concerning those who chose the general higher education sector, the main reasons of that choice were mainly related to their “will to pursue higher studies” that a vocational degree does not allow (36.6%), or because “it allows better employment opportunities” (29.3%) and “higher salaries” (19.3%).

²¹⁰ 52.6% of those are fathers and 34.1% are mothers

²¹¹ Out of which 64.1% are mothers and 15.6% are fathers. This is reflective of the domestic roles that females have preventing them from pursuing their education or higher level of education.

²¹² Out of which 41.3% from the children and 32.5% from the fathers

²¹³ Out of which 35.9% are fathers, 26.8% are mothers and 25.4% from the children

²¹⁴ 51.2% are fathers, 21.1% are mothers, and 12.9% of the first child population. This might be reflective on the awareness that parents have had over time.

²¹⁵ This proportion affirms what was previously mentioned as to the perception of technical education for being only for school drop outs - those who fail in their baccalaureate

8.6.3 Choice of Programme at the Secondary and Higher Education Level

At the secondary level, the majority of the surveyed population chose either the “Life Sciences” track (6.3%) or the “Sociology and Economy” track (6%). This is affirmative of the trend of choice for the “Sociology and Economy” track at the secondary level. Such choice, as discussed previously, is done out of belief that this track will permit to choose from a wider range of specializations at the higher education level than other tracks. This validates the results of the first survey discussed in chapter 5, part A.

Concerning the higher education level, the highest percentage is for those holding a BA in the “Business Administration field” (19.4%), followed by “Literature and Humanities” (11.6%), “Information Technology” (11.3%), “Sciences/Medical Sciences” (11.2%), and “Engineering/Architecture” (8.2%) with only 3.1% pursuing or having pursued a degree in “Tourism and Hotel Management”. These figures ascertain once again that the choices at the higher education level, regardless of the period and time of the survey, remain the same. *There is a stereotyped behaviour pertaining to the choice of the programme at the higher education level.*

Concerning the reasons of these choices, they are identified by the respondents as follow:

35.1% of the respondents referred their choice to the “*higher salaries/higher employment opportunities/needed field*”. This reason is mainly identified by those pursuing or having pursued a higher education degree in “Business administration” (49.3%) or “Information Technology” (46.9%). This comes in accord with the results of the students’ survey discussed in chapter 5,

27.2% to a “*personal interest*”. This is also in accord with the results of the students’ survey where many chose their field out of personal interest. Respondents who chose this

criterion are mainly from the faculties of “Art/Painting/Graphic Design” (40.7%), “Law and Political Sciences” (35.3%) and “Literature/Education/Social Sciences” (33.4%),

16.1% because they just “*passed the entrance test*”, and

7.7% because it is an “*easy, practical field that does not require time and too much effort*”.

A criterion that is mainly chosen by those from the “Agriculture field”.

These results coincide with the results of the students’ survey discussed in chapter five.

We noted therefore a similarity in the behaviour from one generation to another concerning not only the choice of the programme but also the reasons of that choice. This implicates that the social and cultural pre-conceptions are more embedded and play a more influential role within the Lebanese society than the effective labour market needs.

8.6.4 Choice of the HEI

The majority of the respondents referred their choice of the HEI to the “acceptable tuition fees” (34.2%) or “no tuition fees” (18.3%). The “reputation of the university”, “near to the place of residency” and being “a private institution” were also identified as having had a decisive impact on the choice of the HEI with respectively 16.1%, 10% and 5.5%.

8.7 Transition Process and Employment Opportunities

8.7.1 Channels used to Find Employment and Transition Period²¹⁶

²¹⁶ A comparison between parents and children pertaining to the period of transition, channels used to find employment and opinion about travel could not be done because of the very low effectives of fathers and mothers who answered to these questions. The percentage provided can be considered as being related to the graduates.

8.7.1.1 Ways of Finding Employment

46.9% of the respondents received their first-job through “personal connections”. This affirms the importance of this channel in the transition process. It also agrees with the results of not only previous empirical studies done in the field but also with the students’ survey results where the surveyed students identified “personal connections” as an extremely important network to find a job. The second majority that is 18.75% works with “parents or relatives”. These results validate the importance of the social surroundings in finding a job.

The use of “personal connections” as a way to find employment is mainly noted for saturated labour market fields or for programmes where the recruitment rates of the students have been always on the boom (V de Cramer = .358; Sig. = .000) (Figure 8.2).

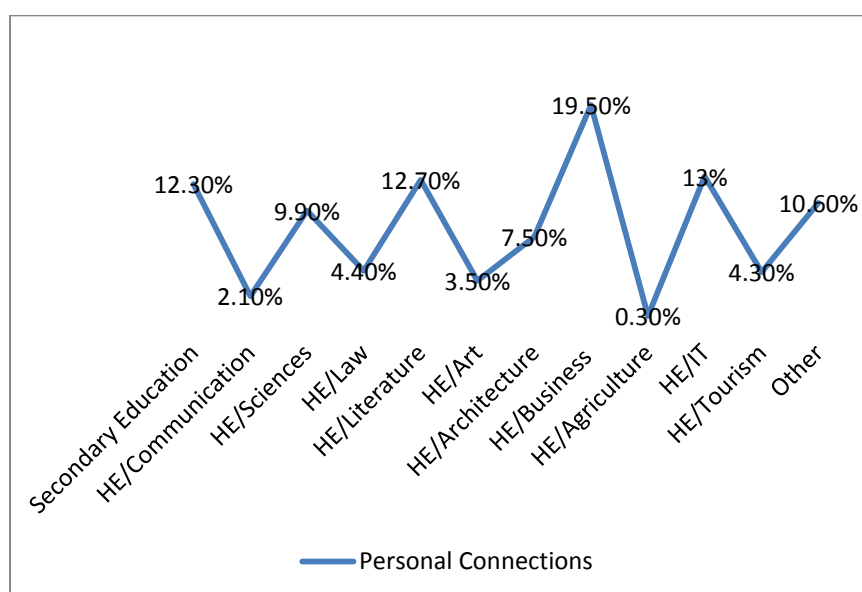


Figure (8.2): Finding a job via personal connections per programme

8.7.1.2 Period of Transition and Factors Affecting it

45.3% of the respondents found job “directly after graduation”, 25.3% within “less than three months”, and 14.9% between “three and six months”²¹⁷.

Finding a job directly after graduation does not seem to be highly dependent and correlated to the field of study chosen at higher education level (Sig.: .010; V de Cramer = .097). *However, it is highly correlated to the network used to find employment* (Sig.: .000; V de Cramer = .107). 44.2% of those who found a job opportunity “directly after graduation” (i.e. from the 45.3%) identified having referred to “personal connections” and 26.9% work with “parents or relatives”. The same applies for those who found a job “within a period of 3 months”. 52% of those referred to “personal connections” and 12.4% work with “parents or relatives”. *The “personal connections” seems therefore to be the main channel to find a job regardless of the period taken to be employed.*

Males find job faster than females (Sig. = .000; V de Cramer = .099). For example, 65.6% of the surveyed males found job “directly after graduation” oppose to 34.4% of the females. With time, the females’ integration within the labour market seems to be more difficult because of the domestic responsibilities (Table 8.5).

Table (8.5): Time needed to find a job – Female versus Male		
Period of Time	Male	Female
Directly	<u>65.6%</u>	<u>34.4%</u>
Less than 3 months	57.5%	42.5%
Between 3 and 6 months	53.8%	46.2%
Between 6 and 12 months	59.1%	40.9%
Between 12 and 18 months	<i>70.5%</i>	<i>29.5%</i>
More than 18 months	63.8%	36.3%

V de Cramer = .099; Sig. = .000

²¹⁷ This percentage is reflective of the graduates’ situation and not that of their parents. Only four fathers and one mother have answered that question.

If to add to the period of transition, the level of education per gender, we note that the majority of the surveyed males who were directly integrated within the labour market have less than a secondary education whereas the females who were directly integrated within the labour market have a BA degree. The same applies for all level of education. The majority of males within the labour market have an education below the higher education oppose to the surveyed females who have a higher education. This is in accord with what was previously demonstrated in previous chapters. Females are better educated than males. The proportion of females who pursue higher education in Lebanon is higher than that of males. However, despite such higher level of education, the female integration within the labour market is regarded with some concerns. When adding the gender to the equation of transition, the human capital theory is questioned particularly in relation to the employment opportunities, the integration and pace of integration within the labour market. The below table summarizes per level of education, the differences between the surveyed males' integration within the labour market and that of the surveyed females (Table 8.6).

Table (8.6): Period of Transition per Level of Education per Gender			
Period of Transition	Level of Education	Male	Female
Directly	<u>Less than secondary</u>	<u>32.2%</u>	13.5%
	Secondary	26.1%	27.4%
	<u>Higher education</u>	18.8%	<u>38%</u>
Less than 3 months	<u>Less than secondary</u>	<u>26.7%</u>	13.9%
	Secondary	29%	34.6%
	<u>Higher education</u>	17.5%	<u>29.7%</u>
Between 3 and 6 months	<u>Less than secondary</u>	<u>27%</u>	12.2%
	Secondary	21.1%	32.9%
	<u>Higher education</u>	25%	<u>35.1%</u>
Between 6 and 12 months	<u>Less than secondary</u>	<u>32.8%</u>	16.7%
	Secondary	23.2%	26.2%
	<u>Higher education</u>	14.4%	<u>28.6%</u>
Between 12 and 18 months	<u>Less than secondary</u>	<u>26.7%</u>	8%
	Secondary	21.7%	20%
	<u>Higher education</u>	16.7%	<u>32%</u>
More than 18 months	<u>Less than secondary</u>	<u>41%</u>	19%
	Secondary	24%	29.3%
	<u>Higher education</u>	10%	<u>34.5%</u>
Signification and Dependency		Sig = .030 V de Cramer = .081	Sig. = .010 V de Cramer = .101

The period of transition to the labour market is somehow dependent from the level of education (Sig. = .001; V de Cramer = .070). As discussed in chapter 1, having a higher education degree does not seem to provide holders of such a degree with an advantage over those holding a secondary education degree; challenging by that the human capital theory. ***Higher level of education does not affect positively the transition process.*** The proportion of the surveyed population who have “less than a secondary degree”, “a secondary degree” or “a BA degree” and who was directly integrated within the labour

market is approximately the same (Figure 8.3). This is credited to the “personal connections” criterion where the data validated it as an important factor in the transition process. Many respondents with high level of education (master and above) took more than 6 months to find employment. On the other hand, we noted that the holders of a vocational degree regardless of its level have a faster transition process. This affirms *the Lebanese reality unable to cope with the highly skilled individuals given that the economy is trapped in low-economic activities.*

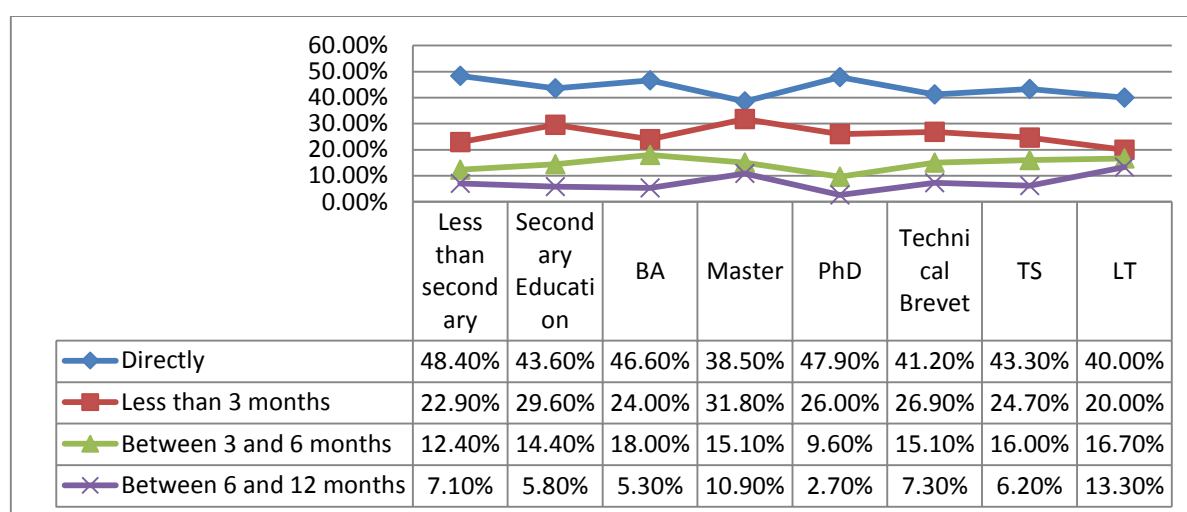


Figure (8.3): Period of finding a job per level of education

Concerning the **elements that affected the most the chances of finding employment opportunities**, the respondents were divided as follow: 39.5% found the “*diploma’s level*” as having the most important effect, 13.4% found the “*compliance of the field of specialization with the job requirements*” as the most important element, 10.4% identified the “*experience*” as the most important factor, and 6.3% found “*personal connections*” as an influential element. Additionally, 20.6% of the respondents did not find any direct relation between the diploma or field of study and the probability of being employed. This percentage affirms *the Lebanese reality where many graduates work in a field not related to their specialization in order to “skip” unemployment and/or emigration.* These

percentages contradict somehow the reality where, and as identified previously, most of the respondents received their first-job through “personal connections” regardless of their field of study. This verifies once again the misconceptions that the students have about the relation between the higher education and the labour market. It validates the presence of asymmetric information that does not allow them to formulate correct decision based on the effective labour market needs. It affirms that the subjective aspiration that the graduates have do not coincide with the objective and real aspiration of the labour market.

The period of transition is highly dependent from the occupational status of the graduates (Sig. = .000; V de Cramer = .099). Regardless of the occupation, the majority found a job directly after graduation. The highest rate is being among “entrepreneurs” (60.1%), followed by “full time employee/senior positions” (54.2%), “part time/seasonable workers” (43.2%) and “full time employee/administrative position” (41.5%). The highest proportion being for “entrepreneur” is very rational because this proportion of graduates works for her/his own account; 47.7% of them work with “parents or relatives” (V de Cramer = .150; Sig. = .000). Concerning those who work in “senior positions”, this verifies the importance of skills or experience acquired permitting for this “proportion” to be directly involved in professional activity. For the 41.5% of the graduates who work as “full time employees in administrative positions”, 49.3% of them; approximately the half, found job through personal contacts (Sig. = .000; V de Cramer = .150). This explains the high rate of those finding directly a job after graduation. Consequently, and for all occupational status, the most common ways of finding a job directly after graduation were either working with “parents/relatives” or through “personal connections”. This affirms the importance of the social capital in finding a job fast enough after graduation within the Lebanese labour market (Figure 8.4).

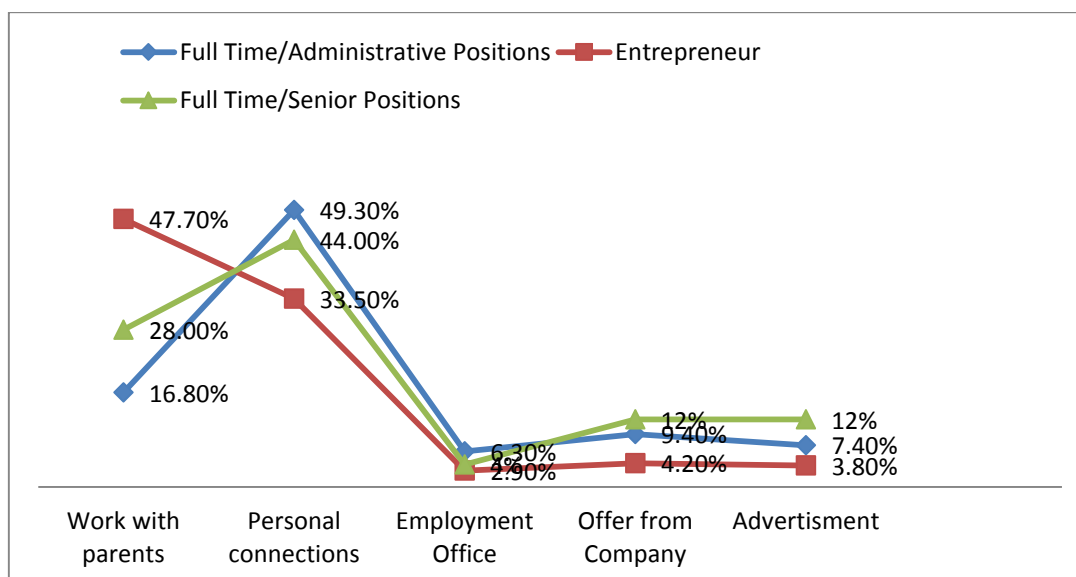


Figure (8.4): Most common network used to find employment per occupational status

8.7.2 Work Environment

The same attributes identified as having a positive effect on finding employment opportunities are identified as having negative repercussions leading to job termination.

For the majority of the respondents, **the main positive features at their work** are the “*possibility of getting acknowledged and promoted*” (25.6%), the “*high salaries*” (22.8%) and the “*comfortable work schedule*”(15.3%).

Concerning the main negative attributes, they are identified by the majority of the respondents as being related to the “*absence of recognition and promotion*” (16.6%), the “*low salary*” and the “*late payment of salary*” (with 17.8% and 12.9% respectively), and the “*uncomfortable work schedule*” (22.5%). These conditions, among others, might explain why a majority of the graduates remain unemployed after graduation for a long period of time or why they are unsatisfied at their current job and are looking for better employment opportunities within the regional or international labour markets. This verifies what was advanced in chapter one, part B concerning the graduates’ will to emigrate because of the low salaries and the inability of getting promoted within SMEs.

When asked about **the main reasons for leaving their current job**, the majority of 29.5% of the concerned respondents left their current job in quest of “better employment opportunities”, 24.1% because the “organization closed”²¹⁸ and 14.1% because of “low salaries”.

Concerning the difficulties encountered to find work, and for 46.1% of the respondents, the main reason is the *“low employment opportunities available at the Lebanese labour market”*. The highest proportion of these respondents identifying this as a predicament is from the “Business Administration” field (24.3%), followed by those from the “Literature/Education/Social Sciences” (13.1%), “Information Technology” field (12.8%), and “Medical Sciences/Sciences/Pharmacy” (8.9%). This validates the saturation of the Lebanese labour market for these fields and the lack of job creation. Regarding the rest of the respondents, 16.1%, 9.2% and 8.8% identified the “absence of the diploma”, the “low qualification”, and the “no equivalence for the diploma” as being respectively a main reason. 15.4% blamed the “recession”, and 3.7% found themselves “overqualified for the job opportunities offered on the labour market”. For the 3.7% who found that they are overqualified for the job opportunities available within the Lebanese labour market, the majority are from the “Business Administration” (22.6%), “Literature/Education/Social Sciences” (16.1%), “Information Technology” (12.9%), and “Architecture/Engineering (12.9%) fields. This is credited to the economic situation where job opportunities are mainly in low-activities sector. This explains why 0% of those pursuing or having pursued a degree in “Agriculture” does not consider themselves as over-qualified. *These figures affirm once again the Lebanese reality in relation to the unavailability of adequate job opportunities for university graduates.*

75% of the respondents identified “internship” as important to gain experience and increase their chances of finding job opportunities. The importance of “internship” seems to be independent from the choice of the programme (Sig.: .432; V de Cramer: .058).

²¹⁸ This is reflective of the economic situation affecting employment level

However, it is highly dependent from the sector of work (Sig: .000; V de Cramer: .047) and dependent from the type of work (Sig: .001; V de Cramer = .049). 58.5% of the respondents who work at the tertiary sector identified the “internship” as being extremely important to “acquire experience and communication skills”, 57.8% regarded it as an important “door for employment opportunities”, and 63.4% found in “internship” a way to “prove abilities and qualifications”. Additionally, respondents who work as “full time employees in administrative positions” regard “internship” as being more important than those who work in “part time jobs” and who are “entrepreneurs”, or those who work in “senior administrative positions”. For 31.5% of them, “internship” is important because it allows to “acquire experience and communication skills”, for 30.9% it is a “door for employment opportunities”, and for 33.5% it is a way to “prove abilities and qualifications”. However, we noted that only 5.7% of the surveyed individuals working in “administrative full time positions” were employed after an “internship” period. Once again, *this is an indicator of the difference between the individuals’ perception and the real life circumstances.*

8.8 Emigration

73.2% of the respondents “do not consider travel”, 7.9% are “planning to emigrate”, 6.8% and 6.1% are either “planning to work” or “study abroad” respectively. However, and for the 73.2% who is “not planning to travel”, the majority is “between 1 and 17 years of old” which explains this high proportion related to this choice.

38% and 16.6% of those **planning to study abroad** are between the age of “18 and 22” and “23 and 30” years of old respectively. For those **planning to work abroad or emigrate**, the majority in both cases is from the age ranges between “18 and 22” and “23 and 30” years of old. This explains the difficulties that these individuals are facing when it comes to finding employment opportunities within the domestic labour market. 31.2% and 33.4%

of those **planning to work abroad** are between the age of “18 and 22” and “23 and 30” years of old respectively and 21.3% and 24.8% of those **planning to emigrate** for good are within the same age brackets respectively. Moreover, and for the same brackets of age, the majority of 29.4% and 37.1% respectively identified their will to **travel and work in Arab countries** (V de Cramer = .150; Sig. = .000).

The intention to travel is highly dependent from the level of education (V de Cramer = .083; Sig. = .000). It decreases with the increase in the level of education for both types of higher education; general and vocational. 35.1% and 30.8% of those holding a secondary degree are planning either to study or to work abroad respectively. 15.5% and 16.3% of those holding or pursuing a BA degree are planning to study or work abroad respectively. Additionally, 30.6% of those holding a secondary degree are planning to emigrate, 26.9% are planning to work in the Arab countries, oppose to 13.5% of those holding or pursuing a BA degree who are planning to emigrate, and 17.6% who are planning to work in Arab countries.

Working abroad or planning to work abroad is highly dependent from the occupational status (V de Cramer = .079; Sig. = .000). The highest proportion of those working abroad, or planning to work abroad, or emigrate or work in the Arab countries, is for those working in “full time administrative positions”. The respondents working in “part time/seasonable jobs”, or as “entrepreneurs” or in “senior positions” did not show their will to emigrate or even plan to work abroad. 40.4% of those working in “full time administrative positions” already work abroad, 43.5% of them are planning to work abroad, 37.9% are planning to work in the Arab countries, and 30.8% are planning to emigrate.

The decision to work abroad, emigrate or not is highly dependent from the field of study (V de Cramer = .096; Sig. = .000). The interest is in the respondents pursuing or having pursued a higher education degree. Those with a secondary education degree will not be considered. *The respondents from the following higher education programmes showed a*

high intention to travel: “medical sciences/sciences/pharmacy”; “economic sciences and business administration”; “architecture/engineering”; and “information technology”.

For the respondents from the “medical sciences/sciences/pharmacy” fields, 34.8% are already studying abroad and 18% are planning to study abroad. These rates permit to acknowledge that for certain fields emigration is for academic and not only professional purposes. 9.8% and 7.7% of these students are respectively planning to work abroad and emigrate and 9.3% are currently working abroad. This is an indicator of the labour market saturation for these fields and lack of work opportunities.

For the respondents from the “economic sciences and business administration”, 28% are planning to work in an Arab country, 22.2% are planning to emigrate, 18.8% are planning to work abroad, 18% are currently working abroad, 16.7% are planning to study abroad and 11.2% are currently studying abroad. Once again, this is reflective of the labour market saturation for the business administration field and of the students’ misconception because of the high enrolment rates that we are still noting from one generation to another as discussed in previous chapters. For the “architecture/engineering” field of study, 16.1% of the respondents who showed interest in travelling are currently working abroad, 13.5% are currently studying abroad, 12.3% and 9.8% are planning to study and work abroad respectively, 5.1% are planning to emigrate and 6.8% are planning to work in an Arab country.

Concerning the “information technology” field, 15.2% are planning to emigrate, 14% are planning to work abroad, 13% are currently working abroad, 10.1% are currently studying abroad, 8.4% are planning to study abroad and 7.6% are planning to work in an Arab country. These percentages verify the lack of work opportunities for these fields; the existence of asymmetric information and the mismatch between the higher education and labour market effective needs.

Despite the fact that the respondents from the other fields of study did not show their will to work, study abroad or emigrate, a majority of the respondents from the “literature/education/social sciences” and “hotel management/tourism” fields expressed

their intention to work in an Arab country (15.2% and 9.1% respectively). *This is very consistent with the Lebanese reality. During the past years, the Arab countries attracted an important number of tutors and individuals working in the hotel management business with attractive packages.*

These percentages reflect the importance accorded by the Lebanese to the external markets (regional and international) either to work or to study. Based on the above discussion, **the choice of the external market is dependent from the field of study.** For the “business administration”, “hotel management”, “literature and education”, the highest proportion of the respondents with intention to travel is targeting the regional market or the Arab countries. Concerning other fields such as the “medical sciences”, the “information technology” and the “architecture/engineering”, the respondents from these fields seem to prefer the international markets, not only for work purposes but also for educational aims particularly for programmes where there is a direct application within the professional field such as the “architecture” and the “medical sciences”. These figures are therefore a clear evidence of the Lebanese brain drain as a consequence of the gap between the higher education and the labour market.

The decision to travel or not is highly dependent from the gender (Sig: .000; V de Cramer: .163). 50.6% of the females does not consider travelling oppose to 49.4% of the males. Concerning the respondents who are planning to travel for one purpose or another, **the overwhelming majority are males.** Figure (8.5) summarizes the difference between males and females regarding travel intention.

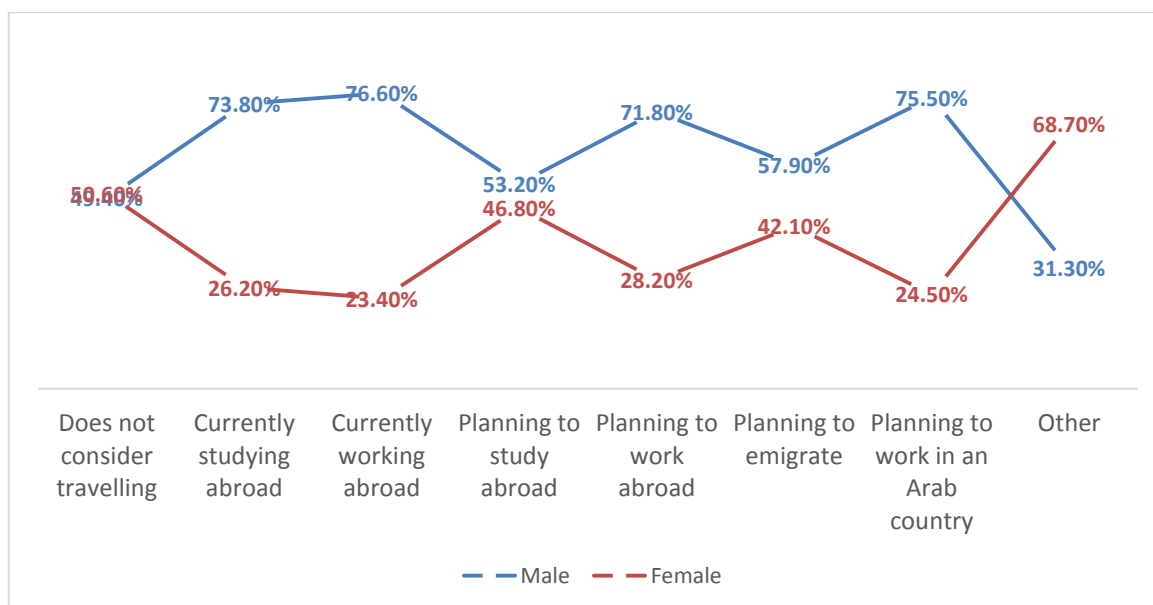


Figure (8.5): Intention to travel per gender

The main reasons that push respondents to consider travelling were identified as follow: 50.2% of the respondents consider travelling because of “higher salaries”; 15.1% because of “more and better work opportunities”; 11% because of the “stability at work and life”; and 6% because of the “better experience”.

8.9 Time to Find a Job after Graduation: What does it Really Entail?

The following last section of the chapter will reflect on the logistic regression models. The period to find a job was divided into four intervals: within 3 months, between 3 and 12 months, between 12 and 18 months, and more than 18 months. *For each interval of time, three models of logistic regression were done. The first model includes the “age” and the “gender”, the second model includes, in addition to the variables of the first model, the “educational level” and the “choice of programme”, and to the third model was added the “occupational status” and the “networks used to find a job”.* The models of logistic regression for each interval of time can be found in Appendix 4.7.

8.9.1 What factors weigh more on the graduates' chances to find a job within a 3 months period?

If to consider the first model of logistic regression which includes both the “age” and “gender” variables, and compared to the reference age variable “between 1 and 17 years of old”, those who are between “18 and 22 years of old” have 11.5 times more chances to find a job than not within a 3 months period. These chances increase to 34.7 times for those between “23 and 30 years of old”. Such increase is rational if to consider the basis of the human capital theory. Graduates between “23 and 30 years of old” would have finished their higher education degree and had some professional experience increasing therefore their chances to find job fast enough. For those above “31 years of old”, their odds decrease to 3.5 times more chances to find a job than not in 3 months period. This is referred to the fact these might be already employed. Concerning the “gender”, we note that male have better chances to find than not a job within a 3 months period. Consequently, female graduates have 1.7 times less chances to find than not to find a job within a 3 months period. Figure (8.6) shows the probabilities of finding a job within a 3 months period per age and gender. We note that for all the age brackets, male graduates have better chances to find a job within a 3 months period than their female counterparts.

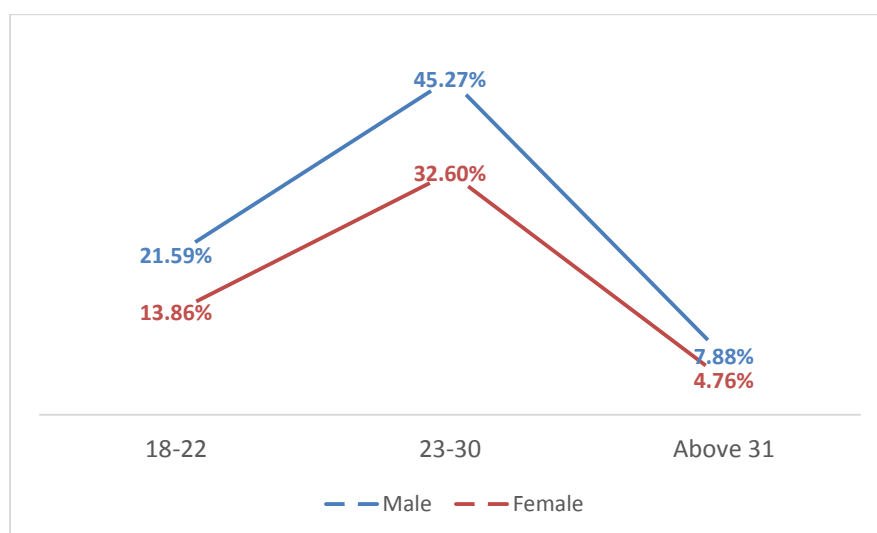


Figure (8.6): Probability to find a job within a 3 months period per age/gender

Moving to the second model, which includes in addition to the above variables the “educational level” and the “choice of a programme”, we note that both the “age” and the “gender” variables remain significant variables for integration within a 3 months period. The chances of the age group between “23 and 30 years of old” are less than before yet still positive. Those have now 10 times more chances to find than not a job within a 3 months period (instead of 34.7 times). However, and for the age group above “31 years of old”, their odds increase. They have 16 times more chances (instead of 3.5 times) to find a job than not within this period of time. Being “older” on the labour market could be a disadvantage for a fast integration process. However, adding the “level of education” and “field of study”, change positively the graduates’ chances mirroring the importance of skills and expertise demanded by employers.

Concerning the “educational level”, and compared to the reference variable that is “less than secondary education”, the higher chances for a fast integration are for those holding a “BA”, “master” and “technical brevet”. For the other levels of education, the effect is insignificant. Consequently, those holding a “BA degree”, a “master degree” and a “technical brevet degree”, and compared to those with “less than secondary education” have approximately the same chances with respectively 1.5, 1.6 and 1.5 times more chances to find than not a job within a 3 months period. This point out that having an academic or a technical degree does not change much the odds of finding or not a job within this interval of time. At the same time, it is an indicator of the technical skills importance which employers are searching for as discussed in chapters one and three, part B. ***Holding a BA, a master or a technical degree, the male graduates probabilities to find a job within a 3 months period are higher than that of the female graduates.*** Figure (8.7) reflects these probabilities for the age group “23-30 years of old”.

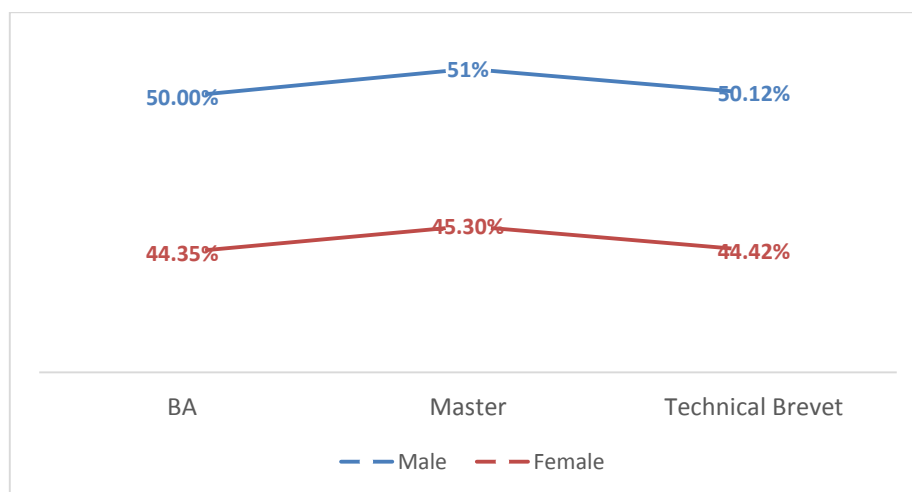


Figure (8.7): Integration within a 3 months period per gender per level of education

Concerning the “choice of a programme”, and compared to the reference variable that is “secondary education”, those holding a higher education degree in “law and political sciences”, “literature/education/social sciences” and “architecture/engineering” have respectively 1.8 times, 1.3 times and 1.4 times less chances to find than not a job within a 3 months period. This indicates that *having a higher education degree is not by itself enough. The field of study chosen is an important aspect for a fast or slow pace of integration.* These low chances of finding a job fast enough for these programmes is an indicator of the saturated labour market for job opportunities in these fields. From the other hand, those holding a degree from the “tourism and hotel management field”, compared to those holding a “secondary degree”, have 1.8 times more chances to find than not a job within a 3 months period. This reflects the nature of the Lebanese economy that is service-oriented and questions the students’ awareness of the effective labour market needs. As discussed previously, the students’ choice for the “service-oriented tracks” is not that pronounced oppose to the “business administration” field; a field that has an insignificant effect when it comes to the integration within a 3 months period.

When adding the “occupational status” and the “networks used to find a job” within a 3 months period (model 3), the “age”, the “gender” and the “level of education” becomes insignificant variables. The significance of the choice of the programme also changes in favour or disfavour of other programmes. ***Finding a job within a 3 months period is therefore highly dependent from the occupational status.*** Compared to the reference variable, those working in “senior positions” have the most chances of being integrated within this interval of time. They have 3.3 times more chances to find than not to find a job. This is reflective of the experience significant impact on finding a job fast enough and validates once again the discussion advanced in chapters one and three, part B. However, we should note that these are not applying for entry level opportunities and are not considered fresh graduates. What follows will reflect on the chances of those.

The second, third and fourth who have more chances of finding a job within a 3 months period are respectively the “entrepreneurs”, the “full time working in administrative positions” and those working in “part time or seasonable jobs” with respectively 2 times, 1.6 times and 1.4 times more chances of finding than not a job within a 3 months period. This indicates that the odds to find a job within a short period of time after graduation are highly dependent not only from the experience but also from the nature of the job. Those “working for themselves” have better chances. This leads to discuss the effect of the last variable added to model 3 that of the networks used to find a job. Compared to the reference variable that is “work with parents/relatives”, those who referred to “personal connections”, “employment offices”, “civil council”, “internship” and “advertisements” have respectively 1.8 times, 3 times, 4 times, 2 times and 2.7 times less chances of finding than not a job within a 3 months period. This verifies that if not having her /his own organization or if not working with parents or relatives, it is difficult for a fresh graduate applying for entry job opportunities (administrative positions) to find a job within this interval of time.

When adding the networks used to find a job and the nature of the job, we noted that the chances of the females and males are not very far apart and controversially in the advantage of female graduates. Figure (8.8) reflects on the probabilities between males

and females for the networks used in finding employment opportunities within a 3 months period.

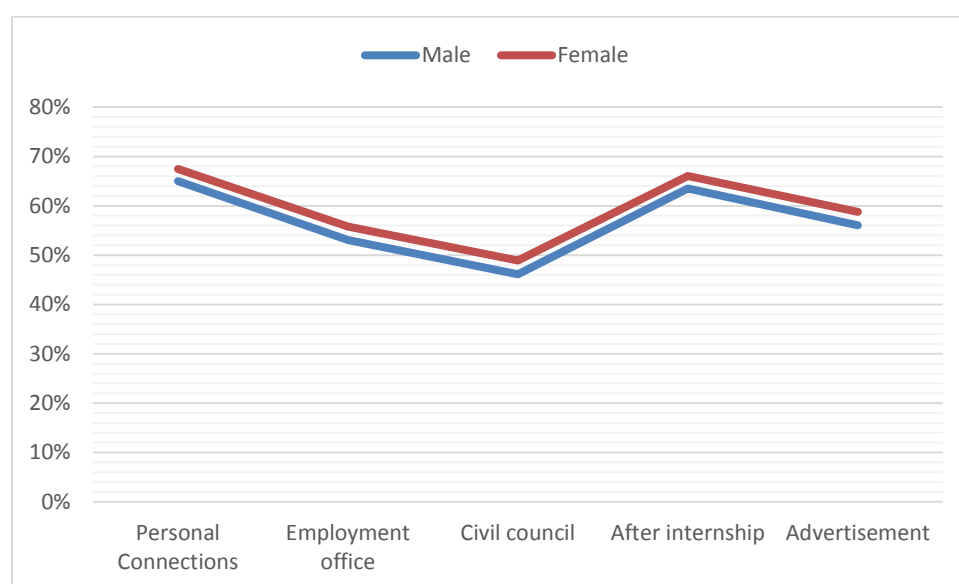


Figure (8.8): Integration within a 3 months period per gender per networks used

This is a clear evidence that finding a job within a 3 months period is highly reflective of the social capital that one has regardless of the age, gender, level of education and field of study. If not an entrepreneur or does not have any family business, s/he will not find a job within a 3 months period.

8.9.2 What factors weigh more on the graduates' chances to find a job within a year (between 3 and 12 months)?

Similar to those finding a job within a 3 months period, the "age" is a highly significant variable for finding or not a job between 3 and 12 months oppose to the "gender" which is not. Being a female or a male does not change the odds of finding or not a job within a one year period. Those who are between "18 and 22 years of old", and compared to the age variable which is between "1 and 17 years of old", have 25 times more chances of

finding than not a job within this interval of time. The chances of those between “23 and 30 years old” are better and increase to 61.5 times more chances to find than not a job with a year. Concerning individuals above “31 years of old”, they have 8.4 times more chances of finding a job than not. Consequently, *for all age brackets, the odds to find or not a job within a year period are higher than those who found a job within a 3 months period.* Additionally and as noted previously, better and higher chances of graduates between “23 and 30 years of old” is attributed, if to compare with the age bracket “18 and 22 years of old”, to the level of education and professional experience acquired. The lesser chances for those above “31 years of old” is credited to the fact that some of these individuals might be already employed.

Moving to the second model, which includes in addition to the above variables the “educational level” and the “choice of a programme”, the “gender” remains an insignificant variable. Being on the labour market for some time seems to render other variables more significance than the gender. Concerning the age brackets, they all remain quite significant yet with decreasing chances; a similar trend noted with those integrated within a 3 months period. Compared to the reference variable that is the age group between “1 and 17 years of old”, those between “18 and 22 years of old” have 5 times more chances (instead of 25 times) to find than not a job within a year and those between “23 and 30 years of old” have 11.6 times more chances (instead of 61.5 times) to find than not to find a job within this period of time. However, and for those above “31 years of old”, their odds increase compared to the first model. Adding the “choice of the programme” and the “level of education” double their likelihood to be employed up to 15 times (instead of 8.4 times) more chances to find than not a job within a year. Those individuals “have been on the market” for quite some time. Some aspects must have had an important effect on increasing their chances. What follows will reflect more on these aspects.

Compared to the reference variable that is the “less than secondary education”, those who have a master degree have 2.3 times more chances to find than not a job within a year. Other “academic degrees” – BA and PhD – do not have any significant effect on finding or not a job within this interval of time. On the contrary, the effect is insignificant. However, this is not the case for those holding a “technical degree”. Individuals’ holders of a “technical brevet” and “TS” degrees have each 2 times more chances to find than not a job within a year period. Additionally, those holding an “LT” degree have 3 times more chances to find than not a job within this period of time. *This verifies once again the importance of the vocational education within the Lebanese labour market because of its practical implications which are highly regarded and requested by employers and is reflective of the nature of the economy.*

Concerning the “choice of the programme”, it does not seem to affect much the integration within the labour market for this interval of time. Compared to the reference variable that is “secondary education”, all programmes have an insignificant effect except for those holding a diploma in “TV/journalism/communication”. Graduates from this field have 2.2 times more chances to find than not a job within a year period. As noted from previous discussion in chapter one, few students chose this programme. The low rates of enrolments over the years could be explicative of these better chances to find employment opportunities, in addition to the booming opportunities in the field at a certain period of time.

Adding the “occupational status” and the “channels used to find a job” (model 3) change the equation. “Age”, “gender”, and “educational level” do not have any significant effect on finding or not a job within a year period. Compared to the reference variable that is “secondary education”, the only programmes that do have chances to find employment opportunities than not within this period of time are graduates from the “TV/journalism/communication” and “law and political sciences” programmes. Graduates from the “TV/journalism/communication” always have 2.2 times chances to find than not

a job within a year period. Graduates' odds from the "law and political sciences" programme changed from insignificant in model 2 to 2 times more chances to find than not a job within this interval of time. This is accredited as it will be discussed below to the network used in finding a job.

Oppose to the graduates who found job within a 3 months period, for those who found a job within a year, all "occupational status" have an insignificant effect. However, the channels used to find a job are highly reflective of the graduates' chances to find or not a job within a one year period. Keeping in mind that graduates from only two programmes – "TV/journalism/communication" and "law and political sciences" – have positive chances to find a job or not within this period of time, those who referred to "personal connections", "employment office", "after internship period", and "advertisement" had respectively 1.6 times, 2.3 times, 1.8 times and 2.8 times more chances to find than not a job within a year. The "personal connections" is reflective of the importance of the social capital in the recruitment process. Having found a job within one year after an internship period is reasonable particularly for graduates from the "law and political sciences" programme. As mentioned in chapter one, those have to do an internship period in a law office before practicing law on their own. The same apply for graduates from the "TV/journalism/communication" programme where an important number receive a job offer after an internship period at a TV, newspaper, and the like. Additionally, and concerning the "advertisement" and the "employment office", this is highly reflective to jobs within the "TV/journalism/communication" industry that often recruit employees through these channels.

In summary, finding a job or not within one year period is highly dependent not on the gender, age, level of education, field of expertise or occupational status, but rather on the channel used to find a job. The "personal connection" has once again proved that it is the most common course used to find employment in addition to the "internship" where it has proven to be as important as the "personal connections" in finding employment

opportunities. Both these channels are considered as part of the “social capital” that the graduate might have through family connections or have acquired after an “internship” experience.

