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ABSTRACT

This work describes the development of education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar from the earlier 'Kuttab' to the present modern system, with special reference to the education of women. It deals with the growth and development of modern school education, technical and vocational education, teacher-training programmes, and university and higher education. Quantitative aspects such as total enrolment of students and enrolment rates, and qualitative aspects such as repeat and drop-out rates, the academic performance of students, the curricula and courses of study, teaching standards, teaching staff and their qualifications are described and discussed in detail. The efficiency and productivity of the institutions in relation to their historical background, the present attitudes of society, the organisational and planning problems, and government policies are discussed in relation to schools, technical colleges and universities in order to evaluate the successes or failures of the existing system of education. The underlying objectives and actual achievements of various educational programmes and policies are considered in relation to their suitability for meeting the growing demands for national manpower and for reducing the over-dependence of these Gulf States on foreign workers and experts. Recommendations to resolve some of these problems are made where possible. Special attention is given throughout to the development of women's education and its effect on the social status of Gulf women. The aims of education for women are described and compared with those of education for men. Finally, the effect of women's education on their role in present-day Gulf society is discussed in terms of attitudes of society, family structure, women's societies and organisations, women's participation in the workforce and their political status.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION IN
BAHRAIN, KUWAIT AND QATAR WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND
THEIR POSITION IN MODERN GULF SOCIETY

by

SHEIKHA ABDULLA AL-MISNAD

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To my father, Abdulla Ali Al-Misnad, for his encouragement to me personally and for his moral and practical support for the cause of Qatari women's education, and to my mother for her patience.

والى والدى عبدالله على المسند
لتشجيعه لى ودعمه العلم والمفردا لخصه تعلم
المرأة المفكرين والى والدته لصبرها.

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INTRODUCTION

General introduction

The modern history of the Arab Gulf States began with the settlement of Bedouin tribes who emigrated from central Arabia and established their sheikhdoms in towns situated on the western coast of the Arabian Gulf. Following their conversion to Islam in the 6th century, these Bedouin tribes, besides practising the Quranic and Shariah laws, also kept some traditional customs which did not conflict directly with those of Islam. Their concept of everyday life and their aspirations were very simple and they remained almost completely uninfluenced by civilisation created by their own Arab empire over the centuries. The Bedouin never showed any desire or need for any kind of formal education or knowledge. The imparting of knowledge or experience, if considered necessary, was limited to male children, who were permitted to accompany their elders^m (the Majilis) and to listen to their discussions. This method of education, "Majilisna Madarisna", meaning "our salons are our schools", was practised mainly among the ruling families¹. The Sheikhs, as heads of the ruling families, believed that their heirs could acquire the knowledge necessary to rule their countries simply by attending these meetings.

Since they did not believe in formal schooling for their own sons, it is not surprising that the Sheikhs showed no interest in the education of their subjects. This is illustrated in the following remark made by Hafiz Wahba²:

"For instance, I recall that Kuwait's first school, in the modern sense of the word, was established in 1912 through the contribution of the citizens themselves. Sheikh Mubarak (the ruler of Kuwait at that time) contributed nothing to this first education venture in his domain."



Apart from the lack of interest in education by the ruling families, the subsistence economy of these societies did not provide for activities such as education. While the rulers enjoyed overall political authority over their subjects, their financial position was no better than that of their subjects. They depended heavily on meagre taxes collected from local merchants. It was almost impossible for the general public to contemplate any form of education because of their extreme poverty. Pearl-fishing, one of the main economic activities of Gulf society in those days, recruited and absorbed almost all the able-bodied males in the community for at least six months a year. Apart from the many dangers, it never raised the economic standard of these communities above the poverty line. Economic conditions in the Gulf States worsened further as a result of the First World War, the economic recession of the 1930's, and because of the decline in the pearl-fishing industry after the introduction by the Japanese of the cultured pearl.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the question of provision of formal education facilities did not even arise in these countries. Although during the first quarter of the 20th century local merchants in Bahrain and Kuwait started to finance more formal schools where simple arithmetic and book-keeping were taught in addition to the traditional Kuttab education, their attempts were not very successful. The uncertainties of financial support, and the fluctuating numbers of students attending these schools (due to the manpower requirements of and income from the pearl-fishing industry) were perhaps the main difficulties facing these early attempts at formal education.

The beginning and expansion of modern education did not start until the early 1950's with the advent of the export of oil on a large

scale. Before this the question of the education of women was hardly considered. This custom and practice of sex-segregation and the idea of the subservient and inferior role of women were firmly established in these States, where the role of women was considered by society, and even by the women themselves, as being solely wives and mothers.

At the end of childhood, women donned the veil and were isolated completely from the outside world. They were confined to their father's home until the day of their marriage, and then to their husband's home for the rest of their lives. Apart from Kuttab education, which they received in childhood, the education of women was considered not only unnecessary but also detrimental and a threat to traditional society. The attitude of Gulf society, like other Arab States, towards women is not just a function of their Bedouin philosophy or their simple belief in the Quran. Over the centuries, Muslim theologians and clergy have invariably interpreted simple Quranic laws concerning women in a way that gave men advantage over women. While many Quranic laws and the Prophet's traditions which command men to be kind and just to their women were given little attention, one Quranic message is Sura 33-59, which reads as follows³:

"O Prophet, say to thy wives and daughters and the believing women, that they draw their veils close to them; so it be likelier they will be known and not hurt."

was not only misinterpreted, but was also fully exploited by the decadent Arab society of the Abassiad period, when women were secluded and harems were created. A most damaging outcome of the misinterpretation and social malpractices was the sex-segregation of Arab society. According to Ann Dearden (1975)⁴, the greatest deprivation of all was

that henceforward women were denied education and were isolated in women's quarters. They could not talk to educated people other than their husbands, fathers or brothers. They were physically and mentally in thrall to their little circle of menfolk. Had it not been for the efforts of men like Qasim Amin of Egypt, who started campaigning for equal rights for Arab women at the beginning of the 20th century, the position today of women in Arab society might still have been little different. An increasing awareness among Arab societies and the strengthening of debate in favour of the emancipation of women in these countries during the first half of the 20th century had a considerable influence on the attitude of men as well as society in general towards women.

