Higher Education of Women in Iran: Progress or Problem?

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Abstract Many scholars believe that investment in women's education not only reduces the gender gap, but also improves and enhances the cultural and educational level of women in the society. Furthermore, economists believe that women's education has a positive effect on their participation in the labor market.

Education is amongst the most important factors which not only benefits the people who receive it, but also has different advantages for the society as a whole. Although some of these advantages such as the social output of education is not measurable by monetary quantities and cannot be included in financial accountings, it is wise for societies to invest on education, and the role of governments in this area is vital.

In Iran, in the last two decades, girls' entrees into the universities have had a growing trend. The percentage of girls' entrance into the universities and institutes during the academic year 2007-2008 exceeded 60 percent. One of the obstacles that educated women in Iran face is unemployment. High unemployment rate reveals that in recent decades, due to the lack of labor market flexibility, the needs of manpower in the country have not been met. Research based on state statistics reveals that the rate of unemployment among educated women has had a seven fold increase; the highest increase during last decade from 3 percent in 1997 to 21 percent in 2002.

This article deals with the presence of women in higher education and discusses the positive and negative consequences of this increase. Moreover, it deals with the problems of female graduates in the labor market, and the necessity of change in

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higher education planning to meet their needs in the labor market and remove the obstacles.

Keywords Iran. Women. Higher education. Educational investments. Labor market.

Introduction

During the 90's in the world, although women's rate of literacy enjoyed a larger growth compared to that of men, still two thirds of the world's illiterates were women (UNESCO, 2001). In deprived countries such as South Africa, only 55% of girls attend primary school (UNESCO, 2004), and in fact, university education is considered a luxury for girls. University education has an important role in improving the provision of life opportunities and availability of the labor market for women (Morley, 2006). Higher education has a paramount status in international communities and it facilitates skills, knowledge and specialty which play an important role in socio-economic development of developing countries.

In most of developing countries, girls' educational achievement is less than that of boys. Women are faced with discriminations in salaries and job opportunities which limits their expectations. Subsequently, girls' job opportunities lead them towards disciplines which are less profitable. Girls' decision for entering low income jobs is influenced by stereotyping beliefs of family, society, media and school textbooks which present women with low-income jobs. Such stereotyping beliefs reduce girls' motivations, and consequently, their educational success. In countries such as Bangladesh, Kenya, China and India (UNESCO, 1999), school textbooks are reviewed for representing women in roles other than traditional roles of wife and mother.

Van Valey (2001) believes that one of the most important changes in the higher educational system, particularly in Northern American countries, is the transformation in the rate of women's participation in higher education.

The high presence of women at the universities is an inclusive fact which is not specific to Iran, but a universal reality. It is an indicator and a component of globalization and development. Some believe that investment in education is inconclusive and rooted in wrong attitudes towards development. Relying on manpower in a country with a science-based economy is not only useful, but it is also the most important way to achieve multidimensional development, and in this respect, women's education is of high priority.

The significant point in development process is women's appreciation in attaining higher education. Cotterill and Letherby (2005) express their research findings (2000-2003) in WHEN in England, *Women in higher education*:

1. Although the number of girls at the universities has outrun that of boys, this does not imply equal opportunities for boys and girls.

2. In higher degrees such as M.A. and Ph.D., the number of girls is lower compared to boys.

3. In attaining university professorship, women in England constitute only 13 percent of the total.

In Iran, the current situation of girls at the universities shows that the findings of Cotterrill and Letherby apply to Iran as well. In this view, the labor market suffers from gender inequalities. Saunders (2004), based on his research, states that in England's research institutes, females' wages are 85 percent of that of males' for the same job, which suggests an inequality in income distribution between men and women.

Theoretical Framework

Theorizing about women and higher education goes back to the 18th century with the rise of 'Enlightenment Period' in the West. The concept of citizenship in its particular sense takes into account women's civil rights, and has brought about changes in which the traditional systems have developed in line with democracy.