8.9.3 What factors weigh more on the graduates’ chances to find a job within a year and a half (between 12 and 18 months)?

For this interval of time, things look a bit different. Concerning model 1, the only significant variable is for graduates between “23 and 30 years of old”. Graduates from this range of age have, compared to the reference age variable between “1 and 17 years of old”, 17.5 times more chances to find than not a job within a year and a half. Oppose to the previous intervals of time, gender is a significant variable. Females have 2 times less chances to find than not a job within one year and a half. This indicates that with time gender has an influential impact in shaping graduates’ chances to find or not employment. Females’ odds can be credited to the domestic responsibilities that they might have to assume at a certain stage of their life.

When adding the “educational level” and the “choice of a programme”(model 2), most of the age brackets become significant while the odds of the female graduates remain the same. All age groups, except for those between “18 and 22 years of old”, have now positive chances to find than not a job within a year and a half. Graduates between “23 and 30 years of old” and those “above 31 years of old” have each 25 times more chances to find than not a job within this period of time. Female graduates still have twice less the chances to find than not a job within this interval of time. Age can be reflective of the graduates’ experience which is highly considered by employers. However, the changes from an insignificant to a significant effect do not seem to be related to the level of education but rather to the choice of the programme. What follow will reflect on that.

Compared with the reference variable “less than secondary education”, holders of a “secondary education”, “BA” and “master” degrees have respectively 3.5 times, 5 times and 7 times less chances to find than not a job within a year and a half. Concerning the others degrees – PhD and technical degrees – the effect is insignificant. This indicates that *with time, the degree is no longer an important tool for employment*. Other aspects have a more significant weight.

Concerning the field of study, and compared to the reference variable “secondary education”, holders of a degree from the faculties of “literature/education/social sciences” and “architecture and engineering” have respectively 3.8 times and 4.3 times more chances to find than not a job within a year and a half. Other fields’ odds are insignificant for this period time. This could be credited to the cyclic behaviour and engorgement effect within the labour market as discussed in chapter three, part B.

When the “occupational status” and the “networks used to find a job” are added (model 3), the age becomes an insignificant variable. Gender, even if less significant than before, remains significant. Female always have 2 times less chances to find than not a job within a year and a half period. Similar to model 2, holders of “secondary education”, “BA” and “master” degrees, and compared to the reference variable “less than secondary education” still have less chances to find than not a job within a year and a half. These have respectively 4 times, 6 times and 9 times less chance to find than not a job between 12 and 18 months. The chances of the holders of other degrees remain insignificant. Concerning the programme, all fields of study have an insignificant effect pertaining to the graduates’ chances to find or not a job within this period of time. The same applies for the occupational status where all status compared to the reference variable have an insignificant effect. This does not apply to the channels used to find a job. These variables are highly significant and had a positive effect on the graduates’ chances of finding or not a job after one year and a half. Consequently, compared to the reference variable that is “working with parents or relatives”, graduates have respectively 6 times, 18 times and 5

times more chances to find than not a job after one year and a half via “employment office”, “civil council” and “receive a direct offer from the organization”. Controversially, the “personal connection” has an insignificant effect. This permit to conclude somehow that graduates from a certain social background with a certain social capital will not wait one year and a half to “use” the “personal connection” that they have. These graduates as demonstrated previously are directly employed. *It is the graduates who do not have a certain social capital who will keep on searching for job opportunities within the labour market either by applying to a position at a public administration using the civil council services (highest odds) or by applying directly for a position at a company or through an employment office.* Compared to other intervals of time, finding employment by passing the exam at the “civil council” either did not provide graduates with important chances to be employed or was a totally insignificant factor. As discussed previously in chapter one, graduates favour the employment at the public sector because of the “attractive package” offered to the employees in terms of salary, children education, healthcare services, social indemnities, retirement plan, etc. that other private organizations might not offer²¹⁹. Additionally, the public sector employees feel more “professionally safe”. Once an employee at a public administration always an employee which is not the case at the private sector where many have lost their jobs because the organization closed its premises, or because of the low salary, etc. as discussed earlier.

In summary, finding a job after one year and a half is not dependent from the age, the diploma, the field of study and the occupational status. It is more likely to depend on the channel used to find employment with those applying to a public administration having more chances than the others to find than not a job between 12 and 18 months.

²¹⁹ As seen previously (chapter 1, part B), the overwhelming majority of the private organization in Lebanon are SME. Not all have the ability to provide “attractive packages”.

8.9.4 What factors weigh more on the graduates' chances to find a job after a year and a half (after 18 months)?

For those who found a job after a year and a half, the “age” and the “gender” variables remain significant. Compared to the reference variable those between “1 and 17 years of old”, the graduates between “18 and 22 years of old” and “23 and 30 years of old” have respectively 5 times and 11 times more chances to find than not a job after a year and a half from graduation. The odds of the graduates above “31 years of old” are insignificant. This is somehow rational since those should have already found a job after that period. Females' graduates still have lesser chances than males' graduates. They have 1.6 times less chances to find than not a job after one year and a half after graduation. This is once again referred to the domestic responsibilities that females have to assume at a certain stage of their life discouraging employers from recruiting them or discouraging them from applying.

When adding the “educational level” and the “choice of a programme” (model 2), only those between “23 and 30 years of old” have 4.4 times more chances to find than not a job after 18 months of graduation compared to the age reference variable. Odds of the graduates from the other age brackets become insignificant. After one year and a half, the educational level does not have any significant effect on the graduates' chances of finding or not a job. The field of study, on the other hand, seems to have for certain programme a significant effect. Graduates from the “TV/journalism/communication”, “law and political sciences”, “literature/education/social sciences” and “art/painting/graphic design” programmes have respectively 6.4 times, 5 times, 3 times and 5 times more chances to find than not a job after one year and a half compared to the reference variable “secondary education”. The graduates' chances from other programmes are insignificant.

Adding the “occupational status” and the “networks used to find a job” (model 3) alter the students' chances. Similar to those who found a job within a year and a half, the age, the

gender and the educational level do not have any significant effect on the graduates' chances to find or not a job after 18 months from graduation. No effective change is noted in what pertains to the effect of the choice of the programme except for the "art/painting/graphic design" programme. Graduates' chances from this programme are now insignificant. Graduates' chances from the "TV/journalism/communication", "law and political sciences", "literature/education/social sciences" programmes remain positive. They have respectively 6.5 times, 7.4 times and 3 times more chances to find than not a job after this period of time. These chances might be explained by the network used to find a job. Compared to the reference variable, graduates are 3 times and 6 times more likely to find than not a job through "employment office" and the "civil council". This is rational for these programmes. Many graduates from the "literature/education/social sciences" programmes apply to public schools as tutors by sitting for exams organized by the government through the civil council. The same applies for graduates from the "law and political sciences" who apply for public positions in public administrations.

In summary of all intervals of time, we can advance that finding a job "within a 3 months period" after graduation is highly dependent of the occupational status regardless of the age, gender, field of study and educational level. Graduates who are "entrepreneurs" or worked with "parents/relatives" are the only ones who found job within a 3 months period. Finding a job "within a 3 months and a year period" is more dependent from the field of study and the social network or social capital among other channels used. Depending on the field of study, graduates who found a job within a year referred either to "personal connections" or to "employment offices" or "were employed after an internship period". This indicates the importance of a "middle man" in the employment process whether in the form of personal acquaintance or employment office or internship period which allowed the organization to get to know better about the graduates' skills. Being on the labour market for "more than a year" without a job minimizes the effect of the "middle man". Graduates who found a job within a year and a half or after one year and a half of graduation found a job at the public sector through the "civil council". The

level of education, the field of study, the occupational status, the age, all did not have any significant effect on finding or not a job within these interval of time.

8.10 Summary of Main Points of Discussion

The analysis done in chapter eight permitted to reflect on the working students' population and to validate a behaviouristic historic progression from one generation to another pertaining to the educational choices and consequently the effect of these choices on the integration within the labour market. Such validation emanated from the comparison with the students' survey where similar behaviours were noted despite different timing of each survey. For instance and at the higher education level, similar to the students' survey results, **the female population pursuing or having pursued a higher education degree (BA level) is higher than that of the males' population.** However, we noted that **for higher levels of education**, such as the master and the PhD, **the males' proportion is higher than that of the females** reflecting on *the investment done in males more than that in females* and that *could be credited to the domestic responsibilities that females have to assume at a certain stage of their life.*

Working and studying at the same time seems to be a Lebanese reality particularly for students from certain social and economic backgrounds. *The majority of the students are working students with the highest proportions being at mass PUs and the LU.* However, we noted that working students have less chances to be than not at the LU and more chances to be than not at the mass private sector whereas their odds at the elite private sector are insignificant. These odds reflect once again the difference between the sectors where the mass PUs have a more flexible schedule permitting the students to work and study at the same time. This high rate of working students explains *the students' choice for programmes that do not correlate with the labour market needs, but rather with their working status (field of work).* Working students tend to choose the programme based on their professional experience; a programme which will allow them to ensure mobility at

their job. They are not really making a choice to continue their higher studies for the purpose of increasing their chances of being recruited since they already have a job. But they are rather completing their higher studies aiming for a better evaluation at work. Most of these students are mass PUs students. These, and based on the Lebanese reality, face difficulties when it comes to getting promoted within their job. Working students have more chances to choose than not the “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” and the “Literature and Humanities” programmes and less chances to choose than not the “Sciences” programme and the “Service-Oriented Tracks”. This is consistent with the reality where many of the working students work at the tertiary sector either in public administrations, private SMEs or schools. **If to associate the regret of the HEI with the students’ working status we note that non-working students seem to regret their choice of a HEI.** The majority of the students who identified the reason of being unemployed as being the “reputation of the HEI” and “absence of personal connections” are mass PUs students. This once again questions the status and the reputation of the mass private sector within the labour market.

From the other hand, **non-working students identified the reasons of being unemployment to “poor work opportunities and low salaries”.** This justifies their will to continue their higher studies and the high rate of those who chose “better employment opportunities and better salaries” as a reason for pursuing higher education. However, and once again, the **students are not succeeding in choosing programmes that permit them to achieve** such finality because of the choice of programmes with saturated field of work and that do not allow **social mobility**. **The data analysed from the second survey ascertained and validated this as a Lebanese reality.** At the secondary level, the choice of the majority over the years is still for one track that of “Economy and Sociology track”. This track and as noted permit to have access to a wider choice of higher education programmes. At the higher education programme level, **an Omni-present stereotyped behaviour and choice for the same programmes is noted.** The majority chose either the “Business Administration”, or the “Literature and Humanities”, or the “Sciences/Medical

Sciences”, or the “Information Technology”, or the “Engineering/Architecture” programmes with a minority choosing the “Tourism and Hotel Management” programme. This pledges once again the **student’s unawareness of the labour market needs and the asymmetric information** between the higher education system and the labour market.

Concerning the access to employment opportunities that the university might secure, the LU students, despite their choice of the university because of its “high academic standards and reputation within the labour market”, **do not regard it with the same confidence as elite PUs students. Those seem to be more secure about the ability of the university to guarantee employment opportunities.** This reality was also demonstrated by the LAES study done in 1997, where, and especially for specializations with low prospects of employment - saturated market or not enough creation n of work opportunities - the students’ employment expectations are higher at the private sector than at the LU. This difference in employment expectations between the public and the private sectors is credited to the difference in the quality of education, language of education, competences, social networking, etc. The LU students find themselves less able than the students from the private sector. The image of the private sector mainly with what concerns the “portfolio” of skills that it provides is better regarded than that provided by the LU. Such difference in capabilities and skills developed by each sector strongly assumes that *there is more than one labour market for the graduates depending on the HEI and the field of study*. In other words, the LU graduates graduating from the health or education faculties will find employment opportunities. However, they cannot compete with their colleagues from the private sector in one market because of their feelings of inferiority despite their high employment expectations and aspirations. There is therefore reference to market segmentation (Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

Concerning the transition process and pace of transition, the data exhibited that **the main channel used to find employment is “personal connections”**. For the surveyed population who found a job directly after graduation, the pace of transition was not particularly

related to the field of specialization but rather to the “personal connection” and the “middle man” effect. Finding a job within a 3 months period is highly dependent from the nature of the job that one does. Those who work with parents/relatives or are entrepreneurs have better and more chances to find than not a job within a 3 months period. Finding a job between a 3 months period and a year holds within it the same rational. Those have either found job through “personal connections” or after an “internship” period specifically for fields where training is a pre-requisite for a full time job offer. We note in this regard that “internship” opportunities are also guided by the “personal connections” that one has or does not have. *From a gender perspective*, males seem to find work faster than the females. However, we noted that the surveyed males who secured job in a short interval of time after finishing their studies are less educated (secondary education) than their female counterparts who found job within the same interval of time and who have a BA degree. Consequently, **the data collected affirmed that a higher education degree or higher level of education does not necessarily guarantee employment opportunities and higher salaries**; advantages that might be available for those less educated with good access to “personal connections”. The surveyed graduates identified the negative attributes at work as being related to the “lack of recognition and promotion” and “low salaries”. This explains the difficulties encountered to find employment opportunities fast enough and the graduates’ choice to stay unemployed or to emigrate. **A majority of the surveyed population availed its intention to emigrate either to work or to continue their studies.** The highest intention towards emigration is revealed by those working in fields with saturated labour market or those who do not have the ability to secure a good job because of the absence of “personal connections” or “social capital” in Bourdieu’s words. This conclusion highlights once again the mismatch between higher education and the labour market. It reveals that the difficulties encountered by the Lebanese universities graduates are not only related to economic circumstances such as rate of job creation, supply and demand but also to social aspects such as the family background, social capital, and the like.

PART VI

HOW DO THE LEBANESE CASE ANSWER TO PROPOSED THEORIES

The last part is composed of one chapter. It will provide a summary of the main conclusions, link the Lebanese case to theoretical background, answer the queries and validate or not the hypotheses proposed, deduce the model mirroring the Lebanese higher education supply chain.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUDING REFLEXIONS AND THEORIES EXTENSIONS

The shift of the higher education system from elite to mass (Aziz, 2010), from privilege to right (Schuetze and Slowey, 2002) with little or no strategic planning (Scott, 1995) transformed the structure, purpose, social and economic roles of higher education (UNESCO, 1998). It has set a new challenge for HEIs regarding their ability to meet new demands; guarantee access to a wide range of the population that was neglected for so many years (minorities, women, etc.); and to pledge democratization of access that is only met at less or non-selective institutions rather than selective and prestigious ones (Goastellec, 2008a). This was considered in parallel to the probable consequences within the labour market especially in a changing globalized demanding dynamic environment. Within the lines of these changes, the thesis offered an overview of the higher education input-output process and the end-outcome pertaining to the graduates' integration within the labour market. To better comprehend the higher education system and decision taken, the thesis considered Clark's triangle where the inter-relation between the government, the HEIs and the market demand cannot but to be measured if to understand what really shapes the decisions at the higher education level. To better comprehend the graduates' transition, and as advanced by Fasih (2008), the country's context, the educational decisions done at the micro-level, the graduates' skills acquired throughout their studies and aspects affecting them were also considered. The educational decision done by individuals or the market demand is at the centre of the proposed model. Because Lebanon is a developing, confessional country driven by many social and cultural values and beliefs, a socio-economic approach was adopted permitting to have a more complete overview of the main aspects that do not only shape the students' higher education choices but also affect their transition to the labour market.

After an in depth investigation of the higher education system and the labour market characteristics in Lebanon, this final chapter in line with the literature review identifies first the main policies adopted by the Lebanese ministry for education and higher education (Lebanese government) and the main strategies particularly admission strategies implemented by the HEIs. It will reflect at a second stage on the factors that weighted the most on the students' higher education choices for a HEI and a programme and the effect of these choices in line with other factors on their integration within the labour market. The chapter will therefore answer to the queries proposed and permit to validate or not the hypotheses advanced at the beginning of the thesis.

9.1 Nature of the Lebanese Higher Education System

9.1.1. Public Good, Quasi-Market or Market?

Privatization is the main characteristic of the Lebanese higher education system because of the variances of the environmental conditions (rf. Van Vught, 1996). Because of the government inability to regulate and develop the market at a certain stage, and the increased demand for higher education, and as noted in other countries, the private institutions of higher education emerged with a certain diversity with 39 PUs in 2012/2013. The aim is to answer to the heterogeneous student's population in terms of social, economic and cultural backgrounds and answer to the various objectives and needs from pursuing higher studies (rf. Goastellec, 2008a; Guri-Rosenblit et al., 2007; Levy, 2006). This is a clear effect of the impact of globalization on the Lebanese higher education. Comparable to other countries, the first transformation was translated, and as advanced by Goastellec (2008a), by the creation of new institutions; particularly an increase in the number of mass PUs. Additionally, and similar to other higher education systems, Lebanon went through two processes of privatization: the early process and the late process (rf. Teixeira and Amaral, 2001; Amaral and Teixeira, 2000). The early process was before the massification trend. During this stage, the most reputable HEIs were

established. The late process was triggered by the increased demand for higher education that lead to the massification trend and the increase in the number of mass PUs. Such privatization, mainly the late process, steered the implementation of “private-like rules and practices” as advanced by Teixeira (2013). Based on that, what is the nature of the Lebanese higher education system: is it a public good, a quasi-market or a market?

Before identifying the nature of the Lebanese higher education system, a brief reminder of the definition of each type. The reference to the higher education system by “quasi-market” rather than “market” was availed by Le Grant and Barlett (1993; cited in Teixeira and Dill, 2011) to the fact that higher education is financed by the government. For Teixeira and Dill (2011), “quasi-market” permits to classify systems originally financed by the government and where market forces are integrated gradually. Always for the same authors, the “market” system is where buyers and sellers interact based on a price; an operation that is not reflected as such in a “quasi-market” system. Additionally, and according to Marginson (2004), a “market-system” is a (*quote*) “socially structure process of economic exchange” that includes social, political and cultural aspects.

In the case of Lebanon, and as noted by now, the higher education system is divided into two segments: the LU and the private sector; where the former is out of the market law since it is not really guided by the game of price. It is certain that the Lebanese higher education system cannot be referred to as a “public good” because of the massive expansion of the private sector and the preference of this sector over the LU which made the access to higher education rivalrous and excludable only to those able to pay the tuition fees of a private education. From the other hand, the role of the government in relation to the private sector is strictly regulatory with no intervention in funding private HEIs. Furthermore, the students’ choices are highly dependent not only from the cost of education and competition amid mass PUs but also from the socio-economic, political and cultural considerations. These aspects combined together lead us to be more inclined to refer to the Lebanese higher education system as a “market” rather than a “quasi-market”. It is driven by competition among HEIs as advanced by the S-C-P approach without

omitting the regulatory role of the government encouraging the existence of a private sector and determining the degree of such competition and by that the number of “operating” institutions. However, it is to be noted that the Lebanese ministry of higher education has been lately extremely cautious about granting licences to new private HEIs because of concerns over quality (rf. Amaral and Teixeira, 2000).

9.2 Lebanese Government Policies

9.2.1. Lebanese Government and Sources of Market Failure

The Lebanese government played a limited role at the beginning; a laissez-faire policy because of the political instability periods and its inability to support and reinforce the higher education system. The first attempt to organize the system was in 1961 with the “1961 Bylaw”. But this was long before the massive expansion of the private sector; particularly the mass private one, which “ignited” starting the 1990s because of the inability of the government to finance and support higher education. To better regulate the market and outcome of such expansion, the government shifted its role from a laissez-faire policy to a more regulatory role. The first action taken was with the establishment of the ministry of education and higher education in 1993. The second action was the “1996 decree” that came as a supplement for the “1961 Bylaw”.

Like any other market, policy intervention is needed to avoid any source of market failure (rf. Heilbroner and Thurow, 2002). Along the years, the Lebanese ministry has taken a number of actions and set a number of rules and regulations to avoid sources of market failure that could lead to erroneous decisions and negative consequences.

Being well-informed and having the appropriate information is a key component for a good decision. To avoid the “*prevalence of ignorance*”, the ministry aimed through its website to provide students with the needed information about the licensed HEIs and their approved programmes. Among the information provided, we can find on the

ministry website, “Guides for Students” which provide information about the equivalence of the diplomas (BA, master, PhD) received from a national private institution or a foreign institution; information about technical and vocational education; the requirements for higher studies; and a guide and documentation about the HEIs in Lebanon. Additionally, the ministry provides on its website guide for the HEIs pertaining to licensing a HEI; opening a branch or a study centre; and the forms to be submitted for a programme recognition or to start teaching a programme, etc.

Concerning the “*public good*”, as discussed in the above section, higher education in Lebanon cannot be considered as a public good because of the privatization trend where the market is regulated by one public institution and 39 private HEIs. Regulating such provision, as proposed by Teixeira and Dill (2011) and Teixeira (2006) is a must. To regulate such private provision, the Lebanese ministry “upgraded” the “1961 Bylaw” by the “1996 decree” that considered the increased privatization trend. The decree set rules and guidelines for private institutions of higher education to follow. It focuses mainly on the criteria related to licensing a new HEI and the conditions to respect from the premises, rooms, library, laboratories, to the academic staff, programmes offered and quality of services provided.

The massive privatization of the higher education system in Lebanon was a clear response to any *monopolistic power* (rf. Teixeira and Dill, 2011) eliminating by that the existence of natural monopoly. It permitted to minimize the effect of the sources of market failure and to promote participation in higher education for students from various social backgrounds (rf. Teixeira, 2013). The government through the ministry of education and higher education is overseeing the market concentration and playing a role in determining any potential new providers’ entry to the market. However, when it comes to the monopolistic power, the elite private sector still mandate that power within the market because the admission is only restricted to a clientele from a certain social and academic backgrounds. Consequently, without the expansion of the mass private sector,

the socially disadvantaged students would not have had the opportunity to pursue their higher studies. The role of the LU is not mentioned because of the preference over the past years of private higher education.

Educational policies need not only to consider the higher education system and the students' needs but also the labour market needs (rf. Goastellec, 2008a). According to the director general of the ministry of education and higher education, this is not yet implemented or followed because of the lack of information about the effective labour market needs and the ministry poor resources in this regard (Appendix 4.3). This is aggravating one source of market failure that of "*lengthening time horizons*". Because the investment in education is a long term investment, this source of market failure cannot be avoided particularly for the students enrolled at the private sector. Cashing what was invested in education has become a real dilemma for the Lebanese graduates because of high level of unemployment mostly for the mass PUs students that have mediocre financial means.

9.2.2. Lebanese Government and Types of Policies Adopted

From the various policies that can be implemented to regulate the market, the Lebanese ministry of education and higher education is in favour of some and disfavour of others. Providing that Lebanese ministry aims to promote participation in higher education, the "*numerous clausus or quotas*" policy is not adopted and does not have any chance of being reconsidered in the future. The government, and according to the director general of the ministry of education and higher education, does not favour limiting the number of students in certain programmes. This is based from one hand on Lebanon liberal system and from the other hand on the ministry's vision that the students should have the freedom of choice of HEI and programme. The director general advanced that this role is more played by the HEI particularly those who are setting entrance exam for certain programmes limiting by that the graduates' number at a later stage. It is the university

decision and the ministry does not have any mandatory policy in this regard (Appendix 4.3).

Concerning *the “selection” policy*, the ministry does not consider this policy as a mandatory one. According to the director general, every student eligible to pursue higher studies should have the opportunity to do so (egalitarian point of view pioneered by Trow, 1973). This stand is mirrored by the expansion of the mass private sector that does not implement strict admission academic criteria. The only mandatory requirement for pursuing higher studies in most of the mass private sector institutions is the Lebanese Baccalaureate certificate – section II; a minimum requirement that is set by the ministry. For most of the programmes, the student has to sit only for a language test and the ministry does not impose anything in this regard. Removing or keeping the admission criteria is not in the hand of the ministry but rather related to each HEI strategy. The ministry is therefore only responsible for setting the minimum requirements needed to pursue higher studies and assure the quality provided (Appendix 4.3).

At the level of *“the structural reform”*, the Lebanese government chose to reform the secondary education in 1996 in an attempt to link the secondary education and the higher education systems and consequently provide better outcomes at the labour market level. The government opted for modifications in the secondary education curriculum, and divided it into four major tracks each targeting specific majors at the higher education level (rf. Pring, 1992). Dividing students into different streams at the secondary education level, and according to Kaiser and De Weert (1994), has positive effect at the higher education level where students can choose from a variety of programmes. However, this was not the case for Lebanon. Students, despite the variety of tracks at the secondary level, kept on choosing one main track as if the system is composed of a “uniformed track” (rf. Davies, 1996) limiting by that their choices and chances at the higher education level to one programme that of the “Business Administration”.

Concerning the *“reform at the higher education level”*, both structural reform and privatization are noted. The Lebanese higher education sector is characterized with a diversified structure where discrepancies among HEIs are noted pertaining to the quality, status and content (rf. Teichler, 2004). With regard to privatization, and because of the government inability to develop and support the higher education system (rf. Teixeira, 2006; Amaral and Teixeira, 2000; to name a few), the Lebanese higher education system knew a massive expansion of the private sector. Such expansion and as noted was mainly related to the development of mass private HEIs aiming to provide opportunities to students unable to go to the LU or to the prestigious private HEIs for academic, social or financial reasons.

Reform at the higher education level also considered the effect of globalization. Because Lebanon was affected by the globalization trend particularly that related to the supremacy of the English language, tools of globalization such as “internationalization” and “multi-nationalization” were not totally approved by the ministry. Cross-border ventures and the like are not recognized by the ministry. Diplomas received through an online provider are not validated. This stems from the government willingness to regulate the market particularly in terms of quality. Based on that the mobility of programmes and students is pronounced mainly in one direction – from Lebanon to other countries. By that, and based on Altbach and Knight (2006) definition of various types of internationalization, we note in Lebanon the existence of “individual internationalization” where students choose to complete their higher studies in foreign universities and self-finance their studies as demonstrated by the second survey; and the existence of “traditional internationalization” that is mostly implemented by prestigious HEIs that based on cooperation with foreign universities would send their students to gain more international experience as it is the case for instance for the USJ and the Antonine University. For both types, the weight of the government intervention is minimal highlighting its stand from cross border education where other types of internationalization are not documented.

Regarding “*the non-restrictive measures*”, the ministry through its website provides students with a collection of reports and documents about the higher education system in Lebanon. The aim is to inform rather than guide students in what pertains to the HEIs and the programmes they offer. Concerning the financial incentives, the government does not interfere in imposing the tuition fees for each programme that determine by its turn the proportion of students’ intake. It is a decision and role played more by the HEI. Many HEIs opted for assistantship programmes to reduce somehow the social disparity and open the door for academically eligible students from the disadvantage groups (rf. Al Amine and Faour, 1998).

As a concluding remark concerning the educational policies adopted by the Lebanese government through the ministry of education and higher education, we can state that the ministry is more lenient towards implementing less restrictive measures leaving a space of freedom for the students in their choices and follow by that somehow the “egalitarian” point of view. However, such leniency might lead sometimes to a trade-off in quality if the intake of the students is not well academically assessed. Such trade off cannot be tolerated or accepted unless it will lead to efficiency and comparative advantage (rf. Porter, 1996) that cannot be achieved but through knowledge and skills acquired at the higher educational level (rf. Thurow, 1999). Educational policies need hence to consider not only the higher education system and the students’ needs but also the labour market needs (rf. Goastellec, 2008a); a dual role that the ministry is yet not able to fulfil according to the director general of higher education (see appendix 9.1).

9.3 Higher Education Institutions Characteristics and Objectives

9.3.1. Models and types

The Lebanese higher education system is divided between the public university guided by non-market forces and the private institutions guided by market forces. The LU, the only

public university, and as advanced by Holm-Nielson (2001), is characterized with a rigid non-flexible structure and lack the ability to innovate. From an ownership perspective, and from the six types identified by Kerr (1990), Lebanon opted for a mixture of systems like Japan, Mexico, Korea, and Columbia: “dependent private” which are religiously affiliated universities; “dependent public” which are dependent in control, ownership and financing; and “independent private” mainly private universities not religiously affiliated. Similar to the classification advanced by Bernasconi (2006), the Lebanese higher education system is sorted into several categories of HEIs that range from elite/non-elite universities; for profit/non-profit universities to religious/secular institutions granting the private system its diversity.

Two models characterize the private Lebanese higher education system based on Trow (1973) definition: the “elite” and the “mass” HEIs. The third type identified by Trow; the universal institution, is not yet developed within the Lebanese higher education system. Each type of these private HEIs target a certain niche, similar to what is advanced by Bernasconi (2006). Compared to the public university, these universities offer less variety of programmes focusing mainly on disciplines such as business, law, computing, hospitality, etc. (rf. Middlehurst and Fielden, 2012). Elite PUs are, and as defined by Trow, homogenous with high and common academic standards. Selection is based on meritocratic achievement. These institutions are a rare “commodity” and are characterized by “keep getting the best” (rf. Levy, 2006). They are “status seekers” (rf. Pfeffer, 2007). Their main driven force is the quality offered. They are out of the game of competition and are not pressured to compete with other universities because they already have the highest market share (rf. Teixeira and Dill, 2011; Epple et al., 2006). The mass universities have permeable boundaries based on a general access basis and equality of opportunities. These non-elite absorbers, as identified by Levy (2006), were established because of the inability of the government at a certain stage; mainly at the beginning of the 2000s, to answer to the demand of the unprivileged groups of students for higher education. These are seen as “client seekers” (rf. Pfeffer, 2007). They are in general

economically driven and aim to attract students facing less educational opportunities at the public sector; or do not have the ability to go to prestigious HEIs which focus on social reproduction (rf. Bernasconi, 2006). They feel pressured to compete with other universities out of concern to lose students to other competitors and because of that they do not force high academic standards (rf. Teixeira and Dill, 2011). Similar to the international trend, the newly emergent mass private providers were criticized from one part because the increase in the recruitment rates in favour of this sector as seen in previous chapters is resulting in an imbalance between the supply of graduates and the labour market demand (rf. Teixeira and Amaral, 2001); and from the other part because of the “commercialization” connotation that this increase is channelling (rf. Middlehurst and Fielden, 2012; UNESCO, 2006). Actions taken by the government to face such predicament will be discussed in sub-section 9.6.4

Consequently, Lebanon opted for the “expansion and diversification” system (rf. Teichler, 2004) characterized by the emergence of a binary system and diversified cohorts of students requiring the existence of various typologies of HEIs. The Lebanese higher education system can be therefore defined as a “diversified model” because the LU, the elite PUs, and the mass PUs co-exist together. The existence of one system did not lead to the disappearance of the others where several forms can co-exist together as advanced by Trow (1973) and Guri-Rosenblit et al. (2007).

From the four types of university models identified by Husén (1991), we note particularly the presence of two models within the Lebanese higher education system: the “research model” and the “French model”. From the three new forms of HEIs defined by Pinheiro (2011) which are the “globally-oriented”, the “locally embedded regional university” and the “entrepreneurial university”, the first two forms are mostly adapt to describe the Lebanese reality. For the “locally embedded regional university”, this is largely the form adopted by mass PUs and the LU that focus mainly on the local context and are society-oriented as highlighted in their mission statement. Concerning the second form; the

“globally-oriented” research intensive university, these are mainly elite PUs where many of them have branches abroad such as the LAU, the NDU, etc. which have correspondence addresses in the United States. These universities focus on being internationally connected and globally embedded with a variety of disciplinary fields.

From a management perspective, there is no single management culture distinctive of the educational model. We note the existence of a variety of models. The only university classified or identified as collegial is the LU. At the level of managing process (rf. Cabal, 2005), Lebanese universities follow both the “reflexive” and the “administrative” processes permitting them to respectively fulfil their functions and to serve the community by providing educational services each based on its general mission. Defining the Lebanese HEIs by “professional bureaucracies” where autonomy is seen as essential (Heyneman and Lee, 2013; Jaramillo, 2012; Cabal 2005; Mintzberg, 1979, cited in: Maasen and Van Vught, 1994) or whether they have implemented the “governance” (rf. Moreno, 2012) tools cannot be deducted from the results of our analysis. But one thing can be certain is that universities in Lebanon have the professional autonomy to organize their work and flow of decision.

9.3.2. Admission Strategies

Access to higher education in Lebanon is no longer a major concern because of the expansion of the system; particularly the mass private sector. If to consider the three “*access patterns*” identified by Goastellec (2008b); the “inherited merit”, the “equality of access” and the “widening access”, we note for the Lebanese case the presence of the first two patterns. The first pattern; i.e. “inherited merit”, seems to be the monopolistic practice of elite PUs where we noted the presence of “social reproduction”. Concerning the second pattern; i.e. “equality of access”, it was materialized with the expansion of the mass private sector permitting for a wider bracket of students to have access to higher education. This does not exclude the role of the LU where its mission is to provide quality

higher education to all eligible students with practically free tuition fees. However, the preference for private education “paralyzed” the LU from achieving its mission. The Lebanese case cannot be identified by the third pattern that of “widening access” because and as the data analysis and several empirical studies demonstrated, an important number of students still does not have access to educational opportunities for one reason or the other.

Access opportunity is highly dependent from the “*selection process*” that it is mostly emphasized at the elite private sector and the selective faculties of the public university. The aim of such selectivity is to choose qualified candidates because the demand exceeds the supply for places. The admission and selection processes vary from one institution to another. The main tools used to attract students at the private sector are “publicity campaigns” and “open days”. Mass PUs rely more on these tools while elite PUs focus more on the “image and reputation” of the university. Mass PUs participate as well in recruitment fairs permitting to gain more exposure and hence attract more eligible students.

The “application” process is adopted by all Lebanese HEIs. However, the process of acceptance varies from one system to another. One condition is common to all systems that of having the Lebanese Baccalaureate – Section II.

From the three types of “*admission processes*” identified by Goastellec (2008a), two are implemented by the Lebanese HEIs. The “standardized test” is mainly adopted by elite PUs based on meritocracy and low level of diversity of the social class. Students choosing and being accepted at this system come in general from certain social surrounding. They do not only have to pass a scientific test but also have to do an interview. Admission process differs from one faculty to another. Scientific faculties are more demanding and impose more difficult tests than literary faculties. Students wishing to enter an elite private institution do not guarantee an “automatic” acceptance. They have to start applying one year in advance as to guarantee a place. This is the case at the AUB where

the students are mainly the sons of the political and social elites. “Standardized test” is also implemented at the LU selective faculties however with no focus on the social background. Acceptance is based on passing the scientific test and based on the intake proportion determined by each faculty. Concerning the “affirmative action”, it is adopted by the mass PUs. Those tend to have an “open recruitment strategy” encouraging students to pursue their higher studies regardless of their gender, religion and social class. Students have to sit only for a language test and acceptance is not conditioned by the result. This is also implemented by the LU non-selective faculties. However, with a slight difference from the mass private sector. These faculties are somehow selective. The exams done throughout the first year permit to filter eligible candidates.

Admission and selection criteria at the elite private sector and selective faculties of the LU are hence considered as being more competitive than those implemented by mass PUs (rf. Harman, 1994). Such selectivity, mainly at the level of elite PUs, emanates mainly from their intention to provide graduates with the needed skills within the labour market. Because of the “labelling effect” that elite institutions have, their graduates are better evaluated within the labour market (rf. Tsui, 2003). They have a faster integration process oppose to graduates from the mass private sector and the LU. There is a closure over the privileged position permitting social mobility for thee students who have access to these institutions. As identified by Tsui (2003), it is this selectivity process that is leading Lebanese elite private institutions to participate in the social reproduction (rf. Tsui, 2003).

Elite PUs focus on qualitative “*competitive strategy*” oppose to mass PUs that focus more on a quantitative competitive strategy complemented by a cost advantage strategy. This is not the case at the elite private sector where the qualitative competitive strategy leads to high tuition fees. Concerning the LU, it seems to follow both quantitative and qualitative competitive strategies. However, and with the preference for private education, the LU is at cost disadvantage compared to the private sector. This is clearly translated by the

diminishing proportions of students choosing the public university over the years in favour of the private sector particularly the mass private one.

Differences in the selection processes adopted mainly by private Lebanese HEIs lead to differential access to educational opportunities at the higher education level between students from the high social class and those from the low social class questioning the “equity of access”. The Lebanese higher education system and through the adopted selectivity processes aggravated rather than diluted inequitable distribution of educational capital (rf. Tsui, 2003). Despite having assistantship programmes for students who cannot afford to pay the tuition fees (rf. Geiger, 2011; Callender, 2003), Lebanese prestigious HEIs still attract a low proportion of students from the low social strata as demonstrated by the data collected. This is not only related to the financial cost and the admission process implemented but also to elite HEIs attitude towards stratification and selection process. Employers expect from these institutions to filter candidates. They refer to an extensive filtering and selectivity process starting by the high school of the student and adopting by that the merit system (rf. Harman, 1994), to his/her academic performance at school, to his/her results at the faculty/university entrance test. This complies with what was empirically demonstrated by Shavit et al. (2007) and affirms for the Lebanese case the existence of “*relegation*” that was identified by Bourdieu. The selectivity process focusing on choosing students from certain schools (or the merit system; rf. Harman, 1994) encourages students from the low social strata to choose less demanding HEIs since those do not have the financial, social and cultural potentials to choose these schools at the first place. Students from the low social strata face therefore discrimination from the beginning of the educational process where inequity at the school level affects their chances at the higher education level. The expansion of the higher education system is in favour of these students given that the mass private sector does not aim to “sort out” the most academically eligible students (rf. Gouvias, 1998). Consequently, the “egalitarian” point of view based on general and open access is more reflective of the strategy adopted by mass PUs (rf. Trow, 1973; Goastellec, 2008a; etc.). *The Lebanese higher education*

system cannot be therefore qualified as an equitable higher education system. For the Lebanese case, access opportunity and equity of access are both dependent from the students' social background; mirroring what was previously advanced by Goastellec (2008a) (see appendix 9.2).

9.4 Implications of the Surveyed Students' Choice of a HEI and a Programme

9.4.1. What has weighted more on these choices: economic or consumption motives?

In compliance with the human capital theory and ideology, the majority of the surveyed students credited their choice to continue higher studies to the effect that this decision might have on increasing their salary prospect and employment opportunities (even for women). However, this is clearly not the Lebanese case where the unemployment rate of those holding a university degree is still high. Consequently, having done this choice, the surveyed students in their senior year or those who have completed their higher studies did not found ground for this rational. A majority encountered difficulties finding employment opportunities and even if working, the salaries do not equate their level of education. This is related to the fact and as the data collected disclosed that the increased demand for higher education in Lebanon is not only driven by economic motives as advanced by the human capital theory but also composed of consumption motives. This found grounds in what was advanced by Kaiser and De Weert (1994), Blaug (1976) and Marshall (1961). Lebanese students consider higher education as a good that can be purchased based on a certain price.

Despite the expansion of the Lebanese higher education system and its expected effect on minimizing inequality in what pertains to access to a higher education, it is obvious that for the Lebanese case educational attainment is highly related to the social class simulating what was demonstrated by Pfeffer (2007) and Shavit et al. (2007). *The Lebanese education system is still burdened with inequalities.* As validated empirically (rf.

Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013; AUB et al., 2009; Abou Rjaili, 2003; to name only a few), students from disadvantaged social backgrounds have less access to private schools producing higher quality education than students from more advantageous socio-economic backgrounds²²⁰. This is leading to social inequality at the higher education level as well and confirms what was demonstrated for other systems by Reilly (2008) and mirrors what was previously revealed by Al Amine and Faour (1998) for the Lebanese case.

As it is the case in other studies, similarly in Lebanon, students from the low social class are making less demanding decision at the higher education level not only because of their financial status but also because of their need to work and study at the same time affecting hence their academic performance. They are choosing less demanding HEIs and less demanding programmes (cf. Chowdry et al., 2010; Meghir and Palme, 2005; Blanden and Gregg, 2004; Tsui, 2003; Al Amine and Faour, 1998; to name a few); programmes which are not correlated to the labour market needs confirming what was advanced by Demeulemeester and Rochat (2001); Swell and Shah (1967) and Becker (1962). This is a clear reflection of the nature of the Lebanese students' higher education choices where consumption motives and social factors have more weight on their choices rather than economic aspirations. Such choices are guided by the students' lack of information - a source of market failure, and indecision towards continuing or not higher studies. This has led them towards the mass private sector that is more flexible in terms of admission criteria with a stereotyped choice of one programme that of the "business administration" considered as a less demanding field of study if to be compared with other fields. This led over the years to an excess in the number of graduates and to employment problems.

²²⁰ Only 10% of education expenditure goes for innovation, curriculum improvements, buildings and equipment. Around 90% is spent on public sector overcrowded teaching staff (high ratio of teacher to student – 1:9 compared to the world average of 1:15-20) (Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013; AUB et al., 2009).

For each higher education sector, a number of consumption motives and socio-economic factors had their impact on the students' choices for a HEI or a programme. At the mass private sector, the consumption motives and the socio-economic factors had a greater impact than the economic motives. This resulted in the absence of social mobility for these students mainly because of their choice for programmes that do not assure such finality. Concerning the students at the elite private sector, the social reproduction is the key word. Adding the fathers HEI neutralized the effect of the socio-economic factors. This clearly assures further social mobility for the students choosing this sector. Those have also more chances to choose programmes assuring social mobility because of the orientation and guidance they receive. Regarding the LU students, those target a different set of aims. It seems that only for the LU students, the aim from pursuing higher studies is effectively as highlighted by the human capital theory to have better employment opportunities and salaries prospect even if this purpose is not effectively achieved because of the lack of personal connections as demonstrated by the survey result.

Results from Lebanon permit therefore to joint thought with the “screening approach” (rf. El-Ghali, 2011; Heijke, 1996) that considers the degree earned is a symbol or signal for ability. It provides employers with a good selection criterion but does not really guarantee employment because of the “intrusion” of other elements within the process. *These results permit also to validate the advancement of the “job competition theory”* (rf. Heijke, 1996). The theory considers that employers will select candidates not only based on their academic credentials but also on their personal traits and generic skills. This is valid for the Lebanese case where employers have preference for graduates from the elite private sector not solely because of the personal connections weight, but also because of the investment done in these students in terms of personal and generic skills. Consequently, since the theories that criticized the human capital theory are more valid for the Lebanese case, we can conclude that *the implications of the human capital theory may not be valid for small developing economies*. Lebanese university graduates are not granted their chances of being employed unless they search for opportunities outside the

national boundaries; in more developed economies eroding Lebanon from its educated workforce and leading to what is known by brain drain.

9.4.2. Why higher education is not allowing equally social mobility to all students?

From a social mobility perspective, and according to Shavit et al. (2007), education either allows social mobility for those who cannot inherit prestige or reinforces the transmission of unequal distribution between the social classes (rf. Shavit et al., 2007). It is seen as a gatekeeper for the upper social class (Tsui, 2003) where it will allow those to sustain their position and those from the low social class to enhance their social position (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). For the Lebanese case, further investment in education did not allow social mobility but to those who already can inherit prestige (elite PUs students). Further investment in education for the students not from a certain social surrounding did not really attenuate the unequal distribution between the social classes and did not allow social mobility for these students since the majority stayed unemployed for an important period of time; as it is the case for mass PUs students. Even the LU did not play its genuine role when it comes to securing students from the low social class with educational opportunities allowing them to enhance their social position. The reason is that an important proportion of the LU students are from the high social strata, choosing the LU selective faculties because of their academic standards. This does not allow students from the low social class who may not have the needed cultural capital to pass the entrance test at these faculties to have access to the LU.

9.4.3. Cultural capital had more weight on Lebanese students choices than the social capital

The majority of the students at the mass private sector is from the low social class with a majority of the fathers working in secretary positions with no higher education degree.