Nearly 1400 years after the advent of Islam, another miracle happened in the Arab lands in the mid-20th century, when oil was first discovered in the Arabian Peninsula. The discovery of oil transformed these poor desert sheikhdoms into the world's richest nations within a decade. The income from the export of oil has provided massive amounts of revenue, enabling these governments to carry out all kinds of development programmes, irrespective of their cost. The socio-economic changes that followed the discovery of oil were sudden and rapid, and people were neither mentally prepared for them nor had any considered plans for general development. The development of modern education and its subsequent expansion was an outcome of modernisation plans, rather than as a result of any real interest on the part of the authorities or of the general public.

These factors are of crucial importance in considering the development of education and its productivity in the Gulf States. First,

while all educational facilities have been provided in abundance and free of charge, any change in the attitudes of society towards the value of education in general and the education of women in particular has been discouragingly slow. Secondly, while there has been no shortage of funds, lack of enthusiasm on the part of the ruling families and lack of experience on the part of the planners have been real obstacles to achieving the full socio-economic benefits from the development and expansion of education.

Earlier studies on education in the three Gulf States

To date only a limited amount of research has been carried out on education in Gulf society. This work includes al-Hamer's⁵ and Rumihi's⁶ studies on Bahrain, Fauzia Abdulghafoor's⁷ and al-Nuri's⁸ studies on Kuwait, and al-Kobaisi's⁹ study on Qatar. These original studies are invaluable and have been used extensively in the present work. However, all these earlier studies, besides being concerned with individual States, vary considerably in their purpose and nature and cover only the early periods of the development of education in these States. Whereas al-Hamer's work on Bahrain describes and discusses in detail the development of education and the problems facing it during the period 1940-1965, Rumihi's work (which mainly deals with socio-economic political changes in Bahrain from the First World War to 1971) gives some information on school education and its social effects on Bahraini society. In the case of Kuwait, the earlier work of al-Nuri simply describes the Kuttab education system and the events leading to the establishment of the first two public schools during 1910-1940. On the other hand, Fauzia Abdulghafoor's work on Kuwait describes the development of modern education from 1912-1972, including

Kuttab education and the beginning of modern public schools in that country. The only study on Qatar is that of al-Kobaisi, which covers the period 1950-1977 and describes the development of school education and its administrative organisation as well as the problems facing it in that country.

Other related works on education in the Gulf States include Sinclair's¹⁰ comparative study of education and manpower problems in Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar, al-Mohaini's¹¹ descriptive study of public education in Kuwait, Taha's¹² case study of education and the imperatives of change in Kuwait, and al-Tameemi's¹³ study of Christian missionary work in the Gulf region.

Research carried out on Gulf women is also extremely limited. These works include "A Study of Social Change in Kuwait with Special Reference to the Status of Women", by al-Marzoog¹⁴, "Les Femmes et le Movement Feminin de Bahrein", by Hamaiden¹⁵, and "The Women of the United Arab Emirates", by Linda Soffan¹⁶. Similarly, apart from two conferences organised by the Cultural and Social Women's Association of Kuwait (the first in 1975 on the condition of women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf, and the second in 1981 on Woman and Development in the Eighties), there have been no other meetings or discussions of this nature.

Objects and aims of the present work

To the author's knowledge, a definitive and comprehensive study on the quantitative and qualitative aspects of different ladders of education from primary school to university, technical and teacher-training programmes in the Gulf States has not so far been carried out. The importance of this kind of approach is undoubted in view of the fact that

although there has been a considerable expansion of modern education at enormous cost in these countries, the efficiency of the educational programmes has been relatively low. Instead of simply looking into crude enrolment data, an approach used in previous studies, all possible efforts have been made to analyse intake, repeat and drop-out rates as well as other parameters usually employed in assessing the efficiency of an educational system. Furthermore, various other aspects such as curricula, standards of teaching and the academic standards of students have also been analysed and discussed in relation to the purpose and role of education in meeting the socio-economic and manpower demands of the Gulf States.

As indicated in the title of this thesis, one of the main objectives of the present work was to study the development and the present state of women's education in these countries. The development of education for women and the problems it faces have been discussed in relation to the education of men in view of the traditional social prejudices towards women in Gulf society. The effects of education of Gulf Women on their position in modern Gulf society have also been discussed briefly in order to assess the potential role of women in the development of Gulf society.

The analysis and discussion of the development of education in this work are based primarily upon demographic and school data. The collection of precise and relevant statistical and other data from the Gulf States is a formidable task. Access to contemporary data sources is equally difficult, as often these data are not officially released for publication. Information which is published by the governments is often only available several years after its collection. The collection

of existing material is itself not easy, as it is rarely available outside the government departments which are responsible for the records. Much data collection is only achieved through informal personal contacts, which presents another formidable task for a female researcher. It is not easy for a female Gulf student to walk into the corridors of these ministries, nor is she welcome there. The author made two trips to the Gulf States, the first in 1981 to Kuwait and Qatar, and the second in 1982 to Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar, and was only able to obtain very limited information on population and school statistics.

As stated by Birks and Sinclair¹⁷, statistics collected in and pertaining to the Arab world can rarely be taken at their face value. Population censuses in the three Gulf States are hardly comparable because they have been carried out at different time intervals and at different times. For example, population censuses in Bahrain were carried out in 1941, 1950, 1959, 1965, 1971 and 1981, while censuses in Kuwait were carried out in 1957, 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980. On the other hand, in Qatar the only population census carried out to date was in 1970 and was conducted by the United Nations. All subsequent demographic data on Qatar simply comprise forecasts made by Shankland and Co. of London.

According to specialists in this field, not much reliance can be placed on projected figures for population or school education statistics unless they have been based on at least two preceding censuses¹⁸. Therefore very little significance can be attached to the trends forecast by such methods, especially in the light of rapid and increasing socio-economic change. Very little attempt has been made by the authorities

to collect data or maintain records. Even in cases where population censuses have been carried out, no importance has been attached to their usefulness in other areas such as education, as no information has been collected on the basis of sex or age groups in the different levels of school education.

Bearing in mind the various points raised above, however, the author has done her best to describe and analyse carefully the data made available to her during the course of the present work. The present study is mainly based on original sources in both Arabic and English languages. Titles of Arabic sources are denoted by the addition of the letter A in parentheses at the end of the reference. The transliteration used in this work follows the method used in the School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham. However, when an Arabic name or word has a form that has been commonly accepted in English, it has been used without change. Names of Arabic scholars, whose work is in English, have been written in the form used in English sources.