Higher education represents investment in human resources and plays an important role in societies by way of creating and promoting individual's knowledge and skills, as well as changing their attitudes. In the mid twentieth century, it was believed that the key to booming economic development is accessibility to material resources and physical capitals. However, the achievements resulting from development illustrate that it is more the role of manpower and human investment which is known as "human capital". Human capital has unique features which suggest its importance and superiority over other capitals in the society. This capital is a non-amortizable asset, and the more it is used, the larger it will become.

One of achievements resulting from the use of human capital is paying attention to the different social classes and their influence on development trend of society, and in this regard, women as a society's stratum are not excluded. Therefore, women's role and status in higher education system is paramount.

It is well known that women constitute half of the population and have always tried to be influential in different social sectors. Of course, this situation depends on various factors among which higher education is one of the most important one. From the viewpoint of developmentalists, the development process is not possible without women's participation; and such participation is impossible without a change in traditional attitudes, gender stereotyping and man and woman's role in the family; equal rights for women; accessibility to ownership and production resources; as well as more participation in managerial systems and decision-making processes.

In low-income countries, the behavior of rich and middle-class families is an influential political factor to put pressure on the government in order to increase the quality of institutes, improve higher education accessibility, and if needed, allow university entrance based on quota. Social outputs indicate the need to expand and develop the educational system; the private output would also be present simultaneously. Then the public sector should provide the required expenses for expansion and development of educational system or at least allow the private sector to contribute as well.

One of the issues has received much attention in international gatherings is the issue of women's role in development. This idea has been of greater concern in the West and has become widespread. For example, nowadays organizations are active in organizing environmental and natural resources to improve environmental conditions. The increasing number of these organizations has made the issue of development more significant. Even though, this is not a new discussion, its proposition in the present form relates to rapid changes in industry and technology and hopefully affects women's role in development.

In today's world, the developing countries are concerned to know how to catch up with the developed countries. In Western world, modernization process has been led to further materialistic progress and greater participation of women in the public sphere, and women's share in decision making and management has increased considerably.

One should consider both the economic aspects of development, and the human aspects of development, and also recognize all other factors and aspects of development. Human development is something more than a rise or fall in national revenue. It is associated with the creation of conditions in which people are able to realize and extend their potentialities and enjoy a creative and productive life in accordance with their own interests and needs, since individuals are the countries' real wealth. Thus, development accounts for more than economic growth and has a fundamental role in creating human capabilities.

In societies in which sustainable and multi-dimensional development is one of the main objectives of development, gaining benefits is one of the major rights of individuals in the society. Therefore, it is expected that all social strata including men and women, urban and rural, participate in the development process; and the ultimate objectives are the realization of equality, justice and human rights.

Since women constitute half of the population of every country, macro and micro planning of the country can only be successful if countries enjoy the utmost productivity. Therefore, exploitation and realization of the potentiality of women's capabilities not only preserves women's interest in the society, but also more importantly, preserves the interests of the society.

It is true that no country can claim to achieve development, unless pay more attention to the role of women in development, and any kind of disarray to the issue of women in developmental planning brings unsuccessfulness in all economic, political, and social aspects of development. Hence, it is necessary to have a correct picture of women's status in countries' macro and micro planning. If one does not take into account women's participation in development programs of the country, the society would certainly suffer great and irremediable damages. Thus, women's contribution is necessary in this process.

Participation implies the individuals' intervention in the development process so that they have access to resources, interests, and opportunities; and thus improving the quality of their social and private life. In recent decades, one of the most important changes that have occurred in developing countries is giving priority to higher education at all levels.

The constant increase in the number of educated women is certainly an index of progress and development. Developing countries are encountering lack of human capitals, thus the increasing presence of women at the universities can improve women's status in private life as mothers and wives, as well as improving their social status. In fact, their presence at the universities, schools and educational institutes gives them a chance to learn life skills, and helps them embark on various scientific fields. This is useful for their future life for educating their children, so they will not reproduce despotism and authoritarianism in the framework of male dominance and patriarchy. In addition, when women are employed, they are more effective and competent in training skilled manpower in management.