They have lower academic performance than the students choosing the elite private sector or the LU who come from a higher social class with a majority of the parents holding a university degree and working either in administrative or managerial positions. Students choosing the mass private sector chose it because of the flexible admission criteria reflecting their lack of confidence in their academic performance and the absence of cultural background (non-educated parental model; public secondary school, etc.) especially for those who have had chosen the labour market over higher education at a certain stage of their life. This is contradictory to the elite PUs and the LU students who directly engaged in higher education after finishing their secondary education. Their choice of these institutions is reflective of their confidence in their academic performance and the existence of a certain cultural capital. This ascertains for the Lebanese case what was demonstrated by Pfeffer (2007) that the educational choices are more dependent on the social and cultural backgrounds reflective of the individual ability; to align with Bourdieu point of view pertaining to the importance and effect of the cultural capital on future educational decisions; and to validate for the Lebanese case Boudon point of view concerning the correlation between the social class and the academic performance.

At both the LU and elite PUs, the students acknowledged that their choice is based on the implementation of selective admission criteria. Consequently, both primary and secondary effects identified by Boudon are validated for the Lebanese case. Accordingly, Lebanese higher education choices depend more on the cultural rather than the social capital as validated empirically (cf. Shavit et al., 2007; Pfeffer, 2007; Meghir and Palme, 2005; to name a few). For the Lebanese case, parents' education has more weight on the students' higher education choices than the parents' social class. Parents who had their higher education degree from an elite PU are sending their children to elite PUs. Parents who have high level of education but not from an elite private institution send their children either to the LU or to elite PUs seeking selectivity that is reflective of a certain academic standard. Concerning the parents who do not have a higher education degree or are not educated, their children are choosing the mass private sector. This is accredited

from one part to the parents' inability to guide and orient their children who are choosing the easier alternative especially that their choice most of the time is done by chance. Such behaviour is ascertaining for the Lebanese case what was demonstrated by Vallet (2004) for other higher education systems and that is cultural inequalities in education are more persistent to change than socio-economic ones. Students who do not have educated parents are choosing less demanding HEIs (the mass private sector). Their choice is not based on the advancement of the human capital theory but rather on the effect of chance or to enhance their current occupational status. However, the expansion of the mass private sector attenuated the effect of cultural inequalities where it allowed for those who may not have inherited a certain cultural capital to pursue higher level of education than their parents. Consequently, *the intergenerational educational inequality known by the Maximally Maintained Inequality – MMI* that was identified by Raftery and Hout (1993) *is not 100% validated for the Lebanese case because of the expansion of the mass private sector*. Such development allowed students who might not have sufficient inherited economic and cultural capitals to have access to higher education studies. This could be credited to the fact that when Mare (1980) developed the model the mass private sector was not yet that expanded.

9.4.4. Where does the labour market stand from inequalities found at the higher education system?

Inequalities are not only found at the higher education level but also at the labour market. According to Schultz (1961) and Mincer (1958), the differences in earnings are related to the differences in human investment. This was clearly translated for the Lebanese case where the asymmetric investment in education had its effect on the transition to the labour market. Graduates from elite PUs had over the years better chances to find employment opportunities than their colleagues from the mass private sector and the public university. They receive higher wages on the labour market for the same degree and field of study than graduates from the LU and the mass PUs. The mass

PU students are already working students. For those, it is not a preference of work over higher education. One choice cannot go without the other because of their financial situation. As the data collected indicated, their choice for higher education is done mostly by chance and not based on a conscious prior planning or personal preference aiming to improve their position at work; to search for better opportunities that are not easily found; or as a security net for future insecurities. It is as advanced by Conner et al. (2001), a mean to an end rather than an end by itself.

Choosing directly higher education after secondary studies or not affected the age range distribution among the HEIs. Because of the preference of work over higher education at a certain stage, students above 25 years of old have better chances than not to go to the mass private sector. This is credited to the easier admission criteria. This is totally the opposite for the LU and elite PUs where students below 22 years of old have better chances to be enrolled at these universities. This is mainly credited to the prior planning done by these students.

Always from an age perspective, and regardless of the period of transition, graduates between 23 and 30 years of old have better chances to find job than not. This is credited to the further investment in education done by those (rf. Schultz, 1961) and to the experience that they might have acquired throughout the years.

As advanced by Adam Smith (Smith, 1963), students from the upper social class know in advance what would be their future educational choices and complete therefore their higher studies before engaging in the labour market oppose to those from the low social strata who engage in the labour market before pursuing their higher studies as it is the case respectively for elite PUs and mass PUs Lebanese students. Concerning the LU students, and despite the fact that an important proportion of its students is from the high social class, choosing the labour market over that of the higher education is not really an issue because of the practically free tuition fees. A majority of the students at the elite private sector acknowledged that pursuing higher education is the normal step to take

after finishing secondary education. This goes in line with the results of other empirical studies (rf. Reilly, 2008; Al Amine and Faour, 1998) that showed that pursuing higher studies is not only the normal decision after secondary education but it allows also to preserve the social status and assures “social reproduction” of those from a certain social class.

According to Becker (1962), improvement in employment opportunities is not only related, to the increase in the level of education but also to the degree of search for a job; money spent on employment agencies and employment advertisements. This is clearly translated for the Lebanese case especially for graduates who did not encounter employment opportunities within a short period of graduation. As demonstrated by the logistic regression models, graduates who were on the market for more than 6 months were more likely to find employment opportunities through the employment offices and advertisements rather than personal connections. This is reflective of the important effect of the investment done in the search for a job.

9.4.5. Investment per gender: how is it “distributed” for the Lebanese case?

From a gender perspective and despite existing discrimination pertaining to the investment in female education among sectors, and as empirically validated by Berggren (2006), we noted an increase in the participation rate of female in higher education oppose to a decreasing participation rate for males. This is credited from one hand to females’ will to enhance their social position and from the other to males financial vulnerability related to the various responsibilities they have. This leads them to choose the labour market over higher education at a certain stage particularly those from the low and mid-low social classes. This find grounds in what was previously demonstrated by Al Amine and Faour (1998) and permits to conclude that gender inequality by itself is no longer a concern. *The concern is mainly translated in the gender inequality that is still existent among sectors;* in other words the choice of HEI and the choice of field of study.

As validated empirically by Al Amine and Faour (1998); Jacobs (1996); and Berggren (2006), the Lebanese families tend to invest more in the education of their sons. The proportion of females at the public sector is higher than that of males oppose to the mass private sector where the males proportion is higher than that of the females. However, when adding to the equation of educational choices the three types of capital: cultural, economic, and social; the decisions change. Families with certain cultural, economic and social capitals do not differentiate between female and male education. This is validated by the fact that the proportion of females at the elite private sector, “branded” for social reproduction, is even higher than that of males.

This is also true from a religious perspective where the social class has its share of effects on the investment in education per gender. Similar to empirical evidence (rf. Fogel, 1990), we noted for the Lebanese case that well-heeled families tend to invest equally in the education of females and males regardless of the religion. Being from a high social class neutralizes the effect of religion on investment per gender. The proportion of females at the elite private sector is even higher than that of males regardless of the religion where the proportion of Muslim female students is higher than that of Muslim males. An opposite trend is noted at the mass private sector and the LU where the majority of the students come from a more modest social background. The effect of religion is not neutralized in these cases. The majority of Muslim students at the mass private sector are males; whereas the majority of Christian students at the LU are females. This is empirically validated by many studies that demonstrated that Muslim societies tend to invest more in the education of males (rf. Jah, 2006; Jacobs, 1996; Guiso et al., 2003; to name few). Moreover, the choice of the sector is highly affected by the religion where Muslim students tend to choose Anglo-Saxon systems oppose to Christian students that tend to choose francophone systems or public one. Comparing students’ choices to that of the parents’ choice of a HEI, both female and male students’ choice of a HEI is dependent from the father choice of the institution. The choice of the female students for

a HEI is more dependent from that of the mother's choice similar to empirical evidence (rf. Sowell and Hauser, 1993).

At the programmes level, female students kept on choosing literary oriented programmes. As validated empirically by Garnier and Hage (1991), female students targeted more service-oriented programmes such as the "banking and finance" where the labour market offers more opportunities and attractive packages for female graduates (rf. Turner and Bowden, 1999). The difference in the choice of programme and HEI amid males and females led to a difference at the salaries level. Females and similar to empirical evidence chose low-income occupations and are still less paid than their male counterparts for the same field of study and same position (rf. Jacobs, 1996).

9.5 Higher Education Choices and Effect on the Transition to the Labour Market

Investment in higher education has become for the Lebanese youth a risky investment. The excess in the demand for higher education over the years complemented with an increase in the number of HEIs that helped to accommodate the increasing number of students, led to an increase in the number of graduates. With this, we are referring to the fact that it is not the expansion of the system that led to an excess in the number of graduates but rather it is the growing social demand and the interest in quantity more than quality that led to such outcome.

Such increase went in parallel with incompatible academic choices in relation to the structure of the Lebanese economy and that of the labour market that focuses more on low productivity activities. Students are shied away from majors that address the need within the labour market towards those that have a saturated labour market because of the lack of appropriate orientation and "greedy" HEIs according to El Ghali (2011) that prefers quantity (i.e. high recruitment rate of students) over compliance with the labour market needs. This situation led over the years not only to an over-production in certain

fields but also to an over-educated population for the domestic labour market contradicting by that the advancement of the human capital theory that believes that an individual can never be over-educated. As a result, high levels of unemployment of university graduates were noted over the years. This served as a major motive to seek employment opportunities within the regional and international labour markets where 47.4% of the Lebanese emigrants have a university degree (AUB et al., 2009). This is a clear statement of Lebanon's loss of its human capital.

As empirically validated by Robalino and Sayed (2012) and CAS (2011), Lebanese graduates are taking one year/one year and a half on average to find a job. From a broader perspective, and setting aside the socio-economic backgrounds of the graduates, this is mainly credited to the economic status of the labour market (cf. Berggren, 2006). Lebanon political situations affected negatively the labour market and instead of creating job opportunities, many firms had to lay off their employees. This was accompanied with the inability of the economy to create job opportunities in high productivity sectors which are more conform to university graduates skills. Combined together, these "raison d'être" led over the years to high level of unemployment among Lebanese university graduates. These high rates of youth unemployment are extremely dangerous since late employment will lead to obsolete skills preventing graduates from finding adequate jobs after a certain period of unemployment. Graduates if they do not possess a certain social capital are not able to find employment opportunities easily and fast enough rendering consequently the investment in higher education costly for those who cannot support it. This is in contradiction with the human capital theory that assumes that choosing higher education over the labour market at a certain stage will reduce students' return for the period of study but will render higher returns later on. In spite of these high unemployment rates, the demand for higher education is still high and enrolments are still increasing out of belief that higher education will yield better salaries and employment opportunities; aspirations that are not really realized at least within the domestic labour market. *The Lebanese high unemployment rate amongst the educated youth/university graduates is challenging therefore the human capital theory.*

For the Lebanese case, and because of the increase in the rate of female participation in higher education, the female graduates' numbers increased over the years to reach a higher rate than that of males graduates. Regardless of this fact, for both males and females, the highest proportion of graduates is from faculties with saturated labour market rendering hence investment in higher education a risky one. Despite acknowledging the choice of higher education for the purpose of finding better employment opportunities and cashing higher salaries, Lebanese university graduates encountered difficulties to find adequate employment opportunities at least within the domestic labour market because of a combination of factors. Surveyed students, regardless of their first programme preference and of their current choice of programme, demonstrated lack of knowledge and information about the domestic labour market effective needs. They kept on choosing the same field of study known by a saturated labour market that of the "Economic Sciences and Business Administration". Students stereotyped choice is out of belief that it is a general field permitting to have a wider access to work opportunities. This behaviour has become a trend within the Lebanese higher education sector. The statistical overview of the CERD reports showed that the students' highest recruitment rates over the years is always for this faculty; followed by faculties renowned as well by having a saturated labour market. Such behaviour led therefore over the years to an over-production in certain fields. Based on that, we noted that even in small economies, *the "glutting theory" is confirmed*. Enrolments for certain programmes followed the rules of the "glutting theory" where fluctuating enrolment rates were noticed between programmes based on the labour market changes (substitutability effect or engorgement model) (rf. Chapter one, part A, section 1.6.5). However, and for particular programmes such as the "Business Administration", "Political Sciences and Law", "Medicine" (among others), the substitutability effect continued even after saturation leading to an over-production in these fields. This conduct at the higher education level is making the transition process to the labour market difficult particularly for the programmes known with the increasing rates of graduates and mostly for those

who do not possess the generic skills and the needed social and cultural capitals to compete.

9.5.1. What weighted more on the transition process from higher education to the labour market?

The transition process is not unique within the labour market. It differs based on the choice of the HEI and the channels used to find a job regardless of the field of study. A fast transition pace is rarely related to the choice of the field of study. Channel used to find employment, the social capital, and the HEI, all have a more important weight on the pace of transition. Still, and as empirically validated by Cedefop (2010), the Lebanese university graduates from broader fields of study such as literature, humanities, art have less chances to find a job fast enough after graduation. Their chances increased after one year and a half. This is credited to the better awareness of the labour market needs that these graduates acquired throughout their years of search for employment opportunities. They are more aware of channels to be used. Those have referred to jobs in public administration through the civil council examination process.

Unemployment of Lebanese university graduates does not only pertain to the lack of job creation but also to the lack of needed skills. Graduates from the mass private sector have had the most difficult transition process oppose to elite PUs graduates who knew an easier transition. As validated empirically by El-Ghali (2011); Salsa-Velasco, (2007); Nguyen and Taylor (2005); Corrales and Rodriguez (2004); Marginson (2004); Abou Rjaili (2003), graduates from prestigious HEIs do not encounter in general problems within the labour market because of the social and cultural capitals they possess (educated parental model working in senior positions); and the investment done by their institutions not only in the academic skills but also in the generic skills, that are all considered as assets within the labour market searched by employers and leading hence to a better integration. Those benefit from the “labelling effect” or the “institutional reputation” (rf. Tsui, 2003) linking

higher tuition fees with higher and better skills acquired. Consequently, elite PUs graduates are not considered over-educated within the labour market. They target different labour market than graduates of the LU and the mass private sector. They target the multinational companies (MNCs) oppose to the LU and mass PUs graduates who mostly target small and medium enterprises (SMEs) (rf. Abou Rjaili, 2003). They expect hence higher wages than their counterparts from other sectors who accept and can set for lower wages (rf. Elias et al., 1999). Concerning the graduates from the LU, they have better chances to find job faster than mass PUs graduates. Despite this fact, they rarely work in their field of specialization (rf. Abou Rjaili, 003). The main problems they encounter at the labour market are not only the absence of generic sills but also the absence of appropriate channels permitting to have access to employment opportunities. In case of unemployment, Abou Rjaili (2003) proved that the unemployment of graduates from the elite private sector is optional while it is not the case for graduates from the LU.

Finding a job did not seem to be only related to the level or type of skills acquired during studies but also to the professional experience. Data disclosed that graduates with a certain professional experience have found jobs faster than those who do not have such experience. This complies with the results of the LAES study done in 1999-2000 (Abou Rjaili, 2003) where employment during studies was found as an important aspect for a fast transition after graduation.

Additionally, finding a job within a 3 months period after graduation is reflective of the low job creation. Only those who are entrepreneurs or who work with their parents and/or relatives have found a job within such short period of time. For those who are not involved in either one of these activities, the transition to the labour market took them more than a year depending on their social capital. With time, both the educational level and the choice of field of study did not have any significant effect on the process of transition. If not to find a job within a short period after graduation, the chances of being employed diminish validating by that the existence for the Lebanese case of the “lagged dependency” process (rf. Ryan, 2001). As empirically demonstrated by Lassibilie et al.

(2001) and Chuang (19997), females chances also decreased with time accrediting this to their social and family obligations. They are less paid than their males' counterpart and work in lower positions than their male counterpart. This conforms to the USJ study in 2003 (Kasparian, 2003) and is empirically availed to the difference in the choice of programmes and the nature of skills developed (rf. Jacobs, 2006; Turner and Bowen, 1999).

Graduates from vocational and technical education seems to have better chances within the Lebanese labour market than university graduates finding grounds with what was empirically validated by Salsa-Velasco (2007) and Teichler (2000). The data collected revealed that graduates holders of a technical degree have better chances to find a job after a 3 months period or a year after graduation than holders of a BA degree.

9.5.2. Does the Lebanese higher education “market” answers the needs of the labour market?

The answer to this question is complicated as it is not only related to the unemployment or shortage in the labour rates that can be calculated easily through statistics. To properly answer this question, and as proposed by Al Amine (1997), three dimensions have to be considered. The first dimension is the “*time*” where the graduate flows for a certain diploma are not stable from one year to another governed by the students' predictions about employment opportunities after graduation as well as the changes related to the labour market.

The second dimension is the “*geographical location*”. Employment opportunities are related to the employment social scope. They are different between the city and the suburbs, between commercial and industrial areas, etc. The social scope can be either small and closed, or opened and big or small and open. The Lebanese employment social scope is small and open. It is small because of the lack of work opportunities that can

match all qualifications and accommodate all graduates. It is open because of its openness to other countries such as the Arab countries, Canada, Australia, Europe, etc. providing more educational and employment opportunities. The majority of the Lebanese families have at least one emigrant studying or working abroad or doing both.

The third dimension is the “*qualifications*”. The educational specification for careers in a non-industrial country such as Lebanon is not clear. The source of universities diplomas is miscellaneous provided by the LU, and a variety of Lebanese PUs without omitting the Arab and European countries because of the emigration trends. Such diversity of qualifications is being resolved by equivalence committees that aim to validate diplomas in order to allow students to work within the labour market. However, the labour market in general and the Lebanese labour market in particular deals with such variety in a different way based on competition and profit. Employers base their employment decision not only on educational and professional qualifications but also on affiliations (religion, social class, connections, etc.) dictating somehow the “spam” of educational opportunities availability. Therefore, the transition process from higher education to the labour market depends on the combination between the choice of the HEI, the choice of programme and the social capital that one has; considering each factor separately does not dictate the transition process.

9.6 Queries and Hypotheses

The following will offer an answer for the thesis questions and validate or not the hypotheses to better understand the Lebanese case.

9.6.1. Research questions from the students' perspective

1) If not solely guided by the future earnings as suggested by the human capital theory, what are the factors that weight more on the Lebanese students' higher education choices and determine their demand for higher education? What role do the Lebanese students' personal, educational, socio-economic, occupational, and social backgrounds and their interrelation have on shaping these choices?

A combination of factors affected the choices of the surveyed students at the higher education level. Those factors differed from one sector to another. However, what was common among all sectors is the fact that the students acknowledged reason of choice is not effectively what guided such choice.

Surveyed students identified the objective from pursuing their higher studies as being the better employment opportunities and salary prospects conforming by that with what was advanced by the human capital theory. However, in compliance with the CERD reports and the previous empirical studies, the majority of the surveyed students had a stereotyped choice for one programme that of the “business administration” or for other programmes with saturated labour market. This is affecting their employability chances at the labour market because of the excess of graduates created over the years for these programmes. Such end result led the surveyed students to reconsider their prior aspirations and recognize the uneasy access to such ends within the domestic labour market. The main reasons of regret are controversially the same that led them to choose higher studies yet in the reverse direction: “low salaries” and “lack of work opportunities”. This is an indicator that the students are not obviously aware of the labour market needs oppose to what they think. So what is really guiding their choices?

Giving one answer to what really steer the Lebanese students' higher education choices does not seem right. The population at each secotr is different from the other. The LU

students are effectively choosing higher education to have access to better employment opportunities and salaries, just like elite PUs students. Concerning mass PUs students, what seems to really guide their higher education choices is their professional experience and their inability to go to the LU or elite PUs either because of their financial and/or academic incapacities.

Effect of secondary education choice - Away from the general aim of continuing higher education, the educational choices of the surveyed students at the secondary level have had an important effect on their higher education choices. The majority of the surveyed students kept on choosing the same track at the secondary level that of the “Sociology and Economy” track validating by that previous empirical studies. The majority of those chose one main programme at the higher education level that of the “Business Administration”; a programme known with its saturation level at the labour market. The concern seems to be hence double: the choice of track at the secondary level that is guiding students towards restricted choice of programmes at the higher education level. Elite PUs thought their orientation programmes have somehow overcome such predicament by orienting their students towards programmes where the labour market is showing an increase in respective job opportunities. However, such practice cannot be generalized to all HEIs according to the ministry of education and higher education. For the ministry, it is not probable to set a “quota” policy in order to minimize the drift of graduates towards certain fields. The rational being to respect the principle of “freedom of choice” that guides the higher education system (rf. Appendix 4.3).

Effect of fathers’ educational and occupational backgrounds - Choosing a HEI is dependent from the socio-economic status of the student, the father educational and occupational backgrounds. Students from the low and low-mid social classes tend to choose mass PUs whereas those from the mid-low and the mid-high social classes tend to choose the LU. The majority of mass PUs’ surveyed students have fathers who work in secretary positions whereas for the LU and elite PUs the majority of the fathers work

either in administrative and/or senior positions. Furthermore and as validated by other studies (amongst others: Abou Rjali, 2003), students at the LU and elite PU have parents with a higher educational level than students at the mass private sector. This is reflective of the effect of the cultural capital. The higher it is, the more are the chances of the students to choose more selective HEIs. Regarding the students from the mid/mid-high social strata who are choosing the LU instead of the mass private sector, the main reason of choice is identified by these students as being the academic standards that the LU offers. This is credited to the guidance provided by their fathers who have the occupational and educational backgrounds permitting them to guide the students' educational choices.

On the other hand, the preference of the mass private sector is credited not to the presence of certain cultural, social, and/or economic capitals but rather to the assumption that private higher education yield higher wages and better employment opportunities. For those who do not have the financial ability to go to elite PUs, the choice is hence in favor of the mass private sector. Their academic background might explain as well their choice. Surveyed students enrolled at mass PUs identified the reason of such choice as being related to the easy admission criteria at these institutions.

Effect of students' occupational background - The majority of the surveyed students are working students. Their choice of programme is highly correlated to their field of work. The majority of the surveyed working students is choosing the mass private sector. Such choice, and according to the surveyed students, is encouraged by the easy admission criteria and the flexible study schedule which allow them to work and study at the same time. This permits to conclude that working students and because they have somehow secured employment are choosing an easier higher education sector. They consider higher education not as a "tool" to access the labour market but rather as a "tool" to get promoted within their job.

Effect of religion, gender - Gender has an effect on the choice of both the HEI and the programme. However, combining the gender with religion, the effect did not seem that important. The choice of the HEI and the programme is more explicative for female and male Muslim students. From this stand, we note that the investment in higher education is still in favor of male students. The highest proportion of female students is at the public sector whereas the majority of the male students are choosing the private sector. Concerning the effect of religion, and for Christian female students, the majority is enrolled at the public sector validating the fact that investment at private sector is not in favor of female students (at least Christian ones). Regarding Muslim female students, we noticed that the highest proportions are at the elite and mass private sector. The highest proportion at the elite private sector is explained by the existence of cultural, social and financial capitals that render, and as validated empirically, an equal investment in the education of males and females. Concerning the proportion at the mass sector, it could be explained by the will of these students to have access to a private affordable education. It should be noted that these figures do not insinuate that the investment in female Muslim students is in favor of the private sector because the data collected from the LU was mainly done at the second branches located in areas populated with a majority of Christians. This only allows to validate the preference of Muslim students for Anglo-Saxon systems given also that the proportion of male Muslim students is as well the highest at mass and elite PUs.

Concerning the choice of programme, surveyed female students kept on choosing literary programmes rather than scientific ones. For the “Banking and Finance” track, and similar to previous years trend, the proportion of females choosing this track is still higher than that of male students. If to add the religion to the equation, no clear discrepancies are noted. Both female/male Christian and Muslim students chose in their majority the “Business Administration” programme. Still, we noted a higher proportion of Muslim female students enrolled at the “Literature and Humanities” programmes. Concerning other programmes, no clear differences were noted in terms of religion.

9.6.2. Research questions from the HEIs perspective

- 2) *What effect do the diversified private supply and the competition among the public-private and the private-private HEIs have on the Lebanese students' higher education choices?*

There is no doubt that the diversification of the Lebanese higher education system affected the system tremendously and weighbridged the students' distribution among the HEIs. Such diversified system is more apt to offer access to students from various educational and social backgrounds. Each student will choose the sector and educational environment that suits her/him which is supposed to provide social mobility. Such diversity is also supposed to provide positive outcomes for the labour market. Over the years, the Lebanese students shifted their interest from public to private education out of belief that private education yield better quality because of the tuition fees paid in comparison to the practically free tuition fees at the public sector. This and from the students' perspective will improve job opportunities prosepcts and permit to cash higher salaries. Competition amongst various HEIs, which is normally not at an equal distance, altered the students' choice in benefit of HEIs that do not implement selective admission criteria and gradually away from the LU that aims to provide educational opportunities for those unable to afford private education.

From a competitive position, the Lebanese higher education system can be divided into three blocks: elite PUs, mass PUs and the LU. Apparently, there is no competition between these blocks but rather amongst institutions within each block. Based on the academic standards, the LU seems to be the supreme competitor. Since the LU is recruiting students from the high social strata, we can deduce that there is a sort of competition between the LU and the elite PUs. However, such competition is not extensive because the LU students who might have the academic standards to go to elite PUs may not have the financial ability nor the ranking of schools required by prestigious

HEIs. This is confirmed by interviewed representative of one of elite PUs who affirmed that elite PUs place themselves away from competition with the LU and mass PUs (rf. Appendix 4.4.1). Considering the LU not as a direct competitor pertains mainly to the high tuition fees of elite PUs compared to the practically free tuition fees of the LU. Data collection and survey results disclosed that the majority of the LU surveyed students have a total level of income “between 2400 and 6000 US dollars”; a range of income that none of the elite PUs surveyed students made reference to. This permits to ascertain that competition between the elite PUs and the LU, when it exists, is from an academic stand where the LU is well known for its high academic standards in its selective faculties (such as engineering, architecture, medical sciences, etc.). Concerning the competition between the LU and the mass PUs, the equation is totally different. The competition seems to be based not on financial grounds but rather on academic ones. According to the students, the choice of the mass private sector over the public university is because of the less demanding academic portfolio.

This was empirically validated by the 1997 LAES study. Based on the study, elite PUs exclude students from the public secondary schools. This strategy is mainly adopted by Christian francophone universities (USJ and USEK) and other prestigious universities. Concerning the LU, the recruitment from public secondary schools differ from one branch to another where the proportion in the second branch is less than that in the first, third, fourth and fifth. Our sample is in accordance with the 1997 LAES results, where the highest proportion of students from the public schools is at the mass private sector whereas at the elite PUs and the LU second branches (where data was mainly collected) the proportion of students from the private secondary schools is higher (Al Amine and Faour, 1998). This ascertains hence the existence of a certain trend at the level of higher education choices.

Based on the recruitment trends over the years and the results of this survey, it seems that the mass private sector has won the competition over the LU. Students’ interest in private education out of belief that it might improve employment opportunities and wages, led

the majority to choose the mass private sector instead of the LU. These students acknowledged choosing the mass private sector - that knew a massive development because of the excessive demand for higher education that the LU was unable to fulfill - because of its flexible and easier admission criteria compared to the LU and the elite PUs. However, the majority of these students acknowledged that the aimed objective from their choice in terms of employment opportunities and expected wages is not really materialised. They credited this unwanted end result to the “reputation of the university that is not very well acknowledged by employers”. This contradicts the LU surveyed students point of view, who despite encountering difficulties to find employment because of the lack of graduates’ follow up, found that they are well evaluated within the labour market.

Concerning the competition between the private sector blocks, and based on the data collected, mass PUs are not to be considered as direct competitor with elite PUs both from the students’ aspirations and the HEIs strategy. Elite PUs target specific clienteles. They are very selective in their recruitment process where in addition to the high school grades, passing the entrance examinations, they consider the rank of the school. An opposite trend overrules students’ recruitment at the mass private sector. Admission criteria are not that “strict”, and the rank of the school or the social background of the students do not exert too many weight on the selection and recruitment processes. For the students who do not come from a certain social strata, with modest academic background, the elite private sector is removed from the competition equation. From a student perspective, mass PUs students cannot go to elite PUs because of the differences in the clienteles’ social, cultural, and economic backgrounds, and the aspirations of each. Mass PUs students are searching for the “easy admission criteria”; the “flexible schedule”; and the opportunity to complete a higher education degree that permits to improve their work status. On the other hand, elite PUs students are aspiring for the “social interaction”, the “academic standards”, and the “work opportunities” that these universities are able to offer to their students. By this, we are not what so ever insinuating

that elite PUs are better or smarter than mass PUs students. As data collected exposed, the majority of the students at both private sectors has an average between 15.9 and 12 over 20. It is rather the personal, academic, social, and socio-economic backgrounds of the students choosing the mass sector that did not allow them to choose the elite private sector. The majority of them as noted from the data collected come from the low social strata with fathers who work in secretary positions; and are working students to be able to pay their tuition fees altering hence their aspirations concerning higher education choices.

On the other hand, the choice between one sector and not the other, and the degree of competition, is dictated by one additional condition that of the working status of the students. Data collected revealed that the choice of the mass private sector is done by the working students. This permitted to ascertain that the students choosing the mass private sector, may not be aspiring to really secure employment but rather to improve their work conditions. For these students, higher education does not seem to be an “essential ingredient” but rather a “complementary ingredient”.

Based on what was advanced and according to the director general of higher education, the relation between the LU and the private sector is not really that of a competition but rather of a “complementarity” since the private sector absorb the excess of demand that the LU cannot absorb. Always according to the director general of higher education, the difference between the public and the private sectors is mainly based on the academic distinction of the latter. Consequently, the competition between the public and the private sectors is considered a problematic one for two reasons: from one side the lack of the LU branches while the PUs opened and continue to open branches in various regions in order to reach students in all geographical areas; and from the other side the low rate of success at the LU because of its high academic standards leading students to target institutions with easier admission criteria (rf. Appendix 4.3). This gives therefore advantage for the private sector, particularly the mass private one, over the LU.

Finally, we can conclude that the diversified supply permitted to answer to the diversity of the demand within the market that is representative of the Lebanese society mixture in terms of social, economic and cultural backgrounds. Consequently, the Lebanese higher education system is better described by “complementary” rather than “competition” among institutions of higher education.

3) To which extent the HEIs are responsible for alleviating or aggravating the youth unemployment problem? Are they creating bigger expectations among the graduates than the real existing ones?

The most obvious effect of the increased demand for higher education as noted is the “fast” development of the mass private sector and consequently the excessive increase in the number of HEIs to an extent where the supply is effectively exceeding the demand. Unfortunately, such development did not alter the students' choices at the programmes' level. Data collected, statistical bulletins and empirical studies confirmed that the students kept on choosing the same programmes with saturated labour markets, with an important proportion always choosing the “Business Administration” field of study.

The majority of the students identified choosing the higher education instead of going directly to the labour market because of the opportunities that a higher education degree might allow in relation to job opportunities and salaries. However, based on the data collected, this may not be the main aim of the students choosing the mass private sector since the majority is working students. This result is revealing new economic aspirations: instead of choosing a programme with important job opportunities or that may allow employability, the students' professional experience is what effectively guides their choice of programme. The students' stereotyped choice for one programme that of “Business Administration” despite job level saturation for the field can be explained by the fact that the majority of the students choosing this programme is working in the field. This is true for the mass private sector. But what about elite PUs and the LU where the

majority of the students are non working students? Elite PUs students seem the least to “suffer” from predicaments. The majority do not regret nor the choice of the university, nor that of the programme. The majority acknowledged the important role that the university played in securing internship and employment opportunities. Regarding the LU students, they do acknowledge the reputation of the university as an important asset in addition to the high academic standards of the university. However, they identify at the same time the inability of the university to secure job offers as a downfall. Therefore, and if to classify the pace of transition per higher education sector, we note that elite PUs graduates are the first to find employment, followed by LU graduates and then mass PUs graduates. What follows will elaborate more on that.

9.6.3. Research questions from a labour market perspective

- 4) *What effect do the educational choices done by the students as to the choice of the HEI and the field of study have on their integration within the labour market? And which labour market - national, regional or international?*

The implication of educational choices done by the surveyed students at the labour market differed from one higher education sector to another. Based on the data collected and the empirical studies, the LU graduates expectations of being employed are lower than the elite PUs graduates expectations particularly for saturated labour market. The LU students identified facing problems when it comes to securing work opportunities once graduated and availed this to poor graduates follow up. Concerning elite PUs students, this is not really a predicament. For them, the main reasons for choosing elite PUs is based on the ability of these institutions to provide internship and employment opportunities; a task that elite PUs have proved to be able to fulfill through their ALUMNI offices that assure graduates follow up. Academic excellency might therefore be a common characteristic between the LU and the elite PUs, yet concerning the graduates' follow up and the effective attainment of social mobility is the key difference between

these two systems. Elite PUs focus on the social reproduction. Their graduates are easily integrated within the labour market oppose to LU graduates that are taking a longer period of time to find employment by referring either to the public sector through the civil council or to advertisements and employment offices. Concerning mass PUs students, those seem to target different labour market(s). Given that the majority are working students, most of them are aiming to improve their working conditions by getting a higher education degree. For those who are not working, difficulties to encounter opportunities within the domestic labour market is the key word. Those target in general, as validated empirically, SMEs that offer limited job opportunities which cannot fulfill the excess of graduates that mass PUs provide from one programme that of the “Business Administration”. Therefore, there is no single labour market. Graduates from each sector target different labour markets. Data collected and empirical studies permit to validate the segmentation of the Lebanese labour market.

Concerning the field of study and its effect on the integration within the labour market, data indicated that the main reason of regret of the choice of the programme for the majority of the surveyed students is the lack of work opportunities and low salaries offered within the domestic labour market. This is a clear indicator that the students choices of programmes are not consistent with the effective labour market needs. Students have had chosen the programme (mainly that of the “Business Administration”) not out of preference or personal interest or because it offers good employment opportunities but rather because of its affordable tuition fees. A choice that they are paying its price more expensively because their investment is not really rendering the benefits estimated given long period of unemployment. What was compensated in terms of low tuition fees is paid by them at a later stage with long period of unemployment. However, this is not the case for graduates from all sectors. What was just advanced, as data and empirical studies revealed, is mainly valid for the LU and the mass PUs graduates where the latter suffer the most at the labour market oppose to elite PUs graduates who seemed to be the most informed about the field of study to choose. Mass PUs working

students are choosing programme in correlation with their field of work as stated earlier. Those who are not working do not have the correct information about the effective needs. Results of both surveys done at different intervals of time showed that non-working students choice of programme is correlated with fields of study with low salaries and poor employment opportunities within the labour market. This validates the lack of information that the students at the mass private sector have and the consequent effect on their integration within the labour market. On the other hand, and as data collected exhibited, elite PUs students were the least to identify their regret for the programme. Those have the fastest integration process because of a combination of factors ranging from the reputation and labelling effect of the HEI, to the social reproduction effect and the social capital they possess, to the skills they have acquired, and the choice of the field of study that assures social mobility as validated also by previous empirical studies. Most programmes at elite PUs consists of a learning component which entails training or any other link with the labour market permitting students to have a certain professional experience before graduation and facilitating hence their employment that can be done after a period of internship (cf. Appendix 4.4.1).

At the labour market level, and if not to find job opportunities within the domestic labour market, graduates regardless of the HEIs, target the regional market; mainly the Gulf countries followed by the international labour market, mainly European one. Many elite PUs graduates choose to work with international companies in the Gulf countries particularly graduates from the petroleum field. Concerning the LU and the mass PUs graduates, their target is also the Gulf countries that offer for them employment packages not found within the domestic market. However, it should be noted that the 2008 financial crisis had its effect on the unemployment crisis in Lebanon. The companies in the Gulf countries that used to absorb a certain proportion of the excess of the Lebanese university graduates fired or laid out an important number of their Lebanese employees that returned to the domestic labour market competing with other graduates in a stagnant

if not declining economy that cannot really afford to offer or create job opportunities for fresh as well as experienced skilled graduates.

5) What effect does the diversified supply of the students' academic standards, economic aspirations and socio-economic backgrounds have on their integration within the labour market and pace of transition?

The social capital, the personal connections or what is known by the nepotism principle is the key word for a fast transition to the labour market; a reality that was also highlighted by other empirical studies (cf. Chapter one, Part B, section 1.13). This can be understood from several perspectives. Such capital can be either related to the social class or to the type of work. As data revealed, graduates who work as entrepreneurs or with their parents or relatives found job easily after graduation; within a period not exceeding the 3 months. This is a clear evidence of the existence of a certain not only social capital but also economic one permitting those graduates to have their own businesses or to have already a family business to run. Moreover, the data disclosed that the field of study does not weight much on the transition process. Having a degree from a field of study with a saturated labour market or not does not affect much the chances of the graduates in finding fast enough employment opportunities after graduation. Personal connections, and as validated empirically (cf. Abou Rjaili, 2003), are mostly used for saturated labour markets explaining therefore the better chances that elite PUs graduates have. Graduates from the elite private sector do not really encounter difficulties within the labour market not only because of the labelling effect, the good choice of the field of study and the generic skills acquired throughout the years but also because of the personal connections or the social capital they possess. This is not all. The training or internship periods that elite PUs provide to their students also allow them to have contacts with the employers and receive subsequently job offers.

This is not the case at the LU and the mass private sector. Students at these systems and if to have an internship opportunity, it will be based in most cases on a personal effort. Oppose to elite PUs, training is not mandatory at mass PUs and the LU, except for certain practical fields such as medical doctors, engineers, etc. It is not supported by the university which does not oblige students to have training before graduation minimizing therefore their chances of being exposed to the labour market opportunities and demonstrating their abilities.

Gender is another element that weighted on the transition process. As expected, male chances to find a job fast enough after graduation are greater than the female chances. However, we noted that males who found job directly after graduation or within a relatively short interval of time are less educated than their female counterparts. This is once again a clear evidence that the higher education degree is not effectively an indicator for encountering employment opportunities within the Lebanese labour market. The socio-economic, cultural ideologies are what guides effectively not only the process of choice at the higher education level but also the process of transition to the labour market.

Based on the survey results, the longer is the time to find a job after graduation, the more difficult it becomes to find a job. This entails that graduates from the high social classes who do possess the social capital are not finding in general problems when it comes to finding employment opportunities. This is not the case for graduates from the low social strata that if to find employment opportunities will take some time to do so. Those, as data exposed, are mainly mass PUs or LU graduates. Consequently, the social class has a say in the pace of transition. Graduates finding a job after a short period of time did not do so because of their higher education degree or field of study. A higher education does not seem to be a good basis of competition within the labour market as advanced by the human capital theory. On the contrary. It did not allow graduates a fast pace of transition. Only those who have had the opportunity to have or use the correct channels succeeded

in securing employment in a short period of time after graduation. Graduates who found a job after more than one year, either did by applying to a public administration through the civil council or through advertisements and employment offices explaining hence the long period taken to be employed.

6) Can the Lebanese students' choices be defined as being "cyclic"? Is the "cobweb model", "glutting theory" validated for the Lebanese case?

As empirical studies and data collected exhibited, and from a general perspective, the students choices of programmes over the years did not vary much. The main stereotyped choices were for the same programmes year after year. This was validated by the factual analysis done based on the CERD statistical bulletins that showed that the Lebanese youth is choosing practically the same programme(s) with no real change over the years. However, the factual analysis also showed that for certain fields of study the choice fluctuated either in an increasing or decreasing pace simulating the effect of the changes in the labour market on these choices. These are mainly specific fields of study that do not cover a broad range of skills such as the faculties of "documentation", "education", "architecture", "social sciences", "arts", "applied sciences" and "agriculture". Fluctuations in enrolments rates differed between the public and the private sector that did not follow the same pace. As discussed in chapter one, some faculties knew a positive fluctuation in enrolments at the public sector versus a negative trend at the private sector and vice versa. Such differences in the trend of enrolments between the public and the private sectors were mainly related as discussed in chapter one to the differences in the admission processes among the sectors.

What attracted our utmost attention is from one hand the ultimate repetitive choice of the "Business Administration" programme over the years with increasing enrolment proportions at both the public and the private sectors despite the saturation in job opportunities at the labour market; and from the other, the low enrolment rates for the "Hotel Management and Tourism" field that should have known an increase in the

enrolment rates particularly because of the government efforts at a certain stage to encourage tourism related occupations. Additionally, other fields of study known for saturation of job opportunities within the labour market such as the “Law, Political and Administrative Sciences” programme or the lack of work opportunities such as the “Literature and Humanities” programme knew over the years a decreasing rate in the enrolment rates mirroring the effect of the “glutting theory” where students might have chosen other fields.

For the Lebanese case, the “cobweb model” and the “glutting theory” are therefore valid. The expansion of the system and the development of the private sector that is mostly known by the offering of general fields of study allowed students who lack the needed cultural capital and do not have enough information about the effective needs to choose programmes in a stereotyped manner even after saturation based on the “chance” factor with no reflection on the effective consequences within the labour market.

9.6.4. Research questions from a government perspective

7) What is the impact of the government’s policies on the supply of the higher education? To which extent these policies encourage an elite and/or a mass system and hence shape the higher education choices done by the students?

(The answer to this question is based on the interview done with the General Director of Higher Education – Dr. Ahmad Al Jamal; cf. Appendix 4.3).

Policies set by the government have a great impact on the supply at the higher education level. Before 1993 – the year of the establishment of the ministry of education and higher education - the Lebanese higher education system was not regulated by many policies. The system was only administrated by a number of commissions. There was no clear structure pertaining to the reporting and follow up. All activities were coordinated by the technical committee. The expansion of the system took place in a political

environment where political pressure had an important weight on the development of the system and mainly on the development of the mass private sector because of the broad and general characteristics of the laws and policies. Because of the absence of an institutional body to regulate the market, the higher education system was in the hand of the private sector implicating by itself a certain level of political power.

To have more “power” over the supply within the higher education market, and in 1996, the “1996 decree” was put in practice. It permitted to regulate the market and set criteria for the establishment of new private institutions of higher education and hence diminish the weight of political arrangement. The “1996 decree” was complemented by the establishment of the “Directorate General of Higher Education” in 2002. The establishment of the directorate allowed to set minimum requirements in what pertains to the establishment of new private HEIs. It succeeded to eliminate cross-border education and to limit the non-licensed HEIs. These actions have placed the Lebanese higher education system in a better position. Based on that, transparency was and still is a major component of the ministry’s mission. This is translated by the creation of the ministry’s website allowing to inform students about all the licensed universities. Further action in this prospect is the plan to have a “Unit for Direction and Guidance”. The aim of this unit is to guide the students’ higher education choices but not dictate them. The ministry does not aim from this to set a quota or a mandatory policy to minimize the graduates’ flow for saturated fields within the labour market. On the contrary, the aim of such policy is to respect the freedom of choice and to implement the “free guidance” principle. This will allow students to be better informed, to be aware of the labour market needs while leaving them the freedom of choice. This is similar to what is implemented by the mass private sector institutions which have a general guidance strategy with no “mandatory guidance strategy”. They only tend to advise the students and to encourage a “free choice” approach. This is not the case for the elite private sector institutions that adopt a different approach (cf. Appendix 4.3). The students are in general guided towards a different major than that of their first choice after their first year where the main

courses are in general language courses and liberal art skills. Elite PUs are not only interested in the employability skills that the students can acquire during her/his years of study but also in the development of the generic skills leading to a successful life (rf. Appendix 4.4.1). From this perspective, elite PUs seem to guide their students towards fields that are not saturated. The evidence is the high proportion of students at the elite PUs for fields identified as having “booming” work opportunities unlike the mass private sector. This divergence at the level of implemented recruitment strategy reflects the fact that the ministry still does not have one policy set for all HEIs. Each institution adapt its strategy of recruitment within the line of the general guidelines set by the ministry without abiding 100% with the criteria to be followed.