Plan and organisation of the present work

As a means of achieving the objectives and aims stated above, and to draw some meaningful conclusions, the present work is organised into nine chapters.

Chapter 1 gives a brief account of the historical backgrounds of Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar in relation to recent changes in the socio-economic and political systems, together with changes in the family structure and in the status and role of women since the discovery of oil. An understanding of the background of the Gulf States is important because many factors which have influenced and are still affecting the

development of modern education in general and of women's education in particular arise from some of the deep-rooted beliefs and customs of Gulf society.

Chapter 2 deals with (a) the traditional Kuttab education, (b) the beginning of modern education for boys, and (c) the beginning of modern education for girls, together with an account of attitudes of society and its reactions in the three Gulf States.

The next two chapters (3 and 4) are devoted to examining the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the expansion of modern school education for boys and girls. Chapter 3 describes kindergarten (or pre-primary) and primary education, while Chapter 4 focuses on intermediate and secondary school education. Various parameters such as intake and enrolment rates, repeat and drop-out rates, number of school teachers and their qualifications, school curricula, and performance of students have been analysed and discussed in order to assess the efficiency of the school system.

Chapter 5 describes the development and problems of technical education for men and women in the three Gulf States, and concentrates on religious, commercial and industrial technical education at secondary and post-secondary school levels. Chapter 6 deals with teacher-training programmes and their development from the secondary school level to their present university status. Teacher-training has been dealt with separately from the rest of technical education since its development has been very different from that of other technical education programmes and it overlaps with the development of university education in the Gulf States. Many serious problems, such as the lack of popularity of technical education among Gulf youth, its inability to

meet national manpower demands, and the low degree of female participation have been discussed and some recommendations made for their solution.

Chapter 7 deals with the development of university education and the establishment and expansion of national universities in the three Gulf States. Part 1 of this chapter describes and discusses higher education of Gulf nationals at universities abroad with respect to means of funding and sponsorship, host countries, subjects of specialisation, and problems arising from government policies on higher education for Gulf women at universities abroad. Part 2 describes the establishment of the national universities of Kuwait and Qatar, the University College of Bahrain, and the Gulf University in Bahrain. Various aspects of university education such as admission policies, types of undergraduate courses, teaching and academic staff, enrolment of male and female students, their standards and choice of subjects, the availability of postgraduate education and research facilities have been described and discussed within the limits imposed by the available data. A comparison of female to male access to higher education at home and at universities abroad has also been made.

Chapter 8 is devoted to the effects of education on the attitudes of society towards women and the social, economic and political status of women in present-day Gulf society and their potential role in the development of these countries. Various aspects such as the reaction of educated Gulf men to female education, the change from extended to nuclear family structure, the emergence of women's societies and organisations, political rights, the participation of women in the national work force, and job opportunities and the access of women to professional

and non-professional employment have also been discussed in relation to the effects of the education of Gulf women.

Chapter 9 comprises general conclusions on the development of education of men and women in the Gulf States in relation to its achievements and failures. Many official policies and practices which so far have played counterproductive roles have been highlighted and recommendations made for solving these problems in order to improve the existing system of education in these countries.

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CHAPTER 1

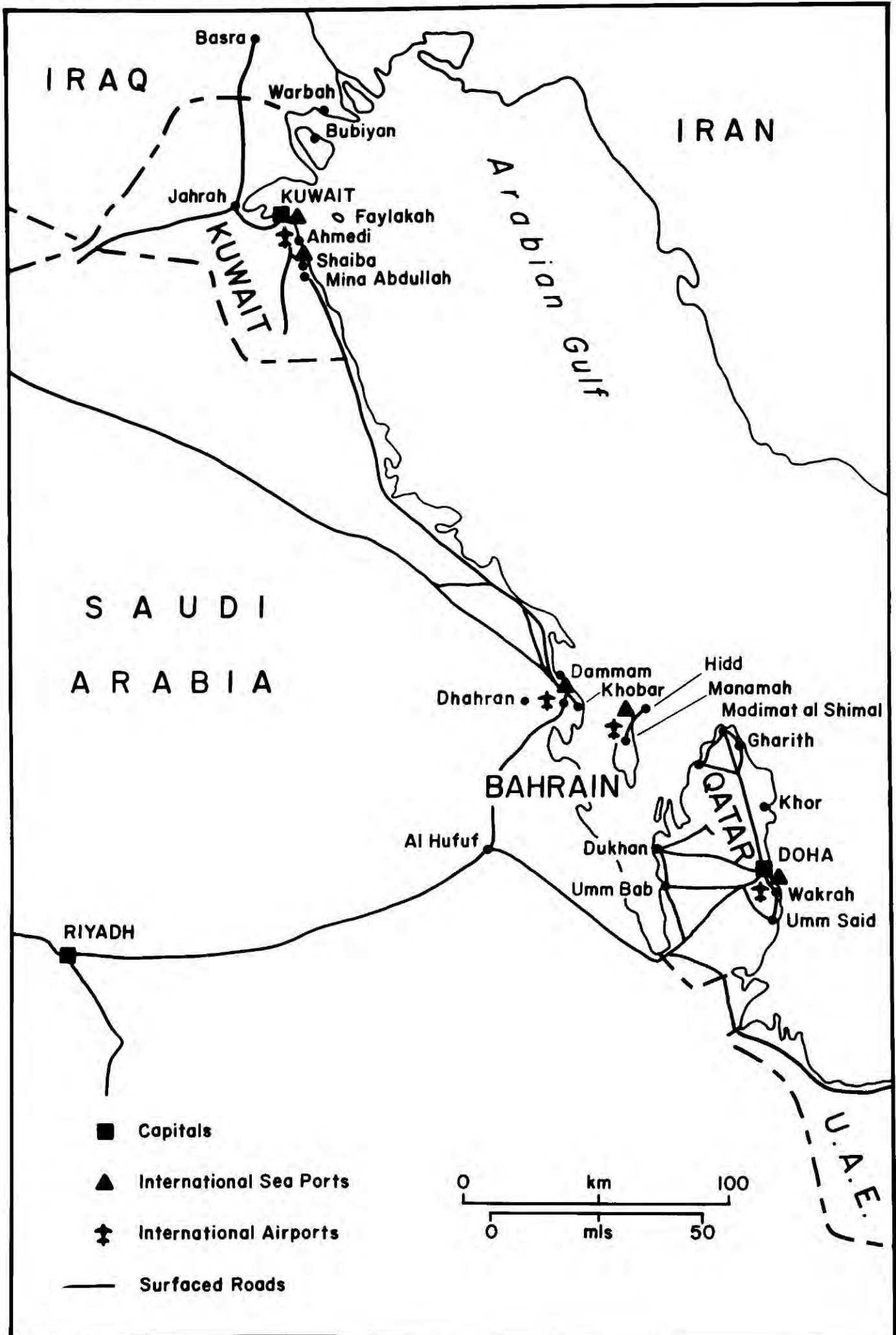
HISTORICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND
POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE GULF STATES

A. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The three Gulf States are situated on the western coast of the Arabian Gulf. Bahrain consists of a group of islands, eleven in number, with a total land area of 663 sq.km.¹ and situated approximately half way along the western coastline of the Gulf. Kuwait, which occupies about 17,850 sq.km. is situated on the western coast of the Arabian Gulf and shares borders with Saudi Arabia in the south and with Iraq in the north and west². Qatar, a peninsula covering an area of 11,437 sq.km., is situated in the middle, along the western coast of the Arabian Gulf and bordered by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in the south-west³ (Fig. 1.1).

The modern history of the three States may be said to have started during the early part of the 18th century, when a group of Arab tribes called 'Utub' emigrated from the southern part of mainland Arabia and settled in Zubarah town in the north-western part of Qatar. According to Abu-Hakima, the Utub tribes were aware of the strategic importance of the coastal towns of Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait in conveyance of trade from the Arabian Gulf to mainland Arabia⁵. Because of internal political unrest and weakening of power in central Arabia as well as throughout the Ottoman Empire and Persia, Utub settlements in these coastal towns went almost unnoticed by these powers⁶. Utub tribes were thus given an opportunity to live relatively independently in these towns. After their temporary halt at Zubarah town in Qatar, some Utub tribes, namely al-Sabah, al-Khalifa and al-Jalahima, moved north and occupied Kuwait in 1716⁷. Around 1750, the al-Sabah tribe successfully established their sheikhdom in Kuwait and in 1766 al-Khalifa and other tribes moved out of Kuwait and went back to Zubarah town in Qatar⁸.

Fig 1-1 Location map of Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar



Following many tribal conflicts between the Utub tribes and the rulers of Shiraz and their allies in Bahrain, some Utub tribes under the leadership of al-Khalifa launched an attack on Bahrain and successfully occupied it in 1782⁹. The wealth and prosperity of Bahrain in those days tempted al-Khalifa and his allies to occupy Bahrain. They were also motivated by a desire to escape from the domination of the Wahabis, whose political strength in central and mainland Arabia was then growing rapidly¹⁰. Although there was considerable opposition to al-Khalifa's rule in Qatar, the al-Khalifa tribe ruled both Bahrain and Qatar until 1877. In 1878, the Qataris under the leadership of Jasim Muhammed al-Thani launched a successful attack and destroyed Zubarah town which was held as a symbol of al-Khalifa's rule in Qatar¹¹. Qatar gained complete independence when it signed a protection treaty with the British in 1916¹². Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar became British protectorates in 1820, 1899 and 1916 respectively¹³. It was a long time after the Second World War before these treaties were annulled. Kuwait became a sovereign state in 1961¹⁴ and Bahrain and Qatar acquired sovereignty in 1971¹⁵.

B. ECONOMY

1. Traditional economy

The desert and barren nature of the land and the arid climatic conditions offered no prospects of agriculture in this region. Before the discovery of oil, the main economic activities were centred on fishing, pearl-diving and trade. Bahrain and Kuwait were the commercial centres for trade between mainland Arabia and South Asia and coastal African countries¹⁶. It has been reported that Bahrain's trade fleet consisted of about 100 ships in 1905 and that Kuwait had 150 ships in 1920¹⁷.

The main merchandise included export of pearls from the Gulf and import of cloth, rice, coffee, tea and spices from the Asian and African countries. Pearl-fishing was the main industry, which employed almost all able-bodied men throughout the pearl-fishing season, which lasted from June to October¹⁸. Apart from the ruling families, some merchants and captains of the pearl-fishing boats, the standard of living of the remainder of the community was extremely low. Nine out of ten pearl-divers lived and died hopelessly in debt to the captains of the pearl-fishing boats¹⁹. Until 1923, when some reforms were introduced in Bahrain, even the death of a pearl-diver was not the end as his debts were simply passed on to his brother or son who were then forced into the pearl industry unless they had money or property with which to clear the debt²⁰. The pearl industry started to collapse long before the discovery of oil because of an economic crisis resulting from the First World War and the international monetary crisis of 1929²⁵, which appreciably decreased the demand for luxury items. Later, the beginning of the cultured pearl industry in Japan, the Second World War and finally the discovery of oil in the region almost completely ended this industry in the Gulf States²¹.

2. Modern economy

In modern history, no other society has changed so rapidly in such a short period of time as has the Arab Gulf society. These otherwise small and insignificant desert sheikhdoms of the early 1920's are now the world's capital-rich nations. This happened because of the discovery of oil in the late 1920's and its commercial production in 1934 in Bahrain, in 1946 in Kuwait and in 1949 in Qatar²². Among the major oil-producing countries in the Middle East, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain

rank 4th, 6th and 7th positions with respect to oil production and income from oil export (Table 1.1). The income from the export of oil constitutes about 76%, 96% and 92% of the total revenues of the governments of Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively, as shown from records for the past five or six years (Table 1.2). As a result of commercial oil production and its export, the gross national product per capita of these three Gulf States has risen from an almost negligible figure²³ in the pre-oil period to \$19,830 in Kuwait, \$26,080 in Qatar and \$5,560 in Bahrain²⁴.