Since women form half of the human capital of any country, they can play a more significant role in establishing a new cultural adjustment which results from development changes and globalization. The educated women arising from the increasing number of female students can act as a force in diffusing education and enhancing the society's capacities in the development process. From this point of view, women can be considered as an accelerating force for development.

At the macro-economic level, education has been the most significant and forceful factor in economic growth in recent decades (Jourgenson, 1995). Part of the economic enhancement during recent times is because of educational investment. At the micro-economic level, education has a positive impression on economic growth (Shoultz, 1988). Furthermore, educated parents pay more attention to their children. Research

on women's education reveals that a mother's education has a positive effect on her children's qualitative progress (Straus & Bigel, 1996). Such an effect is greater for mother's education as compared to that of fathers (Behrman, 1997). Therefore, since the external effect of women's education is more widespread than that of men, greater investment for women's education is more efficient and useful for the society (Emadzadeh, 2004).

As people's demand for higher education increases, theories related to the behavior of such request evolve around two main issues: (a) consumption, (b) investment. Therefore, higher education has both the consumption and the investment features. In neoclassical school of thought, among the various baskets of commodity, individuals ask for a basket which according to their income limitations offers them the most desirability. Based on this perspective, demand for higher education is a decision made by an individual or his/her family, which depends on their income. This is the kind of relationship between price and income in economic literature of commodities and services (Gharoon, 2003).

Thus, education is amongst the services whose production and consumption has social advantages. When people receive education in a society, they are not the only ones who benefit from the advantages of education, but society also benefits from such abilities. Meanwhile, particularly in countries such as Iran, the government plays a major role in providing facilities and educational investments for primary, secondary, high school and even the university level. Therefore, since the production and consumption of commodities or services involve expenses and social utility, such expenses and utilities should be taken into account by producers or consumers, and government should provide such social utility better to the public.

From the standpoint of human capital theory, education and particularly higher education has been considered as capital good. Thus, education and any kind of skill or training create a capacity in an individual which leads to his/her greater income in the future. In broader definition of human capital, the benefits resulting from this investment provide more income, which leads to a wiser consumption of income and increase in non-materialist desirability (Emadzadeh, 1998). Therefore, the most important priority among people regarding social demand is higher education, since such demand is influenced by other social factors such as socioeconomic status of the family and society's perception of higher education.

Recognition and analysis of such influential factors for higher education illustrates significant points in accelerating demand for education. By result, such social demand, and the obligation to recognize the influential factors on this collective behavior, is affected by a growing demand for higher education in different parts of Iran.

In social demand approach, the desirable level for investment or development is equal to the rate of demand. It can be argued that higher education should be accessible to all those who have the ability and merit to launch into it.

In a man-power plan approach, the criteria are investment, development of capacities, as well as the provision of trained manpower required for various economic and social sectors. Thus, by identifying the requirements of different sectors, the optimum rate of educational investment in order to attain economic goals can be recognized.

According to Blumberg's research (1998), compared to uneducated and less educated ones, educated women experience a healthier pregnancy and the average weight of their children is better. Furthermore, their babies have a higher chance of staying alive, suffer less from various diseases, have a better nutritious diet, and they are more successful at different stages of their schooling. Generally, on equal terms, the education of mothers has a positive effect on the health and growth of children. Becker (1981) believes that educated women have a lower fertility rate and are less engaged with unwanted pregnancy.

Statistics on Iranian Women's Higher Education

University of Tehran was the first Iranian university which opened its doors to rich Tehrani girls in 1932 (Arasteh, 1959). The vast presence of girls at the universities occurred after the Islamic Revolution in 1979; and since 1989 it has had an upward trend (Kazemipour, 1999). In 2005, girls constituted 62% of the university entrees (Zahedi, 2005). In recent years, the ever-increasing number of female university

students has drawn the attention of cultural and political communities, and even the Iranian Parliament, to put this issue on its agenda.

In the first university entrance exam after the Cultural Revolution (1984), from 42% of female examinees, only 32% were admitted, whereas from 58% of male participants, 68% were admitted into the universities. The admission chance of girls in this exam for this academic year was 8%, while it was 12.2% for boys (Ministry of Higher Education, 1984).