The ministry encourages the diversity of supply as long as it is within the guidelines set. It does not interfere directly in regulating the so-called competition in terms of offered programmes and the recruitment of students. For the ministry, it is a “free play” market. However, the position of the Lebanese higher education system is in contradiction with the educational context. The market is regulated by a supply that exceeds the demand for higher education. The most challenging task for the ministry is to set educational policies permitting to consider and to regulate the diversity of the system and the diversity of the practices. To assure quality education, the policies set need to be revised on a continuous basis particularly because of the diversity of the private supply extending to the branches that most private HEIs have. To control the supply, the ministry has set two processes: the licensing process and the auditing process. The file of each HEI is assessed by the technical committee in what pertains to the eligibility of the curriculum, lab, programmes, etc. and that based on the higher education act (i.e. the 1996 decree). If the HEI abides by all guidelines set, the next phase is applicable where the HEI must prove its ability to correctly put into practice all the requirements set. Concerning the programme recognition, it is done after three years from starting to deliver the programme. This allow the ministry to assess its outcome and legitimacy. At a later stage, a site visit is done to verify that all requirements are respected especially in what pertains to the physical

resources. In order to make sure that this process works for the benefits of all stakeholders, the directorate took over the years some measures which allowed to better regulate the system and the quality provided. As a result, and in 2004, one institution was closed because it did not abide by the regulations set. Additionally, an audit job for all private HEIs branches was done in 2010-2011 aiming to check their eligibility and conformity with the regulations. A list of non conformities was set and concerned HEIs were informed about the adjustments that need to be done. Any institution that does not abide by the norms will be reported to the council of higher education responsible of taking and implementing appropriate action(s).

Policies and regulations set allowed more control over the system. From the existing HEIs, three are not yet operating because they did not fulfill all the requirements. This reflects the fact that the ministry through the technical committee does not directly accept all applications to open a new programme or a new HEI. The technical committee does not give the “license” to any institution if it does not meet the requirements. In an aim to overcome any override that was done during the years of chaos, a new scheme of law is being proposed. The objective is to have a re-evaluation of the institution after three years of its establishment. Such practice permits the ministry to follow up on HEIs and make sure that all requirements are met. This is to be complemented by an external evaluation of the institution and the programmes.

To monitor and control HEIs in terms of structure, administrative and academic procedures, the ministry refers to the “1996 decree” that has clearly set the obligations for each HEI pertaining to the administrative and academic structures. Each university needs to have a high commission, a board of trustees, administrative and academic councils in addition to comprehensible systems allowing a clear and fair decision process and follow up. Nevertheless, the problems faced is not related to the law and regulations but to the implementation and practice done by the universities, particularly private ones. The ministry’s experience revealed over the years that the universities tend in general to

circumvent by-laws set instead of abiding by the standards set for the private sector. In order to minimize such erroneous practice, the ministry is working towards elaborating a new by-law that set and clarify the control mechanisms. The ministry acknowledged the “missings” in terms of evaluation mechanisms, yet, it is trying to be active and to set what is needed in order to allow a better regulation of the system. Independency of private HEIs is still the main aim, yet, the ministry is aspiring for more surveillance and more accountability through the new by-law, and the establishment of the independent quality assurance agency. Such agency will allow to clarify the internal and external audit process to be implemented by the regulatory bodies. Till the present day, there is no quality assurance process to control such diversified system. Because of this diversity, to assure quality of education provided and minimize erroneous practices that affect the supply, the ministry is working towards a double goal: establish a Lebanese Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) that is independent and transparent to evaluate all private HEIs; and set quality assurance mechanism in HEIs. The establishment of the Lebanese QAA will consider three axes: the restructuring of the development of the directorate Generale of Higher Education to ensure better reporting and follow up; the quality assurance mechanisms, the students, and the relationship with stakeholders; and the new by-law for higher education that considers the evolution and the development of the higher education system in addition to the right of students to learn. Additionally, the ministry is working towards setting processes for periodical re-evaluation of HEIs. The sum of all these new regulations and actions falls under the aim of creating a national quality assurance system. Within this context, three draft laws were already proposed to the parliament to better regulate the supply and the quality of supply within the market.

8) To which extent the policies set by the Lebanese government are alleviating or aggravating the youth unemployment situation in Lebanon?

Despite the importance of the “freedom of choice” and the “egalitarian” point of views, the policies set by the government dictated by these two principles are not helping to

alleviate the unemployment problem that is mostly associated with higher levels of education. Students are still making erroneous choices at the higher education level despite the efforts of the government to provide them with updated information about the system leading to high level of unemployment that is more pronounced for the educated female population. The results of these educational choices have been the migration of the educated male workforce with an increasing proportion of females as well over the years mainly to the Arab countries. The excessive emigration of graduates alleviated the unemployment rates (CAS, 2011)²²¹. The consecutive periods of political insecurities with their perceived effect on the economic situation and the lack of creation of job creation, combined with a somehow passive stand of the government in what pertains to the orientation of the students towards the booming market activities rather than the stable, saturated if not declining markets, intensified the unemployment problem particularly for university graduates. Foreign investments instead of increasing their activity are on the contrary downsizing the workforce they employ as validated empirically. The increased demand for higher education was translated over the years with an increase in the rate of skilled workforce. However, such increase was not really “embraced by the government”. The government did not effectively put policies permitting for the demand for the skilled workforce to rise when the economy improves. The ministry of labour that is mainly responsible for setting these policies is understaffed, under-resourced with limited innovative skills. Till now, it is still not able to deal with the labour market effectively in terms of migrant workers control, labour market information, and industrial relations. There are still no reliable statistics related to the labour market needs. No effective labour market survey has been done up till now according to the head of the Lebanese Centre for Policy Studies – Oussama Safa. He adds that compiling statistics and setting policies based on them would threaten the political status-quo and is hence the main reason for refraining from doing surveys or referendum

²²¹ It should be noted that this rate was negatively affected by the 2008 financial crisis where a number of emigrants lost their jobs and returned to Lebanon which aggravated the situation and lead to an increase in the number of unemployed youth.

about the labour market effective needs. Many attempts were done to collect data and statistics about the labour market, yet, none of them was translated into effective action.

Moreover, and from another stand, high rates of unemployment are not only affected by the domestic circumstances but also by the latest stand of the Arab countries. These countries which used to employ an important number of Lebanese first-time job seekers are no longer absorbing the excess of Lebanese university graduates. They prefer to recruit graduates of their own universities or graduates from other countries who accept lower wages (LAES, 2006). Such new position is aggravating the situation and exposes many Lebanese fresh graduates willing to emigrate towards unemployment. Furthermore, the labour market is expected to face more pressure in years to come given that 67% of the youth workforce will be having a postgraduate degree which will increase the unemployment figures in services, agriculture, and education sectors and delay graduates employment in fields such as business administration and engineering (AUB, et al., 2009); fields which are already over saturated.

9.7 Validating Hypotheses

What follows and based on the data collection results, and the logistic regression models will validate or not the hypotheses advanced at the beginning of the thesis in what pertains to the students' higher education choices and their subsequent outcome in relation to their integration within the labour market.

Hypothesis 1: *The higher educational choices of students, and according to the human capital theory, are based on the future employment and income prospects.*

This is somehow true from the students' perspective. The majority of the students identified choosing higher education over the labour market because such choice allows better employment opportunities and higher salaries. However, they refrained from this

assumption at a later stage when they found that their choice of a higher education degree in terms of field of study and HEI are not really allowing such end outcome; particularly for mass PUs and LU graduates. For the Lebanese case, and as noted, a higher education degree might weight on the graduates' chances of being employed or not. However, and if not a graduate from prestigious HEIs, such impact is not really foreseen but after at least one year/one year and a half. Additionally, and as demonstrated by the logistic regression models, the higher education degree did not have a real impact in finding work even after a long period of time after graduation. For a short integration, a higher education degree does not have any weight. The students' lack of information and knowledge about the labour market, except for elite PUs students who do not really encounter problems, are leading them to choose by chance programmes and HEIs with no consideration of the consequence of such choice on their employment chances. Students are not taking a holistic look at their selection at the higher education level. They are just seeing the higher education degree as a tool and not a mean towards a certain end.

Validating or not hypothesis one cannot be absolute. As noted by now, both the higher education system and the labour market are characterized with segmentation. Consequently, implications differ from one sector to another. For the elite private sector, the higher education degree is helping graduates to secure work. However, its effect is not absolute. Without the presence of a certain social capital, those graduates would not have had the opportunity to easily encounter job offers. For the mass private sector, a higher education degree is not helping the students to find employment opportunities. Those are using such degree to enhance their position, if they are already working. If not, the degree is not really enhancing their position because of the absence of the labelling effect and the social capital. Concerning the LU, the same applies. The higher education degree is not a real mean towards employment opportunities except for fields where there are chances to be employed at public administrations. Consequently, and for the Lebanese case, hypothesis one is not really valid. Without the presence of a combination of factors where the most important one is the presence of a certain social capital, a higher

education degree does not really help to secure employment. As demonstrated by the surveys conducted and the empirical studies, those who do not have a university degree have sometimes better chances to find employment opportunities than those who have in the presence of personal connections.

Hypothesis 2: *Empirical studies demonstrated that the students from the low social class, and despite the expansion of the system, are still facing difficulties when it comes to the access to the higher education.*

The expansion of the mass private sector in Lebanon allowed students from the low social strata to have access to higher education. However, and despite such development, the Lebanese students from the low social class are still facing inequalities particularly in relation to the sector of higher education to choose. The growth in the private sector damaged the role of the LU where its main aim and mission is to secure education and allow subsequently social mobility for those who cannot really afford private education. Nevertheless, the problem is not about what the expansion of the system allowed but rather what type of higher education the students in general and particularly those from the low social class are aiming for and for which purpose.

Students, particularly those from the low social strata, are no longer referring to the LU, out of belief that private education is better evaluated within the labour market. Given the absence of economic and cultural capitals that allow them to go to elite PUs, they are choosing the mass private sector where and over the years it knew an increase in the number of enrolled students versus a decrease rate at the LU. The mass private sector does not impose scientific tests oppose to the LU that for the same faculties of the mass private sector does not accept students who do not pass certain scientific requirements. This is showing that students are preferring easier system of higher education without really overlooking at the subsequent consequences at the labour market. Given that they are cost adverse, the majority of the students choosing the mass private sector are working

students explaining hence their choice of a less strict private higher education sector over the LU.

The expansion of the Lebanese higher education system might have widened access but it did not totally dilute the inequalities particularly at the level of the choice of the sector of higher education. This is related to several factors. First, the parents' socio-economic status and the social class weight on their children's future educational choices. These social actors do not have the needed social and cultural capitals because of their parents "poor" financial situation. They tend alternatively to overestimate the cost and underestimate the benefits and "suffer" from both financial and academic stress and consequently choose less demanding sector. Second, the parents' occupational status influence the students' educational chances. Students targeting the mass private sector have in their majority parents working in secretary positions or what is officially known by the category of skilled manual, partly skilled and unskilled. They do not have high chances in more demanding sectors oppose to the students of professional, intermediate and skilled non-manual. Three, the academic ability. The students from the low social class are more academically challenged than those from the high social class. This is credited not only to the absence of the needed cultural capital but also to the discrimination at the school level where the majority of the students choosing the mass sector comes from public schools less known with their academic excellency compared to private schools. All these factors induce the categorization of the students among various HEIs based on their social, cultural, academic backgrounds.

Hypothesis two is partially validated for the Lebanese case. The expansion of the system did allow students from the low social strata to have access to higher education but it did not provide them with the same opportunities as their counterparts from higher social class. The discrimination at the school level persisted at the higher education level leading to a discrimination at the labour market as well. Students from the low social class instead of going to the LU are currently choosing the mass private sector. Because of the

absence of scientific tests, the number of students and subsequently graduates is expanding massively with no effective planning leading to an oversupply of graduates in certain fields that the market cannot really absorb. Consequently, the positive effect of the expansion of the higher education system on opening education opportunities for those who cannot afford it cannot but to question the negative effect that such expansion can have or have had on the labour market; particularly in the absence of effective planning policies permitting jobs creation.

Hypothesis 3: Empirical studies validated the effect of parents' education on their children higher education choices. Studies demonstrated that parents' education has even a more influential effect than the social background and that the cultural inequalities are more persistent to change than socio-economic ones.

Hypothesis three is validated for the Lebanese case. Although the socio-economic background is seen as an important determinant of the students' chances to access higher education, however, when adding the parents' education, the former will no longer have the same weight. Parents' education has a more pronounced effect on their children's future educational choices. The "high inherited intellectual capital", and as validated empirically, encouraged high level of education for the children affecting consequently their decisions at the higher education level.

Similar to empirical studies (rf. Pfeffer, 2007; Vallet, 2004), cultural inequalities in Lebanon are even more persistent in time than social inequalities. This is translated as follow: students from not very well-heeled families may choose to go to the elite private sector because of the assistantship programmes that these HEIs offer. However, students who do not have a certain cultural background ranging from the school background to the parents' education, will not choose the elite private sector and even might not be accepted at elite PUs that applies a strict selection process and where one of its pillar is the cultural capital of the applicant.

The data indicated that the parents' education adds to the chances of access and success of the Lebanese youth and weight consequently on their higher education choices. Parents with low level of education hindered their children's probabilities to continue their studies. Even when continuing higher education, the choice is in favour of less academically demanding HEIs (mass private sector or non-selective faculties at the LU). On the other hand, the students with educated parents or who come from the high social class and have hence more chances of being exposed to educational models tend not only to continue their higher studies but to enrol in the same programmes as their parents. This is particularly reflected at the elite private sector where we noted the presence of social reproduction. Students choosing the elite private sector had at least one parent who graduated from the same HEI. Always at the elite private sector, selection is not only based on the parents' cultural background, but also on the students' academic background translated not only in the grades and entrance test results but also the school of the candidate. Additionally, and from a gender perspective, the data validated that educated parental model has a positive effect on gender parity regardless of the social background. Educated parents invest equally in the education of their sons and daughters. This sheds the light on the supreme effect of the cultural capital over that of the social class and open line of discussion to the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: Empirical studies emphasized the important effect of the social backgrounds, the parents' education, the religious ideologies and the degree of development of the country gender parity/disparity.

There is no doubt that the expansion of the higher education system allowed an increase in the participation rate of females at the higher education level. However, such increase was not equal at all sectors. Investment in female or male education depends highly on the family social, economic and cultural capitals.

There is a general trend of preference of investment in males' education at the higher education level. This is credited from an empirical point of view to the degree of development of the country. The participation rates at the public sector in favour of females' students is an evidence of the preference of the non-investment in the female education regardless of the religious ideologies. Moving to the private sector, the trend is different from one sector to another. Religious ideologies seem to weight more on the investment per gender mainly at the mass private sector where the proportion of Muslim males' students is higher than that of females Muslim students. The majority of the students at the mass private sector, as data revealed, comes from the low social strata, with non-educated parental model and are cost adverse. This implicates that the religious ideologies encourage gender disparity in the absence of social, cultural, and economic capitals and prove for the Lebanese case what was empirically validated in many other systems. However, when adding the social, cultural and economic capitals, religious ideologies do not seem to have an effect. This is the case at the elite private sector where for well-heeled families with certain cultural and social capitals, gender parity is noted. Families invest equally in the education of their sons and daughters. We even noted a higher rate of female participation at the elite private sector. Consequently, and for the Lebanese case, the parents' education has a positive effect on gender parity. Additionally, even if not very pronounced, we noted that the fathers' education level had more effect on their sons' education and the mothers' education had a more effect on their daughters' education.

Disparity between female and male, and based on the data collection, is not only related to the investment done in education but also to the choice of major. Despite the fact that the data did not permit to ascertain the choice of males for scientific programmes, but it did allow to confirm the preference and choice of females for literary programmes and preference of males for scientific ones. Such difference in the choice of major is not only related to the academic ability, but also to the society perception that males are more apt than females to pursue more scientifically challenging majors (rf. Turner and Bowen, 1999).

Hypothesis four is hence validated for the Lebanese case. In the presence of certain social, cultural and economic capitals, the religious ideologies do not have a real effect on gender parity/disparity. Gender disparity is noted with non-educated parental model from the low social class and gender parity is more obvious with educated parental model from certain high social class. Gender disparity is also noted at the level of choice of the programme. The more the society is embedded in non-educated models, the more such disparity is noted.

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between the higher education system and the labour market is seen as an exchangeable one. Nevertheless, the increased demand for higher education translated over time with an increased supply of graduates that did not follow the same pace as the increase in the job opportunities.

The increased demand for higher education led to the expansion of the higher education system. Such expansion was done at a first stance in a hazardous way where the non-regulated establishment of HEIs led to a non-regulated enrolment of students' cohorts who chose because of the lack of information non-conform field of study with the labour market activities. The development of the higher education system and its subsequent outcomes were also not in compliance with the labour market main activities. The higher education system expansion led to an increase in the graduates' cohorts facing a labour market that is characterised, if not with declining economic activities but rather with stagnant activities because of many domestic and regional political and economic circumstances and instabilities.

From a general perspective, the Lebanese labour market did not adapt to the increase in the variety of skills that the diversified segmented higher education system is providing. It is still stuck in low productivity activities. It is failing to provide graduates with attractive job opportunities and salaries packages that meet their expectations (rf. AUB et al. 2009). Having a low margin difference between those who are educated and those less

educated is not helping, but it is rather discouraging the educated workers and undervaluing the human capital (rf. Kavar and Tzannatos, 2013).

University graduates and if to find employment within the domestic labour market are being underemployed. This is contradicting once again the human capital theory that does not believe in “over-education” principle. Lebanese university graduates are qualified as being over-educated for the type of work provided within the domestic labour market that is mostly compensated by foreign workers mainly from surrounding countries. There is therefore a mismatch between the supply of higher education and the labour market demand in terms of skills. The domestic labour market seems to be more apposite for low-skilled workers and is not able to absorb the variety of skills provided.

From a more specific perspective, and given that Lebanon is a service-oriented country, the government tried over the years to support tourism-related occupations. However, it did not succeed in decreasing the number of unemployed university graduates in this field. From one hand, the sector relies more on low-skilled labour rather than highly skilled university graduates and from the other, the political instabilities did not help the situation. Given the requirements imposed on employers pertaining to the benefits they have to offer to their employees, the former prefer to recruit low-skilled foreign labour that does require excessive employment packages hindering therefore the Lebanese university graduates’ employment chances. From a quality perspective, employers complain about the graduates’ lack of appropriate skills in certain domains. For the employers, it is not just about the academic, technical knowledge and skills but rather about the cognitive and non-cognitive skills. Graduates with practically no professional experience and who graduated from universities that did not really work on the development of their graduates’ generic and transferable skills are the one who suffers the most; a fact that was empirically validated by Robalino and Sayed (2012). Such mismatch in terms of skills between the employers demand and the graduates’ supply is pressing wages. Employers are using the absence of certain skills as a reason not to pay high wages

conform to university graduates' level of education; a reality that is also empirically proved by Kwar and Tzannatos (2013). The absence of adequate skills for employability is regarded as the main responsibility of HEIs that have to develop in addition to their academic curriculum, courses or practices permitting to develop the transferability skills needed from graduates within the market.

Consequently, Lebanese university graduates are not finding within the domestic market jobs that meet their expectations in terms of both salary and compliance with the field of study. "Brain drain" was and still is the result of the increase in the supply of graduates that did not follow the same pace as the creation of job opportunities. Such trend eroded the country from its active and productive population (rf. El-Ghali, 2011). Lebanese university graduates are hence facing a "bitter dilemma": either to stay unemployed given that they are not willing to accept lower-skilled jobs; or to leave the country in quest of better employment opportunities, better salaries and incentives abroad; or to be underemployed where an increasing number of graduates accepts jobs that do not offer but little opportunities to use their skills as not to stay unemployed (rf. Muk-Ngiik Wong and Hamali, 2006; Teichler, 2000). The latter choice was mainly noticed amongst graduates who fail to secure an employment after a short period of graduation ascertaining the fact that unemployment is associated with higher level of education (rf. Governing Council, 2011). The long search period reduces graduates' probability of finding a job at their educational level leading them consequently to apply for vacancies where the requirements are less strict or to accept temporary employment opportunities (rf. Allen and Van Der Velden, 2007; Teichler, 2000). Additionally, the confessional divisions within a political establishment, the main characteristic of the Lebanese society, is not helping out and has a negative impact on employment. Many graduates are hired based on their religious affiliations, giving more power in this context to personal connections or what is known by the "Nepotism principle". As a result, both unemployment and emigration rates increased due to several predicaments on both the supply and the demand sides (Kwar and Tzannatos, 2013). *Hypothesis 5 is therefore validated.* The HEI is not answering to the labour market activities, nor is the labour

market able to create enough job opportunities for new entrants. Appendix 9.3 shows the queries and hypotheses matrix.

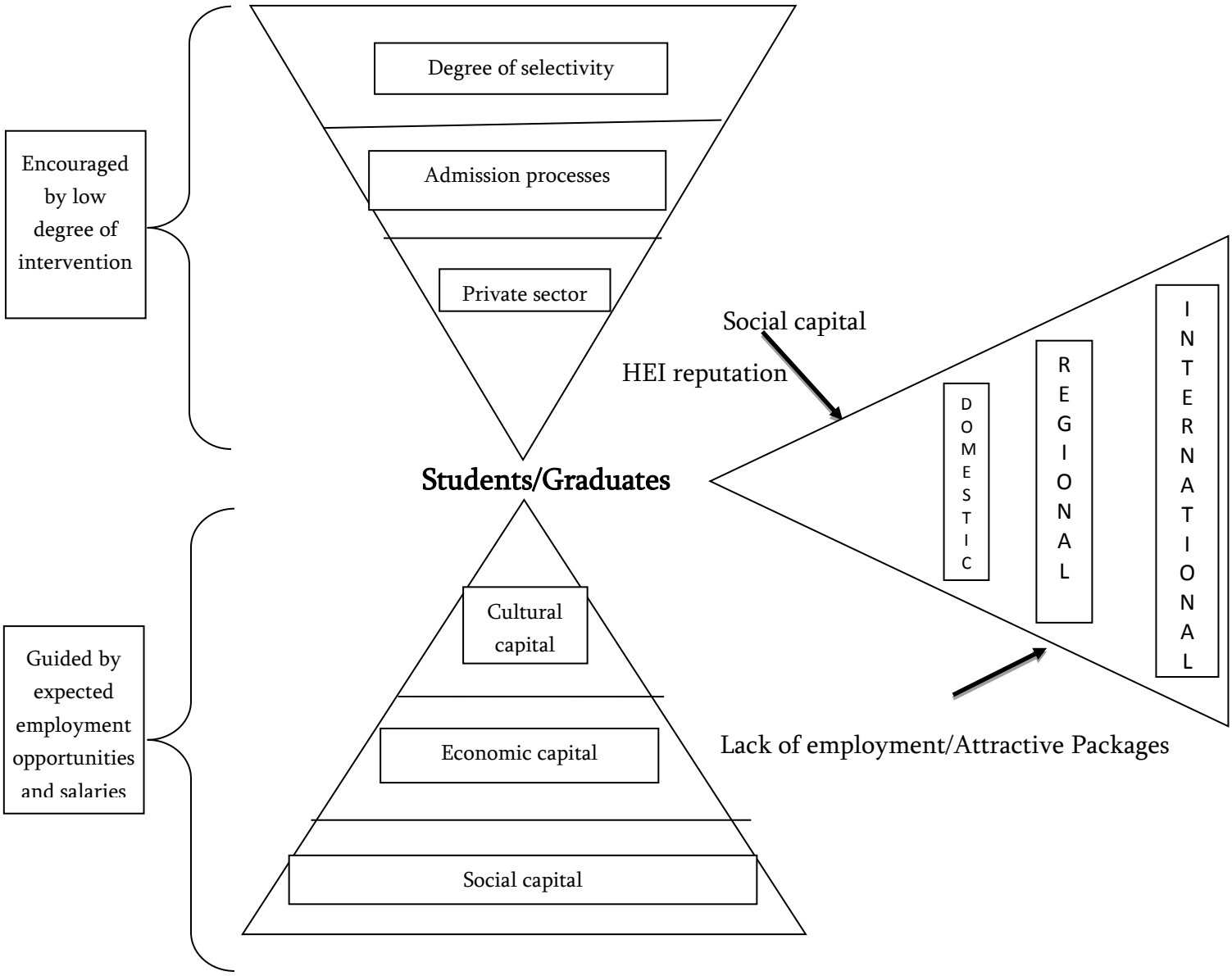
Hypothesis 6: Several studies demonstrated that the students' choices for higher education programmes are cyclic based on the labour market opportunities.

As discussed previously, the students choices of programmes over the years did not vary much. A stereotyped choice was noted for the same programmes year after year particularly that of the "Business Administration" followed by other programmes such as "Law, Political and Administrative Sciences", "Engineering" and "Sciences" with discontinuous fluctuating rates among the years. On the other hand, other fields such as "documentation", "education", "architecture", "social sciences", "arts", "applied sciences" and "agriculture" knew an increasing fluctuating rates in certain periods denoting the stimulation done by changes on the labour market on the students' enrolment rates. These fluctuations and as discussed earlier varied between the public and the private sector because of the differences in the admission criteria between sectors. Another aspect was noted at the level of the choice of the programme that of the low enrolment rates for the "Hotel Management and Tourism" field that should have known an increase in the enrolment rate particularly because of the government efforts at a certain stage to encourage tourism related occupations.

The students' choices for programme followed somehow a "cyclic process" yet not for all fields. Such "cyclic process" is not that obvious because of the repetitive choice for the same programmes particularly that of the "Business Administration".

9.8 The Model

The aim of the thesis is to identify the main factors that affect the Lebanese students' higher education choices and their integration within the labour market and organise the outcome through a model. Based on the data collection and the data analysis, we found that several elements studied had somehow a hierarchical effect on the students' choices and integration within the labour market. Some had more weight than others. Based on that, and reference the general model identified at the end of chapter three, the following model is proposed for the Lebanese case in the form of a "ladder". Considering as a starting point the "student", each triangle denotes the most influential till the least influential factor (Figure 9.1).



Transition to the Labour Market

Figure (9.1): Ladder Model

9.9 Overview of the Lebanese Reality and Proposed General and Specific Recommendations

Although higher education degrees have a certain added value, the diversity of the institutions, mainly private ones, for a small country like Lebanon, put in retrospect the quality of education provided and subsequent consequences within the labour market. It is obvious by now that not all students have access to the same educational opportunities. Not all students are able therefore to acquire the appropriate training and soft skills requested by employers for the same quantity of education. A simple diploma in hand from a private institution is becoming the main objective of the Lebanese youth regardless of its validity within the labour market; the authenticity of the HEI; the quality of the awarded certificate; and the labour market needs, skills and expertise required where some of these are the responsibility of the HEIs.

This omni-present dilemma created a new educational era for educational choices not only at the higher education level but also at the school level. To “rationalize” the students’ choices at the higher education level, the Lebanese educational parties restructured the school programme aiming by that to cope with the changes that happened globally and the Lebanese educational system. However, and despite the importance of these efforts, when implemented, the restructured new programme proved not to be as efficient as aimed particularly at the level of matching the educational choices with the labour market needs and skills required. This does not only shed the lights on the educational choices done by the Lebanese youth but put also in retrospect the strategies adopted by the HEIs in terms of orientation, guidance and offered diplomas; and the policies implemented by the government when it comes not only to the flexibility in licensing a new HEI or approving a new programme but also providing the potential university students with the needed information.

From the labour market perspective, Lebanon is trapped in low-economic activities attracting low-skilled workers. The demand for low-skilled workers; the inability of the organizations to invest in high productivity techniques; and the “failure” of the economy to create new job opportunities for fresh graduates lead to an excessive increase in the unemployment rate of the Lebanese university graduates lengthening by that the education-job transition period. The labour market situation cannot be dissociated from the dual educational system full with inequalities. The presence of a large private system; at the school level in general and higher education level in particular; widens the education outcomes between the rich families able to pay for private tutoring and poor families that have to settle for what is offered or what they can afford disregarding by that the consequences within the labour market.

The unemployment crisis in Lebanon is not related to a shortage in the well-educated population but rather to the lack in governmental and university planning. The imbalance between the higher education and the labour market pertains from one hand to the nature of the economy which does not require highly skilled workers, and from the other, to the choices done by the students at the higher education level for fields with saturated capacity or low work opportunities. From this stand, the HEIs have an important role to play in addressing the unemployment crisis. Both educational policies and strategies have to be reviewed in accordance with the social and economic standards of the population while keeping in mind that higher education should be delivered in a way aiming to support the students’ participation and not to deter it. Consequently, ensuring access to the higher education is a very important step to be taken by the governments. This is credited to the effect that education can have on the economic growth and the social mobility that are on their turn dependent from the degree of development of the country and the overall level of educational attainment of the population. The following section will provide recommendations reference what was advanced and aiming to achieve the desired outcomes.

9.10 Proposed Recommendations

9.10.1. Recommendations Related to the Higher Education System

As stated by Clark and Carter (1998), the national systems of higher education face nowadays a challenging mission in what pertains to setting clear guidelines for the HEIs in order to respond to the students' demand; the employment needs; and the societal expectations. Based on the survey results and previous empirical studies, the following recommendations are proposed:

- 1) Because of the absence of direct orientation pertaining to the choice of the secondary education track affecting the choice of the field of study at the higher education level, more orientation programmes are to be formulated. Secondary students need to be more exposed to the data and the professional guidance that allows them to choose coherent programmes with the labour market needs. All universities, and not only prestigious ones, need to be more exposed to economic data permitting to gain awareness of the labour market needs; and to set orientation and employment strategies helping their graduates to secure jobs within the domestic market. HEIs can develop programmes in specific fields related to sectors where jobs can be created easily such as sustainable development, alternative energy, agro-food production, water sector, etc. (rf. AUB et al., 2009).
- 2) To assure more equilibrium, Lebanon needs to address access inequalities at the higher education level between the socially advantaged and socially disadvantaged students. The policies to be set and/or to be amended has to consider the duality of the Lebanese education system (rf. Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). Policies have to consider those less fortunate and allow them to have access to quality education regardless of their financial means. The LU has to reconsider its strategy where,

and as noted from the data analysis and several empirical studies, it is not succeeding in assuming its genuine role that is to provide education for those who cannot afford high investments in higher education. The LU selective faculties are chosen by the socially advantaged students rather than by the less socially advantaged. This could be related to the fact that socially advantaged students had access to private school education oppose to a public school education for those less fortunate. Such difference in tutoring at the school level explains why the former pass the entrance test at the LU and that is because of the support and better education provided by the private school system. Hence, the need to consider such duality and work on enhancing deficiencies permitting consequently better access to students from various social backgrounds. To achieve such objective, policies should focus on the reallocation of public expenditures on education to allow students in need to benefit from good quality education rather than benefit only those who fulfil certain criteria (for instance, education allowances paid to employees in the public sector); the increase in public spending that is considered to be very low for a middle-income country such as Lebanon by both international and regional standards; the improvements in the linkages between the human development system and skills needed on the market. This could be achieved through training programmes, sandwich courses, collaboration between the industry and the university (as it is the case in Germany for example). Public investment in education needs to focus more on innovation and public expenditure on wages and salaries needs to be downsized for the benefit of training programmes, and curriculum upgrade.

- 3) Linkages amongst various HEIs in order to share their experiences and examples of best practices are highly recommended to improve the quality provided. Building an independent, voluntary, cooperative planning consortium comprised of all universities should be the main task of the ministry of education and higher education (rf. El- Ghali, 2011). The consortium should permit cooperative

institutional projects, policy initiatives and academic activities permitting the development of national interests (rf. El-Ghali and McClure, 2010).

- 4) Gaps between higher education programmes and needs within the labour market need to be addressed. More market studies should be done and the educational system should make young graduates attractive to potential employers. The expansion of the mass higher education sector might have permitted socially disadvantaged students unable to go to first class universities and academically ineligible to go to the LU, to have access to higher education. However, the unregulated expansion of the system did not permit in certain cases to preserve the quality provided by all institutions at the same level. This has led to discrepancies in the level of skills and qualifications at the labour market. There is a need to review the accountability of the higher education sub-sector. Lebanon has been always renowned for the quality provided by its HEIs. However, there is a need today to be more linked to the needs of the society, amongst which is to become more aware of the students' needs for jobs. This was also proposed by El-Ghali (2011).
- 5) The massive expansion of the system despite its positive effect on capturing the excessive demand questioned the quality offered. With the expansion of the higher education system, not only institutional forms are differentiated but also types and quality of students that universities recruit (rf. Arthur et al., 2007). The massification of the system led to a deterioration of higher education graduates' employment prospects (rf. Teichler, 1999). Government in the Middle East in general, and in Lebanon in particular, allowed the expansion of the higher education quantity with not enough attention to the quality provided (rf. Heyneman, 2011). Government should work on improving the quality of education provided. Private HEIs need to be better evaluated. Their performance needs to be consistent with acceptable standards permitting graduates to receive the needed qualifications (rf. Wilkens, 2011). In order to improve quality and

address any issues in this regard, a bill proposition for the establishment of a “National Commission for Quality Assurance Standards in Higher Education” was referred to the government. The commission is housed directly in the office of the Directorate General of Higher Education (Ministry of Higher Education website). Nevertheless, given political conflicts within the government, the approval of the bill proposition is not yet granted which is aggravating more the crisis.

- 6) Strengthening vocational education and training. This recommendation emanates from the survey results that showed that graduates of vocational education have better chances of finding jobs fast enough within the domestic labour market. Vocational education is still considered as a dumping ground for students who did not excel within the traditional education system. It is still dysfunctional and many efforts are needed to improve both the quality and the curriculum at vocational schools and the public perception that ranks such education at the bottom of the educational system. Graduates from vocational schools are employed at lower paid jobs compared to their counterparts with a higher education degree. Vocational training is seen nowadays as a vital tool providing graduates with the skills and training needed to fill jobs in different sectors of the economy (rf. Wilkens, 2011); particularly the Lebanese one that requires such type of skills.
- 7) Nepotism needs to be minimized and the ratio of teacher to student needs to be addressed (the highest amongst several regions). This is addressed by a better governance, regulatory frameworks and reduction of corruption.

9.10.2. Recommendations Related to the Labour Market

To solve the unemployment crisis and reduce the brain drain of the Lebanese educated youth, awareness of all stakeholders is needed. Both the government and the HEIs need

to take actions to restore the situation. The problem cannot be addressed from one angle. The recommendations need to consider the totality of the transformation process.

By the government – The government has to play a more active, proactive and restorative role to address the unemployment problem in Lebanon. It is the primary agent responsible of addressing the unemployment crisis by providing accurate data and statistics about employment opportunities, and orienting students towards non-traditional fields (rf. El-Ghali, 2011). Government needs therefore to collect and publish periodically data and information about employment per field to better guide the students' choices. Such strategy was found efficient by Wilkens (2011) and that is why it is proposed. However, it was not welcomed by the director general of higher education because of the laissez-faire, free policy of choice adopted by the ministry (rf. Appendix 4.3). Nevertheless, it seems that such policy needs to be revisited within the umbrella of free choice principle in accordance with the labour market needs because it is leading to various discrepancies between the graduates' supply and the labour market demand.

Unfortunately, the government does not seem to be effectively aware of the youth unemployment crisis in Lebanon because of the absence of statistical data and of a plan for higher education. Such reality is validated by the interviews done with governmental leaders responsible for setting labour market policies as to detect their degree of awareness of the unemployment crisis of the Lebanese university graduates. Leaders seemed to be aware to a certain extent of the crisis and shared their concerns but availed at the same time that they lack the official data to quantify the degree of the crisis. Despite such awareness, no actions have been suggested. None of the interviewed responsible offered any active measures to prevent the unemployment crisis from reaching worse levels (rf. El-Ghali, 2011).

Part of the actions that could be taken are:

- a) To have a database that links university graduates seeking their first-job with the employers. This step might help the graduates to better locate job opportunities and permit the employers to save resources in the process of searching for appropriate candidate (rf. UNDP, 2000). This could be done by building bridges between the private sector and the HEIs through internship programmes exposing students to real world situations and providing them with insight on the skills needed and expectations at the labour market (as it is the case in many developed countries; such as Germany) (rf. Wilkens, 2011). This might be followed by elite PUs but it needs to be integrated within the higher education system as a whole.
- b) Not only the labour law should be revisited and amended but also the immigration policies need to be reviewed given the undesirable impact of foreign low-skilled labour on increasing unemployment rates amongst the Lebanese university graduates. Management of immigration focusing on undocumented low-skilled workers should be more emphasized. Taxing foreign labour, forcing them to have personal insurance, etc. might restore the situation (rf. UNDP, 2000). Foreign workers accept jobs that are not accepted by the Lebanese workers or new university graduates, given that the former does not endure the employer any additional cost oppose to the latter that does.
- c) To reduce the gap between the higher education and the labour market, labour market policies alone are not enough. They need to be complemented with trade and industrial policies permitting to restructure the situation and allow consequently to create the adequate demand and jobs for the educated youth (rf. Fasih, 2008). Lebanon needs to reinforce its investment structure in order to permit more job creation and retain its graduates within the domestic labour market. The government needs to deal with the spiralling public debt and perform

state reforms permitting to attract investors and investments. Lebanon needs to play on its competitive advantage, like for instance that related to trade, health care, education, (eco)tourism and banking, assuring its sustainability and distribution amongst various geographical regions and not only centred at the capital. But most importantly, Lebanon needs to distance itself from political instability in order to attract more foreign investment (MNCs). The Lebanese economy in its overwhelming majority is formed of SMEs. To alter its structure and enlarge its size, foreign multinational companies are to be encouraged to invest in the Lebanese economy by having a physical presence or partnering with existing SMEs. Such move will permit to create more job opportunities, open up markets and make SMEs more professional (rf. AUB et al., 2009). To attract foreign direct investment, Lebanon needs to work on having complementary assets which are the human capital that is not but the university graduates; infrastructure through the effective provision of public goods including public transport, electricity, water and telecommunications; and related and supporting industries in addition to setting preferential treatment on taxes and improved access to infrastructural goods such as water, transportation, electricity and the like (rf. Kavar and Tzannatos, 2013).

- d) Coordination is to be more emphasized. It is the key element permitting to increase both the productivity of employment and the quantity of employment. Three main coordination schemes are recommended as proposed by the ILO (2008): coordination between the relevant ministries and providers of educational services (primary, secondary, higher and vocational education) ensuring that graduates have the appropriate skills and are well equipped for the transition from education to work; coordination and communication between employers and training permitting to enhance training content as to answer to the labour market needs; the inclusion of skills development into policies on technology, investment, trade and environment to assure that the skills acquired today will match those

needed in the future. Both the HEIs and the concerned ministries should join their efforts to minimize the Lebanese youth brain drain. Effective youth employment centres should be developed in collaboration with NGOs permitting graduates to have more knowledge and access to domestic labour market opportunities. These centres can work on developing social work that permits graduates who have not yet found employment to work on a temporary basis and not to feel secluded. NGOs can hence play an important role when it comes to establishing career guidance offices in both public and private HEIs; encouraging companies to integrate more internship opportunities for students and graduates; providing disadvantaged youth with appropriate labour market skills; and assisting young people in becoming entrepreneurs; among other activities (rf. AUB et al., 2009).

- e) Lebanese policy makers need to address the “push factors” that lead a majority of Lebanese graduates to flee the domestic market. These policies are not only to be set by concerned ministries, but HEIs have also an important role in adapting and upgrading their curriculum based on employers and labour market needs (rf. Arthur et al., 2007).

By higher education institutions – Bringing or not a change to the employment trend depends on the circumstances of each higher education system and HEI. Therefore, the economic, social and political environments, the cultural beliefs, the institutional management structure, the state policy, the challenges, all have an effect on the role that universities have to play or can play to help address the unemployment crisis.

Lebanese HEIs are highly “invited” to play a more active role by developing their capacities and adapting to the changes within society. The higher education system is regarded as being highly responsible for the gap between the graduates’ skills and the labour market demand. HEIs need to understand that they are responsible for addressing such gap. The higher education system needs to reorganize its structure, strategy, and

training programmes. It is no longer “sitting on the bench” when it comes to the graduates’ employment and transition to the professional environment. It should be an active player because the higher education and the labour market are two essential mainstays where one cannot go without the other. Based on that, the role of universities is questioned from two angles: *in terms of competences*, how are universities contributing through their supply of programmes to provide such competences, and what role is attributed to them in producing such skills; and *in terms of employability*. Employers’ expect from university graduates to have a certain level of knowledge, skills and competences. Since the HEIs are responsible of formulating and providing such competences, they need to acknowledge and clarify their responsibilities pertaining to the employability of their graduates; and to put in place initiatives permitting to fulfil such responsibilities. HEIs are invited to play a more active role in this regard to provide graduates with the needed skills, not only academic ones but also personal, soft and generic skills. They are requested, and as proposed by Bridgstock (2009), not only to focus on the transfer of knowledge related to specific disciplinary fields but also to foster the creation and development of the generic skills, and produce “work ready” graduates who are competent within their specialization field and at the same time who have the right skills to be attractive to employers. This is requested from HEIs since workers with general training skills have the ability to increase their productivity in more than one field oppose to those with specific training skills who increase their productivity in these specific skills as already validated by Becker (1993). These steps are mainly required to be taken at the mass private sector level and the LU.

Still, and despite having an understanding of the urgent need to address skills gap leading to unemployment, many HEIs are still trapped within the quantity dilemma, and neglecting the fact that successful graduates lead to employed graduates. It is such quest towards the top through “quantity” rather than “quality” that led many institutions to recruit unqualified candidates over the years. Therefore, it is very important for universities to alter their educational strategy to answer to the skills needed within the

market (rf. El-Ghali, 2011). They are under a lot of pressure to prepare graduates for work in a rapidly changing environment making unused skills obsolete with time. They are increasingly being called to design academic programmes that meet the challenges and structure changes within the job market (rf. Nasser and Abouchedid, 2006). HEIs seem to have a curriculum that is more adaptive to work opportunities abroad. They need to target more the needs within the labour market and customize and upgrade their programmes to meet the local demand within the Lebanese labour market (rf. Kawar and Tzannatos, 2013). Let's take as an example, the agriculture field, the major is still not answering to technological advancement in the field such as biotechnology, sustainable agriculture, and ecosystem management, which leads a majority of the graduates from this field to emigrate (rf. AUB et al., 2009). HEIs offering programmes in this area need hence to show awareness of this problem and act accordingly by adapting and upgrading their curriculum.

Universities can start by introducing vocational schools into the market permitting to provide the graduates with practical skills highly demanded in the local market (rf. El-Ghali, 2011). Such strategy was proposed during the United Nations meeting on "Youth and Employment in Post-Conflict Arab Countries" held in 2004 out of concern that the unemployment rate might rise if the educational and training systems keep on being disconnected from the job market. The aim was to give more attention to vocational training to help graduates to change their professional orientation. Vocational training should hence not be limited to school drop outs but it should be also a change in career orientation for unemployed graduates (rf. United Nations, 2004). To realize such objective, there is a need to have an enhanced coherence of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) in order to better link education to technical training, technical training to labour market entry, and labour market entry to workplace [and lifelong learning] (ILO, 2008). However, till the present day, the proposed strategy was not implemented. But what is certain, is that the unemployment rate reached higher rates than 2004. From this stand, HEIs need to have a more active role in this regard and focus

on the investment in their students training skills and the creation of “sandwich” courses permitting to blend academic experience with professional practice (rf. Mason et al., 2009).