Oil wealth in these States, as in other oil-producing countries of the Middle East, has been the main economic source used to improve the welfare of the people. Commodities whose absence set strict limits on what was possible personally, socially and economically have been provided and made available in abundance. Sea-water desalination plants, electricity generation and better housing characterised the earliest moves towards modernisation. The growing demands and aspirations of the population encouraged an ever more lavish provision of infrastructure and social services. Before 1973 the provision of physical and social infrastructure absorbed much of the oil revenues²⁵. It also posed administrative problems which created a government bureaucracy which employed large numbers of nationals. Wages were often paid more as of right rather than in return for particular services²⁶. This type of employment and growing oil wealth meant that the transformation from a traditional to a modern economy came rapidly. The desire of these States to consolidate their wealth to create an alternative source of income and to achieve the qualities of a 'modern' state, spawned industrial development in some cases before infrastructure projects were completed. By the early 1970's petrochemical and small manufacturing industries were

TABLE 1.1

Oil production and revenue of the
major oil-producing Arab countries
of the Middle East in 1977

Country	Production of crude oil (Thousand barrels per day)	Oil revenue (in Billion dollars)
Saudi Arabia	9,200	41.4
Iraq	2,493	9.5
Libya	2,063	10.0
Kuwait	1,967	9.1
U.A.E.	1,999	9.1
Qatar	445	2.0
Bahrain	58	1.4

Source: Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Statistical Abstract
1981, Tables 202-203, p.198.

TABLE 1.2

Oil revenue as percentage of total
government income in period indicated below

Country	Oil revenue as percentage of total government income (Average value of years listed on the left)
Bahrain: 1973-1979 ^a	69%
Kuwait: 1975-1980 ^b	96%
Qatar: 1975-1980 ^c	92%

Sources: (a) Ministry of Finance and National
Economy, Bahrain. Financial Report
1977. Mimeograph.

The Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd.
Quarterly Economic Review of Bahrain,
Qatar, Oman, the Yemens. Annual
Supplement, 1981, p.12.

(b) Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Annual
Statistical Abstract, 1981. Table 276,
p.282.

(c) Presidency of the Council of Ministers,
Qatar. Annual Statistical Abstract,
1981. Table 149, p.215.

well established in these States. The increase in the oil price in 1973 further boosted the potential for the economic and industrial development of these States.

The date when modern development started in each of the Gulf States varied, largely according to the amount of oil revenues and of the policy of the rulers in distributing this wealth for public welfare. Although large amounts of oil revenues were invested abroad, a proportion of the wealth was also invested in domestic economic development projects. In the rush to develop the modern industrial sector of these economies, little attention was given to traditional activities like pearling, fishing and trading. As a result most of these industries have vanished completely. Despite absorbing virtually all the labour from traditional employment, the modern economic sector in the Gulf States has suffered from a critical shortage of national manpower. In addition to this shortage, other factors like the shortage of raw material other than oil, the limited local market, the lack of infrastructure and investment facilities, the reluctance of individuals to invest in domestic industry have been serious obstacles to creating a sound industrial sector in these States²⁷.

The economy of Bahrain is more diversified than that of her neighbouring Gulf States. Until 1960, apart from oil, the entrepot trade dominated the Bahrain economy. Whilst it provided customs duties to the government, it also generated considerable employment²⁸. The major feature of industrial expansion in the 1970's had been the development of aluminium smelting and related industries²⁹. In 1980 the plant reached its maximum output of 125,954 tons of aluminium per annum³⁰. It is the largest industrial venture presently operating in the Arabian

peninsula. A network of aluminium-related industries, including a paint factory, an aluminium extrusion plant which produces window frames and other small structures, has also been developed³¹.

Banking and commercial activities in Bahrain have been largely expanded and the Bahrain monetary agency has created an 'offshore banking centre'³². A complex production service has also been developed which includes the Bahrain Ship-Repairing and Engineering Company, and the new dry docks of the Arab Shipbuilding and Repair Yard Company, which was completed in 1977 and is now in full production³³.

The Kuwait industrial sector includes private and mixed industries. The mixed sector includes large-scale enterprises in which the government holds 50% of the shares³⁴. Besides development plans like manufacturing, land and sea transport, housing, electricity and water, Kuwait also established an Industrial Development Bank in 1973³⁵.

The industrial area of Shuaiba was extended and plans for the development of 'consumer-oriented' and export-oriented projects were introduced in 1974³⁶. The total allocation for the development of manufacturing between 1976 and 1981 has been \$3,081 million³⁷.

Qatar started its industrial development and expansion in 1975. Heavy industry plans include an extension of the fertiliser plant, a natural liquid gas plant, a petrochemical complex, a steel mill and a second cement plant³⁸. The total cost of these and other projects is estimated at around \$2,050 million³⁹. Light industry projects include the manufacture of bricks, tiles, paper tissues, paints, detergents, cosmetics, pvc products, batteries and glass products⁴⁰. An industrial development technical centre was created to supervise the development of these industrial projects⁴¹.

Rapid economic growth and plans for modernisation have brought significant changes in the socio-political structure of the Gulf societies. The transformation of Gulf society is historically unique in that it did not happen as a result of two conflicting modes of economic production, i.e. feudal to capitalist, nor because of the triumph of one over the other. It is neither the result of a long and slow process of social and economic transformation nor a result of agricultural and industrial progress, since there was hardly any agriculture or industry in this region⁴². The transformation of these societies can be directly attributed to the discovery of oil and its revenues.

C. POPULATION

The national population of the the three Gulf States has been, and still is, small. According to Lorimer's estimates for 1905, the population of Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar was 100,000, 48,000 and 27,000 respectively⁴³. Because of the subsistence nature of the economy which depended mainly on the success of pearling and grazing, these countries could not support a large population.

The oil wealth has had a considerable impact on the growth of national and non-national populations. Improvements in medical and health care facilities, in the water supply and in housing conditions have led to a rapid increase in the national population from the mid-1950's onwards. This was largely achieved by a decline in the infant mortality rate and by an increase in life expectancy. For instance, the crude birth rate of Kuwaiti nationals in 1979 was approximately 46.7 per 1,000 people, and the crude death rate 7 per 1,000 people⁴⁴.

The rate of national population increase in real terms has been about 3.6% for Bahrain, 3.0% for Kuwait and 3.5% for Qatar⁴⁵. However, because of nationalisation policies of these States which provided nationality status to the Bedouin in particular and other non-national Arab residents in these countries, the net growth rate of national population has been slightly higher. For example, the national population growth rate has been about 6% during the period between 1961 and 1975 in Kuwait⁴⁶.

As a result of the high rates of national population increase over the last two decades, the age distribution of the national populations is very young. In this respect, 41% of the total Bahraini population in 1981, 49% of total Kuwaiti in 1980 and 52% of total Qatari population in 1970 were aged 15 years or less⁴⁷. Recent trends suggest that the idea of birth control is becoming popular among the younger generation of Kuwaitis aspiring to maintain their living standard. This trend may drastically affect the growth of the national population in these States⁴⁸. Any new trend in Kuwait often provides a pointer to the direction in which these Gulf States usually progress. For instance, the crude rate of population increase for Bahrain declined from 3.4 in the period 1965-1971 to 2.9 in the period 1971-1981⁴⁹.