In one decade, the admission chance has had less discrepancy. In fact, based on the statistics, the percentage of female applicants and their acceptance into the universities, has taken precedence over boys.

In 2001 and 2002, the admission rate of girls was higher than that of boys in all group entrees except in mathematics and engineering. In some disciplines, such as agriculture engineering and gardening, this rate exceeded over 70% of the total enrollments. Even though, in M.A. and Ph.D. studies, female enrollees were lower than male counterparts.

Akbari and Haghighi (2006) have examined women's social demand for higher education in different provinces of Iran between the years 1984-2003. According to their analysis, women's social demand for higher education has been greater than that of men. There are some concerns over this issue. The first consideration is that the increase in girls' entrance into the universities is one of the manifestations to reduce underdevelopment and backwardness, as well as compensation for sex discrimination. In fact, it is a step forward to fulfill social justice and equality. From this point of view, the precedence of girls over boys is not worrisome; rather, it is a way to decrease sex discrimination and underdevelopment. It is also a way to increase women's knowledge, their social participation, a change for their traditional attitudes, redefinition of women's role in the family and society, more involvements in managerial system and decision making, as well as entitlement to equal civil and social rights.

There are also other approaches involved regarding the high demand of Iranian women for higher education, such as state focused intervention approach which proposes an equal share of men and women at the universities.

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In Iran, statistics reveals that the number of enrollees for university entrance exam has had a considerable increase as compared to that of pre-university students and such increase has continued up to the year 2004. This implies that the Iranian society is facing a greater demand for girls in higher education and the girls themselves have proved to be more competent. It is worth noting that girls have the chance to enroll in the entrance exam for as many successive years as they wish, whereas boys are deprived of this opportunity for multiple reasons, including compulsory military service, financial problems, responsibilities toward family's financial issues and the necessity to enter the labor market as early as possible, and consequently less motivation to continue their education.

The statistics on admitted enrollees at the universities and institutes of higher education show that there is a lack of proper educational planning across the Country. Imani & Mardiha (2002) believe that among the solutions for an increase in men's admission to higher education is the provision of specific fields of studies which are more attractive to men.

Girls' Incentives for Higher Education

In a society such as Iran, part of the girls' interests for entering university is because of attaining a higher social status. Among the reasons behind girls' demand for higher education is the relationship between their deprivation in the society and their efforts of gaining status through continuing their education. Before the Islamic Revolution in 1979, higher education was mainly provided for wealthy women and women from the 'Royal Family', but after the Revolution, the urban girls as well as rural girls had an opportunity to go to the universities.

Today, Iranian women consider higher education as the only way for progress, and the most assured and reliable way to shape their destiny. Women, who took part in demonstrations in support of the Islamic Revolution and were involved in anti-Shah rallies, are willing to take part in different social, economic, and political fields in the post-Revolution period. The growing number of educated women after the Revolution created a large number of skilled women who are able to play important scientific and cultural roles. Thus, the traditional role of women is going to be weakened due to various factors, particularly through raising women awareness. In this regard, new technical-scientific tendencies are going to be reinforced too. With globalization and the expansion of communications, girls are more interested in achieving higher academic degrees. Therefore, besides gaining a higher social status, they will be able to enter different fields of study.

It seems that in Iran, the most important function of education for women is gaining social prestige. In the past, women were not considered as a priority, while an improvement in women's conditions and status in family and social life is observed today.

Akbari and Haghighi (2006) believe that an increase in the age of marriage, greater motivation for further education and a change of people's attitudes towards women are amongst the main reasons for greater female enrolments at the university entrance exams.

Salehi (2002) argues that in developed countries, attributed variables and factors such as values, social status and class are going to be replaced by acquired factors. Hence, since acquired skills and education are among the most important factors, the criterion of evaluating individuals is based on acquired factors including education, which itself is an important motivation for girls demanding higher education at the universities. Collins states that in societies in which qualifications and degrees are the criteria to evaluate an individuals' status, attaining university degree is among the most acquired values (in Sandestrom, 1999).