Introducing leadership and entrepreneurship skills is another strategy that HEIs can implement. Having these skills will not only enhance the graduates’ employment opportunities but will permit job creation through entrepreneurship activities undertaken by graduates. Support provided from financial institutions in terms of affordable and accessible loans to the youth will permit such endeavours to take place and to have a more active, non-rigid labour market (El-Ghali, 2011). In this context, the ILO, one of many international organizations that tried to address the youth unemployment crisis in Lebanon, launched an initiative aiming to teach the youth about entrepreneurship and where the government can support entrepreneurs by providing them with micro-loans. Nevertheless, for Tzannatos – senior advisor at the ILO, such initiative is not but a Band-Aid and not a remedy. To address the problem of unemployment, the government needs to set appropriate macroeconomic policy. A holistic and not specific approach needs to be adopted (Qiblawi, 2011). Additionally, securing a politically stable environment; which has not been lately the case, is seen as a must for such new ventures.

To adapt to the environment and be able to change strategies, HEIs need to be aware of the existence of a problem that needs to be addressed and consequently adjust accordingly. Interviews done with presidents from 28 private universities and the public university showed that 54% of universities’ presidents were both aware of the unemployment crisis and were actively taking action to address it. The main action shared by all was that of holding job fairs on campus. Regarding the distinctive actions, which are mainly related to practical training and entrepreneurship, few universities identified these “skills” as being required and only few are offering them²²². When asked about actions that can be taken, universities’ leaders emphasized the importance of

²²² Only 17% of the rectors discussed efforts to introduce entrepreneurship skills (El-Ghali, 2011).

having a proactive strategic role permitting to design an education strategy with an orientation towards vocational and technical training allowing students to have an outreach towards soft and practical skills. For the government representatives, the main actions that can be taken by universities are mainly focused around a change in the curriculum (rf. El-Ghali, 2011) permitting to integrate skills requested from the labour market/employers. Therefore, HEIs should improve the “relevance” of their services in terms of knowledge and research and link them to the labour market demand and needs (rf. Wilkens, 2011). Concerning the private sector, i.e. the employers, the study done by El-Ghali (2011) showed that private enterprises have a limited awareness of the unemployment crisis. Each sector addressed only problems related to its field with no reflection on the crisis as a whole. Actions taken seem to be only limited to job fairs participation at universities where enterprises inform students about vacancies they have.

As a final note, and even if one of the main causes of high level of unemployment and emigration of the Lebanese graduates is related to market constraints affecting the structure of the production and hence the labour demand, the supply side is not to be neglected. Access to education and quality of education provided need to be improved to allow better opportunities, adequate skills conform to the labour market demand, and high-easy-fast integration process within the labour market. To enhance the situation between the higher education and the labour market, several formulas can be considered (rf. Al Amine, 1997): joint bodies with consultancy capacity that include in addition to higher education representative, representatives from different labour market sectors that discuss implemented policies in higher education as regards programmes, curriculum and scientific research; communication channels between HEIs and organizations permitting to exchange information about the organizations needs and graduates qualifications respectively; formulas for direct communication such as field visit to organizations, field visit of employers to HEIs; joint projects for training between organization and HEIs; and orientation offices within the HEIs.

9.11 Future Research Interest

Aiming to better understand the effect of the higher education choices of the students on their integration within the labour market, future research interest aims to focus on the study of the labour market economic sectors particularly within the Lebanese economy in terms of jobs creation, recruitment trends, employers perceptions about graduates and their skills, employers relation with the higher education sector and the factors they consider mostly when recruiting, and the concerned ministry/ministries policy against unemployment and actions taken. By this, we refer in future research to a different triangle that encompasses the economic activities sectors, the employers, and the government.

Future research interest aims to study always from a socio-economic approach the main factors that affect graduates employment and transition. It aims to study from a more specific point of view the differences in the transition process from one economic sector to another; the economic cycle and its effect on the transition process; the transition process per field of study and the effect on salary and employment status; the transition process per gender and the differences in employment per sector, status and salary; the role of syndicates and the role of employers in encouraging new university graduates employment and their role in creating jobs opportunities; etc.

Given the segmentation at the labour market level and the division of graduates between the domestic, regional and international labour markets, future research also aims to better understand what guides the graduates' choices for one labour market and not the other not only from jobs creation perspective but also from a socio-economic perspective. From this angle, future research will reflect on the higher education choices to see if any changes took place in terms of choices of the HEI and programme, and if any, do we still have the same leading factors. Future research will also reflect more on a comparison

between the general higher education system and the vocational higher education system outcomes on the labour market.

CONCLUSION

Divided into two segments, the Lebanese higher education system went through a lot of changes. From a laissez-faire policy to a more regulatory policy yet following always the rules of a liberal system, the system developed massively throughout the years given from one hand the increased demand for higher education and from the other the inability of the government to effectively interfere in the development of the system. It could have always been identified by a “world class university” if not for the hazardous development of the mass private sector that affected the quality delivered and led to a more diversified “eventail” of skills at the labour market. It is true that the HEIs are preparing their graduates more for foreign labour markets; function of a world class university. However, this is not their primary mission. Emigration is not the targeted end result but rather the consequence of the non-compliance of the students’ choices with the domestic labour market not allowing consequently to assure the expected economic growth from higher education (rf. Salmi, 2009).

Changes at the higher education level did not only affect the structure of the higher education system but also the student body composition. The diversity of the system led to a more heterogeneous student population where the law that regulate each sector in terms of students’ attraction is different. The choices of the students at the higher education level and regardless of the choice of the sector were obviously guided by their aspirations for higher salaries and better employment prospects. However, the choice of the students for a HEI and a programme were not effectively guided only by economic motives or the by labour market needs. Their choices the higher education level were affected by a combination of consumption motives guided by their socio-economic background.

The choice of one higher education sector and not the other depends on a specific combination of consumption motives. Such combination that guided the choice of a HEI and a programme affected subsequently the students/graduates integration within the labour market. Such transition was intensified by the inability of the Lebanese economy to create enough job opportunities for new entrants; an economy that is still stuck in low-productivity activities. Because of difficulties to find job opportunities over the years, the students' preference for higher education shifted in favour of the private sector out of belief that private tutoring promises better results at the labour market; a promise that mass PUs graduates found difficult to be satisfied. The LU that used to attract the highest proportion of students is no longer playing its genuine role to assure higher education for those unable to pay private tuitions. The expansion of the private sector, particularly the mass private sector, encouraged the increase in the recruitment rates in favour of the private sector.

Social reproduction was noted at elite PUs. Despite the importance of social, cultural and economic capitals, the fathers' HEI is the most element that weighted on the choice of an elite HEI. Having educated parental models (cultural capital) in addition to the support received by the HEI allowed these students to better choose their programme and to benefit from a faster integration process and higher salaries than their counterparts in other sectors. The fast transition to the labour market was not only related to the correlation between the students' choices and the labour market needs but mainly to the labelling effect of the university that was one of the main criteria of choice in the first place, and the presence of a social capital (nepotism principle). This permitted elite PUs graduates to find jobs at MNCs and secure social mobility.

At the mass private sector, the equation is different. The students' choosing the mass private sector did not only choose it because of their financial inability to go to prestigious HEIs since they could have chosen the LU instead with practically free tuition fees. Their choice was mainly related to the flexible easy admission criteria that allow

these students who are in their majority working students to study and work concurrently. For those having a job, the aim of pursuing higher studies is hence not an aspiration to find employment, but rather to improve job conditions in terms of status and salaries. Empirical studies proved that the private sector graduates are better evaluated within the labour market than the LU graduates hence the choice of the mass private sector instead of the public sector done by these students. However, such choice is not allowing them to cash the desired outcome at the labour market because of the erroneous stereotyped choice of programme because of the lack of orientation and absence of cultural and social capitals (the majority comes from the low social strata with non-educated parental models). Mass PUs graduates, and if not working, target SMEs rather than MNCs; have to wait for one year/one year and a half to find a job; have to accept being underemployed because of the lack of job creation that fits university graduates and resort consequently to emigration mainly to regional Arabic countries when chances within the domestic labour market have been exhausted. Social mobility is subsequently not certain for students/graduates having chosen this sector.

Concerning the LU, it is not playing its genuine role by providing education to those who cannot afford it. For the selective faculties, the LU is attracting students from the high social strata. The proportion of students from the low social class is not that important at the LU oppose to what is supposed to be based on the university's mission. Students choosing the LU affirmed that their choice is based on the academic standards that the university offer. However, they acknowledged that they are facing difficulties at the labour market when competing with graduates from other universities particularly elite PUs graduates. These impediments emanate from the absence not only of the needed generic and transferrable skills but also the inability of the university to provide extended support to its graduate, and the absence of social capital in some of the cases mainly for graduates who do not come from a high social strata. The "decision tree" in appendix 10 provides a summary of the factors that affected the students' choices per sector.

The cultural and social capitals have played an important role in determining the students' choices and chances at the higher education system and labour market. The first was an essential factor weighing on the choice of a higher education sector and the second was a critical element determining the graduates' pace of transition.

Despite being guided by the human capital theory assumptions, these assumptions are not totally valid within a small economy such as the Lebanese one where jobs creation for new entrants are not compatible neither with the quantity nor with the quality of graduates supplied. The advancement of the "screening approach" and the "job competition theory" that indicate respectively that the higher degree is a good selection criteria but it does not guarantee employment, and that employers select eligible candidates based on their personal traits and generic skills, seem to be more plausible for the Lebanese case. For the human capital theory, there are not cases of over-education. However, the Lebanese case proved to be once again against all odds proposed by the theory. Over-education was clearly present where graduates if not to find employment opportunities adequate to their level of studies and skills were obliged to accept jobs not conform to their level of education and to be hence underemployed as not to face unemployment. Underemployment was therefore for the Lebanese case an "imposed solution" for a more undesirable outcome that is unemployment.

Additionally, and at the programme level, the human capital theory proposes once again that the programme choices are in general in compliance with the labour market needs allowing to cash better salaries and receive employment offers. Once again, this was not the instance for the Lebanese case. Students kept on choosing the same programme(s) over the years despite the saturation level at the labour market and the lack of new jobs creation. By such behaviour, students have shown unconformity with the human capital theory and followed the pace proposed by the "glutting theory". The students' choices shifted for certain programmes from one programme to another in favour of those knowing an increase in job opportunities. However, for other programmes, the demand continued even after the saturation level is reached as proposed by the "glutting theory".

However, the choice of the programme by itself did not seem to have any impact on the transition process. To assure a “successful” transition process within a short interval of time is dependent from a combination of factors that are the HEI from which the programme is delivered guided by the social capital that the students/graduates have.

Brain drain is still therefore a Lebanese reality. The motives might have changed from 1975 till the present date but the outcome is the same eroding the Lebanese society from its educated youth able to, if given the opportunity, shift the economy from a stagnant to a more dynamic one. The socio-economic background of the students is not the only factor that affected the students’ choices at the higher education level and played against their odds of being employed within the domestic market. The stagnant economy where no jobs creation is frequently taking place, the lack of new investments, the political situation and insecurities, all played an active direct and/or indirect role in misleading the students’ choices and encouraging them to search for opportunities abroad. Additionally, the supply of graduates did not follow the same pace of jobs creation over the years. The incompatibility between the employers demand for skills and the graduates’ effective transferrable skills was noticed. The Lebanese graduates found in regional Arab countries and international markets better venues for employment opportunities. Emigration of educated youth, similar to the higher education system and the labour market, was also characterised by segmentation. Those from prestigious HEIs looked for opportunities at the international market or at MNCs in the regional market oppose to those from the mass private sector and/or the LU that searched mainly for opportunities in the regional market.

Such situation that has become a Lebanese reality is not easy to cope with. Higher education seems to prepare graduates for the foreign labour markets rather than domestic one because of the absence of compatible jobs creation within the domestic economy. Changing the circumstances that are leading to the youth emigration is essential. The responsibility does not certainly only fall within the hands of the higher education system; or in other words the HEIs are not the sole “agent” to be blamed. Still, they are no

longer to be considered as passive players. They have an active role to play in guiding and encouraging students towards fields knowing an increase in job opportunities rather than encouraging them even if indirectly by not providing any guidance towards the programmes with stagnant saturated fields of work. Given that currently the labour market situation does not seem to change, HEIs need to adapt their programmes to be conform to the local demand. They need to create training components permitting their graduates to gain the needed skills requested by employers.

On the other hand, the role that the government has to play is also crucial. Its role is not only perceived from an educational perspective but also from a labour market perspective. The concerned bodies need to work jointly to assure a better integration of the Lebanese graduates within the domestic labour market emanating not only from better choices at the higher education level but also from better conditions at the labour market. The expansion of the higher education system did not go hand in hand with the expansion of job opportunities within the labour market which created a dilemma for the graduates. Even if it is easily said than done, the government needs to keep away from political instability, and to encourage domestic and foreign investments. It needs to review and revisit its immigration policy given that the Lebanese graduates are losing their chances facing immigrants that are ready to accept the same job yet with lower salaries and indemnities. Training during higher studies should be set by the government as mandatory and not optional. This will allow the students to be exposed to the labour market irrespective of their HEI they are enrolled at which will allow the employers to value the competences minimizing by that the effect of the social capital, and accelerating the transition pace to the labour market particularly for those facing difficulties. Future research will permit to understand more the factors guiding the transition from the higher education to the labour market and what are the main aspects that govern the choice of each labour market.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1

Rates of Recruits per HEI

	1997/1998	1998/1999	1999/2000	2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003	2003/2004	2004/2005
LU	59.16%	58.88%	60.27%	59.46%	56.69%	53.12%	50.37%	49.52%
BAU	8.96%	11.19%	9.06%	7.42%	7.10%	3.87%	6.90%	6.60%
USJ	7.30%	6.57%	6.77%	6.44%	6.30%	5.00%	6.60%	6.60%
AUB	5.71%	4.63%	4.62%	4.61%	4.60%	5.10%	5%	5%
LAU	4.71%	4.23%	4.30%	3.64%	3.90%	3.50%	3.40%	3.20%
USEK	3.87%	3.76%	3.74%	3.53%	3.50%	3.80%	4.10%	4.50%
NDU	-	-	-	-	-	3%	3.10%	3.20%
LIU	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	10.29%	10.74%	11.24%	14.90%	17.90%	19%	20.50%	21.40%
Total (Recruitment/PU)	40.84%	41.12%	39.73%	40.54%	43.30%	43.27%	49.60%	50.50%

	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013
LU	48.06%	45.50%	44.37%	N/A	40.26%	37.74%	38.30%	37.24%
BAU	9.30%	10.40%	10.60%	N/A	8.90%	8.10%	5.90%	5.70%
USJ	6.60%	5.90%	5.60%	N/A	5.20%	4.80%	4.90%	5.03%
AUB	4.70%	4.20%	4.20%	N/A	4.20%	4%	4%	4%
LAU	3.10%	2.90%	2.90%	N/A	3%	3.10%	3.30%	3.34%
USEK	4.10%	4.10%	4.10%	N/A	3.80%	3.60%	3.50%	3.92%
NDU	3.20%	2.90%	2.90%	N/A	3.20%	3.30%	3.50%	3.75%
LIU	3.20%	3.60%	4.60%	N/A	7.60%	8.50%	8.70%	9.27%
Others	17.70%	20.50%	20.70%	N/A	23.80%	26.90%	27.80%	27.55%
Total (Recruitment/PU)	51.90%	54.50%	55.60%		59.70%	62.30%	61.70%	62.75%

Appendix 1.2

Various Faculties at the Lebanese universities

The various faculties at the Lebanese universities are known and offered internationally (Freiha, 1997). The faculties' classification of the public university was considered. The LU faculties and according to the LU website are:

- 1- Faculty of Literature and Humanities including: Arabic Language and Literature, French Language and Literature, English Language and Literature, History, Geography, Archeology and Arts, Philosophy, Translation and Teaching Diploma;
- 2- Faculty of Law, political and Management Science including: General Law, Political and Administrative Sciences, Specialized Law (criminal, private, labor ...)
- 3- Faculty of Science including: Pure Mathematics, Computing, Statistics, Physics, Chemistry, Electronics, Biology;
- 4- Faculty of Economic Science and Business Administration including: Management and Marketing, Accounting and Finance, Business Computing, Economic Sciences, Banking and Finance;
- 5- Faculty of Information and Documentation including: Journalism, Television, Publicity, Public Relations, Documentation;
- 6- Faculty of Education including: Diploma in Education, Pre-School Education, Intermediate Education, Sports Education, Theater, Music, Teaching Physics, Teaching Chemistry, Teaching Mathematics, Teaching Biology, Teaching Arabic Language, Teaching English Language ..., Teaching History, Teaching Geography..
- 7- Faculty of Engineering including: Electricity and Electronic Architecture, Mechanical Architecture, Civil Engineering, Telecommunication;
- 8- Faculty of Social Science including: Social Sciences, Demographic Sciences...
- 9- Faculty of Fine Arts including: Architecture, Interior Design, Painting, Photography;

- 10- Faculty of Public Health including: Infirmary Sciences, Laboratory Sciences, Physiotherapy Sciences...
- 11- Faculty of Agronomy including: Food Production, Animal Production and Reproduction, Plant Production and Protection...
- 12- Faculty of Medical Sciences including: General Surgery, Specialized Surgery, Pediatric, Internal Medicine, Psychology...
- 13- Faculty of Applied Sciences including: Industrial Computing, Industrial Electronics, Industrial Mechanics, Statistics, Topography...
- 14- Faculty of Dentistry including: Dental medicine, Dental surgery;
- 15- Faculty of Pharmacy
- 16- Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management including: Tourism and Travelling, touristic guide, Hotel Management.

Appendix 1.3

Recruits per Faculty at the LU - From 1997/1998 to 2012/2013

	1997/1998	1998/1999	1999/2000	2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003	2003/2004	2004/2005
Literature and Humanities	33.59%	33.40%	35.40%	35.59%	37.74%	39.13%	35.94%	35.87%
Law, Political and Administrative Sciences	23.78%	21.51%	19.42%	18.71%	14.86%	12.35%	12.11%	12.32%
Sciences	13.89%	13.65%	15.09%	15.69%	14.97%	15.09%	17.55%	16.84%
Business Administration	5.08%	5.54%	4.92%	3.96%	4.93%	5.60%	6.44%	6.79%
Documentation	2.28%	2.23%	2.17%	2.03%	2.18%	2.28%	2.27%	2.10%
Education	1.89%	1.86%	2.28%	2.73%	3.00%	3.07%	3.03%	3.09%
Engineering	3.20%	3.15%	3.22%	2.88%	3.01%	3.13%	3.14%	3.30%
Social Sciences	5.93%	8.26%	7.49%	9.27%	9.96%	9.24%	9.26%	9.37%
Arts	3.32%	2.92%	2.90%	2.62%	2.53%	2.66%	2.46%	2.44%
Public Health	2.66%	2.54%	2.54%	2.41%	2.65%	2.95%	3.17%	3.10%
Agriculture	0.41%	0.36%	0.37%	0.34%	0.34%	0.36%	0.34%	0.34%
Medical Sciences	1.40%	1.24%	1.15%	0.96%	1.00%	1.06%	1.02%	0.99%
Applied Sciences	1.64%	1.78%	1.36%	1.23%	1.28%	1.25%	1.36%	1.53%
Dental Sciences	0.30%	0.34%	0.30%	0.20%	0.23%	0.34%	0.36%	0.39%
Pharmacy	0.39%	0.40%	0.34%	0.30%	0.30%	0.33%	0.31%	0.31%
Tourism	-	0.34%	0.48%	0.52%	0.55%	0.63%	0.61%	0.56%

	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013
Literature and Humanities	32.68%	31.06%	31.19%	N/A	30.88%	28.01%	28.52%	24.52%
Law, Political and Administrative Sciences	11.01%	11.53%	9.82%	N/A	10.89%	12.43%	12.10%	14.73%
Sciences	20.41%	20.25%	21.04%	N/A	19.33%	21.01%	17.35%	16.81%
Business Administration	7.17%	7.06%	7.24%	N/A	7.97%	7.94%	10.87%	11.89%
Documentation	1.75%	1.85%	1.79%	N/A	2.06%	2.31%	2.61%	2.74%
Education	2.83%	2.83%	2.80%	N/A	2.13%	1.83%	2.69%	3.04%
Engineering	3.36%	3.28%	3.40%	N/A	3.43%	3.30%	5.95%	5.64%
Social Sciences	10.17%	9.41%	8.42%	N/A	7.08%	6.32%	6.21%	5.92%
Arts	2.50%	2.53%	2.98%	N/A	3.53%	3.68%	5.20%	5.45%
Public Health	3.02%	2.90%	2.90%	N/A	2.97%	3.18%	3.35%	3.64%
Agriculture	0.33%	0.35%	0.38%	N/A	0.63%	0.88%	1.02%	1.30%
Medical Sciences	0.99%	0.98%	0.99%	N/A	1.10%	1.19%	1.24%	1.35%
Applied Sciences	1.88%	4.07%	5.15%	N/A	4.69%	3.87%	0.84%	1.06%
Dental Sciences	0.30%	0.40%	0.34%	N/A	0.44%	0.49%	0.52%	0.53%
Pharmacy	0.31%	0.30%	0.31%	N/A	0.33%	0.35%	0.48%	0.54%
Tourism	0.55%	0.50%	0.48%	N/A	0.61%	0.70%	0.66%	0.65%

Appendix 1.4

Recruits per Faculty at the Private Sector - From 1997/1998 to 2012/2013

	1997/1998	1998/1999	1999/2000	2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003	2003/2004	2004/2005
Literature and Humanities	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	4.48%	5.10%	4.85%
Law, Political and Administrative Sciences	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	6.32%	6.38%	5.11%
Sciences	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	5.77%	6.12%	7.65%
Business Administration	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	33.62%	34.39%	35.37%
Documentation	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	3.19%	2.54%	2.56%
Education	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	3.00%	2.77%	3.72%
Engineering	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	18.96%	18.23%	16.69%
Social Sciences	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	7.69%	7.12%	6.70%
Arts	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	4.53%	4.71%	4.33%
Public Health	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	3.26%	3.32%	3.10%
Agriculture	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	0.92%	0.93%	2.00%
Medical Sciences	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	2.50%	2.36%	2.46%
Applied Sciences	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	0.22%	0.27%	0.20%
Dental Sciences	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	0.98%	0.91%	1.00%
Pharmacy	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	2.12%	2.57%	3.04%
Institute of Technology	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	-	-	-
Tourism	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	2.45%	2.26%	2.39%

	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013
Literature and Humanities	5.37%	5.58%	5.24%	N/A	3.94%	3.26%	2.30%	2.35%
Law, Political and Administrative Sciences	6.15%	6.98%	7.08%	N/A	6.22%	5.37%	3.48%	2.95%
Sciences	7.08%	6.27%	5.94%	N/A	4.21%	4.63%	4.88%	4.96%
Business Administration	34.76%	35.48%	35.42%	N/A	35.85%	36.36%	38.06%	36.67%
Documentation	3.25%	2.73%	2.92%	N/A	3.23%	3.18%	3.47%	3.45%
Education	3.04%	3.17%	3.04%	N/A	2.88%	2.97%	3.16%	3.30%
Engineering	14.79%	13.90%	13.89%	N/A	15.20%	15.33%	16.17%	16.84%
Social Sciences	8.43%	8.97%	8.78%	N/A	8.57%	8.01%	5.95%	5.54%
Arts	4.25%	4.43%	4.95%	N/A	6.72%	7.43%	9.03%	9.32%
Public Health	3.24%	2.89%	2.93%	N/A	3.13%	3.43%	3.65%	3.83%
Agriculture	0.76%	0.93%	1.03%	N/A	1.00%	0.86%	0.86%	1.07%
Medical Sciences	2.40%	2.30%	2.27%	N/A	2.30%	2.19%	2.35%	1.24%
Applied Sciences	0.15%	0.14%	0.13%	N/A	0.28%	0.36%	0.36%	0.47%
Dental Sciences	1.07%	0.75%	0.77%	N/A	0.97%	1.02%	1.03%	0.84%
Pharmacy	3.47%	3.37%	3.50%	N/A	3.77%	3.45%	3.56%	3.81%
Institute of Technology	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Tourism	1.93%	2.11%	2.05%	N/A	1.80%	2.14%	1.71%	1.86%

Appendix 1.5: Recruitment per Faculty per Gender – 2010/2011

Table 1.1': Recruitment per Faculty per Gender – 2010/2011		
Faculty	Public Sector – LU	Private Sector
Faculty of “Literature and Humanities”	$R_{F/M} = 11968/5770 = 2.07$	$R_{F/M} = 3104/1149 = 2.70$
Faculty of “Law, Political and Management Science”	$R_{F/M} = 3466/3305 = 1.05$	$R_{F/M} = 1661/5103 = 0.33$
Faculty of “Sciences”	$R_{F/M} = 8161/4575 = 1.78$	$R_{F/M} = 2672/1879 = 1.42$
Faculty of “Economic Science and Business Administration”	$R_{F/M} = 4833/3438 = 1.41$	$R_{F/M} = 16890/21445 = 0.8$
Faculty of “Information and Documentation”	$R_{F/M} = 1587/299 = 5.31$	$R_{F/M} = 2141/1350 = 1.6$
Faculty of “Education”	$R_{F/M} = 1864/301 = 6.2$	$R_{F/M} = 2430/680 = 3.6$
Faculty of “Engineering”	$R_{F/M} = 1487/4048 = 0.37$	$R_{F/M} = 2569/13843 = 0.19$
Faculty of “Social Science”	$R_{F/M} = 4743/793 = 6$	$R_{F/M} = 4139/5120 = 0.81$
Faculty of “Fine Arts”	$R_{F/M} = 994/646 = 1.54$	$R_{F/M} = 4095/3169 = 1.3$
Faculty of “Public Health”	$R_{F/M} = 1951/252 = 7.74$	$R_{F/M} = 2336/1041 = 2.24$
Faculty of “Agronomy”	$R_{F/M} = 452/292 = 1.55$	$R_{F/M} = 503/370 = 1.36$
Faculty of “Medical Sciences”	$R_{F/M} = 3146/963 = 3.26$ (where difference is in the psychology track $R_{F/M} = 2752/557 = 5$ – As for the other tracks, there is no flagrant difference)	$R_{F/M} = 1095/1393 = 0.79$
Faculty of “Applied Sciences”	$R_{F/M} = 116/312 = 0.37$	$R_{F/M} = 37/268 = 0.14$
Faculty of “Dentistry”	$R_{F/M} = 203/117 = 1.74$	$R_{F/M} = 502/550 = 0.91$
Faculty of “Pharmacy”	$R_{F/M} = 224/37 = 6.05$	$R_{F/M} = 3307/766 = 4.32$
Faculty of “Tourism and Hospitality Management”	$R_{F/M} = 445/131 = 3.4$	$R_{F/M} = 772/1255 = 0.62$

Appendix 3.1

Private Admission Strategies: Facts, Trends and Realities

The below overview provides examples of the recent trends in selection and admission processes implemented by both the government and the HEIs in several countries.

The first example is that of the **United Kingdom** and particularly England and Wales. HEIs are considered as autonomous institutions that determine their own admission criteria (Mullen, 2011) with no direct interference from the government where the latter plays a “negative imposition” role (Davies, 1996). Despite the rapid shift, the system is characterized by uniform high academic standards (Mayhew et al., 2004). Such uniformity is achieved first by the active role of the “Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education” (QAA)²²³ that develops and encourages best practices in admissions, recruitment and selection. The QAA stresses the existence of transparent and clear information as an important code of practice in all stages of admission. Secondly, it is achieved by the “Supporting Professionalism Admissions” (SPA)²²⁴ programme that does not only encourage good practices in admission but make sure to develop fair admissions and recruitment processes to allow wider access (Mullen, 2011). These practices, and according to Harman (1994), stress the elitism and conservatism characteristics of the UK higher education system. Access is not a right set by the constitution but it is determined by the performance at the national examination complemented at the HEI level by tests and interviews. Each HEI has its own set of minimum requirements that can go from academic achievements (test results, prior educational attainment, etc.) to criminal record or health check (Mullen, 2011). Potential students wishing to pursue their higher studies

²²³ The QAA has set for that purpose the “UK Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards in Higher Education: Section 10 – Admissions to Higher Education”.

²²⁴ The SPA was founded in 2006 as a result of the recommendation in the “Admission to Higher Education Steering Group report – Fair Admissions to Higher Education: Recommendations for Good Practices.

are to apply to the University and College Admissions Service (UCAS)²²⁵ that provides students with the needed information about the HEIs, their programmes, their admission policies as well as entry qualifications (Abbott and Leslie, 2006). The decision of admission is solely in the hand of the university and not of the UCAS (Davies, 1996). The HEI collects the files and decides who will be admitted. Admission processes implemented by universities limited the number of failures and permitted to increase the graduates' rate highlighting the care attributed to the entry requirements by UK HEIs (Mullen, 2011; Harman, 1994). Despite the insistence of the QAA and the SPA on widening access and ensuring equality of opportunities, selectivity done by HEIs is still depriving students from the low social class from being represented in certain institutions and certain programmes such as medicine, law, arts (Mullen, 2011). After this review, we can conclude that the entry to the UK higher education system is competitive and selective. HEIs exercise their control through the admission criteria independently from central and local government which only has control over funding mechanisms. Such degree of selectivity is stated in the QAA code of practice²²⁶ where it advances the following:

“Policies and practices for student admission should be designed to secure a good match between the abilities and aptitudes of the applicant and the demands of the programme, thus leading to the selection of students [...]. Those making decisions need to discriminate between applicants, to determine who should be selected [...]

The second example is that of the **United States of America**. The American higher education system is a combination of the British undergraduate colleges and the German research universities (Eckel and King, 2011). It shares with the UK model one characteristic that of the absence of a written constitution defining the right to access.

²²⁵ UCAS was established in 1993. It is the organization responsible for managing application to higher education in the UK.

²²⁶ QAA, Code of Practice for the Assurance of Academic Quality and Standards in Higher Education, Section 10: Admissions to Higher Education – September 2006

The “non-existence” of such documentation reflect the need to protect the freedom of institutions and individuals (Davies, 1996). The higher education in the USA used to be an elite activity excluding students based on the social class, gender, religion and ethnicity criteria. However, and starting the twentieth century, the USA higher education system changed its strategy towards wider access because of the economic and social changes which occurred during that period. For that purpose, a new type of institution was created, the “community college”, which allowed to provide open access to all individuals with no restrictions. Consequently, higher education in the USA is provided by “community colleges” that offer a two years programme mainly in vocational fields and that prepare students to transfer into a four year institution; “public universities” that offer four years programme in professional and research fields; “private not-for-profit institutions” that are extremely diverse and goes from research institutions to four-years or two years programmes with religious affiliation; and “private-for-profit institutions” that offer mainly vocational programmes and deliver certificates rather than degrees (Eckel and King, 2011). The system is hence characterized with a variety of opportunities responding to the various needs of its diverse population. The students’ selection passed from subjective admission criteria to objective ones; mainly based on the SAT exams and higher school grades. These processes differ from one institution to another and vary from elite private institutions and major public research universities to community colleges and weedy private institutions. Whereas the majority of the two years community colleges rely on open admission policies, the majority of public four years institutions and private four years universities rely, in addition to the high school grade, on admission tests to screen candidates (Cabrera and Burkum, 2001; Harman, 1994). This practice, and according to Goastellec (2008a), reflect the elitism characteristic of these institutions such as the “New York University”. Admission criteria are not restricted to the students’ academic performance. In a number of HEIs, they extend to the students’ ability to pay, samples of written essays, interviews, recommendations from high school director and teachers as well as leadership skills. These additional criteria are mainly requested in private and public elite universities with the most important one

being that reflecting on the academic performance of the student (Cabrera and Burkum, 2001). American HEIs struggled over the years to achieve a certain level of performance and standards giving the diversity of access. Unlike the UK, in the USA, there is no national system of public examination at the end of the secondary school to filter eligible students. This implicated a non-uniformity of the academic level at various HEIs. Despite this, the system managed to stand out because of the special efforts pertaining to allowing access to disadvantaged groups (*Ibid.*).

The third example is that of **France**. In France, equal access is supported by the constitution (Davies, 1996). The Higher education sector is divided between “public universities” and “Grandes Ecoles”. Access to public universities is conditioned by passing the baccalaureate and entrance tests set by the institutions, if any. However, access to the “Grandes Ecoles” requires a bacc+2 level. Such conditioned acceptance required the existence of the “CPGE – Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Ecoles”. These institutions are, from one side, part of the high schools system, and from the other, they pertain to the higher education system and are known by “University Institutes”. To validate their academic programmes, universities have to go every four years through a process of “habilitation” (*Ibid.*). The government used to play a central role in regulating the market even at the level of recruiting personnel and funding (Davies, 1996). Despite the government’s control, French HEIs were endowed with a certain restricted autonomy in relation to determining their internal structure and status (SUD étudiant, 2007). Such autonomy was exploited with the issuance of the 2007 law on the freedom and responsibilities of the HEIs (named LRU: Loi relative aux Libertés et Responsabilités des Universités). The 2007 Law reconsidered the strategic priorities of the higher education system. The government intervention was reduced and more financial and managerial independence were provided to HEIs. New governance system was set, budgetary and human resources management competences were credited to the institutions allowing them to have partnerships not only with other HEIs but also with organizations (Eurydice, 2008). Nevertheless, such sovereignty was only at the level of managerial

autonomy pertaining to the relation with the students and the employees rather than with the government. Each HEI still has to sign a mandatory pluri-annual contract with the government to receive public funds. The contract covers all activities undertaken and has to define the objectives to be achieved as well as the performance indicators permitting to evaluate the outcomes (Eurydice, 2008; SUD étudiant, 2007). As a sum up, we can advance that the French higher education system passed from a centralized system to a less centralized one particularly in what pertains to the employment of the budget and the recruitment of the personnel with the main tool of admission being as always the national baccalaureate (except for the “Grandes Ecoles”).

The fourth example is that of **Germany**. In Germany, higher education is provided by “Universitäten” (Universities) which are research-oriented institutions focusing mainly on a whole range of academic disciplines; “Fachhochschulen” (Universities of Applied Sciences) which are application-oriented with a professional character of studies providing studies in engineering, business related fields, social work; and “Kunst – und Musikhochschulen” (Universities of Art/Music) which provide studies in fine arts, architecture, communication, media, etc. All these types are institutions of the Lander/state (Eurydice, 2009). The German higher education system shares with the French model in addition to the right of entry to higher education that is protected by the constitution, the “public” characteristic of the institutions and delivered diplomas (Davies, 1996). German HEIs are either state or state-recognized institutions that are both subject to higher education legislation where admission criteria to the HEIs are determined by the state or the federation (Eurydice, 2009)²²⁷. The government used to play a central role in funding, managing and administering the HEIs (Davies, 1996). However, and starting 1998, the date of the amendment of the “Framework Act for Higher Education (Hochschulrahmengesetz)” that regulate and organize the German higher education system, HEIs are no longer governed by the requirements set by the framework. The role

²²⁷ It should be noted in this respect that German higher education reform has set one of it's the goals the reinforcement of the HEIs right to decide on the admission of the applicants (Eurydice, 2009).

of the state or the Lander was hence reduced. HEIs are given more autonomy in relation to the process of decision. The relationship between the government and the HEIs is hence no longer a top-down relationship but a contractual one based on the agreements between the state and the institutions. Objectives and deliverables, like the French system, are well defined and funds are allocated based on the performance of the HEIs. Admission to all HEIs is open to all the public. It used to be controlled by the state. However, the 1998 reform set new rules as to the ability of the HEIs to choose the eligible candidates. Admission to HEI is conditioned by the “Allgemeine Hochschulreife” or “Fachgebundene Hochschulreife” (i.e. German high school) which is obtained after 12 or 13 years of school allowing access to all types of studies. The latter high school diploma is more specialized than the former one. It permits access to specific disciplines. In addition to the German high school diploma, some HEIs such as the universities of Art/Music require additional admission measures testing the eligibility of the candidate (Eurydice, 2009).

The fifth example is that of the **Japanese higher education system**. It is, unlike the German system, provided by both public and private HEIs. Higher education in Japan is supplied by universities that aim to conduct research and teaching in specialized academic subjects; “junior colleges” that offer a two years programme and are typically considered as “progression opportunities” to university programmes²²⁸; “colleges of technology” that offer vocational qualifications; “professional training colleges” that offer practical vocational and technical education; “graduate schools” that conduct research and train researchers; and “professional graduate schools” that target entry to high-level key professions such as law, business studies, etc. Like the international trend, because of the increased demand for higher education and the inability of the government to develop national HEIs, private higher education expanded where the loose regulatory control was the main motivator of such development (Maruyama, n/a)²²⁹. The majority of the Japanese

²²⁸ They can be compared to the “Grandes Ecoles” in France.

²²⁹ Case similar to that of the Lebanese Higher Education System

private institutions are junior colleges and professional training colleges (Newby et al., 2009). Despite the autonomy of private HEIs, both public and private institutions are under the strict supervision of the Japanese Ministry of Education where the legislation “Standard for the Establishment of Universities” dictates the establishment of private HEIs and main standards that define them. However, and with time, the Japanese government adopted a “laissez-faire” policy towards private HEIs leading to a poor quality of private provision (Maruyama, n/a). Because of the massive expansion of the higher education sector, mainly the private one, the Japanese higher education system moved from “elite” to a “mass” system. As a result, a number of vocational institutions focusing more on the labour market integration developed as well (Newby et al., 2009). National universities with low tuition fees are seen as elite providers while private ones, with high tuition fees, are seen as mass providers of educational opportunities. Both national and private universities select students based on entrance tests steered by both a national body and by the institutions. The entrance tests assess the knowledge of the candidates in subjects related to the Japanese language, the foreign language(s), sciences and mathematics. The selection process differs from elite public institutions where the most selective public university is the “University of Tokyo” to the most competitive private ones where students are easily admitted (Maruyama, n/a).

After this brief review about five higher education systems, their composition and selection criteria at the level of access to higher education, we can conclude that despite the differences in the selection process, the motor guiding the admission and selection criteria is uniform among all countries. The rapid expansion in the number of students, threats of quality and the increasing social demands, all played a decisive role in determining these processes. More than one selective devise is used to assure not only fair but also open access to a wide range of students with special attention given to the disadvantaged social groups and minorities. Awareness to the need of a better articulation between the secondary education and the higher education is becoming more obvious to a majority of countries. This is credited to the outcome that the improvement in such

association can have not only on the implementation of a more flexible selection process but also on a better transition to the labour market.

Appendix 3.2

HEIs Initiatives to Link between the Higher Education System and the Labour Market

The following discusses initiatives taken by four different higher education systems to assure a better and faster transition of their graduates to the labour market.

In the UK, and after the 1997 Dearing Report, and in an attempt to develop the employability skills, HEIs modified their courses' content as well as their teaching methods in order to increase the graduates employability chances (NCIHE, 1997). Such initiative was taken because of the need within the British market to high level of skills. The educational agenda in the UK aims hence to deliver “economically valuable skills” through demand-led approach. Such agenda cannot be achieved without institutional reforms and simplification (de Weert, 2011).

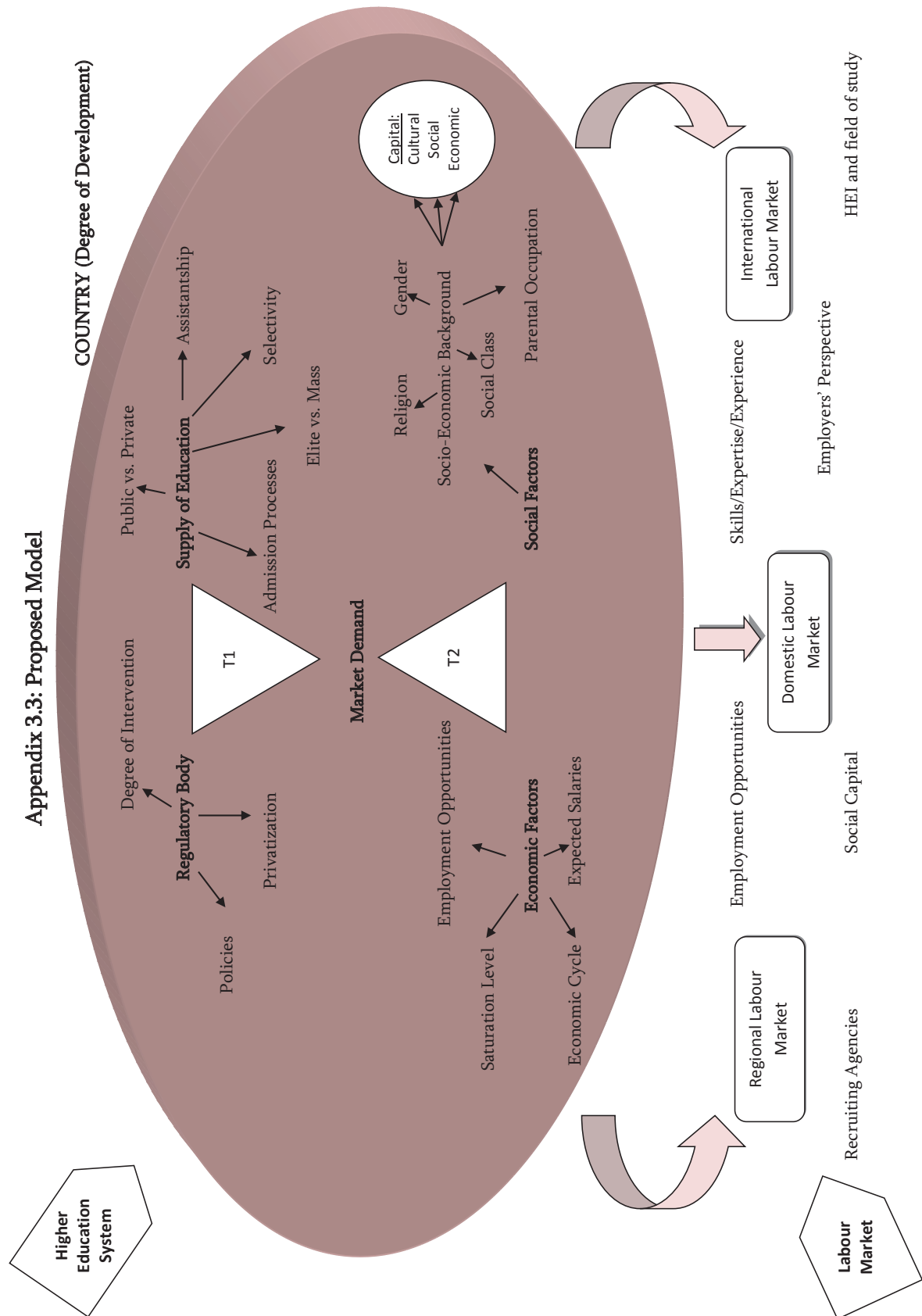
In the United States, non-selective HEIs which attract mainly the majority of the students, complied with the students' needs and provided a curriculum targeted more towards the occupational requirements. Despite such effort, these institutions are still facing another problem. Because they do not work much on their academic standards, their graduation rate and the students' employability chances were assessed as low. Such reality led to an increase in the students' enrolment in the U.S. prestigious universities because of the job opportunities and the higher salaries that these degrees permit (Geiger, 2011).

In Germany, the field of study, in addition to the generic and personal skills, is the most influential factor of graduates' employability chances. The “tuning” of supply and demand is done based on a contract between the government and the private HEIs that determine the number of entrants per field of study. To answer more to the labour market needs,

German HEIs are requested to provide a link between research, education and practice. They are required to offer more practice-oriented programmes which institutions will attempt to materialize through professionally-competent bachelor programme (de Weert, 2011).