The national population has been too small to provide the manpower required for the modernisation and economic development projects initiated by the Gulf States. For this reason the labour force of different categories of skilled and non-skilled workers was drawn from neighbouring Arab states as well as from Iran, India, Pakistan and other countries. Whilst in the early days of economic development the main emphasis was placed on achieving certain national goals, the problems

concerning massive numbers of immigrant workers, their position in Gulf society and the impact of hosting a large non-national population on the social and demographic future of the Gulf States were not given serious consideration. There is no doubt that without the assistance of this immigrant labour force, these Gulf States could hardly have made any progress in their national economic development programmes. Nevertheless, modernisation and economic development programmes have produced a colossal increase in the size of non-national populations in these States. From an analysis of national and non-national population statistics for the year 1980 (Table 1.3), it is clear that for every 100 national Kuwaitis or Qataris there are at least 140 and 170 non-nationals respectively in these two States. On the other hand, whilst the ratio of non-national to national population in Bahrain has been much lower (0.47:1) than that observed in the other two Gulf States, there has been a rapid increase from 38,894 non-nationals in 1971 to 112,255 in 1980 in Bahrain.

The demographic features of Bahrain are different from the other two Gulf States because of her limited oil revenues. Bahrain could not afford to indulge in development projects to the same extent as Kuwait and Qatar. The large increase in the non-national population in Bahrain during the period 1971-1980 is due mainly to the increase in oil prices in 1973. Bahrain benefited from this situation because a rise in the oil price that increased trade and investment in the Gulf region made Bahrain a commercial centre in the area. Also, Bahrain managed to secure large loans, grants and aid from her richer neighbouring Gulf States⁵⁰. Nevertheless, this massive build-up of non-national populations in the Gulf States has been due to the influx of immigrant manpower in all sectors of economic development, from non-skilled labourers to adminis-

TABLE 1.3

National and non-national populations
in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar

Country Year	National	Non- national	Ratio Non-national: national
<u>BAHRAIN^a</u>			
1959	118,802	24,333	0.204:1
1965	143,940	38,263	0.266:1
1971	177,184	38,894	0.219:1
1981	238,543	112,255	0.470:1
<u>KUWAIT^b</u>			
1957	113,560	92,913	0.818:1
1965	219,649	247,689	1.128:1
1970	347,171	391,491	1.128:1
1980	562,668	793,159	1.410:1
<u>QATAR^c</u>			
1970	45,565	65,568	1.439:1
1980	94,720	161,280	1.703:1

Sources:

- (a) State of Bahrain Cabinet Affairs. Directorate of Statistics, Bahrain. Census of Population and Housing, 1981. Trends and Prospects, Table 2.1, p.8.
- (b) Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Population Census 1980, vol.1, part 1, 1982, p.7.
- (c) Qatar Population Census, 1970. Data for 1980 are estimates taken from al-Kuwari, "Towards a better understanding of the population imbalance in the oil-producing countries of the Arabian Peninsula: analytical study of factors which influence the size, structure and nature of the work force in Qatar." Unpublished working paper, University of Qatar, p.2.

trators and advisors. The statistics on manpower for the year 1980 clearly show that the crude participation rate of nationals in the total work force was 42% in Bahrain, 21% in Kuwait and 15.5% in Qatar (Table 1.4). In other words, in order to carry out national economic development plans, Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar relied on 141, 367 and 543 non-national immigrant workers respectively for every 100 national workers.

Apart from the huge size of the non-national populations in the Gulf States, which is now half the total national population in Bahrain and almost equal or more than one and a half times in Kuwait and Qatar, it is their heavy dependence on an immigrant work force that is now causing great concern to the planners in the Gulf States. The massive numbers of non-nationals of different origins and backgrounds has only recently drawn the attention of planners to the problems created by the presence of these immigrants on the socio-political structure of the Gulf States.

D. POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The three Gulf States are monarchies, and these monarchs are absolute rulers who are usually from particular families, namely al-Khalifa in Bahrain, al-Sabah in Kuwait, and al-Thani in Qatar. The ruler and the close members of his family occupy all the key positions and are heads of various departments of the government. They might, if they wish, seek outside help or advice in running the country, but the public in these States has no right of opinion or representation in these matters.

In addition to the concentration of political power in the ruling families in the Gulf States, financial power is also monopolised by them.

TABLE 1.4

Participation of nationals and non-nationals in the labour force in 1980

Country	Number	%
<u>BAHRAIN^a</u>		
Bahraini	57,178	41.4
Non-Bahraini	80,819	58.6
TOTAL	137,897	100
<u>KUWAIT^b</u>		
Kuwaiti	103,474	21.3
Non-Kuwaiti	380,897	78.7
TOTAL	484,044	100
<u>QATAR^c</u>		
Qatari	18,910	15.5
Non-Qatari	102,763	84.5
TOTAL	121,673	100

Sources:

- (a) Bahrain Population Census, 1981. Table 32, p.69.
- (b) Kuwait Population Census, 1980, Tables 71,72, pp.213-216.
- (c) Estimate for Qatar taken from al-Kuwari, "Towards a better understanding of the population imbalance in the oil-producing countries of the Arabian Peninsula: analytical study of the factors which influence the size, structure and nature of the work force in Qatar". Unpublished working paper, Qatar University, p.3.

Before the discovery of oil, the main source of income of these rulers and their families was meagre taxation collected from owners and captains of pearl-fishing boats, pearl merchants and other traders. However, following the commercial production of oil, these rulers regarded the oil revenues as their personal property. Because of the autocratic structure of the system, no distinction was made between public expenditure and the personal purse of the ruler. Subsequently, some restraints were imposed on these rulers by the British Government who were still acting as their protectors to fix their personal allowances as a proportion of the total oil revenues⁵¹. Some indirect pressure was also exerted through protest from the general public of these States as well as by the world press which strongly criticised this unfair practice⁵². Nevertheless, the share of the rulers and their families from oil revenues still amounts to a considerable proportion of total government expenditure. According to al-Kuwari the ruling families of Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar spend some 29.3%, 2.6% and 32.8% respectively of total government expenditure⁵³. The apparently low percentage share of the Kuwaiti ruling family is because it was fixed by the elected National Assembly of Kuwait in 1963/64. However, in real terms, the total amount which they receive is by no means less than that of the other ruling families in the Gulf States because Kuwait's oil income is many times greater than in Bahrain and Qatar.