Imani and Mardiha (2002) argue that from a historical point of view, a relative improvement in women's accessibility to education is a response to women's demand for higher education. If one believes that part of this progress is indebted to women's eagerness and enthusiasm, thus in this way, women can gain social status through entering the universities. Thus, such status provides them with the right to find and choose a suitable husband, and the likelihood of social and political participation.

Shoultz (1988) believes that private and public investment in women's education relates to a demand for finding jobs and economic pressures (such as per capita income and university tuition fees). In Iran, in recent decades after the Revolution, the family's decision making as well as parents' interests have changed a lot. Parents do not believe that boys have bigger outcomes compared to girls anymore. Research demonstrates that in Iran, in the eyes of girls, education is not an economic asset for future productivity, but the value of education itself and social status have greater significance.

Educated Women in Iran and Occupation

Kelli (1992) argues that educated women are more involved in the labor market. Since education paves the way for women's occupational success, gaining education raises their opportunities for taking more prestigious jobs.

In Iran, despite women's progress in education, their participation in the labor market is low, and during recent decades, it has been constantly low at around 13 percent of the working population. As men are legally the main providers of family expenses and the only breadwinner; society, law, and family have lower expectations from women compared to men regarding economic contribution. In the same vein, organizations, governmental and non-governmental institutes prioritize men.

Concerning demand for female expertise in the labor market, there are many obstacles and inequalities in terms of rate of activity and participation, proportion of occupation, rate of unemployment, variability of horizontal and vertical levels of occupation which all have structural, cultural, and political reasons. These obstacles can be eliminated through changing policies and institutes in the country in favor of women. Regarding changes occurring at economic, social, cultural, and political areas in Iran, there are still many sex stereotyping and norms in the labor market.

Some believe that an increase in the number of female university entries implies an increase in the number of educated women, in which education may be desirable for them, but at the same time, it causes problems such as unemployment in the labor market, for instance, the 40% and 60% ratio of male and female university students in 2004 implies 40% and 60% graduated male and female students in 2008 looking for job.

In Iran, a few decades ago, women's socio-economic participation in society had been substantially resisted. Being in par with their male counterparts under these circumstances is very difficult for female expertise. Furthermore, traditionally there are many jobs which solely belong to men because of their hard working conditions. After the Iranian Revolution in 1979, lack of scientific approach in decision makings combined with factors such as the 'Cultural Revolution' at the universities, migration from war-stricken cities and socio-economic problems increased the inequalities in the specialist labor force in 1989-1990.

The traditions and deeply rooted normative patterns induced a gender biased social role for women and girls. These patterns eclipsed families and parents' methods of child rearing, and even women's own attitude, behavior and inclination. This implied a family role (as wife and mother) for women, so university education in certain fields of studying was restricted. Even the girls themselves believed that some disciplines, jobs, and activities were not suitable for them.

The increasing demand of Iranian women for higher education and their increasing admission compared to men have led the state focused-intervention approach to stop this trend. It is estimated that the frequency of female admission to the universities will increase as compared to males, and in the near future it will exceed 70%.

Considering the fact that the proportion of male and female population is about 50/50, and knowing that even in developed countries, job vacancies are greater for men compared to women it can be argued that the growing trend of female admission to universities may be regulated by state intervention based on concentrated 50% quota (Kelli, 1992). The state intervention approach seeks solutions without paying attention to demand and supply process. This assumption contradicts the scientific findings for higher education in which student selection is left to the universities, and in competitive terms, universities determine and implement their own rules and principles, as well as the number of admitted students in different fields of study (Farasatkhah, 2005). In this sense, it is understandable if universities determine gender composition based on the needs of the society and according to the demands of the labor market.

Another shortcoming of this approach is to neglect the role of the private sector. As private sector plays an important role in the labor market, the government will no longer be the great provider of expert manpower.

Finally, in this approach, rational selection process in the society has not received much attention. Based on rational selection, families know what decisions are more beneficial and efficient for them, and to find how to take advantage of the cultural, social and economic opportunities of the society, such as having a prosperous job, and in case of applying for university, they know which field of study to choose.