Regarding France, it has a diversified higher education system which permits to respond to the specific labour market needs. For instance, the Higher Technician Sections (STSs-BTS) and the Instituts Universitaires de Technologie (IUTs) with vocational orientation provide the graduates with good prospects to obtain a job after their studies. France has a very well elaborated system permitting to follow on the graduates' transition to the labour market (CEREQ – Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Qualifications). The centre elaborates reports which are considered as an important source for higher education policy. Because of the large failure rates in certain fields and the large number of graduates from certain fields with low employment opportunities, the Hetzel committee that worked on the report "De l'Université à l'Emploi" proposed actions to be taken at the HEIs level to enhance the graduates' employment prospects. The committee suggested the creation at each university of an entity permitting not only the follow-up of the students and their studies but also their transition to the labour market; the integration of professional dimensions in all programmes; the establishment of a centre for career counselling; the strengthening of internships which are mandatory in every programme; and the development of a regulatory framework for universities to engage with companies.

Appendix 3.3: Proposed Model



Appendix 4.1.1

Student Survey

This questionnaire is designed to assess students' preferences with regard to higher education choices. It will address the educational and socio-economic backgrounds of students' families, as well as student choices in terms of secondary education, higher education programmes and their implications towards the labor market needs. It will allow to recognize and assess main aggregates affecting access to higher education.

The questionnaire is divided into 7 parts as follow:

- A- Personal Information
- B- Geographical Information
- C- Family Composition
- D- Academic Information – Academic Choices
- E- Higher Education Choices
- F- Family Academic Background
- G- Family Socio-Economic Background

Please complete the following (A and B) by **circling** the relevant answer:

A- Personal Information

A1.	Gender	0) Female 1) Male
A2.	Age	1) 18-21 2) 22-25 3) 26-30 4) 31-35 5) More than 35
A3.	Place of Birth	1) Beirut 2) Bekaa 3) North 4) South 5) Mount Lebanon
A4.	Religion:	1) Christian 2) Drouz 3) Muslim
A5.	Marital Status:	1) Single 2) Married 3) Divorced 4) Widdow
A6.	If married/divorced – Number of dependent(s)	

B- Geographical Information

B1.	Current Place of Residency	1) Beirut 2) Bekaa 3) North 4) South 5) Mount Lebanon

C- Family Composition

C1.	Number of Brothers	
C2.	Number of Sisters	
C3.	How many brothers/sisters are older than you?	
C4.	How many brothers/sisters are younger than you?	

D- Academic Information – Academic Choices

Please answer the following questions reflecting a retro perspective view with regards to your choices at secondary and higher education/university levels.

Secondary Level				
D1.	<u>Secondary education</u>	3) Public System 4) Private System		
D2.	Track Chosen	6) General Studies 7) Life Sciences 8) Literature and Humanities 9) Sociology and Economy 10) Other		
			Yes	No
D3.	Reason for choosing the track (kindly specify next to each option the appropriate answer; i.e. yes or no)	1) Grades received allowed to choose only this track		
		2) Grades received allowed to choose any track but I chose this out of preference		
		3) It allows me to continue my higher studies in a field that is of interest to me		
		4) No specific preference, this track		

		provides a wider choice of higher education programmes		
		5) Family pressure		
		6) School/tutor advise or pressure		
D4.	Have you received any guidance related to the choice of the track and its direct relation to the choice of a university degree and employability within labor market?			
D4.a	If yes, from whom (kindly specify next to each option the appropriate answer; i.e. yes or no)	1) School		
		2) Open days		
		3) Parents		
		4) Older brothers/sisters		
		5) Family members (cousins, uncles, etc.)		

Higher Education/University Level		
D5.	Name of your <u>university</u>	1) Lebanese University 2) BAU 3) USJ 4) AUB 5) LIU 6) USEK 7) NDU 8) LAU 9) Other Lebanese Universities 10) Other Foreign Universities (Outside Lebanon) 11) Vocational Higher Education Institution
D6.	Your faculty	
D7.	Average over 20	1) Average above 18 2) Average between 16 and 17.9 3) Average between 14 and 15.9 4) Average between 12 and 13.9

		5) Average between 10 and 11.9 6) Average less than 10		
D8.	Did you continue your higher studies directly after secondary school?	1) Yes 2) No		
	If yes,			
	<i>Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"</i>		Yes	No
D8.a	<i>Source of information</i> How did you know about the university and its programmes?	1) University itself/leaflets/brochures 2) Open Days 3) Advertisement on Radio/TV 4) Parents/Siblings/Relatives 5) Friends		
D8.b	Which criteria affected your choice?	1) Financial cost (tuition, registration fees, scholarship, etc.) 2) Academic standards/reputation/credibility 3) Easy admission criteria 4) Double degree (agreement with a foreign university) 5) Validity of diploma and accreditation 6) Prospects of employment/internship 7) Social interaction and extra curriculum activities		
	If no,			
D8.c	What is/are the reason(s)?	1) Took a break to relax and have fun 2) Needed to work to pay tuition		

[illegible]

E- Higher Education Choices:

Please answer the following questions assessing your choice of higher studies (more than one option can be chosen as long as its effect is mentioned as per the following key):

Key: 1= Agree 2= Neutral 3= Disagree

a) Reason(s) for completing higher studies and Choice of Higher Education Institution

	<i>Why have you chosen to complete your higher studies? (instead of choosing labor market)</i>			
E1.a	Because it allows better employment opportunities, managerial position and higher salaries	1	2	3

E1.b	It is the normal step after secondary education	1	2	3
E1.c	I have an ambition to continue further higher studies (Master/PhD)	1	2	3
E1.d	No specific reason, decision was taken by chance	1	2	3
E1.e	Parents' pressure	1	2	3
E1.f	Self-fulfillment	1	2	3
E1.g	Social status	1	2	3
E1.h	Scientific curiosity	1	2	3
	<i>What are the aspects that guided your choice of the higher education institution?</i>			
	<i>Aspects related to specific characteristics of the university</i>			
E2.a	Educational system (American, French, Egyptian or Lebanese) and thus language of instruction	1	2	3
E2.b	Easy admission criteria; i.e. easy access	1	2	3
E2.c	Selective admission criteria; i.e. access on merit (entrance exam)	1	2	3
E2.d	Practically free tuition fees	1	2	3
E2.e	Financial support (grants, loans, scholarship, etc.)/external body providing financial support	1	2	3
E2.f	New field of studies not offered in other universities	1	2	3
E2.g	Flexible schedule allowing to work and study at the same time	1	2	3
E2.h	Electronic/library resources	1	2	3
	<i>Affiliation and Reputation</i>			
E2.i	Reputation, public confidence, accountability and academic standards	1	2	3
E2.j	Externally accredited university	1	2	3
E2.k	Important affiliations with other institutions in the Arab and Western World (USA, Canada, Europe)/International standing of the university	1	2	3
E2.l	Religious and political affiliation of the university	1	2	3
	<i>Extension to the labor market</i>			
E2.m	Offered programmes satisfying labor market/employers needs	1	2	3
E2.n	Provide internship/employment opportunities	1	2	3
	<i>Students' specific aspects and interests</i>			

E2.o	Active student council/student body/student representation	1	2	3
E2.p	Family tradition (parents' degree from the same university)	1	2	3
E2.q	Friends studying or already completed their degrees	1	2	3
E2.r	Close to home	1	2	3
E2.s	Extra curricula activities, Active social life and recreational facilities (gym, sports grounds, etc.)	1	2	3
E2.t	By chance	1	2	3

b) Choice of programme

<i>Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"</i>			Yes	No
E3.	Why have you chosen this field of study?	9) Out of personal interest		
		10) Polyvalent field allowing easy access to the labor market		
		11) By chance/did not have any previous preferences		
		12) Encouraged by friends already enrolled in the programme		
		13) Tutor advice		
		14) Parents field of work		
		15) Easy admission criteria/no entrance test		
		16) Already have a professional experience in this field		
E4.	Was this your first choice/preference?	1) Yes 2) No		
If no,				
E4.a	What was your first preference? (Choose One Option)	1) Literature and Humanities 2) Law and Political Studies 3) Sciences 4) Business Administration/Economics 5) Documentation/Journalism/TV 6) Education 7) Engineering (civil, electrical, etc.) 8) Social Sciences 9) Architecture/Interior Design/Painting 10) Infirmary/Laboratory sciences 11) Agriculture 12) Medical Sciences 13) Tourism/Hotel Management		
<i>Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"</i>			Yes	No
E4.b	Why haven't you enrolled in the programme of your first choice/preference? (i.e. E4.a)	1) Parents advice		
		2) University advice		
		3) Labor market situation and saturation		
		4) Difficult academic requirements		
		5) I already have a professional experience in another field		

E5.	Were you enrolled in another field before and dropped out?	1) Yes 2) No		
	If yes,			
E5.a	When did you decided to change to your current field of study?	1) Immediately 2) After 1 year 3) After 2 years 4) I completed the programme and this is my second major		
Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"			Yes	No
E5.b	Why have you decided to change the first field of study and enroll in the current one?	1) Did not like the first choice		
		2) For financial reasons (tuition fees, etc.)		
		3) Geographical reason (far from home)		
		4) I was advised by parents/tutors/relatives based on labor market needs		
		5) I was not aware of my preferences at the end of secondary level, I preferred to enroll at a random programme rather than to stay at home		
		6) Failed and decided to change major		
c) Higher Education Choices, Studies and Employment				
E6.	Are you a working student? (does not include assistantship work)	1) Yes 2) No		
E6.a	If yes,	1) Part time job 2) Full time job		
E6.b	What is your field of work? (Choose One Option)	1) Primary Sector (agriculture, farming, fishing, etc.) 2) Secondary Sector (manufacturing and construction) 3) Tertiary Sector (services: accounting, marketing/sales, banking and finance, hotel management/tourism, etc.) 4) Quaternary Sector (intellectual science (scientist, computer programming, computer engineering, etc.)		
E7.	Is your choice of programme related to your field of work?	1) Yes 2) No		
	If no,			
Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"			Yes	No
E7.a	Why have you chosen it?	1) I want to change my field of work		
		2) Failed in a programme that I have previously chosen and which was related more to my field of work		
		3) I just wanted to have a university degree regardless of the field		
		4) Backup plan for future uncertainty		
		5) Employer's request to receive a promotion, salary increase		
		6) Better opportunities within the labor market		
E8.	How well do you consider yourself aware of labor market needs?	1) Very well		
		2) Well		

		3) Mediocre		
		4) Not very well		

d) Reflection on your prior academic choices

Now that you are near graduation and started to search for employment opportunities,

Choice of programme

E9.	Do you regret your choice of programme?	1) Yes 2) No	
E10.	If yes, specify the reason		
<i>Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"</i>		Yes	No
E10. a	1) Lack of local work opportunities		
	2) Low salaries		
	3) Chose the programme out of family pressure and not out of preference		
	4) Chose the programme because I have a prior work experience		
	5) Chose the programme because of its affordable tuition fees		
E11.	What would you choose now (<u>not out of preference but in relation to employment opportunities</u>)? (Choose One Option)	1) Literature and Humanities 2) Law and Political Studies 3) Sciences 4) Business Administration/Economics 5) Documentation/Journalism/TV 6) Education 7) Engineering (civil, electrical, etc.) 8) Social Sciences 9) Architecture/Interior Design/Painting 10) Infirmary/Laboratory sciences 11) Agriculture	

		12) Medical Sciences 13) Tourism/Hotel Management	
E11. a	The latter choice is based on:		
Please specify next to each alternative “yes” or “no”		Yes	No
	1) Better awareness of labor market needs		
	2) Different field of work		
	3) Another diploma to fulfill a job requirement, etc.		
	4) Previous preference for this field of study		
	5) Personal observations		

Choice of Higher Education Institution – HEI

E12.	Do you regret your choice of Higher Education Institution/University?	1) Yes 2) No	
E12. a	If yes, please specify the reason		
Please specify next to each alternative “yes” or “no”		Yes	No
	1) Not very well acknowledged within the labor market		
	2) Low academic standards		
	3) The programmes are not customized to the local market needs		
	4) No follow up of students after graduation		
	5) No clear guidance as regards the		

	choice of programme		
	6) No financial support		
	7) High miscellaneous cost (registration, parking, attestations, etc.)		
	8) No social activities/no campus		

Job prospects (ONLY for students who have answered to E6. "NO")

	If you are an unemployed student, please specify what could be the aspects that are most delaying your employment			
E13.a	Reputation of the university/Not very well known and acknowledge	1	2	3
E13.b	Absence of personal connections	1	2	3
E13.c	Academic level (low GPA)	1	2	3
E13.d	Low salaries offered	1	2	3
E13.e	Absence/"Shy" presence of companies that offer positions related to my field of study	1	2	3

Key: 1= High 2= Average 3= Mediocre/Low

F- Family Academic Background

Kindly choose for each parent the adequate answer by indicating the **number** of the respective answer within each column

Parents			Father	Mother
F1.	Is your father/mother educated?	1) Yes		
		2) No		
	If yes,			
F1.a.	Highest Level of education	1) Primary		
		2) Complementary		

		3) Secondary		
		4) BA		
		5) Master		
		6) PhD		
F1.b.	What system?	1) Public System		
		2) Private System		
F1.c.	If s/he has completed <u>higher studies</u> , from which university? (Choose One University- <u>Related to the highest degree</u>)	1) Lebanese University		
		2) BAU		
		3) USJ		
		4) AUB		
		5) LIU		
		6) USEK		
		7) NDU		
		8) LAU		
		9) Other Lebanese Universities		
		10) Other Foreign Universities (Outside Lebanon)		
		11) Vocational Higher Education Institution		
F1.d.	And which field of study? (Choose One Field)	1) Literature and Humanities		
		2) Law and Political Studies		
		3) Sciences		
		4) Business Administration/Economics		
		5) Documentation/Journalism/TV		
		6) Education		
		7) Engineering (civil, electrical, etc.)		
		8) Social Sciences		
		9) Architecture/Interior Design/Painting		
		10) Infirmary/Laboratory sciences		
		11) Agriculture		
		12) Medical Sciences		
		13) Tourism/Hotel Management		

Siblings (Brothers and Sisters)												
F2.	How many brothers/sisters have dropped from university?											
										Yes	No	
F2.a	What are the main reason(s) for dropping out?	1) High tuition fees										
		2) Academic requirements (success rate, academic load – quizzes, exams, etc.)										
		3) Needed to work/inflexible schedule										
		4) Academic failure										
		5) Interest in a new major not offered by the university										
		6) Low academic standards of the university										
		7) No social/sports activities										
		8) Geographical location/far from home										
		9) Work opportunity										
F3.	How many brothers/sisters have attended and finished university?											
F3.a	In the latter case, from which university?											
		LU	LA U	AU B	USJ	BA U	LIU	USE K	NDU	Other Lebanese Universiti es	Other Foreign universities	
	Brother 1											
	Brother 2											

	Brother 3											
	Sister 1											
	Sister 2											
	Sister 3											

Universities legend: LU = Lebanese University; LAU = Lebanese American University; AUB = American University of Beirut, USJ = University Saint Joseph; BAU = Beirut Arab University; LIU = Lebanese International University; USEK = University Saint Esprit-Kaslik; NDU = Notre Dame University; ...

F3.b	From which programme?												
		Literature and Humanities	Law	Business Administration	TV	Education	Engineering	Social Sciences	Architecture	Public Health	Agriculture	Medical Sciences	Hotel Management
	Brother 1												
	Brother 2												
	Brother 3												
	Sister 1												
	Sister 2												
	Sister 3												
F3.c	Level achieved?												
		BA				Master				PhD			
	Brother 1												
	Brother 2												
	Brother 3												

	Sister 1			
	Sister 2			
	Sister 3			

G- Family Socio-Economic Background

Kindly choose for each parent the adequate answer by indicating the **number** of the respective answer within each column

Parents			Father	Mother
G1.	Does your father/mother work?	1) Yes		
		2) No		
	If no,			
G2.a.	How long has s/he been unemployed?	1) He is between jobs		
		2) Less than 6 months		
		3) Between 6 months and 1 year		
		4) More than a year		
		5) Never worked		
	If yes,			
G3.a	What is the nature of his/her work?	1) Full-time		
		2) Part time		
G3.b	What is the type of his/her work?	1) Self-employed		
		2) Employee		
G3.b.1	If employee, level of employment?	1) Director		
		2) Vice Director		
		3) Senior Position		
		4) Mid Management		
		5) Administrative Position		
		6) Secretary Position		

		7) Worker		
G3.c.	What is his/her field of work?	1) Primary Sector (agriculture, farming, fishing, etc.)		
		2) Secondary Sector (manufacturing and construction)		
		3) Tertiary Sector (services: accounting, marketing/sales, banking and finance, hotel management/tourism, etc.)		
		4) Quaternary Sector (intellectual science (scientist, computer engineering, etc.)		

Sibblings (Brothers and Sisters)					
G4.	How many brothers /sisters work?				
G5.	How many brothers /sisters work and study at the same time?				
G6.	If your brothers/sisters work, how many work as a full time worker?				
G7.	If your brothers/sisters work, how many work as a part time worker?				
G8.	If borthers/sisters work, please specify the sector of work				
		Primary sector (Agricululture, Farming, Fishing, etc.)	Secondary sector (Manufacturing and Construction)	Tertiary sector (Accounting, Banking and Finance, Hotel Management,	Quaternary sector (Intellectual Science – Scientist,

				Tourism, etc.)	Computer Programming, Computer Engineering, etc.)		
	Brother 1						
	Brother 2						
	Brother 3						
	Sister 1						
	Sister 2						
	Sister 3						
G9.	If brothers/sisters work, please specify the position						
		Director	Vice Director	Senior Position	Mid Management	ADministrative Position	Secretary Position
	Brother 1						
	Brother 2						
	Brother 3						
	Sister 1						
	Sister 2						
	Sister 3						

G10.	Total level of income (in US dollars) For both parents and siblings	1) Less than 300 2) Between 300 and 600 3) Between 600 and 900 4) Between 900 and 1200 5) Between 1200 and 1500 6) Between 1500 and 2400 7) Between 2400 and 2600 8) Between 2600 and 4800 9) Between 4800 and 6000
G11.	What is the percentage of expenditure for each of these categories:	6) Education ____% 7) Health ____% 8) Leisure ____% 9) Consumption ____% 10) Savings ____% _____ <u>Total</u> 100%

END OF SURVEY - THANK YOU

Appendix 4.1.2

Questionnaire Etudiants

Le but de ce questionnaire est d'évaluer les préférences des étudiants concernant leurs choix éducatifs au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur. Il abordera les fonds éducatifs et socio-économiques de la famille ainsi que les choix éducatifs pris par les étudiants aux niveaux du secondaire et de l'enseignement supérieur et les implications sur le marché du travail.

Ce questionnaire est divisé en 7 parties, comme suit:

- A- Information Personnelle
- B- Information Géographique
- C- Composition de la Famille
- D- Information Académiques - Choix Académiques
- E- Choix au Niveau de l'Enseignement Supérieur
- F- Niveau Académique de la Famille
- G- Niveau Socio-économique de la Famille

Vous êtes priés de remplir les sections suivantes (A et B) en **encerclant** la réponse convenable:

A- Information Personnelle

A1.	Gendre	6) Femelle 1) Mâle
A2.	Age	7) 18-21 8) 22-25 9) 26-30 10) 31-35 11) Plus que 35
A3.	Lieu de Naissance	6) Beirut 7) Bekaa 8) Nord 9) Sud 10) Mont Liban
A4.	Religion:	4) Chrétien 5) Drouz 6) Musulman
A5.	Etat Civil:	5) Célibataire 6) Marié(e) 7) Divorcé(e) 8) Veuf/ve
A6.	Si Marié(e)/Divorcé(e) – Nombres d'enfants	

B- Information Géographique

B1.	Lieu de Résidence Actuel	6) Beirut 7) Bekaa 8) Nord 9) Sud 10) Mont Liban

C- Composition de la Famille

C1.	Nombre de Frères	
C2.	Nombre de Sœurs	
C3.	Nombre de Frères/Sœurs plus âgés?	
C4.	Nombre de Frères/Sœurs moins âgés?	

D- Informations Académiques – Choix Académiques

Vous êtes priés de répondre aux questions suivantes qui permettent de refléter sur vos choix académiques aux niveaux du secondaire et de l'enseignement supérieur.

Niveau Secondaire				
D1.	Education Secondaire	5) Système Public 6) Système Privé		
D2.	Voie Choisie	11) Etudes Générales 12) Sciences de la Vie 13) Littérature et Humanités 14) Sociologie et Economie 15) Autres		
			Oui	Non
D3.	Raisons de choix de cette voie (Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non)	7) Notes reçues n'ont pas permis le choix d'une autre voie		
		8) Notes reçues permettaient de choisir autre voie, mais j'ai choisi cette voie par préférence		
		9) Cette voie me permet de continuer mes études supérieures dans un domaine qui m'intéresse		
		10) Pas de préférences spécifique. Cette voie permet un large choix quant au niveau des programmes universitaires		
		11) Pression familiale		
		12) Conseil d'un professeur		
D4.	Avez-vous reçu aucune orientation quant au choix de la voie secondaire et son rapport avec votre choix universitaire et par la suite embauche sur le marché du travail ?			
D4.a	Si oui, de le part de qui ? (Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non)	6) Ecole		
		7) Portes Ouvertes		
		8) Parents		
		9) Frères/Sœurs plus âgés		
		10) Famille (cousins, oncles, etc.)		

Enseignement Supérieur/Niveau Universitaire

D5.	Nom de Votre Université	12) Université Libanaise 13) BAU 14) USJ 15) AUB 16) LIU 17) USEK 18) NDU 19) LAU 20) Autres Universités Libanaises 21) Autres Universités Etrangères (A l'extérieur) 22) Institutions d'Enseignement Supérieures Vocationnelles
D6.	Votre Faculté	
D7.	Moyenne sur 20	7) Supérieur à 18 8) Entre 16 et 17.9 9) Entre 14 et 15.9 10) Entre 12 et 13.9 11) Entre 10 et 11.9 12) Inférieur à 10
D8.	Avez-vous continué vos études supérieures directement après l'école ?	3) Oui 4) Non
	Si Oui,	
	<i>Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non</i>	Oui Non
D8.a	<i>Source d'Information</i> Comment avez-vous connu l'université et les programmes offerts ?	6) De l'université/brochures/etc. 7) Portes Ouvertes 8) Publicité sur Radio/TV 9) Parents/Famille/Frères/Soeurs 10) Amis
D8.b	Quels critères a eu plus d'effet sur votre choix ?	8) Coût financier (coût d'inscription, de crédit, bourse, etc.) 9) Standard académique/réputation/crédibilité 10) Critères d'admission facile 11) Double diplôme (accord avec une université étrangère) 12) Validité du diplôme et accréditation 13) Perspectives d'emploi/stage 14) Interaction sociale et activités extrascolaires
	Si Non,	
D8.c	Quelles sont les raisons ?	8) Pris une pause pour se détendre

	<i>Quels sont les aspects qui ont influencés votre choix de l'université ?</i>			
	<i>Aspects reliés aux caractéristiques spécifiques de l'université</i>			
E2.a	Système éducatif (Américain, Français, Egyptien ou Libanais) et par la suite la langue d'éducation	1	2	3
E2.b	Critères d'admission faciles; i.e. accès facile	1	2	3
E2.c	Critères d'admission sélectifs; i.e. concours d'entrée	1	2	3
E2.d	Pratiquement pas de frais de scolarité important	1	2	3
E2.e	Soutien financier (subventions, prêts, bourses d'études, etc.)/organisme externe fournissant un support financier	1	2	3
E2.f	Programme non offert par d'autres universités	1	2	3
E2.g	Horaire flexible permettant de travailler et d'étudier en même temps	1	2	3
E2.h	Bibliothèques/Ressources électroniques	1	2	3
	<i>Affiliation et Réputation</i>			
E2.i	Réputation, confiance publique, standard académique	1	2	3
E2.j	Université accréditée par une affiliation étrangère	1	2	3
E2.k	Affiliation importante avec d'autres université arabes et européennes (aux Etats-Unis, Canada, Europe)/Classement international de l'université	1	2	3
E2.l	Affiliations religieuse et politique de l'université	1	2	3
	<i>Relation avec le marché de travail</i>			
E2.m	Programmes offerts sont en corrélation avec le marché de travail et les besoins des entreprises	1	2	3
E2.n	Fourni des opportunités de stage et de travail	1	2	3
	<i>Aspects spécifiques aux étudiants et leurs intérêts</i>			
E2.o	Conseil d'étudiant actif/Représentation des étudiants	1	2	3
E2.p	Tradition familiale (parents ont pris leurs diplômes de cette université)	1	2	3
E2.q	Amis inscrits ou ont déjà terminé leurs études	1	2	3
E2.r	Proche du lieu de résidence	1	2	3
E2.s	Activités extrascolaires, vie sociale active et installations de loisirs (salle de sports, etc.)	1	2	3
E2.t	Par hasard	1	2	3

b) Choix du programme :

<i><u>Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non</u></i>			Oui	Non
E3.	Pourquoi avez-vous choisi ce programme/domaine d'étude ?	17) Intérêt personnel		
		18) Domaine polyvalent qui permet un accès facile au marché de travail		
		19) Par hasard/Je n'avais pas de préférences antérieures		
		20) Des amis inscrits au même programme m'ont encouragé		
		21) Conseil du professeur		
		22) Champs de travail de mes parents		
		23) Critères d'admission faciles/Pas de concours d'entrée		
		24) J'ai déjà une expérience professionnelle dans ce domaine		
E4.	Est-ce que ce choix est votre première préférence ?	3) Oui 4) Non		
Si Non,				
E4.a	Quelle était votre première préférence? <u>(Choisir une seule option)</u>	14) Littérature et Humanités 15) Droit et Sciences Politiques 16) Sciences 17) Gestion/Economies 18) Documentation/Journalisme/TV 19) Education 20) Ingénierie (civil, électrique, etc.) 21) Sciences Sociales 22) Architecture/Architecture d'Intérieur/Dessin/Peinture 23) Infirmerie/Sciences de Laboratoire 24) Agriculture 25) Medecine 26) Tourisme/Hotel Management		
<i><u>Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non</u></i>			Oui	Non

E4.b	Pourquoi vous n'avez pas choisi de s'inscrire dans le programme de votre première préférence ? (i.e. E4.a)	6) Conseil des parents		
		7) Conseil de l'université		
		8) Situation et saturation du marché du travail		
		9) Exigences académiques difficiles		
		10) J'ai déjà une expérience professionnelle dans un autre domaine		
E5.	Avez-vous été inscrit dans un autre programme que vous avez abandonné ?	3) Oui 4) Non		
	Si Oui,			
E5.a	Quand est-ce que avez-vous décidé de changer et de choisir votre programme actuel?	5) Directement 6) Après 1 an 7) Après 2 ans 8) J'ai terminé le premier programme et celui-ci est mon second diplôme		
<i>Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non</i>			Oui	Non
E5.b	Pourquoi avez-vous décidé de changer votre premier choix et de choisir le programme actuel?	7) Je n'ai pas aimé le premier choix		
		8) Pour des raisons financières (frais de scolarité, etc.)		
		9) Pour des raisons géographiques (université loin de mon lieu de résidence)		
		10) J'étais conseillé par mes parents/professeurs/familles suite aux besoins du marché de travail		
		11) Je n'étais pas conscient de mes préférences à la fin de mes études secondaires et j'ai préféré m'inscrire au hasard dans n'importe quel programme pour ne pas rester à la maison		
		12) J'ai échoué et par la suite décidé de changer ma spécialisation		

c) Choix Universitaires, Etudes et Emploi

E6.	Est-ce que vous travaillez et étudiez en même temps ?	3) Oui 4) Non																														
E6.a	Si Oui,	3) Travail à temps partiel 4) Travail à temps plein																														
E6.b	Dans quel domaine travaillez-vous? (Choisir une seule option)	5) Secteur primaire (agriculture, pêche, etc.) 6) Secteur secondaire (fabrication et construction) 7) Secteur tertiaire (services: comptabilité, marketing, banque et finance, hotel management/tourisme, etc.) 8) Secteur quaternaire (science intellectuel (scientifique, programmation, ingénierie, etc.)																														
E7.	Est-ce que votre choix de programme universitaire est relié à votre travail ?	3) Oui 4) Non																														
	Si Non,																															
<i>Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non</i>		<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Oui</th> <th>Non</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>E7.a</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>E8.</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Oui	Non	E7.a																					E8.					
	Oui	Non																														
E7.a																																
E8.																																
E7.a	Pourquoi l'avez-vous choisi?	7) J'ai envi de changer mon domaine de travail 8) J'ai échoué dans un programme que j'ai déjà choisi et qui était en relation avec mon domaine de travail 9) Je voulais seulement avoir un diplôme universitaire quel que soit le domaine de travail 10) Plan de sauvegarde (back up plan) pour un futur incertain 11) Demande de l'employeur afin de pouvoir accéder à une promotion, augmentation de salaire, etc. 12) Meilleures opportunités sur le marché de travail																														
E8.	Jusqu'à quel point vous êtes au courant des besoins du marché du travail ?	5) Très bien 6) Bien																														

		7) Acceptable		
		8) Pas très bien		

d) Réflexion sur les choix académiques antérieurs

Maintenant que vous êtes au point de terminer votre diplôme et vous avez commencé à chercher un emploi,

Choix du programme

E9.	Regrettez-vous votre choix du programme ?	3) Oui 4) Non	
E10.	Si Oui, indiquez la raison		
	<i><u>Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non</u></i>	Oui	Non
E10. a	6) Manque d'opportunités du travail		
	7) Faibles salaires		
	8) J'ai choisi le programme non pas par cause de préférence mais suite à la pression des parents		
	9) J'ai choisi le programme parce que j'ai une expérience professionnelle dans ce domaine		
	10) J'ai choisi ce programme parce que les frais de scolarité sont abordables		
E11.	Quel programme choisirez-vous maintenant (non pas par préférence personnelle mais en relation avec les opportunités de travail) ? <u>(Choisir une seule option)</u>	1) Littérature et Humanités 2) Droit et Sciences Politiques 3) Sciences 4) Gestion/Economies 5) Documentation/Journalisme/TV 6) Education	

		7) Ingénierie (civil, électrique, etc.) 8) Sciences Sociales 9) Architecture/Architecture d'Intérieur/Dessin/Peinture 10) Infirmier/Sciences de Laboratoire 11) Agriculture 12) Médecine 13) Tourisme/Hotel Management	
E11. a	Ce dernier choix est fait en référence à :		
<i>Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non</i>		Oui	Non
	6) Prise de conscience des besoins du marché du travail		
	7) Domaine de travail différent		
	8) Un autre diplôme permettant de remplir une condition d'emploi		
	9) Préférence antérieure pour ce domaine		
	10) Observation personnelle		

Choix de l'université

E12.	Regrettez-vous votre choix d'université ?	3) Oui 4) Non	
E12. a	Si Oui, indiquez la raison		
<i>Vous êtes priés d'indiquer à côté de chaque alternative oui ou non</i>		Oui	Non
	9) Pas très connu sur le marché de travail		
	10) Standard/niveau académique faible		
	11) Les programmes ne sont pas		

	adaptés au besoin du marché de travail		
	12) Pas de suivi des étudiants après l'obtention du diplôme		
	13) Pas d'orientation concernant le choix du programme		
	14) Pas du support financier		
	15) Coût divers élevés (inscription, parking, attestations, etc.)		
	16) Pas d'activités sociales/pas de campus		

Perspectives d'emploi (SEULEMENT pour les étudiants qui ont répondu à E6. « No »)

	Si vous êtes un étudiant au chômage, indiquez quelles pourraient-être les raisons qui retardent votre emploi ?			
E13.a	Réputation de l'université/Pas très reconnue	1	2	3
E13.b	Absence de connections personnelle	1	2	3
E13.c	Niveau académique (faible moyenne)	1	2	3
E13.d	Faibles salaires	1	2	3
E13.e	Les entreprises qui offrent des positions pertinentes au domaine son peu nombreuses ou absentes	1	2	3

Key: 1= Elevé

2= Moyen

3= Faible

F- Niveau Académique de la Famille

Vous êtes priés de choisir pour chacun des parents la réponse adéquate en indiquant le numéro de la réponse respective dans chaque colonne

Parents			Père	Mère
F1.	Est-ce que votre père/mère est éduqué(e)?	3) Oui		
		4) Non		
	Si Oui,			

F1.a.	Niveau d'éducation le plus élevé	7) Primaire		
		8) Complémentaire		
		9) Secondaire		
		10) License		
		11) Master		
		12) Doctorat		
F1.b.	Quel système?	3) Système publique		
		4) Système privé		
F1.c.	Si votre père ou mère a terminé ses études universitaires, indiquez s-v-p l'université? <u>(Choisir une seule université reliée à l'enseignement supérieur)</u>	12) Université Libanaise		
		13) BAU		
		14) USJ		
		15) AUB		
		16) LIU		
		17) USEK		
		18) NDU		
		19) LAU		
		20) Autres Universités Libanaises		
		21) Autres Universités Etrangères (A l'extérieur)		
		22) Institutions d'Enseignement Supérieures Vocationnelles		
F1.d.	Indiquez s-v-p le diplôme?	14) Littératures et Humanités		
		15) Droits et Sciences Politiques		
		16) Sciences		
		17) Gestions /Economies		
		18) Documentation/Journalisme/TV		
		19) Education		
		20) Ingénierie (civil, électrique, etc.)		
		21) Sciences Sociales		
		22) Architecture/Architecture d'Intérieur/Dessin/Peinture		
		23) Infirmerie/Sciences de Laboratoires		
		24) Agriculture		
		25) Médecine		

		26) Tourisme/Hotel Management		

Frères et Sœurs												
F2.	Combien de frères et/ou sœurs ont abandonné l'université ?											
										Oui	Non	
F2.a	Quelles sont les raisons ?	1)	Frais de scolarité élevés									
2)		Exigences académiques (niveau de passage, charge académique – examens, projets etc.)										
3)		Il/elle avait besoin de travailler/emploi de temps inflexible										
4)		Il/elle a échoué										
5)		Intérêt dans un nouveau programme non offert par l'université										
6)		Faible niveau académique de l'université										
7)		Pas d'activités sociales/sportives										
8)		Localisation géographique/loin de la maison										
9)		Opportunités de travail										
F3.	Combien de frères et/ou sœurs ont terminé un diplôme universitaire ?											
F3.a	Dans ce cas, de quelle université ?											
		UL	LAU	AUB	USJ	BAU	LIU	USEK	NDU	Autres Universités Libanaises	Autres Universités Etrangères	
	Frère 1											
	Frère 2											
	Frère 3											
	Sœur 1											
	Sœur 2											
	Sœur 3											

Légende: UL = Université Libanaise; LAU = Lebanese American University; AUB = American University of Beirut, USJ = University Saint Joseph; BAU = Beirut Arab University; LIU = Lebanese International University; USEK = University Saint Esprit-Kaslik; NDU = Notre Dame University; ...

F3.b	Quel programme/diplôme?												
		Littératures et Humanités	Droit	Gestion	TV	Education	Ingénierie	Sciences Sociales	Architecture	Santé Publique	Agriculture	Médecine	Hotel Management
	Frère 1												
	Frère 2												
	Frère 3												
	Sœur 1												
	Sœur 2												
	Sœur 3												
F3.c	Niveau complété?												
		License				Master				Doctorat			
	Frère 1												
	Frère 2												
	Frère 3												
	Sœur 1												
	Sœur 2												
	Sœur 3												

G- Niveau Socio-Economique de la Famille

Vous êtes priés de choisir pour chacun des parents la réponse adéquate en indiquant le numéro de la réponse respective dans chaque colonne

Parents			Père	Mère
G1.	Est-ce que votre père/mère travaille ?	3) Oui 4) Non		
Si Non,				
G2.a.	Depuis combien de temps il/elle est sans emploi ?	6) Entre deux travaux 7) Moins que 6 mois 8) Entre 6 mois et 1 an 9) Plus qu'un an 10) N'a jamais travaillé		
Si Oui,				
G3.a	Quelle est la nature de son travail?	3) Travail à temps plein 4) Travail à temps partiel		
G3.b	Quel est le type de son travail ?	3) Entrepreneur 4) Employé		
G3.b. 1	Si employé, quel est le niveau de son emploi ?	8) Directeur 9) Vice-directeur 10) Senior position 11) Mid Management 12) Position Administrative 13) Secrétaire 14) Travailleur		
G3.c.	Quel est son domaine de travail ?	5) Secteur primaire (agriculture, pêche, etc.) 6) Secteur secondaire (fabrication et construction) 7) Secteur tertiaire (services: comptabilité, marketing, banque et finance, hotel management/tourisme, etc.) 8) Secteur quaternaire (science intellectuel (scientifique, programmation, ingénierie, etc.)		

Frères et Sœurs		
G4.	Combien de frères et/ou sœurs travaillent ?	
G5.	Combien de frères et/ou soeurs	

	travaillent et poursuivent leurs études en même temps?						
G6.	Le cas échéant, combien d'entre eux travaillent à temps plein?						
G7.	Le cas échéant, combien d'entre eux travaillent à temps partiel?						
G8.	Si votre(s) frères/soeurs travaillent, indiquez s-v-p le secteur de travail						
		Secteur primaire (agriculture, pêche, etc.)	Secteur secondaire (fabrication et construction)	Secteur tertiaire (services: comptabilité, marketing, banque et finance, hotel management/touri sme, etc.)	Secteur quaternaire (science intellectuel (scientifique, programmation, ingénierie, etc.)		
	Frère 1						
	Frère 2						
	Frère 3						
	Sœur 1						
	Sœur 2						
	Sœur 3						
G9.	Si votre(s) frères/soeurs travaillent, indiquez s-v-p la position						
		Directeur	Vice Directeur	Senior Position	Mid Management	Position Administrative	Secrétaire
	Frère 1						
	Frère 2						
	Frère 3						
	Sœur 1						
	Sœur 2						
	Sœur 3						

G10.	<u>Montant total du revenu</u> (en Dollars Américain) Pour parents, frères et/ou sœurs	10) Moins de 300 11) Entre 300 et 600 12) Entre 600 et 900 13) Entre 900 et 1200 14) Entre 1200 et 1500 15) Entre 1500 et 2400 16) Entre 2400 et 2600 17) Entre 2600 et 4800 18) Entre 4800 et 6000
G11.	Quel est le pourcentage des dépenses pour chacune de ces catégories :	11) Education ____% 12) Santé ____% 13) Loisir ____% 14) Consommation ____% 15) Savings ____% <u>Total</u> 100%

FIN DE L'ENQUETE - MERCI

Appendix 4.2

Preliminary Graduates Survey

This questionnaire is designed to assess graduates insertion within the labor market. It will reflect on the following:

- Employment: frame of time after graduation
- Professional and academic specializations: degree of inter-relation.

The questionnaire is divided into five parts:

- A- Personal Information
- B- Geographical Information
- C- Academic Information / Academic Choices
- D- Higher Education Choices and Employment
- E- Family Socio-Economic Background

Please complete the following (A and B) by **circling** the relevant answer:

A- Personal Information

A1.	Gender	0) Female 1) Male
A2.	Age	1) 18-21 2) 22-25 3) 26-30 4) 31-35 5) More than 35
A3.	Place of Birth	1) Beirut 2) Bekaa 3) North 4) South 5) Mount Lebanon
A4.	Religion:	1) Christian 2) Drouz 3) Muslim
A5.	Marital Status:	1) Single 2) Married 3) Divorced 4) Widdow
A6.	If married/divorced – Number of dependent(s)	

B- Geographical Information

B1.	Current Place of Residency	1) Beirut 2) Bekaa 3) North 4) South 5) Mount Lebanon

C- Academic Information – Academic Choices

Please answer the following questions reflecting a retro perspective view with regards to your choices at secondary and higher education/university levels.

Higher Education/University Level		
C1.	Name of your <u>university</u>	1) Lebanese University 2) BAU 3) USJ 4) AUB 5) LIU 6) USEK 7) NDU 8) LAU 9) Other Lebanese Universities 10) Other Foreign Universities (Outside Lebanon) 11) Vocational Higher Education Institution
C2.	Diploma received	
C3.	Graduation date	

D- Higher Education Choices and Employment:

Please answer the following questions assessing your choice of higher studies (more than one option can be chosen as long as its effect is mentioned as per the following key):

Key: 1= Agree 2= Neutral 3= Disagree

a) Reason(s) for completing higher studies and Choice of Higher Education Institution

<i>Why have you chosen to complete your higher studies? (instead of choosing labor market)</i>				
D1.a	Because it allows better employment opportunities, managerial position and higher salaries	1	2	3
D1.b	It is the normal step after secondary education	1	2	3
D1.c	I have an ambition to continue further higher studies (Master/PhD)	1	2	3

D1.d	No specific reason, decision was taken by chance	1	2	3
D1.e	Parents' pressure/family business	1	2	3
D1.f	Self-fulfillment	1	2	3
D1.g	Social status	1	2	3
D1.h	Scientific curiosity	1	2	3
	<i>What are the aspects that guided your choice of the higher education institution?</i>			
	<i>Aspects related to specific characteristics of the university</i>			
D2.a	Educational system (American, French, Egyptian or Lebanese) and thus language of instruction	1	2	3
D2.b	Easy admission criteria; i.e. easy access	1	2	3
D2.c	Selective admission criteria; i.e. access on merit (entrance exam)	1	2	3
D2.d	Practically free tuition fees	1	2	3
D2.e	Financial support (grants, loans, scholarship, etc.)/external body providing financial support	1	2	3
D2.f	New field of studies not offered in other universities	1	2	3
D2.g	Flexible schedule allowing to work and study at the same time	1	2	3
D2.h	Electronic/library resources	1	2	3
	<i>Affiliation and Reputation</i>			
D2.i	Reputation, public confidence, accountability and academic standards	1	2	3
D2.j	Externally accredited university	1	2	3
D2.k	Important affiliations with other institutions in the Arab and Western World (USA, Canada, Europe)/International standing of the university	1	2	3
D2.l	Religious and political affiliation of the university	1	2	3
	<i>Extension to the labor market</i>			
D2.m	Offered programmes satisfying labor market/employers needs	1	2	3
D2.n	Provide internship/employment opportunities	1	2	3
	<i>Students' specific aspects and interests</i>			
D2.o	Active student council/student body/student representation	1	2	3
D2.p	Family tradition (parents' degree from the same university)	1	2	3
D2.q	Friends studying or already completed their degrees	1	2	3
D2.r	Close to home	1	2	3
D2.s	Extra curricula activities, Active social life and recreational facilities (gym, sports grounds, etc.)	1	2	3

D2.t	By chance	1	2	3

b) Choice of programme

<i>Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"</i>		Yes	No	
D3.	Why have you chosen this field of study?	1) Out of personal interest		
		2) Polyvalent field allowing easy access to the labor market		
		3) By chance/did not have any previous preferences		
		4) Encouraged by friends already enrolled in the programme		
		5) Tutor advice		
		6) Parents field of work		
		7) Easy admission criteria/no entrance test		
		8) Already have a professional experience in this field		
		9) One of my parent/brother/sister already works in this field		
D4.	Was this your first choice/preference?	1) Yes 2) No		
If no,				
D4.a	What was your first preference? (Choose One Option)	1) Literature and Humanities 2) Law and Political Studies 3) Sciences 4) Business Administration/Economics 5) Documentation/Journalism/TV 6) Education 7) Engineering (civil, electrical, etc.) 8) Social Sciences 9) Architecture/Interior Design/Painting 10) Infirmary/Laboratory sciences 11) Agriculture 12) Medical Sciences 13) Tourism/Hotel Management		
<i>Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"</i>		Yes	No	
D4.b	Why haven't you enrolled in the programme of your first choice/preference? (i.e. E4.a)	1) Parents advice		
		2) University advice		
		3) Labor market situation and saturation		
		4) Difficult academic requirements		
		5) I already have a professional experience in another field		

c) Higher Education Choices, Studies and Employment

D5.	Are you working?	1) Yes 2) No (if you answer no, please go directly to question E5.h)
D5.a	If Yes , are you working in a field relevant to your specialization?	1) Yes 2) No

D5.a.1	If Not working in a field relevant to your specialization , specify why	1) Did not find any job opportunities relevant to my field 2) Did find a job relevant to my field of study but salary is not satisfactory 3) Did not like to work in a field relevant to my studies 1) Other (specify) _____		
D5.b	If you are working, what is the nature of your work?	1) Part time job 2) Full time job		
D5.c	If you are working, what is the type of your work?	1) Self-Employed 2) Employee		
D5.c.1	If employee, what is the level of employment?	1) Senior Position 2) Mid Management 3) Administrative Position 4) Secretary Position 5) Other (specify) _____		
D5.d	How long did it take <u>after your graduation</u> to be employed?	2) Less than a month 3) 3 months 4) 6 months 5) One year 6) More than one year 7) I was already working while studying and stayed in my job after graduation		
D5.e	Do you consider changing your field of work?	1) Yes 2) No		
D5.e.1	If yes, why (specify the reason)			
D5.g	What would you choose now (<u>not out of preference but in relation to employment opportunities</u>)? (Choose One Option)	1) Literature and Humanities 2) Law and Political Studies 3) Sciences 4) Business Administration/Economics 5) Documentation/Journalism/TV 6) Education 7) Engineering (civil, electrical, etc.) 8) Social Sciences 9) Architecture/Interior Design/Painting 10) Infirmary/Laboratory sciences 11) Agriculture 12) Medical Sciences 13) Tourism/Hotel Management		
D5.g.1	Why?			
	<i>Please specify next to each alternative "yes" or "no"</i>	Yes	No	
D5.h	If you are not working , what do you think is the reason?	Reputation of the university/Not very well known or acknowledge		
		Absence of personal connections		
		Did not find a job relevant to my field of study		
		Low GPA		
		Unsatisfactory salaries/low salaries		

		Did not like to work in the field of my study		
		Absence/"Shy" presence of companies that offer positions related to my field of study		

E- Family Socio-Economic Background

Kindly choose for each parent the adequate answer by indicating the **number** of the respective answer within each column

Parents			Father	Mother
E1.	Does your father/mother work?	1) Yes		
		2) No		
	If no,			
E2.a.	How long has s/he been unemployed?	1) He is between jobs		
		2) Less than 6 months		
		3) Between 6 months and 1 year		
		4) More than a year		
		5) Never worked		
	If yes,			
E3.a	What is the nature of his/her work?	1) Full-time		
		2) Part time		
E3.b	What is the type of his/her work?	1) Self-employed		
		2) Employee		
E3.b.1	If employee, level of employment?	1) Director		
		2) Vice Director		
		3) Senior Position		
		4) Mid Management		
		5) Administrative Position		
		6) Secretary Position		
		7) Worker		
E3.c.	What is his/her field of work?	1) Primary Sector (agriculture, farming, fishing, etc.)		