This political system has survived and still does so because it accords with old established tribal relations and the traditional desire of the populace for just rather than democratic government⁵⁴. In addition, this system always distinguishes between persons of tribal origin and other inhabitants, and strengthens relations with the former

by favouring them in employment and conferring other benefits, grants and inter-marriage. Following the discovery of oil and its commercial production, the ruling families strengthened their position and authority by using the oil wealth to provide employment, to provide social services to the populace on a large scale, and by distributing a proportion of this wealth, directly or indirectly, among other tribes in order to win their support and loyalty. They also spent lavishly on propaganda machinery, a large police force and a secret service.

Although with the modernisation and economic development in these countries the administrative machinery has expanded considerably, its main role is to execute the policies and decisions of the ruling families. However, with increasing public awareness as a result of modernisation, and in particular due to the spread of modern education, the ruling families were under pressure to provide these States with national constitutions and legislation. In this manner a written constitution and an elected National Assembly was first introduced in Kuwait in 1962 and in Bahrain in 1973. On the other hand, only a provisional constitution was introduced in Qatar in 1970 and the ruler of Qatar simply appointed an Advisory Council, made up of his own nominees, instead of constituting a National Assembly⁵⁵. These changes in the political and legislative system in Kuwait and Bahrain were highly disapproved of by the ruling families in the neighbouring autocratic Arab states and the system of public representation did not last long in either Bahrain or Kuwait. In the mid-1970's a complete breakdown of cooperation between the ruling families and the National Assemblies created serious constitutional crises in both Bahrain and Kuwait. As a result, the rulers of these States dissolved their National Assemblies in 1975 and 1976 respectively⁵⁶.

According to Sarhan, the ruling families feared they might lose control and authority because of increasing pressures from various socio-political groups in the National Assemblies who wanted radical modification of the existing system and greater participation in policy-making decisions on the use of the oil wealth⁵⁷. Although the ruling families gave approval to and launched the modernisation and economic development plans in these States, their problem was that they only wanted expansion and modernisation to occur within the framework of tribal tradition and order. Any socio-economic change resulting from the modernisation programme outside this framework was considered by the ruling families as a challenge and a danger to their own authority and hence was unacceptable to them. While describing the political furore at the time of the dissolution of the Bahraini National Assembly in May 1975, Nakhleh states⁵⁸:

"Accusation and allegation filled the air. The government claimed that the leftists or 'communists' in the National Assembly were bent on destroying the entire democratic experiment; this bloc in turn claimed that the government, particularly the Prime Minister, was no longer interested in continuing the democratic experiment and was determined to torpedo the entire process of popular participation. It was alleged, particularly by leftist elements in the Assembly, that the ruling family was under foreign pressure (Saudi, Iranian and American) to end the whole experiment."

E. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The class structure in traditional Gulf society was not defined rigidly on the basis of wealth; it was based on lineage or marriage. The pre-oil social structure in the Gulf communities was organised around maritime trade and pearl-diving. Traditional Gulf society before the discovery of oil consisted mainly of three social groups, the notables, the merchants, and the commoners⁵⁹. The notables included the ruling

family as well as their allies (tribes which were all related to each other through kinship or intermarriage). The second social group consisted of pearl merchants and traders. Although this group included some merchants belonging to notable families, the majority of merchants were of Persian or Shia origin. The ruling families depended on the merchants for their livelihood through the taxes imposed on them, whereas the merchants depended on the political power of the ruling families to carry on their trade⁶⁰. The third social group who had the least economic power included low-ranked clergy, teachers of local Kuttabs, pearl-divers, shipbuilders, sailors, craftsmen, artisans and peasants, who were mostly of non-tribal origin⁶¹. The collapse of the traditional economic sector in the early 1940's and the discovery of oil brought considerable changes in the structure of Gulf society.

The distribution of the oil wealth through a variety of methods devised by the rulers, led to the creation of new social groups in these States. One of the methods employed was the purchase of land at much higher prices than the real value from members of the public. Acquisition of land was important for the modernisation of old cities, for building housing estates, hospitals, schools and roads. The government of Kuwait since 1952 and of Qatar since 1960 spent a considerable proportion of their revenues on these land-purchase schemes⁶². For instance, the Kuwaiti government spent more than one-fifth of its total oil revenue on purchasing land in the period between 1952 and 1970⁶³. This policy of the government increased land prices enormously and created a land speculation market. According to al-Naqeeb, the return from the policy of land purchasing schemes and state compensation went principally to the traditional elite who had the advantage over every-

body since they were the largest land-owners with land in the best locations. They were also at the same time the chief government administrators, which enabled them to know in advance the plans of the government. They would buy the land at very cheap prices and then re-sell to the government⁶⁴.

The establishment of a large bureaucratic machinery has been another method of distributing the oil wealth. The government guaranteed a job in the public sector to every citizen who wanted one. The governments of these States have become the biggest employers. For example, 47.7% of the total employment of Kuwaiti nationals in 1980, 61% of total employment of Qatari nationals and 44% of total employment of Bahraini nationals in 1981 was in the government sector⁶⁵. Whilst this 'open-door' employment policy has been considered the main reason for the over-staffing and low productivity in the public sector in these States, the reason for adopting this policy was to appease the national general population. Irrespective of their qualifications or merits, nationals of these States have always been given preferential treatment both in positions and salaries compared with non-nationals.

As a result of the overall modernisation plans, large sums of national income from oil exports has also been used in providing social services such as health, education and social security benefits which transformed the Gulf States into welfare states. According to Mubarak, the national oil wealth was diffused by the rulers among the notables and common citizens to win their loyalties. His remark on Kuwait, which applies equally to the other two States, goes as follows⁶⁶:

"The decision of the al-Sabah family to diffuse Kuwait's oil wealth throughout the society was a pragmatic, deliberate move to rally the people behind the regime."