The combination of decentralization, the active role of the private sector along with the universities, as well as the family's rational selection can create a better balance for gender composition to offer and demand expert manpower instead of state intervention. In one hand, the government is able to pave the way for transparent and lawful competitive terms, and on the other hand, it can support and facilitate the growth of these competitions. Through establishing positive and mutual interaction with the universities, dynamic and endogenous equilibrium to provide public interest will be built on.

Unfortunately, despite improvements in women's situation in Iran regarding accessibility to education, there are not enough job opportunities for educated women. Hence, the labor market is suffering from major gender imbalance, which is not favorable to women. In analyzing the conditions of expert manpower in the labor market, it is clear that for a very long time, women have been suffering from inequality both in offering (accessibility to higher education) and demanding (accessibility to job opportunities) aspects. As discussed earlier, if one wishes to change the women's job conditions in a society, one has to transform the patterns of labor market in favor of women, and regulating laws in reducing social and cultural obstacles.

One should bear in mind that the increasing number of educated women will bring huge resources for the society, even if all of them are not employed in the labor market. Another issue relating to women's employment is that the average age of marriage in Iran is increasing. Some argue that education not only raises the average age of marriage, but also raises marriage expectations among girls. It is assumed that educated women usually wish to choose a husband with a similar level of education. Consequently, it may automatically deprive many educated women of marrying a man with a lower level of education. Although girls' education increases the average marriage age all over the world, it is not the only factor affecting marriage age for girls.

Regarding the correlation between education and employment of women, in case of Iran, there's no clear relationship between girls' education and their employment. In fact, the reality of today's world reveals that there is no correlation between fields of study (disciplines) and type of jobs, and broadly speaking, between education and occupation. Of course, it does not mean that any kind of relationship between education and occupation is denied, but the main point is that there is not a significant relationship between these two variables. Many of the university graduates find jobs which have no direct connection with their discipline or level of education. It is even estimated that over 50% of the graduates are engaged in jobs unrelated to their disciplines (Statistical Center of Iran, 2003). Now, if it is believed that there is no correlation between field of study, level of education and job findings; the concern over gender composition in the labor market is pointless. Therefore, it seems irrational to prevent women from studying in different disciplines. Since the most common function of the university education is to gain general knowledge, offering this opportunity to women can be considered such a priority for women.

Imani and Mardiha (2002) believe that since the number of male admittance at the M.A. level was three times that of females in 2000-2001; therefore, as long as there is a marked difference at the M.A. level, the increase in the number of female students at the B.A. level will not create any problems regarding job opportunities for males.

In Iran, young boys do not have enough incentives to continue their education after finishing high school. So after finishing their high school, boys enter the labor market, while girls do not have a lot of motivation to enter the labor market and are more willing to continue their education at the universities. As mentioned earlier, an increase in the percentage of female graduates does not imply a rise in women's employment and a decline in men's employment. However, an increase in female graduates leads to their greater role in providing living expenses.

Conclusion

Research shows that educated women have smaller families, lower infant death rate and healthier infants. Furthermore, educated women are more prepared to enter the labor market, which is vital for many female-headed household families. So it is not surprising to see that in countries with a high rate of female university enrollment, there is a higher economic production, lower natality, lower infant death rates, and higher life expectancy.

Nowadays, one of the important aspects of development in societies relates to the level of women's education in different fields of study. Unfortunately, in the twentieth century, it is observed that illiteracy, educational limitations and poverty are still feminine. Regarding social status and power, women do not have the same opportunities as men. Thus, reducing gender discriminations, providing appropriate grounds for greater participation of women, as well as empowering them, are among the main goals of sustained development in any society.

In Iran, although the number of female university students has exceeded males, number of employed females has not progressed accordingly. Since the increase in the level of women's social and economic participation is critical for the country's development, changing women's employment pyramid, management pyramid in higher education, scientific pyramid of universities and research institutes, and reforms in other sectors is critical. Higher status of women status is among the most significant indices of human development which has a direct impact on national development.

Considering the high percentage of girls' admission into the universities in Iran which has exceeded 60% of the total enrollments in recent years requires the analysis of social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of the society.

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