		2) Secondary Sector (manufacturing and construction)		
		3) Tertiary Sector (services: accounting, marketing/sales, banking and finance, hotel management/tourism, etc.)		
		4) Quaternary Sector (intellectual science (scientist, computer engineering, etc.)		

Siblings (Brothers and Sisters)					
E4.	How many brothers /sisters work?				
E5.	If your brothers/sisters work, how many work as a full time worker?				
E6.	If your brothers/sisters work, how many work as a part time worker?				
E8.	If brothers/sisters work, please specify the sector of work				
		Primary sector (Agriculture, Farming, Fishing, etc.)	Secondary sector (Manufacturing and Construction)	Tertiary sector (Accounting, Banking and Finance, Hotel Management, Tourism, etc.)	Quaternary sector (Intellectual Science – Scientist, Computer Programming, Computer Engineering, etc.)

	Brother 1						
	Brother 2						
	Brother 3						
	Sister 1						
	Sister 2						
	Sister 3						
E9.	If brothers/sisters work, please specify the position						
		Director	Vice Director	Senior Position	Mid Management	Administrative Position	Secretary Position
	Brother 1						
	Brother 2						
	Brother 3						
	Sister 1						
	Sister 2						
	Sister 3						
E10.	Total level of income (in US dollars) For both parents and siblings	1) Less than 300 2) Between 300 and 600 3) Between 600 and 900 4) Between 900 and 1200 5) Between 1200 and 1500 6) Between 1500 and 2400 7) Between 2400 and 2600 8) Between 2600 and 4800 9) Between 4800 and 6000					

E11.	What is the percentage of expenditure for each of these categories:	1) Education ____% 2) Health ____% 3) Leisure ____% 4) Consumption ____% 5) Savings ____% <u>Total</u> 100%

END OF SURVEY - THANK YOU

Appendix 4.3

Ministry of Education and Higher Education Semi-Structured Interview (Questions and Answers)

The aim of the interview is to see how the Lebanese ministry of education and higher education (MEHE) set its strategy with regard to higher education system in Lebanon. How does it control the “market” and to which extent it is able to make sure of good practices and what are the main challenges facing the ministry with regard to the supply and demand within the market. The interview is addressed to the director general of higher education.

The interview was done with the Director General of Higher Education and it was done in two stages: Wednesday the 15th of February 2012 and Tuesday the 21st of February 2012.

I- General questions about the Lebanese higher education:

Q1. The Lebanese higher education has expanded massively over the past 10-12 years. 41 institutions compete currently within the Lebanese higher education system providing 135 specializations. How do you assess such structure and diversity taking into consideration the size of the Lebanese market and its academic, occupational and economic needs?

A1. It is a characteristic of the Lebanese context where competition and free choice are the main components. Unfortunately, there is no quality assurance process till now to control such diversified market. Nevertheless, the ministry and as to control the system has set two processes: licensing process and auditing process. As such, the file of each HEI is assessed by the technical committee in terms of eligibility of the curriculum, lab, programmes, etc. as stated by the higher education act. If the HEI abides by all guidelines, then the next phase is implemented where the HEI must prove its ability to put into practice correctly all requirements set. As for the programme recognition, it is done after three years of the beginning of the programme allowing the ministry to assess its outcome and legitimacy and a site visit is done at a later stage to verify that all is set in order especially as regards physical resources.

Q2. Since 1993, the “market” has been administrated by the ministry of education and higher education, how can you translate the effects of such administration especially after a period of

chaos where a lot of universities opened before even being licensed and given the political context that cannot be extracted from the equation of Lebanese educational policies?

A2. The establishment and administration of the Lebanese higher education system by the ministry of education and higher education is seen as a positive step although too much still need to be done.

Before being named “Ministry of Education and Higher Education”, and upon its establishment in 1993, the ministry was called the “Ministry of Culture and Higher Education”. Such important step in terms of administration of the higher education system has been complemented by the establishment of the “Directory General of Higher Education” in 2002. Before that date; i.e. 2002, the higher education system was only administrated by commissions. There was no clear structure as to reporting and follow up and all activities were coordinated by the technical committee. After 2002, a restructuring of the efforts done by several commissions have been completed allowing to have an organizational structuring between different committees and commissions. Furthermore, after 2002, all activities were and are still coordinated by the director general of higher education.

As such, the establishment of the “Directorate General of Higher Education” has allowed to set minimum requirements and succeeded to abolish cross border education and limit non-licensed education/HEIs. It has not only set a structure but worked as well towards transparency by setting a website informing students about all licensed universities.

Q3. If to compare with the past, where does the Lebanese higher education “market” stands now? (Better or worse situation)? What aspects have been improved and what aspects still call for an immediate action?

A3. Definitely the situation is better now. It is more transparent. The website allowed the ministry to communicate with the public and inform them about all the activities done and most importantly to share information that can be out of assistance as to their higher educational choices. The establishment of the “Directorate Generale” has allowed to regulate the market where in 2004, one institution has been closed because it did not abide by the regulations set.

Furthermore, and reference the degree of development of the system, an audit job for all HEIs branches has been done as to check their eligibility and conformity with the regulations. A list of non conformity has been set and concerned HEIs have been informed about the adjustments that

need to be done. Moreover, any institution that does not abide by the norms set, will be reported to the council of higher education that is responsible of implementing the appropriate action.

II- Educational policies set by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education:

Q1. How often does the ministry revisit its policies? And what aspects/problems make you change or amend such strategies?

A1. The policies set need continuous evaluation given the development of the system and diversity of supplier (HEIs and branches).

Given such diversity, and to ensure quality education, the ministry is working towards a double goal:

- Establish a Lebanese Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) that is independent and transparent to evaluate HEIs.
- Set quality assurance mechanism in HEIs.

To establishment of the Lebanese QAA takes into consideration three axes:

- The Restructuring of the development of the directorate Generale of Higher Education to ensure better reporting and follow up
- Quality Assurance mechanisms, students, relationship with stakeholders
- New By Laws for higher education that takes into consideration the evolution and development of the higher education system as well as the right of students to learn.

In addition, the ministry is working towards setting processes for periodical re-evaluation of HEIs. The sum of these new regulations and actions falls under the aim of creating a national quality assurance system where three laws have been proposed to the parliament.

Q2. What are the most challenging aspects when it comes to setting educational policies related to the demand and supply?

A2. The diversity of the system and diversity of practices. Nevertheless, all HEIs have to abide by regulations and policy set by the MEHE and the ministry is setting standards as to follow up on those who do not abide by regulations.

Q3. How much do the following affect educational policies set by the Lebanese MEHE?

- a. Country context (location, geography, location, culture, etc.)

No direct policy is set as to consider the country context.

b. Political context

A more stability is needed at the political level as to allow better control and management of the system.

c. Economic context / labor market context

The set laws do not take into consideration any aspect related to the labor market. Nevertheless, there is an aim to present a new law for higher education that will take into consideration labor market needs.

d. Education context

The situation of the Lebanese higher education system is in contradiction with the educational context. We have too many institutions. The supply exceeds the demand

Q4. The 1961 law set in 26 December 1961 has regulated the higher education system and set clear boundaries that helped to maintain a certain level of order, structure and coherence and protect the system from subjective judgment. Yet, we cannot overlook the presence of some “overrides”:

- a. The 1961 law (close 10) has advanced conditions to be respected if to open a private HEI (documents required, building and equipment conditions, etc.), and one of the missions of the technical committee is to make sure that HEIs abide by these conditions. Yet, a number of operating HEIs do not respect all the requirements and still they are part of the market. The following is to be questioned:

a.1. Do the technical committee advise before providing a new HEI with the license? (campus visit, etc.)

A4.a.1. That was the main aim of the latest audit job done to insure that all HEIs and specifically branches are abiding by the rules set.

On the other hand, the ministry via the technical committee does not directly accept all programmes/all HEIs. The technical committee does not give the “license” to any institution if it does not meet the requirements. In order to overcome any override that was done during the years of chaos, a new proposal of law is being set where the aim is to have a re-evaluation of the institution after three years of its establishment. Such practice permits the ministry to follow up on HEIs and make sure that all requirements are met. The latter is to be complemented by an external evaluation of the institution and programmes.

a.2. How many demands for opening new HEI has been declined by the ministry? – (objective of the question: to assess the quality of supply and how is it regulated by the government)

A4.a.2. Out of 37 private higher education institutions, three are not yet operating because they did not fulfill all requirements.

a.3. To which extend politics/other influences affect decision taken as to provide license for a new private HEI? (Objective of the question: to determine aspects affecting higher education supply decision)

A4.a.3. Before the 1996 and specifically the 1996 decree, political arrangement had an important weight. Laws were very broad and general. Furthermore, and due to the absence of clear regulations and to an institutional body to regulate the market, the higher education system was in the hand of the private sector implicating by itself a certain level of political power. Nevertheless, after the 1996 decree that regulated the market and set criteria for the establishment of HEIs, the weight of political arrangement is minor.

a.4. The 1961 law (close 16) has advanced as well that any HEI that assumes its activity before being granted the official agreement of the government/MEHE, will be “shut down” in a decree reference the suggestion of the minister of higher education and the license will be canceled.

A4.a.4. In order to establish a HEI or a geographical branch for a university, a license is needed; more specifically the decision should be done reference a decree. Before 1996, and due to the absence of regulatory texts and given political arraignments, many universities were established and many have opened geographical branches without an official decree given the political instability and unclear regulations. So, how can the ministry close with a decree a branch that was not established by one?

Q5. Dr. Elie Assaf in his intervention during the workshop on “Structuring Higher Education” in 2004 highlighted the absence of clear texts that specify the responsibilities, authority and jurisdiction of private higher education institutions and the absence of faculty members’ decision which reflect badly on the quality of education. Taking such statement as a starting point,

- a. What are the practices adopted by the ministry to monitor and control the private HEIs and quality of programmes provided (MEHE evaluation) knowing that, and most of the times, what is presented by universities in terms of curriculum details, learning outcome, By Laws that regulate the administrative and academic procedures (academic council, board of trustees, internal structure, etc.) are just formalities?

A5. The 1996 decree has clearly set the obligations for each HEI as regards the administrative structure. Each university needs to have a high commission, a board of trustees, administrative and academic councils in addition to comprehensible systems allowing clear and fair decision process and follow up. Nevertheless, the problems is not in the by law but in the implementation and practice done by universities, and specifically private ones. Our experience shows that universities tend in general to circumvent by laws set whereas they need to abide by the standards related to the private higher education sector. In order to minimize such erroneous practice, the ministry is working towards setting a new by law that set and clarify the control mechanisms. The ministry is aware that there are certain “missings” in terms of evaluation mechanisms (required legislations are missing), yet, it is trying to be active and set what is needed as to allow a better regulation of the system. The aim is still as always towards independence but with more surveillance, more accountability through the new by law and the establishment of the independent quality assurance agency. The latter will permit to clarify the internal and external audit process to be implemented by the regulatory bodies.

Competition within the market:

Q1. The market for higher education is changing and knowing a shift replicating a change from elite to mass higher education. The Lebanese HEIs ranges from high quality to poor quality providers. The latter gives the impression of a “market” for higher education rather than “quasi-market” given the aspect of commercialization. These providers tend in general to implement “twisted” practices when it comes to recruiting students which reflects badly on the system in general. Such practice is promoted by the willingness of the students to receive a higher education degree regardless of its quality:

- a. How does the ministry deal with such providers?

A1.a. The ministry has tried to regulate the market via the decrees, by laws and evaluation processes. Given the development of the system, the ministry is updating its modality by setting

new by laws and new evaluation processes that permit the follow up of all universities (as stated before: the QAA, the periodical evaluation process, new higher education by law, auditing of universities and branches, etc.)

b. What strategy does it implement?

A1.b. The ministry encourages the diversity of supply as long as it is within the guidelines set.

Q2. Privatization has its positive effect such as responding to the increased demand for higher education, yet some negative consequences emerge, where is the Lebanese private sector from these negative consequences such as:

- Inequality between affluent and economically weaker students
- Geographical inequality between rural and urban areas
- Imbalance between various disciplines
- Imbalance in manpower production creating mismatch between supply and demand.

And what policies do the MEHE implement and/or intend to implement to face these consequences?

A2. The MEHE cannot interfere in the tuition fees set by the private sector reference the independence principle. On the other hand, there is no need to set policies as to allow access to disadvantaged students (socio-economic disadvantage students, students in rural areas, etc.) given that the role of the LU is to answer to the demand of those students. As such, the LU has branches in most of the Lebanese regions with insignificant tuition fees allowing access to students from all social classes. Furthermore, the strategy of the LU is to expand and build several campuses as to reach all students in different geographical regions. Nevertheless, the problem of the LU is that it is affected to a large extent by political pressure.

Q3. The private sector has known a massive expansion, where does the public sector stand (the Lebanese University) and how do you assess its importance? (Has the public sector become less important in terms of higher education provision and responding to the increasing demand given the expansion of the private sector).

A3. The LU maintained its status over the years. The difference between private and public is that in the latter the academic distinction is essential.

Q4. The Lebanese higher education market is characterized by an important number of private higher education institutions competing with the single public university, the Lebanese University, how do you assess such competition?

A4. First of all, I see it more as a “complementarity” and not “competition” given that the private universities recruit students that the LU does not recruit (or cannot recruit).

Q5. What are the pros and cons of such competition?

A5. Two problematic are to be mentioned:

- Lack of branches of the LU: private universities allow to reach students in region where the LU does not have branches.
- Low rate of success at the LU due to its high academic standards

Furthermore, and as regards the private sector, the advantage can be summarized as mentioned previously by the ability to recruit important number of students and reach students in remote areas. Nevertheless, the most flagrant negative aspect is related to the absence of quality assurance legal boundaries.

Q6. What role does the ministry play in regulating/administrating such competition in terms of offered programmes and recruitment of students?

A6. The ministry does not interfere as it is a play of free market.

Financial Perspective – Education expenditure:

2. What is the public expenditure on education from the GDP? And how did it change throughout the years?
3. How much does the public education form from the total budget? How did such percentage shifted over the years and what where the main triggers of such change?

Higher education and labor market:

Q1. What role does the MEHE play with regard to the link between higher education market and labor market?

A1. Till now the MEHE does not have an integrated study about the labor market needs. Nor there is clear statistics about the needs of the national and regional (given emigration of Lebanese

labor force to regional markets) labor markets. There is a plan to have a “unit for direction and guidance” allowing to guide (and not dictate) the higher educational choices of students.

Q2. Some countries (in East Asia, Asia, Southern Pacific) have opted to reduce the number of students enrolled in certain programme given the saturation of the labor market, will the ministry in Lebanon consider a similar policy that could allow to reduce the unemployment rate and thus guide students towards new programmes not yet saturated?

A2. Given the liberal characteristic of the Lebanese context, the MEHE cannot set a “mandatory guidance policy”. A “free guidance policy” allowing students to be aware of the needs without dictating their choices is the policy implemented by the ministry.

Appendix 4.4.1

Higher Education Institutions Semi-Structured Interview

(Questions and Answers)

Name of the institution (optional): Lebanese American University/Academic Provost Dr. Abdullah Sfeir

Year of Establishment:

Thank you in advance for answering this questionnaire that will be part of a study done to assess the Lebanese higher education market.

These sets of questions will allow us to tackle aspects related to the general strategies adopted by the institution in terms of offered programmes, general student recruitment strategies as well as strategies adopted to face competition.

Question	Answer	Note/Remark
Admission		
What determine your choice between a flexible or a selective admission criteria?	The LAU adopts a selective admission criteria based on students' high school grade, academic performance and SAT exam score. To ensure quality, which is a primordial rule set by the accreditation body, LAU is as well selective as regards qualifiers schools. The rank of the school for students who want to be admitted at LAU is very important as it determines somehow the quality of student as well.	LAU is a private university adopting an American system. It is accredited and the responsible to the accrediting body as regards academic success of students. As such, students admitted have to graduate. In other words, we have to work on having a low rate of failure. If we opt for a more flexible admission criteria (i.e. if we go for lack of selection), this will lead to an increase in the failure rate. For that reason, admission is very well

	Definitely, the selectivity process and admission criteria differ from one faculty to another depending on the academic demanding level. For instance, medicine and engineering schools are more demanding than other schools in terms of admission criteria.	monitored as to make sure that failure rate is not very high.
What aspects are taken into consideration once setting a recruitment strategy? i.e. Do you focus more on students' academic background, or other aspects are as well considered such as the social standards, religious beliefs, political associations, etc.	Students' academic background is without any doubt the most essential component of our recruitment strategy. Other aspects do not really play a major role in recruiting students noting that students who want to go to LAU have to have the financial means. It is worth mentioning that LAU in collaboration with USEP grant, has "externally funded programmes" that allow to recruit the top 2 students from public schools from each casa with a full scholarship given that	

	these students do not have the financial means to go to LAU.	
Do you think that more flexible admission criteria might jeopardize the quality of students recruited because there is no filter of selection has been determined from the beginning of the process compared to a more selective admission process?	For LAU, and as stated before, a flexible admission criterion will increase the failure rate, a rate that LAU seeks to minimize especially after accreditation.	
How often are admission criteria revisited? What aspects induce such review and what do they take into consideration the most?	Admission criteria vary from one faculty to another depending on the requirements of each faculty. Our admission criteria are higher currently as to ensure the best quality and thus minimize the failure rate.	
Equity and equality of access		
Many factors interfere in the choice of a student for a higher education institution. To which extent equity and equality of opportunities are encouraged (gender parity, religious ideologies, social equality, etc.)	At LAU, our mission statement is to encourage gender parity and the latter is one of our major aims. We do our best to have a balance between men and women recruitment. This does mean that recruit women more than men but	

	in order to achieve such a goal we offer programmes that attract women. At LAU, we have currently a division of 51%vs. 49% for the benefit of men and we are working towards having a 50%-50% division. Unfortunately, in Lebanon, most of the Lebanese families send their girls for public universities. Our objective is to reverse such trend and encourage women. As for religious ideologies and social equality, LAU encourage the recruitment of students from different social and religious backgrounds.	
Recruitment of students		
The Lebanese University is very well known for its high academic standards especially for faculties/programmes requiring a selective entrance test. To which extent to you rely on the recruitment of students turned out by the Lebanese University? And where does this put you as	Few students rejected by the LU come to LAU because of financial reasons. The LU and LAU are two different universities. Students who target the LAU do that from the beginning since they are targeting an	

an institution in terms of quality of recruited students?	American system. Those who choose the LU as a first choice rarely go to universities such as LAU given high tuition fees compared to the LU. These students are very well aware that LAU compete financially with AUB that has as well high tuition fees.	
What strategy is adopted as to attract students: - Competitive tuition fees - Scholarships/financial aids - Other (specify)	Definitely all these aspects are considered as attraction tools. For LAU, attraction tools can be ranked as follow: 1- Financial aid 2- Accredited programmes that allow students to be more open to national and international labor markets especially that the main competitor of LAU which is AUB has now as well accredited programmes. 3- Student's - centre	

	approach: no large classes which allow more attention to be given to students 4- Building liberal art skills: LAU aims not only to academically educate students but to provide them as well with professional and personal skills allowing them to face the labor market (critical thinking, ability to adapt, creativity, etc.) 5- Reputation	
What have you noticed in terms of changes in the cohorts of students' recruited: 1- Gender division (increase in females' recruitment?) 2- Academic background (better or worse quality of students) 3- Social background 4- Recruitment per programme	As regards gender division and as stated previously, it is currently 51% vs. 49% for the sake of men and we are trying to have an equal rate. As for the academic standards, we are now requiring better standards. This does not mean that	

(any alteration in terms of chosen programmes) 5- Working students (rate increased?) 6- Other (specify)	students' quality has decreased, but we aim to make sure that students who are recruit will be able to finish their studies successfully. More applicants but selection criteria are increasing. As for the social background, we do not have a discriminatory policy but definitely students who want to go to LAU need to have the financial means noting that we provide financial aids. As for the recruiting per programme, we have noticed an important increase in civil engineering after knowing a decrease for the past 5 years. Such increase is very well understood given the need within the labor market. An increase in architecture, biology (because of the medical school that we have), pharmacy (which is the only accredited pharmacy	

	programme in Lebanon if not in the region) has been as well noticed. We have noticed a slight decrease in the business programme at the graduate level; a decrease that has been noticed at all universities. Such decrease is seen as normal, slight re-balancing after the boom that occurred the past few years. As for working students, the rate is decreasing especially after the financial restructuring that we have done. Nevertheless, most of the programmes if not all of them have a one active component learning that consists of training or any other interaction with the labor market allowing the students to have some professional background.	
Tuition fees are they considered as an expelling or attraction tool (reference other competing	It is definitely an expelling tool but the financial aid is creating a re-balance.	

universities)		
Programmes offerings		
What guide most your choice of offered programmes: 1- Labor market needs 2- Students' demand 3- Competition 4- Other (specify)	All these aspects from labor market needs, to students' demand to competition guide our choice. Yet, and as regards the labor market, unfortunately we do not have till now good work market data. Nevertheless, one of LAU strategic plan is to listen to the employer and its needs. Every programme/faculty at LAU has an advisory board that consists of professionals in the field. This board aims to assist us in assessing the market but definitely cannot provide solid data, but is considered as an indicator. On another side, and given LAU interest in encouraging gender parity, LAU aims to offer programmes that provide opportunities for women such as: nutrition, nursing,	

	fashion design, translation. We are hoping that these programmes will attract women more and help us achieve our target of 50-50 division between men and women recruitment.	
When it comes to offering new programme, to which extent the ministry of higher education is cooperative?	The ministry of higher education is very cooperative in this regard as long as the university fulfills all aspects required by the technical committee. I am a member of the technical committee, and I can assure that any established university that have a license from the ministry can apply for a new programme as long as it respects all the requirements. As such, offering a new programme by any established university consists of two steps: - Receive a license of a programme from the ministry. - Programme authorized to be	

	launched.	
Students' Choices		
How do you explain the choice of students for certain programmes (such as business administration) and not the others	The choice of students for current programmes and not the other is related to the labor market needs and "boon" in certain sectors as I see it. Students' demand for instance has increased for civil engineering, architecture, etc. giving the increasing need.	
Do you play any role in guiding the choice of students? And what do you take into consideration (labor market needs, students wish, etc.)	Of course. We have a guiding office. Students are in general guided towards a different major than that of their first choice after their first year where the main courses are in general language courses and liberal art skills. It is worth mentioning in this regard, that LAU aims not only to prepare students to be immediately employed but it aims to prepare students to be successful in life. As such, we consider that having a passion from one programme and not the	

	other is the key for the students' success academically, professionally and personally.	
Competition		
How do you categorize the competition within the Lebanese higher education market?	The main competition is with top universities. The main competitor is the AUB. On the other hand, and from a regional perspective, the main competitors of LAU – Byblos campus²³⁰ are NDU, and Balamand University given that they target students from the same geographical area. As for the excess of supply within the Lebanese higher education market, Dr. Sfeir sees that some universities are more equal than others. He is not sure that the market will regulate such excess given that not all 41 universities care. As for LAU case, one of its strategic issues is “public	

²³⁰ LAU has two campuses: one in Beirut Area and the other in Byblos.

	disclosure”, i.e. delivering to students what they have promise; an objective that according to Dr. Sfeir, not all universities follow which puts students at a “danger” of being cheated out of their money.	
What are the main factors guiding such competition: 1- Tuition fees 2- Offered programmes 3- Easy access and progression	Tuition fees are the main factor guiding such competition. As for students who do not have the financial ability to go to top rank universities, Dr. Sfeir stresses the presence of the LU that aims to target academically eligible students with low financial means. Dr. Sfeir regrets the lack of planning at the higher education level where many careers require less investment in education. On the other hand, he sees that students adopt a “bad approach” from education where they look at a degree that gives enough prestige and not at education. But in all cases,	

	the labor market is the main filter, where from the huge over flow of engineers, doctors, etc. in Lebanon only the top are making it within the labor market.	
What are the effect of such competition on your strategies such as admission criteria, offered programmes, tuition fees, etc.	Definitely, it has certain implications and the main ones were on our tuition fees structure. We aim to be honest and clear with our students that is a part of our “public disclosure” policy. We have recently changed the structure of tuition fees in order to allow students to know how much a year for instance will cost them; information that students could not have previously given that our strategy was based on cost of credit and not total cost. It should be noted that any change in the tuition fees is based on a careful assessment of the operating budget. From this perspective, it is worth mentioning that	

	LAU is a private non – for profit institution. The money collected via the tuition fees is to improve faculties and facilities. Given our accredited body requirements, our emphasis is on the social message (gender parity for instance) and we do not play a social role that is one essential role of the LU.	
Do you consider that such competition is an asset for quality preservation or do you find that the expansion of the private higher education supply in Lebanon has lead to a decrease in the quality?	It is not the competition in general that is pushing us to be better. It is specifically the competition between top universities that is pushing us to be better. Furthermore, and given our American affiliation, accreditation that provides our students with an international recognition, our aim as regards competition is that of foreign universities.	
What aspect puts the most weight on your competition either with the Lebanese	We share somehow more or less the same aspect. And as stated before, our	

University or private universities? 1- Tuition fees 2- Admission criteria 3- Targeted students 4- Offered programmes 5- Other (specify)	main competitors are those with the same standards.	
Given intense competition, how do you market for your strategy as to recruit students? In other words, what are the key attraction elements?	Students who join LAU target universities that follow an American system from the beginning. The key attraction elements are definitely the new accreditation received that has allowed for an international recognition of the student diploma as well as the variety of accredited programmes and our honesty and clarity with students. What they see and hear, they receive (public disclosure policy).	
Graduates follow up		
Do you have any strategy to follow up on your graduates' employment?	Yes, of course. The ALUMNI office keeps contact with students via students' chapters by faculty that are considered as the best indicator about	

	how they are doing. In addition to exit interviews that allow us to assess our graduates experience. Furthermore, ABET and ACPE professional accreditation body require to be in contact with students. As such, for some programmes there is a continuous follow up more than the others.	
If yes, do you have any statistics how long does it your graduates to be employed?	We have indicators and not statistics via our institutional research office. Indicators allow us to have a general idea about our graduates status but do not provide an accurate information as regards employment period. But I can assure you from previous follow up with students that no engineer or pharmacist did not have a job after one month of his graduation. It might not be up to their aspirations, but they are employed and the reputation of the	

	university plays an important role in this regard.	
Are they employed within their field of study or not?	Yes, in general they are.	
Where they mostly find working opportunities (at the national market or regional/international one).	As stated before no specific statistics on this, but from the indicators that we have I can say that it depends on the programme. Pharmacists find in general job opportunities in Lebanon and North America given the need especially in the latter. As for engineers, the need is more regional. As for business graduates, the need is local but after few years of the graduation date, it becomes regional. From this perspective, I do not consider students who go out of Lebanon as brain drain given that they help to develop the labor market.	
To which extent the university (and its reputation) plays a role in the employment of graduates?	Definitely, it plays an important role. Furthermore, employment officers; an initiative that	

	was launched 3 years ago, invitation to employers as well as lectures to students allow to enhance students' opportunities to be employed.	

Appendix 4.4.2

Higher Education Institutions Semi-Structured Interview

(Questions and Answers)

Name of the institution (optional): Arab Open University/Assistant Director for Academic Affairs and English Department Programme Coordinator – Dr. Hayat Al Khatib

Year of Establishment:

Thank you in advance for answering this questionnaire that will be part of a study done to assess the Lebanese higher education market.

These sets of questions will allow us to tackle aspects related to the general strategies adopted by the institution in terms of offered programmes, general student recruitment strategies as well as strategies adopted to face competition.

Question	Answer	Note/Remark
Admission		
What determine your choice between a flexible or a selective admission criteria?	The quality of students that we want to attract determines such a choice. Furthermore, our aim is to provide equal opportunity to all through an open system. The only criterion is the baccalaureate required by the ministry in addition to an entry test that does not ban students' recruitment.	
What aspects are taken into consideration once setting a recruitment strategy? i.e. Do you focus more on students' academic background, or other aspects are	Being open guides our criteria.	

as well considered such as the social standards, religious beliefs, political associations, etc.		
Do you think that more flexible admission criteria might jeopardize the quality of students recruited because there is no filter of selection has been determined from the beginning of the process compared to a more selective admission process?	No – Quality is built as students move through curriculum levels. It is not pre-set from school education.	
How often are admission criteria revisited? What aspects induce such review and what do they take into consideration the most?	Admission criteria will be revisited depending on threshold levels in recruitment and taking into consideration our mission statement that prescribes open access (this is not changing).	
Equity and equality of access		
Many factors interfere in the choice of a student for a higher education institution. To which extent equity and equality of opportunities are encouraged (gender parity, religious ideologies, social equality, etc.)	No restrictions are set. Our strategy is based on open access and admission restricted only by the government requirement of Baccalaureate.	
Recruitment of students		
The Lebanese University is very well known for its high academic	It is a factor and it does not affect the quality as the	

standards especially for faculties/programmes requiring a selective entrance test. To which extent to you rely on the recruitment of students turned out by the Lebanese University? And where does this put you as an institution in terms of quality of recruited students?	criteria for recruitment at the Lebanese University is not based in all faculties on selective criteria and follows political pressure. Most of the private universities see their role as complementing the Lebanese University that has limited capacity and is the main attraction because it is free.	
What strategy is adopted as to attract students: - Competitive tuition fees - Scholarships/financial aids - Other (specify)	In addition to competitive tuition fees and facilities in payment, the dual degree – UK programme is the main attraction strategy.	
What have you noticed in terms of changes in the cohorts of students' recruited: 7- Gender division (increase in females' recruitment?) 8- Academic background (better or worse quality of students) 9- Social background 10- Recruitment per programme (any alteration in terms of chosen programmes) 11- Working students (rate	Nothing much. The number of male is still higher than the number of females for business and computer science programmes whereas we notice a totally opposite trend for education and language programmes. As for the social background, we target students from "modest" social class and nothing has	

increased?) 12- Other (specify)	changed in this respect. Percentage of working students is very high given the need for our students to work and pay their tuition fees.	
Tuition fees are they considered as an expelling or attraction tool (reference other competing universities)	In our case, it is an attraction tool given that they are not very high and that we provide payment facilities.	
Programmes offerings		
What guide most your choice of offered programmes: 5- Labor market needs 6- Students' demand 7- Competition 8- Other (specify)	Resources and demand in addition to revalidated plans.	
When it comes to offering new programme, to which extent the ministry of higher education is cooperative?	The ministry has always been very cooperative.	
Students' Choices		
How do you explain the choice of students for certain programmes (such as business administration) and not the others	Mainly it is related to personal interest in future career, financial rewards and for some students it's a choice based on current employment status where they need to empower their professional position	

	with a university degree. We notice that there is a gender division between programmes (IT: males, English: females and business both).	
Do you play any role in guiding the choice of students? And what do you take into consideration (labor market needs, students wish, etc.)	The university has a general advising strategy as to guide and clarify the choices to students when it comes to programme to enroll in. Nevertheless, it does not dictate the choice. Students come in general ready with a choice.	
Competition		
How do you categorize the competition within the Lebanese higher education market?	Well it is diversified. Some universities are there to promote standards, others to provide a variety of programmes and solutions for all obstacles.	
What are the main factors guiding such competition: 4- Tuition fees 5- Offered programmes 6- Easy access and progression	I think that tuition fees and offered programmes come at the first place followed by easy access and progression. Students search nowadays for affordable higher education. That is why for providers of a variety of	

	programme, tuition fees (in addition to programmes offered) are the most attracting factors.	
What are the effect of such competition on your strategies such as admission criteria, offered programmes, tuition fees, etc.	We try to provide additional financial support.	
Do you consider that such competition is an asset for quality preservation or do you find that the expansion of the private higher education supply in Lebanon has lead to a decrease in the quality?	The competition is not leading to better preservation of quality as the education sector is competing for limited clientele.	
What aspect puts the most weight on your competition either with the Lebanese University or private universities? 6- Tuition fees 7- Admission criteria 8- Targeted students 9- Offered programmes 10- Other (specify)	We are adopting a position whereby we aspire to be like prominent AUB/Lebanese University in standard. However, we are not targeting AUB potential students because they belong to a wealthier social background, so we do not compete with AUB. At the same time, we know that the Lebanese University offers better financial attraction but its capacity is limited so we	

	aim to offer an alternative to its students.	
Given intense competition, how do you market for your strategy as to recruit students? In other words, what are the key attraction elements?	The dual degree that we offer (UK programme reference the partnership with the Open University in Britain) is the main attraction element. It is worth mentioning, that the duration of our programmes is 4 years compared to 3 years in other universities which is not an attraction tool. That is why we are working on reducing the duration as to be like other competing universities.	
Graduates follow up		
Do you have any strategy to follow up on your graduates' employment?	We have recently put in place an Alumni office that follows up on our graduates and make sure to communicate with them any	
If yes, do you have any statistics how long does it your graduates to be employed?		
Are they employed within their field of study or not?		
Where they mostly find working		

opportunities (at the national market or regional/international one).		
To which extent the university (and its reputation) plays a role in the employment of graduates?		

Appendix 4.4.3

Higher Education Institutions Semi-Structured Interview

(Questions and Answers)

Name of the institution (optional): Antonine University (UPA)/ Business Faculty Dean and Board

Director – Dr. Georges Nehme

Year of Establishment:

Thank you in advance for answering this questionnaire that will be part of a study done to assess the Lebanese higher education market.

These sets of questions will allow us to tackle aspects related to the general strategies adopted by the institution in terms of offered programmes, general student recruitment strategies as well as strategies adopted to face competition.

Question	Answer	Note/Remark
Admission		
What determine your choice between a flexible or a selective admission criteria?	We are mainly following the Bologna process that dictates the need to give access to education to all students. As such, we are adopting a flexible admission criteria based only on a language test.	
What aspects are mostly taken into consideration in your recruitment strategy (students' academic background, social standards, religious beliefs, political associations, etc.)	The student needs to pass the Lebanese Baccalaureate as to submit his/her file at the UPA. S/he needs to pass a language test only determining the linguistic aptitude of the system and replicating the flexibility of recruitment.	

	No political or religious beliefs are taken into consideration. An important number of Muslims students is recruited although we are a university with Christian affiliation	
Do you think that more flexible admission criteria might jeopardize the quality of students recruited given that no filter is set from the beginning of the process compared to a more selective admission process?	The flexible/non selective criterion does not affect the quality given that recruited students have already passed their baccalaureate. Furthermore, for certain disciplines that do not require a high level of specialization (such as the business administration programme), the baccalaureate degree along with enough academic effort from the student is what matters given that selectivity will be done at a later stage (i.e. at the second year); which means that we have an important rate of failure at the first year permitting the selection of students.	

	Students who are not academically eligible to pursue their studies (reference the results of exams done at the first year) will not continue. Moreover, although there is no selection from the beginning of the process, prerequisites set allow as well to filter eligible students. Thus, I cannot really say that non selective criterion affects the quality.	
How often are admission criteria revisited? What aspects induce such review and what do they take into consideration the most?	We do not intend to implement selective admission criteria at least not on the BA level given its effect on access limitation; selective admission criteria, if to be considered, will be for the master level and not BA. As such, we prefer to implement a more flexible criterion and selection will be done at later stages reference students' academic performance and success in prerequisites set.	Only in once case, a selective admission criteria might be adopted at the BA level: if the candidates are higher than capacity (i.e. if demand exceeds the supply)

Equity and equality of access		
Many factors interfere in the choice of a student for a higher education institution. To which extent equity and equality of opportunities are encouraged (gender parity, religious ideologies, social equality, etc.)	At UPA, we do not have a discriminatory strategy. On the contrary, students from all social backgrounds, religious beliefs, and political ideologies are welcomed. No gender, social or political discrimination.	
Recruitment of students		
The Lebanese University is very well known for its high academic standards especially for faculties/programmes requiring a selective entrance test. To which extent do you rely on the recruitment of students turned out by the Lebanese University? And where does this put you as an institution in terms of quality of recruited students?	It is one factor taken into consideration. As for the quality, students will be filtered during the second year.	
What strategy is adopted as to attract students: - Competitive tuition fees - Scholarships/financial aids - Other (specify)	In addition to reasonable tuition fees and financial aids provided to students with financial difficulties, the geographical locations and international cooperation with international universities are the main attraction	

	points: - Geographical location where our three branches allow us to reach for more students in several geographical areas (main campus in Baabda and two branches one in the north and one in the Bekaa) - International cooperation between UPA departments and European, American and Chinese universities permitting not only to attract students but to provide as well students' mobility. For instance, each semester five students from the business department complete one semester in China based on their academic performance. Such cooperation has been a good marketing strategy allowing to	

	attract more students.	
What have you noticed in terms of changes in the cohorts of students' recruited: 13- Gender division (increase in females' recruitment?) 14- Academic background (better or worse quality of students) 15- Social background 16- Recruitment per programme (any alteration in terms of chosen programmes) 17- Working students (rate increased?) 18- Other (specify)	As stated before, the UPA encourages the equality and equity of opportunities. Nothing major has changed over the years. But we can say that given the economic situation, an important number of our students are working students which allow them to pay for their tuition fees.	
Tuition fees are they considered as an expelling or attraction tool (reference other competing universities)	The UPA tuition fees for all departments take into consideration students from all social backgrounds. They are very reasonable. In addition, students with high GPA and with financial difficulties can have access to financial aids.	
Programmes offerings		
What affect your choice of offered programmes: 9- Labor market needs	All aspects have an equal chance in guiding our choices as regards	

10- Students' demand 11- Competition 12- Other (specify)	programmes offerings. Our efforts are definitely directed towards programmes mostly requested by students.	
When it comes to offering new programme, to which extent the ministry of higher education is cooperative?	We have never faced any obstacles from the ministry.	
Students' Choices		
How do you explain the choice of students for certain programmes (such as business administration) and not the others	It is a common trend in all universities. Students find certain programmes with general and not specific emphasis more appealing as they allow more work opportunities given the low level of specialization and thus ability to work in several fields.	
Do you play any role in guiding the choice of students? And what do you take into consideration (labor market needs, students wish, etc.)	We certainly advise students but at the end of the day, we do not have any "mandatory guidance". We encourage the "free choice" of students based on our academic guidance and advice. As such, for departments where there are several tracks, orientation sessions	

	are done by the head of department based on a study of the labor market need, internship and programmes outcomes. We try to limit the tutor intervention in class as regards students' orientation to choose certain track and not others given the subjectivity of such orientation and contradiction with the labor market needs.	
Competition		
How do you categorize the competition within the Lebanese higher education market?	The Lebanese higher education market has no doubt known an important expansion especially at the private sector level. Competition between universities is definitely important as to determine the level of demand and it can be seen as done between competing blocks.	
What are the main factors guiding such competition: 7- Tuition fees 8- Offered programmes	Tuition fees and easy access are definitely the main attraction points towards one university and	

9- Easy access and progression	not the other given that most universities (at least mass universities) are offering more or less the same variety of programmes.	
What are the effect of such competition on your strategies such as admission criteria, offered programmes, tuition fees, etc.	Our strategy will always be driven by “open access” principle taken into consideration students’ demands.	
Do you consider that such competition is an asset for quality preservation or do you find that the expansion of the private higher education supply in Lebanon has lead to a decrease in the quality?	Given the variety of providers, competition in most cases has not allowed quality preservation.	
What aspect puts the most weight on your competition either with the Lebanese University or private universities? 11- Tuition fees 12- Admission criteria 13- Targeted students 14- Offered programmes 15- Other (specify)	If to compare with the Lebanese University, it is definitely the tuition fees. Nevertheless, nowadays most of the most students are searching for private education especially those who do not have the academic standards to attend the Lebanese University. As for the private universities, all these	

	aspects have an equal weight especially with universities who target the same students' prospects.	
Given intense competition, how do you market for your strategy as to recruit students? In other words, what are the key attraction elements?		
Graduates follow up		
Do you have any strategy to follow up on your graduates' employment?	We do not have any strategy in this regard. It's the student's responsibility to find a job.	
If yes, do you have any statistics how long does it your graduates to be employed?	-	
Are they employed within their field of study or not?	-	
Where they mostly find working opportunities (at the national market or regional/international one).	-	
To which extent the university (and its reputation) plays a role in the employment of graduates?	-	

Appendix 4.5

Logistic Regression Models Choice of Programme

Business Administration			
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Male (ref: female)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Choice of HEI			
Lebanese University (LU)	Ref	Ref	Ref
Elite Private Universities (EPU)	.343***	.277***	.303***
Mass Private Universities (MPU)	2.755***	1.720**	n/s
Secondary Track			
Secondary Track (0): General Studies	Ref	Ref	Ref
Secondary Track (1): Life Sciences	.287***	.342***	.409**
Secondary Track (2): Literature and Humanities	.204***	.211***	.245***
Secondary Track (3): Sociology and Economy	n/s	2.415**	2.849**
Secondary Track (4): Other	n/s	n/s	n/s
Working Student (Ref: No)		2.623***	2.714***
Reason of Choice of the Programme (Ref: No)			
Criteria (1): Personal interest			n/s
Criteria (2): Polyvalent field allowing easy access to labour market			1.636**
Criteria (3): By chance/Did not have any previous preference			1.866**
Criteria (4): Friends already enrolled at the programme			n/s
Criteria (5): Tutor advise			n/s
Criteria (6): Parents field of work			3.535***
Criteria (7): Easy admission criteria/ No entrance test			.460***
Criteria (8): Already have a professional experience in the field			n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.356	0.383	0.433
Global Percentage	80.00%	81.20%	81.70%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Literature and Humanities			
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Male (ref: female)	.219*	n/s	.142**
Choice of HEI			
Lebanese University (LU)	Ref	Ref	Ref
Elite Private Universities (EPU)	n/s	n/s	3.636*
Mass Private Universities (MPU)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track			
Secondary Track (0): General Studies	Ref	Ref	Ref
Secondary Track (1): Life Sciences	n/s	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track (2): Literature and Humanities	36.717***	62.770***	70.242***
Secondary Track (3): Sociology and Economy	n/s	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track (4): Other	n/s	n/s	n/s
Working Student (Ref: No)		3.017**	3.943**
Reason of Choice of the Programme (Ref: No)			
Criteria (1): Personal interest			n/s
Criteria (2): Polyvalent field allowing easy access to labour market			n/s
Criteria (3): By chance/Did not have any previous preference			n/s
Criteria (4): Friends already enrolled at the programme			n/s
Criteria (5): Tutor advise			5.101***
Criteria (6): Parents field of work			n/s
Criteria (7): Easy admission criteria/ No entrance test			n/s
Criteria (8): Already have a professional experience in the field			n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.706	0.728	0.756
Global Percentage	96.30%	96.40%	96.50%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Sciences			
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Male (ref: female)	2.628***	2.130**	n/s
Choice of HEI			
Lebanese University (LU)	Ref	Ref	Ref
Elite Private Universities (EPU)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Mass Private Universities (MPU)	.054***	.148***	.118***
Secondary Track			
Secondary Track (0): General Studies	Ref	Ref	Ref
Secondary Track (1): Life Sciences	7.579***	5.487***	4.376***
Secondary Track (2): Literature and Humanities	.116***	.076***	.017***
Secondary Track (3): Sociology and Economy	.057***	.038***	.024***
Secondary Track (4): Other	n/s	n/s	n/s
Working Student (Ref: No)		.148***	.148***
Reason of Choice of the Programme (Ref: No)			
Criteria (1): Personal interest			n/s
Criteria (2): Polyvalent field allowing easy access to labour market			.234***
Criteria (3): By chance/Did not have any previous preference			n/s
Criteria (4): Friends already enrolled at the programme			n/s
Criteria (5): Tutor advise			n/s
Criteria (6): Parents field of work			.223**
Criteria (7): Easy admission criteria/ No entrance test			.4.652***
Criteria (8): Already have a professional experience in the field			n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.628	0.674	0.726
Global Percentage	91.40%	93.10%	94.70%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Service Oriented Tracks			
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Male (ref: female)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Choice of HEI			
Lebanese University (LU)	Ref	Ref	Ref
Elite Private Universities (EPU)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Mass Private Universities (MPU)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track			
Secondary Track (0): General Studies	Ref	Ref	Ref
Secondary Track (1): Life Sciences	n/s	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track (2): Literature and Humanities	n/s	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track (3): Sociology and Economy	n/s	n/s	n/s
Secondary Track (4): Other	n/s	n/s	n/s
Working Student (Ref: No)		n/s	.416**
Reason of Choice of the Programme (Ref: No)			
Criteria (1): Personal interest			n/s
Criteria (2): Polyvalent field allowing easy access to labour market			n/s
Criteria (3): By chance/Did not have any previous preference			n/s
Criteria (4): Friends already enrolled at the programme			n/s
Criteria (5): Tutor advise			n/s
Criteria (6): Parents field of work			.162***
Criteria (7): Easy admission criteria/ No entrance test			n/s
Criteria (8): Already have a professional experience in the field			n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.247	0.266	0.32
Global Percentage	91.20%	91.40%	92.20%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Appendix 4.6

Logistic Regression Models Choice of a HEI

Choice of the LU				
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age				
Age(0): 18-21	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Age(1): 22-25	.202***	.226***	.235***	.304***
Age (2): More than 25	.095***	.174**	.172**	n/s
Male (ref: female)	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s
Muslim (ref: Christian)	.413***	.257***	.291***	.264***
Secondary Education (ref: public system)		n/s	n/s	n/s
Working Student		.203***	.147***	.112***
Programmes				
Programme(0): Business Administration		Ref	Ref	Ref
Programme (1):Service-Oriented Faculties/Track		n/s	n/s	n/s
Programme (2): Sciences		2.439***	3.388***	3.875***
Programme (3): Literature and Humanities		1.991**	2.425**	3.767**
Criteria Affecting Choice of the HEI (ref: no)				
Criteria (1): Financial cost (tuition, registration fees, scholarship, etc.)			4.928***	4.186***
Criteria (2): Academic standards/reputation/credibility			3.726***	4.786***
Criteria (3): Easy admission criteria			.285***	.278***
Criteria (4): Double degree (agreement with foreign universities)			.501**	n/s
Criteria (5): Validity of the diploma and accreditation			2.004***	2.342***
Criteria (6): Employment and internship prospects			n/s	n/s
Criteria (7): Social interaction and extra curriculum activities			.343***	.339***
Father - University				
Lebanese University (LU)				Ref

Elite Private Universities (EPU)				.238**
Mass Private Universities (MPU)				n/s
Others				n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.215	0.445	0.592	0.630
Global Percentage	66.50%	76.40%	83.50%	83.90%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

Choice of Elite PUs				
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age				
Age(0): 18-21	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Age(1): 22-25	3.062***	2.480***	2.283**	n/s
Age (2): More than 25	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s
Male (ref: female)	.488**	n/s	n/s	n/s
Muslim (ref: Christian)	4.086***	5.573***	5.850***	8.546***
Secondary Education (ref: public system)		24.062***	38.434***	20.030***
Working Student		n/s	n/s	n/s
Programmes				
Programme(0): Business Administration		Ref	Ref	Ref
Programme (1):Service-Oriented Faculties/Track		n/s	n/s	n/s
Programme (2): Sciences		2.582**	2.857**	n/s
Programme (3): Literature and Humanities		14.208***	15.899***	18.408***
Criteria Affecting Choice of the HEI (ref: no)				
Criteria (1): Financial cost (tuition, registration fees, scholarship, etc.)			.125***	.198***
Criteria (2): Academic standards/reputation/credibility			n/s	n/s
Criteria (3): Easy admission criteria			3.521**	n/s
Criteria (4): Double degree (agreement with foreign universities)			2.778**	n/s
Criteria (5): Validity of the diploma and accreditation			n/s	n/s
Criteria (6): Employment and internship prospects			n/s	n/s
Criteria (7): Social interaction and extra curriculum activities			2.980**	n/s
Father - University				
Lebanese University (LU)				Ref
Elite Private Universities (EPU)				14.119***
Mass Private Universities (MPU)				n/s
Others				n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.193	0.465	0.567	0.581
Global Percentage	84.90%	89%	91.50%	95.50%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

Choice of Mass PUs				
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age				
Age(0): 18-21	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Age(1): 22-25	2.070***	2.383***	2.739***	3.035***
Age (2): More than 25	10.886***	20.249***	n/s	n/s
Male (ref: female)	1.832***	1.737**	n/s	9.002**
Muslim (ref: Christian)	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s
Secondary Education (ref: public system)		.337***	.374***	.486**
Working Student		6.541***	8.389***	11.541***
Programmes				
Programme(0): Business Administration		Ref	Ref	Ref
Programme (1):Service-Oriented Faculties/Track		6.981***	13.874***	25.723***
Programme (2): Sciences		.142***	.098***	.128***
Programme (3): Literature and Humanities		n/s	n/s	n/s
Criteria Affecting Choice of the HEI (ref: no)				
Criteria (1): Financial cost (tuition, registration fees, scholarship, etc.)			n/s	.427**
Criteria (2): Academic standards/reputation/credibility			.213***	.196***
Criteria (3): Easy admission criteria			2.661***	4.450***
Criteria (4): Double degree (agreement with foreign universities)			n/s	n/s
Criteria (5): Validity of the diploma and accreditation			.397***	.360***
Criteria (6): Employment and internship prospects			n/s	n/s
Criteria (7): Social interaction and extra curriculum activities			2.021**	2.911***
Father - University				
Lebanese University (LU)				Ref (n/s)
Elite Private Universities (EPU)				n/s
Mass Private Universities (MPU)				n/s
Others				n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.111	0.565	0.665	0.71
Global Percentage	65.80%	80.40%	84.40%	86.50%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

Appendix 4.7

Logistic Regression Models Period of Transition to the Labour Market

Within a 3 Months Period (Less than 3 Months Period)			
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age			
1-17	Ref	Ref	Ref
Age (1): 18-22	11.549***	3.239***	n/s
Age (2): 23-30	34.700***	10.158***	n/s
Age (3): Above 31	3.591***	16.296***	n/s
Female (ref: male)	.584***	.795***	n/s
Educational level			
Less than secondary education		Ref	Ref
Secondary education		n/s	n/s
BA		1.510***	n/s
Master		1.568**	n/s
PhD		n/s	n/s
Technical Brevet		1.514**	n/s
TS		n/s	n/s
LT		n/s	n/s
Choice of Programme			
Programme(0): Secondary education		Ref	Ref
Programme (1): HE - TV/Journalism/Communication		n/s	.436***
Programme (2): HE - Sciences/Medical Sciences/Pharmacy		n/s	.654**
Programme (3): HE- Law and Political Sciences		.541***	.334***
Programme (4): HE- Literature/Education/Social Sciences		.748**	.523***
Programme (5): HE - Art/Painting/Graphic Design		n/s	n/s
Programme (6): HE - Architecture/Engineering		.730**	.542***
Programme (7): HE - Business Administration and Economics		n/s	n/s
Programme (8): HE - Agriculture		n/s	n/s
Programme (9): HE - Information Technology		n/s	n/s
Programme (10): HE - Tourism and Hotel Management		1.772***	n/s
Programme (11): Other		n/s	n/s

Occupational Status			
Occupational Status (0): Out of Labour Market			Ref
Occupational Status (1): Part Time/Seasonable Job			1.442**
Occupational Status (2): Full Time/Administrative Position			1.634***
Occupational Status (3): Entrepreneur			2.073***
Occupational Status (4): Full Time/Senior Position			3.279***
Channels used to search for a job			
Channel (0): Work with Parents/Relatives			Ref
Channel (1): Via Personal Connections			.543***
Channel (2): Via Employment Office			.331***
Channel (3): Via Civil Council			.251***
Channel (4): After an Internship Period			.510***
Channel (5): Direct Offer from the Organization			n/s
Channel (6): Advertisement in Newspaper/Internet/University			.374***
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.242	0.183	0.072
Global Percentage	87.20%	71.90%	67.80%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Within a Year (Between 3 and 12 Months)			
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age			
1-17	Ref	Ref	Ref
Age (1): 18-22	24.842***	4.880***	n/s
Age (2): 23-30	61.494***	11.649***	n/s
Age (3): Above 31	8.418***	14.791***	n/s
Female (ref: male)	n/s	n/s	n/s
Educational level			
Less than secondary education		Ref	Ref
Secondary education		n/s	n/s
BA		n/s	n/s
Master		2.316**	n/s
PhD		n/s	n/s
Technical Brevet		1.978**	n/s
TS		2.025**	n/s
LT		2.999**	n/s
Choice of Programme			
Programme(0): Secondary education		Ref	Ref
Programme (1): HE - TV/Journalism/Communication		2.259**	2.196**
Programme (2): HE - Sciences/Medical Sciences/Pharmacy		n/s	n/s
Programme (3): HE- Law and Political Sciences		n/s	1.971**
Programme (4): HE- Literature/Education/Social Sciences		n/s	n/s
Programme (5): HE - Art/Painting/Graphic Design		n/s	n/s
Programme (6): HE - Architecture/Engineering		n/s	n/s
Programme (7): HE - Business Administration and Economics		n/s	n/s
Programme (8): HE - Agriculture		n/s	n/s
Programme (9): HE - Information Technology		n/s	n/s
Programme (10): HE - Tourism and Hotel Management		n/s	n/s
Programme (11): Other		n/s	n/s
Occupational Status			
Occupational Status (0): Out of Labour Market			Ref
Occupational Status (1): Part Time/Seasonable Job			n/s

Occupational Status (2): Full Time/Administrative Position			n/s
Occupational Status (3): Entrepreneur			n/s
Occupational Status (4): Full Time/Senior Position			n/s
Channels used to search for a job			
Channel (0): Work with Parents/Relatives			Ref
Channel (1): Via Personal Connections			1.643**
Channel (2): Via Employment Office			2.269***
Channel (3): Via Civil Council			n/s
Channel (4): After an Internship Period			1.839**
Channel (5): Direct Offer from the Organization			n/s
Channel (6): Advertisement in Newspaper/Internet/University			2.850***
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.144	0.092	0.057
Global Percentage	96.20%	91.20%	79.30%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Within a Year and a Half (Between 12 Months and 18 Months)			
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age			
1-17	Ref	Ref	Ref
Age (1): 18-22	n/s	n/s	n/s
Age (2): 23-30	17.505***	24.809***	n/s
Age (3): Above 31	n/s	24.572***	n/s
Female (ref: male)	.471***	.477**	.467**
Educational level			
Less than secondary education		Ref	Ref
Secondary education		.289**	.250***
BA		.200***	.164***
Master		.140***	.107***
PhD		n/s	n/s
Technical Brevet		n/s	n/s
TS		n/s	n/s
LT		n/s	n/s
Choice of Programme			
Programme(0): Secondary education		Ref	Ref
Programme (1): HE - TV/Journalism/Communication		n/s	n/s
Programme (2): HE - Sciences/Medical Sciences/Pharmacy		n/s	n/s
Programme (3): HE- Law and Political Sciences		n/s	n/s
Programme (4): HE- Literature/Education/Social Sciences		3.755**	n/s
Programme (5): HE - Art/Painting/Graphic Design		n/s	n/s
Programme (6): HE - Architecture/Engineering		4.338**	n/s
Programme (7): HE - Business Administration and Economics		n/s	n/s
Programme (8): HE - Agriculture		n/s	n/s
Programme (9): HE - Information Technology		n/s	n/s
Programme (10): HE - Tourism and Hotel Management		n/s	n/s
Programme (11): Other		n/s	n/s
Occupational Status			
Occupational Status (0): Out of Labour Market			Ref
Occupational Status (1): Part Time/Seasonable Job			n/s

Occupational Status (2): Full Time/Administrative Position			n/s
Occupational Status (3): Entrepreneur			n/s
Occupational Status (4): Full Time/Senior Position			n/s
Channels used to search for a job			
Channel (0): Work with Parents/Relatives			Ref
Channel (1): Via Personal Connections			n/s
Channel (2): Via Employment Office			6.027**
Channel (3): Via Civil Council			17.983***
Channel (4): After an Internship Period			n/s
Channel (5): Direct Offer from the Organization			5.112**
Channel (6): Advertisement in Newspaper/Internet/University			n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.094	0.149	0.151
Global Percentage	99.50%	98.80%	97.20%
Sig.	.000	.000	.000

More Than a Year and a Half (More than 18 Months)			
Variable(s)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age			
1-17	Ref	Ref	Ref
Age (1): 18-22	4.981***	n/s	n/s
Age (2): 23-30	11.089***	4.395**	n/s
Age (3): Above 31	n/s	n/s	n/s
Female (ref: male)	.639***	n/s	n/s
Educational level			
Less than secondary education		Ref	Ref
Secondary education		n/s	n/s
BA		n/s	n/s
Master		n/s	n/s
PhD		n/s	n/s
Technical Brevet		n/s	n/s
TS		n/s	n/s
LT		n/s	n/s
Choice of Programme			
Programme(0): Secondary education		Ref	Ref
Programme (1): HE - TV/Journalism/Communication		6.434***	6.592***
Programme (2): HE - Sciences/Medical Sciences/Pharmacy		n/s	n/s
Programme (3): HE- Law and Political Sciences		4.911***	7.431***
Programme (4): HE- Literature/Education/Social Sciences		3.191**	3.153**
Programme (5): HE - Art/Painting/Graphic Design		4.736***	n/s
Programme (6): HE - Architecture/Engineering		n/s	n/s
Programme (7): HE - Business Administration and Economics		n/s	n/s
Programme (8): HE - Agriculture		n/s	n/s
Programme (9): HE - Information Technology		n/s	n/s
Programme (10): HE - Tourism and Hotel Management		n/s	n/s
Programme (11): Other		n/s	n/s
Occupational Status			
Occupational Status (0): Out of Labour Market			Ref
Occupational Status (1): Part Time/Seasonable Job			n/s

Occupational Status (2): Full Time/Administrative Position			.443**
Occupational Status (3): Entrepreneur			n/s
Occupational Status (4): Full Time/Senior Position			n/s
Channels used to search for a job			
Channel (0): Work with Parents/Relatives			Ref
Channel (1): Via Personal Connections			n/s
Channel (2): Via Employment Office			3.724***
Channel (3): Via Civil Council			6.302***
Channel (4): After an Internship Period			n/s
Channel (5): Direct Offer from the Organization			n/s
Channel (6): Advertisement in Newspaper/Internet/University			n/s
R-Deux de Nagelkerke	0.089	0.062	0.091
Global Percentage	99.10%	98.30%	96.00%
Sig.	.000	.000	.006

Appendix 5.1

Family Academic and Socio-Economic Backgrounds

1) Family Academic Background

1.1 Parents' Academic Background

From the 656 surveys, 568 students (i.e. 86.6%) have completed the part related to their parents' education. Concerning the *education of the father*, 81.2% availed that their father is educated²³¹, 33.8% have a secondary degree, 29.7% did not complete their studies beyond secondary education 28.6% have a BA degree and 7.9% have completed their studies beyond the BA level. For the fathers who completed their higher education, and for those holding a BA degree (i.e. the 28.6%), 46.6% received their diploma from the LU, 23.3% from elite PUs, 18.1% from mass PUs, 8.6% from universities outside Lebanon, and 3.4% from vocational HEIs. For the fathers who have a university degree higher than the BA level, 38.9% received their degree from the LU, 33.3% from universities outside Lebanon, 22.2% from elite PUs, and 5.6% from mass PUs. Concerning the choice of the programme, most of the fathers have a degree from the faculty of "Economic Sciences and Business Administration" (28.1%), followed by the faculties of "Engineering and Architecture" (22.9%), "Sciences" (17%) and "Literature and Humanities" (11.1%).

Concerning the mothers' education, 82.4% availed that their mother is educated²³² (higher proportion than that of the fathers). 45.2% have a secondary degree (higher than

²³¹ We have noticed when entering data that students were not really aware of the concept "educated". For an important number of the students, if the father or the mother had an educational level below the "higher education", they would categorize him and/or her as "not educated".

²³² We have noticed when entering data that students were not really aware of the concept "educated". For an important number of the students, if the father or the mother had an educational level below the "higher education", they would categorize him and/or her as "not educated".

the fathers), 30.2% have a BA degree (higher proportion than the fathers), 20% did not complete their studies beyond secondary education (less proportion than the fathers) and 4.6% completed their studies beyond the BA level (less proportion than the fathers). For the mothers who have completed their higher education, and for those holding a BA degree (i.e. the 30.2%), 51.2% received their diploma from the LU (higher proportion than the fathers), 19.4% from elite PUs (lower proportion than that of the fathers), 17.8% from mass PUs (lower proportion than that of the fathers), 5.4% from universities outside Lebanon (lower proportion than that of the fathers), and 6.2% from vocational HEIs (higher proportion from that of the fathers). As for the mothers who have a university degree higher than BA, 52.4% received their degree from the LU (higher proportion than that of the fathers), 28.6% from universities outside Lebanon (lower proportion than that of the fathers) and 19% from elite PUs (lower proportion than that of the father). *The higher proportions of mothers receiving their diplomas from the public sector indicate that the investment in the female education is not as important as that of the male and has been long valid within the Lebanese society.* Concerning the choice of the programme, mothers choices were mainly related to literary programmes oppose to that of the fathers that was targeted towards scientific programmes. Most mothers have a degree from the faculty of “Literature and Humanities” (21.8%), followed by the faculties of “Education” (18.6%), “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” (17.3%), “Sciences” (17.3%) and “Law and Political Sciences” (14.1%).

These choices permit to acknowledge that the trend in the choice of the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” from one generation to another. At a gender level, the same trend is noted. The investment in the female education (the mothers in this case) is mainly noted at the public sector for literary programme rather than scientific ones. These results validate what was advanced in chapter 1 and the literature review.

1.2 Siblings' Academic Background

From the responding students' population, 41.8% do not have any brother and/or sister who finished their higher studies²³³, 29.8% have one brother and/or one sister, 20% have two brothers and/or sisters, 6% have three brothers and/or sisters, 1.8% have four brothers and/or sisters who have a university degree. As for the proportion of students who has more than four brothers and/or sisters who have a university degree, the percentages are very low.

Before over viewing from which university brothers/sisters have taken their degree and from which programme, it should be noted that while gathering the data most of the students, despite having brothers and/or sisters holding a university degree did not complete the survey and particularly the part reflecting brothers and sisters higher education choices.

From the total brothers' population who has completed their higher education, 63.1% have a BA degree and 36.9% have a degree higher than the BA (master or PhD). As for the total sisters' population who has completed their higher education, 63.7% have a BA degree and 36.3% have a degree higher than BA (similar percentages to those of the brothers). Concerning the choice of the HEI and the programme done by the brothers and the sisters, the first brother and first sister will be considered because of low effectiveness for the second and third brothers/sisters. For the brothers, 10.8% have received their higher education degree from mass PUs, 9.5% from elite PUs, 9.7% from the LU and 3.2% from universities outside Lebanon. As for the sisters, the equation is totally different. The majority received their higher education degree from the LU (17%), 7.9% received their degree from mass PUs, 7.7% from elite PUs and 2.2% from universities outside Lebanon. The latter emphasizes once again that the investment in education is for the sake of the male population given that female student that received their degree from

²³³ Note that 32 students do not have any brother and/or sister.

the public sector is much higher than that of male students (in this case sisters and brothers respectively).

Concerning the choice of programme, we note the same trend as with the fathers and mothers. As such, and for the brothers, the highest proportions are for those who received their degree from the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration” (41.2%) and the faculty of “Engineering and Architecture” (29.4%).

Regarding the sisters, the highest proportions is like the mothers for literary programmes.

Hereafter, 25.6% received their degree from the faculty of “Economic Sciences and Business Administration”, 17.2% from the faculty of “Literature and Humanities”, 13.3% from the faculty of “Engineering and Architecture” and 12.8% from the faculty of “Education”.

Consequently, and similarly to the parents, *we notice that the “Business Administration” field has the highest rate of enrollments; validating the fact that this programme is seen as having wider prospects than other fields* (chapter 3, pp. 47). *Additionally, we notice that the female students (i.e. sisters in this context) have a tendency to choose more literary programmes* (such as education, literature and humanities, etc.) *that do not require mathematical skills whereas male students have a tendency towards more scientific programmes* (such as Engineering, Architecture, etc.) *that requires more mathematical skills* (chapter 3, pp. 55-57)

2) Family Socio-Economic Background²³⁴

2.1 Parents’ Socio-Economic Background

²³⁴ It should be noted that the number of students who answered this part of the survey varied given that not all of them complete the whole survey and hence filled in this part.

89.9% of the responding students' population have a working father oppose to 35.6% only who have a working mother.

Concerning the working fathers' population, 85.4% have a full time job versus 14.6% who have a part time job. The majority of the working fathers is employees (60.8%) and 39.2% are entrepreneurs. For the 60.8%, 50.4% work in secretary positions, 23.3% in administrative positions and 26.4% in senior positions. As for the fathers' non-working population, 93% did not have any job for more than a year and 7% for less than six months.

Most working fathers work at the tertiary sector (44.1%) oppose to 35.9% who work at the secondary sector and 10% that work at each of the primary and quaternary sectors.

Concerning the working mothers' population, 72.4% have a full time job versus 27.6% who have a part time job. The majority of the working mothers is employees (76.6%; higher than the proportion of the full time working fathers) and 23.4% are entrepreneurs (lower proportion than that of the fathers). For the 76.6%, 61.4% work in secretary positions (higher proportion than that of the fathers), 22.8% in administrative positions (lower proportion than that of the fathers) and 15.7% in senior positions (lower proportion than that of the fathers). As for the mothers' non-working population (i.e. the 64.4%), 73.4% have never worked, 23.1% did not have a job for a period exceeding a year and only 3.3% are in between jobs.

Most working mothers work at the tertiary sector (56.6%) oppose to 18.4% who work at the secondary sector, 16.4% at the quaternary sector and 8.6% at the primary sector.

2.2 Siblings' Socio-Economic Background

From the responding students' population, 36.1% do not have any brother and/or sister working, 30% have one brother and/or sister working, 23.8% have two brothers and/or

sisters working, 7.4% have three brothers and/or sisters working, 1.4% have four brothers and/or sisters working and 1.2% have more than 5 brothers and/or sisters working.

Most working brothers and sisters work at the tertiary sector. Hereafter, and if to consider as for the education, first brothers and sisters, we note that 50.8% of brothers work at the tertiary sector oppose to 70.3% of sisters. As for the level of employment, 55.1% of the brothers have administrative positions oppose to 58.7% of the sisters, 39.5% of the brothers have senior positions oppose to 31.4% of the sisters, and 5.4% of the brothers have secretary positions oppose to 9.9% of the sisters.

Appendix 6.1

Choice of a HEI

Table (6.5): Main Criteria of Choice of a HEI

	LU	Elite PUs	Mass PUs	Notes
Gender	Recruitment at the LU is in favour of female students .	No clear discrepancy between the recruitment of male and female	Recruitment in favour of male students	Universities ascertained that no discrimination policy is implemented. They are in favour of gender equality.
Age	Students are younger than those at the private sector (majority between 18 and 21 years of old)	Older students than those at the public system (majority between 22 and 25 years of old)	Majority of students is between 18 and 21 years of old . We note also that the percentage of students between the age of 22 and 25 years of old is higher than that at the LU.	Previous studies revealed that LU students are older than those of PUs and not younger as in our sample. Such dissimilarities between various studies permit to advance that the students' distribution per age is dependent

				from the sample collected.
Residency	Majority of students resides in Beirut and Mount Lebanon	Majority of students resides in Beirut	Majority of students resides in Mount Lebanon	
Religion	Majority of Christian students	Majority of Muslim students	Majority divided between Christian and Muslim students	Such distribution per religion per HEI affirms the fact that Muslim students tend to choose Anglo-Saxon systems. Additionally, <i>the high rate of Christian at the LU is attributed to the fact that data collection is mainly done at second branches – located in Christian areas.</i>
Level of income	Various levels of income, mainly from the mid-high and high social classes. No students from the low social strata.	Students from the mid-high/high social classes.	Students from a modest social strata: low and low-mid social classes.	LU is not playing its genuine role as to “secure” social mobility for students from the low social strata.

Father's occupation	Majority of the students have a father that works in senior positions.	Majority of the students have a father that works in administrative positions.	Majority of the students have a father that works in secretary positions.	LU is not playing its genuine role as to “secure” social mobility for students from the low social strata.
Academic performance	Majority has an average between 15.9 and 12 over 20.	Majority has an average between 15.9 and 12. If to compare amongst other HEIs that form the sample, elite PUs have the highest proportion of students who have an average above 16 over 20.	Majority has an average between 15.9 and 12 over 20.	Average between 15.9 and 12: highest proportion is at the LU. Average above 16: highest proportion at elite PUs. <u><i>Average between 11.9 and 10: highest proportion at mass PUs.</i></u>
Secondary education	Majority of students come from private schools.	Majority of students come from private schools.	Majority of students come from public schools.	
Level of information	Mid-low level of information	High level of information	Mid level of information	
Reasons of choice	Validity of the diploma	Social interaction Academic	Easy admission criteria	

	Academic standards and selective admission criteria Reputation of the HEI and credibility Practically free tuition fees	standards Validity of the diploma Accreditation and affiliation Ability to provide internship and employment opportunities Electronic resources	Double degree Financial cost Accreditation Flexible schedule	
Reasons of regret of the choice of the HEI	No follow up of graduates No social activities/no campus No clear guidance as to the choice of programme	Elite PUs students did not identify any sources of regret	Low academic standards University not very well acknowledged within the labor market High miscellaneous cost No social activity/no campus	
First preference programme versus current choice	Majority of the students chose their first preference programme	Majority of the students chose their first preference programme	Majority of the students <u>did not choose</u> their first preference programme	These choices ascertain that the choice done by LU and elite PUs students is not based on chance but rather on

				planning oppose to mass PUs students.
Dropping a previous programme	Students who were previously enrolled at a different programme and chose to drop it chose the LU non-selective faculties. As for the selective faculties, it was students' first choice.	Students who were previously enrolled at a different programme and chose to drop it chose the easiest faculties that do not require difficult entrance test.	Students who were previously enrolled at a different programme and chose to drop it, chose the "Business Administration" programme.	
Working status	Majority of non-working students	Majority of non-working students	Majority of working students	Mass PUs have the highest proportions of working students. The latter needs to work to pay their tuition fees.

Appendix 7.1

Criteria of Choice of a Programme

Table 7.7: Criteria of Choice of a Programme					
	Business Administration	Service-Oriented	Sciences	Literature and Humanities	Notes
Secondary track	From the highest proportion to the lowest: Sociology and economy General studies Others	From the highest proportion to the lowest: Others Sociology and economy General studies	Life sciences	Literature and humanities	
Reason of choice	Personal interest (majority being at the LU) Polyvalent Field (majority being at the LU and mass PUs) Parents' field of work	Personal interest Polyvalent field Parents' field of work	Personal interest Polyvalent field	Parents' field of work	
Gender	Majority of students choosing this field is female students (with a higher proportion at the LU than that at elite PUs)	The proportion of female is higher than that of male	The proportion of female is higher than that of male. This is true for the medical sciences field as seen in chapter 3 where the rate of female is higher than that of male at the LU).	The proportion of female is higher than that of male at both public and private sector	We note that the <u>comparison in terms of recruitment per gender per faculty was done between the LU and elite PUs</u> (mass PUs no dependency was noticed). Hereafter, the investment in

					female education is more pronounced at the public sector.
First preference versus current choice	Majority of the students choosing this programme did not have this field as a first preference	Students having this field as a first preference did not choose it but rather the majority is enrolled instead at the “Business Administration” programme	Students having this field as a first preference did not choose it but rather the majority is enrolled instead at the “Business Administration” programme	Students having this field as a first preference did not choose it but rather the majority is enrolled instead at the “Business Administration” programme	Regardless of the first preference, students seem to be choose the “Business Administration” programme out of belief that it is a broad field and that every organization needs management skills. From students choosing the “Business Administration” programme only a minority had it as a first preference.
Reasons for not choosing the first preference programme	-	Saturated labor market	Saturated labor market	-	
Regret of choice of the programme	Lack of work opportunities and low salaries.	Low salaries	Lack of work opportunities and low salaries	Lack of work opportunities	From various reasons provided, majority of

	Students identified as well that the choice of this programme was done because of its affordable tuition fees (majority being at mass PUs)				students only identified either lack of work opportunities or low salaries as being a source of regret.
Choice of programme based on labor market needs (and not preference)	Majority of the students would choose again this field. However, we note that the majority of these students are working students which might explain their choice for a programme with saturated labor market.	Majority <u>would not</u> choose the same field which could be related to the difficulties that graduates from this field are encountering especially for the “Tourism and Hotel Management” field.	Majority would choose this programme again. We note that the majority of these students had a first preference for this field as well.	Majority <u>would not</u> choose this field.	We noticed that the majority of the students are not choosing based on labor market needs but out of personal preference and working status. Additionally, the choice is for programmes that do not allow social mobility. Students’ choices clearly ascertain that they are not really aware of the labor market needs.
Working status	Highest proportion of working students choose this programme	Proportion of working students is higher than that of non-working students	Proportion of non-working students is higher than that of working students	Proportion of working students is higher than that of non-working students	Students seem to work each in their respective field of work: highest proportion of working students

					enrolled at the faculties of “Business Administration”, “Service-Oriented” and “Literature and Humanities” works at the tertiary sector. As for the students enrolled at the faculty of “Sciences”, the majority works at the quaternary sector.

Appendix 9.1

Regulatory Perspective

Government Educational Policies		
Type of Policy	Status	Rational
Numerous clausus and quota	Not applied	Laissez-faire, liberal system. This role is mostly played by the HEIs but it is not imposed by the government out of belief in the free play, free market and free choices
Selection	Not a mandatory policy	The only mandatory requirement is the Lebanese Baccalaureate – section II. The government is only responsible for setting the university requirements. Other selection requirements are set by each HEI where the government does not effectively interfere in setting the exams or their content or to determine the number of intakes for each programme
Structural reform	This was applied for the secondary education	The restructuring of the secondary education programme permitted to provide a link between the secondary and the higher education aiming for

		better outcomes at the labour market
Reform at the higher education level	A structural reform was done in addition to increase in privatization trend	The government inability to finance higher education lead to the massive expansion of the private sector aiming to absorb the excessive demand for higher education that the public university cannot absorb.
Non-restrictive measures	This is applied	This is translated by the information provided to students pertaining to the higher education sector in form of reports, documents, validation process, etc.

Appendix 9.2

HEIs perspective – System/Models/Forms/Admission and Selection Strategies

System (Elite/Mass/Non-For-Profit/For-Profit)		
Type of system	Status	Characteristics
Dependent private	The most common type of systems	Religiously affiliated HEIs.
Dependent public	It represents the public university	The LU is dependent from the government despite having an independent management structure.
Independent private	These are newly established HEIs	Not religiously affiliated.
Models (Diversified model)		
Research model	This is mainly represented by prestigious HEIs	These are institutions that are research oriented where research and teaching cannot be detached.
French model	This is the characteristics of selective HEIs	These HEIs focus on intellectual and social selectiveness; mainly elite PUs and selective faculty of the LU.
Forms		
Globally-Oriented	This is mainly related to the elite sector	These are the HEIs that have branches abroad; particularly in the USA.
Locally embedded/regional university	This is the case of the majority of HEIs	These are mainly mass PUs and of course the LU that do not

		have branches abroad.
Admission strategies		
Inherited merit	This is applied by prestigious HEIs	It is the monopolistic practice of elite PUs leading to social reproduction.
Equality of access	This is applied out of belief in free chances to all	The development of the mass sector permitted to a wider bracket of students to have access to higher education. In addition, to the LU, that aims to provide quality education for those unable to afford private tutoring.
Selection process		
Publicity	This is applicable	This is mostly the practice of mass PUs.
Open days	This is applicable	This is mostly the practice of mass PUs.
Image and Reputation	This is applicable	This is mostly the practice of elite PUs.
Admission processes		
Standardized test	This is applicable by few HEIs	This is mainly adopted by elite PUs that believes in the meritocracy principle and the low level of diversity and the LU selective faculties that aim to preserve a certain level of

		academic standards to all students disregarding their social class.
Affirmative action	This is applicable by the mass sector	Mass PUs focus on this process based on an open recruitment strategy aiming to provide equality of access.

Appendix 9.3

Queries and Hypotheses Matrix

	Q1 Role of Personal, Socio- Economic Background	Q2 Effect of Competition	Q3 HEIs Responsibility in Alleviating Unemployment	Q4 Effect of Choices on Integration	Q5 Effect of Background on Integration	Q6 Cyclic Choices or not	Q7 Impact of Government Policy	Q8 Policies set Alleviating or not Unemployment
H1 Choices based on Future Employment Opportunities	From the students' perspective this is true. But once facing the labour market the socio-economic background seems to have a more pronounced effect.	The LU lost the competition with the mass private sector. The latter is	-	-	-	-	-	-
H2 Students from Low Social Class still Facing Inequalities	This is true. The socio-economic background has a	The LU lost the competition with the mass private sector. The latter is	-	This strata of students is choosing less demanding	The socio-economic background has a high impact on	These students have stereotyped choices because of the absence	The LU mission is to target those who cannot afford private	

	pronounced effect and affect students' chances. Students from the low social strata have less chances to continue their higher studies especially with the increased preference towards private higher education rather than public one	tending more to the needs of "cliente" from the low social class.		HEIs and programmes affecting their chances at the labour market. This is prolonging the period to find a job for students from the low social strata.	integration. These students do not the needed social capital to secure a fast transition process to the labour market; combined with stereotyped erroneous choices at the higher education level.	of appropriate orientation and guidance.	higher education. However, it is no longer playing its genuine role because of the preference of private education, where the expansion of the e mass private sector has encouraged such inclination.	
H3 Parents' Educational Background Effect on Higher Education Choices	Cultural capital has a more pronounced effect on the students' higher	-	-	Parents with higher education degree are more able to guide and orient their children	Both the social and cultural capitals particularly that of the parents have an important	Students are making similar choices as that of the parents whether at the level of the programme or HEI. The	-	

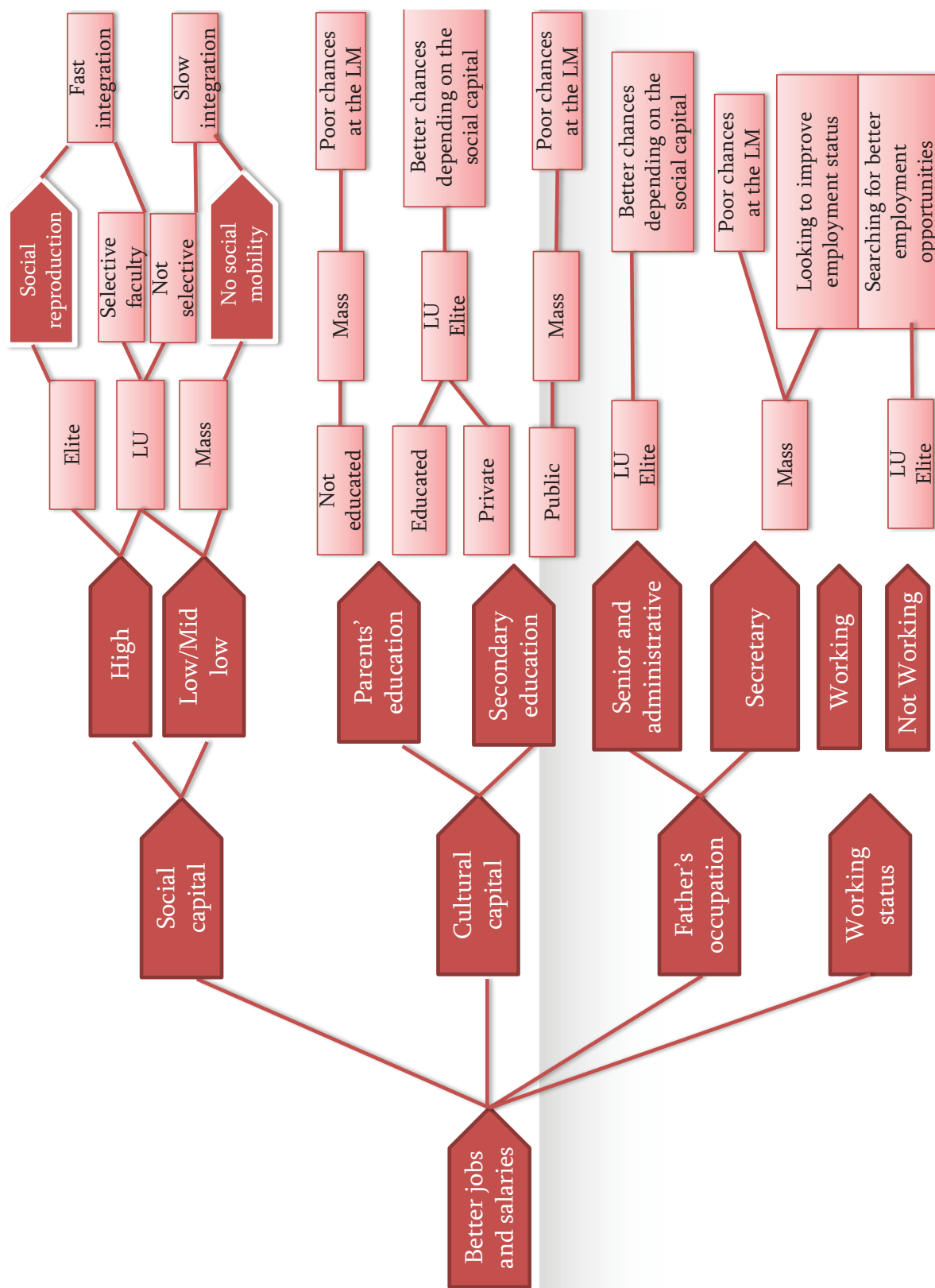
	education choices than the economic and social capitals.			higher education choices in terms of HEI and programme facilitating therefore their integration within the labour market.	effect on graduates' fast transition to the labour market.	majority of the parents chose the "Business Administration" field oppose to a majority of the students who is currently choosing the same field.		
H4 Gender Parity/Disparity	Religion has a pronounced effect particularly for the students from the low social strata. Gender disparity is noticed when religion is associated with the absence of	Despite the "competition" between the LU and the private sector because of the preference of private education by the Lebanese households, the number of females is still the highest at the LU. However, the presence of the social,	-	-	Male graduates have a fast integration process than their female counterparts. This is related to the choice of programme from one part and the choice of the sector of higher education from other.	Female choices are always for literary programmes oppose to male choices that are mainly for scientific programmes.	Government encourages equality of opportunities. However, any initiative in this regard is based on the HEI efforts.	The banking sector is the most known sector to encourage female employment.

	economic, cultural and social capitals. The presence of these capitals neutralize the effect of gender where gender parity is more noticed.	economic and cultural capitals, as it is the case at the elite private sector, render an equal investment in the education of male and female.			However, it is noted that male graduates who found job faster than the females have a lower level of education assuring the discrimination in terms of gender even at the labour market level.			
H5 Higher Education and Labour Market Mismatch where graduates Number is higher than that of Employment Opportunities	Important role for the socio-economic background for a fast integration process. The higher education degree and the field of study do not have a real impact	Elite graduates have better chances at the labour market solely because of investment done in the generic and personal skills and orientation received but particularly because of the	Not all HEIs work on their students' employability skills. LU and mass PUs graduates are therefore facing problems at the labour market if to be compared with graduates from the elite	Choices are done in a stereotyped manner not following the labour market needs particularly at the mass private sector and the LU. However, the choice	The presence of social and capital personal connections is a mast for a fast integration within the labour market	Cyclic choices similar to that of the parents and done in a stereotyped way not following the labour market needs particularly at the mass private sector and the LU.	The labour market is regulated by general policies. However, there are no specific policies to regulate the flow of graduates and the mismatch between the higher	No real policies are set to alleviate the unemployment problem of university graduates. The economy is trapped in low economic activities with no creation of adequate job opportunities for new

	on a fast integration process in the absence of adequate social and economic capitals.	presence of social capital and the effect of “social reproduction”	private sector.	of the programme by itself is not really affecting the pace of integration particularly in the presence of social capital.			education supply and the labour market demand which is aggravating the situation.	entrants. That in addition to the excessive immigration of low skilled workers who accept mediocre employment packages is provoking the Lebanese university graduates to flee the domestic market and leading to what is known by the “Brain Drain” of the Lebanese human capital.
H6 Cyclic choices based on labour market needs	Important role for the socio-economic background for the choice of programme	Students’ choosing the elite private sector seem to be more aware of the labour market needs	-	-	-	Students have mainly a stereotyped behaviour. They are choosing the “Business Administration”	Government does not provide enough information about the labour market needs.	

Appendix 10

Decision Tree



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