The distribution of oil wealth resulted in the creation of a powerful financial oligarchy and a large-scale welfare programme designed to compensate that segment of the population most affected by the breakdown of traditional trade. According to Sarhan, the class structure which emerged following the discovery of oil and the rise of commercial enterprise in the Gulf States is more or less the modern class structure of a capitalist society⁶⁷. The present social stratification in Gulf society can be sub-divided into three major classes, as follows:⁶⁸

1. The bourgeoisie class, which includes the ruling families and the traditional notables and merchants. This class pursues commerce, in particular import and export business, construction, real estate and the agencies for foreign companies.
2. The middle class, which is made up of bureaucrats and civil servants. These are mostly the educated groups of the lower or petty bourgeoisie origin. This is the largest class since most nationals join government service. However, the high-ranking government officials and bureaucrats come from the ruling families or from other tribal elites.
3. The skilled and unskilled working class, which grew around the oil industry, petrochemical and construction industries. This class consists mainly of non-nationals.

F. FAMILY STRUCTURE

The family structure in the Gulf States, like the rest of the Middle East, has been traditionally of the 'extended family' type. However, according to al-Marzooq, the main difference between the extended family

in the Gulf area and that of most other Middle East countries is that whereas in most instances the Middle East extended family derived much of its cohesion from the joint ownership of land, in the Gulf area the communal property consisted of the various types of vessels for trading, pearling and fishing⁶⁹. This type of family can be described as patrilinear, patrilocal, patriarchal, usually endogamous and occasionally polygamous⁷⁰. The family is headed by the father and comprises his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, as well as his unmarried or divorced daughters⁷¹. In traditional Gulf society, an ordinary family was more or less independent economically, with its own limited resources derived from the traditional occupations such as trading, pearling or fishing. On the other hand, rich families might have one or more trading vessels. Depending on the economic status of these families, their residential accommodation ranged from a small house to a cluster of large houses joined together⁷². On the death of the head of the family, the extended family would split into as many units as the number of married sons who would then set up their own extended families in the traditional way. This type of family structure was most suited to the traditional economic activities such as pearling, fishing or trading because of participation of the family members rather than of outsiders who were hired⁷³. The head of the family is always responsible for all the family affairs and he is recognised as the sole owner of all its property and all decisions of importance are made by him⁷⁴. He might occasionally consult with family members, though he reserves for himself absolute veto power.

The role and position of individuals within this type of family structure are defined according to their sex and age. The rules of sex-segregation are strictly observed and the organisation of the household

is designed accordingly by separating the living area of adult males from that of women⁷⁵. The economic prosperity in the Gulf region, however, has brought many changes in the structure and style of the extended family, and has led to the emergence of the 'nuclear family'.

The nuclear family can be defined as a family consisting of a man and his wife, their two to four children, and the mother of the husband if she happens to be a widow⁷⁶. In this type of family the couple has absolute control over their children and are responsible for their own family affairs without any intervention from their parents or other senior members of their own families, which is in contrast to the system as practised in the extended family. Of particular importance is the fact that the role of a woman as a wife in the nuclear family is not subservient as in the case of the extended family, because she plays an equal role in running family affairs and bringing up the children⁷⁷. The nuclear family lives independently in a house separate from that of their own parents. Despite the original extended family connections, many young and educated married couples are now beginning to adopt the nuclear family style in the Gulf States.

Economic independence and security, as well as general awareness among the younger generation as a result of modern education, increased travelling facilities and the mass media, all seem to have played significant roles in producing this change in the traditional family structure. Young educated men and women find it easy to get good, well-paid jobs in government. This economic independence and security appears to have affected their views about the type and size of their families when they get married. In a survey carried out in Kuwait by al-Thakab and published in 1976, it was demonstrated that 80% of the educated people,

mainly university graduates, among the survey sample preferred to have small families whereas only 16% of this group wanted to have families comprising eight or more children⁷⁸. Conversely, 68% of the uneducated group in this survey preferred to have families of eight or more children. Similar trends were also observed among Qatari university students. According to a study carried out by Melikian and al-Essa among male and female students at Qatari University, these students neither expect nor want to have as many children as their parents. Nearly 79% of the men and 82% of the women in this study indicated that they favoured limiting the number of their children⁷⁹.

An increasing tendency towards marriages between members of different families and tribes has also been considered responsible for producing the nuclear family, because it brought to the family new members from different tribes, thus creating considerable difficulties for the head of the extended family⁸⁰. It is perhaps important to point out that although the trend towards the nuclear family is increasing, it is incorrect to assume that the traditional-style family and its values are disappearing. According to Melikian, recent studies on family structure in these States indicate a trend towards the nuclear family in which, however, blood relationships, lineage and tribes are still dominant⁸¹.

G. TRADITIONAL ARAB SOCIETY AND THE POSITION OF WOMEN

The Arab Bedouin were an unruly group before their adherence to Islam⁸². The position of females in their nomadic and poverty-stricken society was highly subservient. The attitude of pre-Islamic Arab society towards women is reflected in the practice of female infanticide in those days. The introduction of Quranic laws (Suras VI, 151, XXVII: 31)⁸³, which completely outlawed female infanticide, provided for the first time

equal rights to female offspring in that society. Similarly, the Quranic laws referring to paternity, support, adoption and inheritance also did much to raise the position and status of women in society⁸⁴. Undeniably the Quranic laws and their subsequent interpretations and practice did not resolve all the problems facing women, but Islam did mark great progress in elevating the position of women. The transfer of loyalties and devotion from the tribe to One God and the adoption of Quranic law which opposed their traditional customs were difficult for the Arab Bedouin to accept⁸⁵. Even after their unruliness was won over and they became staunch supporters of Islam, carrying the message to a large part of the world, they still adhered to many traditional customs which did not show any apparent or direct clash with Quranic law. In this respect, the traditional practices relating to kinship, tribal male dominance and the subservient role of women remained to a large extent unchanged.

Although the treatment of women is influenced by laws set down by Islam, the equality of sexes was never realised in tribal and traditional practices, particularly in the case of Gulf society which remained almost completely untouched by Western influence until the 20th century. Men and women continued to live by their tribal and traditional customs until the mid-20th century. However, with oil wealth and modernisation which brought economic and social changes, the tribal and traditional customs have of necessity begun to break down. According to Soffan, in retrospect the women of the Gulf States have come a long way, though their progress has been slow and less uniform because of differences in the political and economic backgrounds of each of the States⁸⁶.

Although women played a significant role in maintaining the infra-

structure of traditional Gulf society during the harsh economic conditions of the pre-oil period, their status in Gulf society during that period, and even nowadays, has been considered inferior to that of men. The woman as mother played a highly important role in raising the family in traditional society, when the man was busy pearl-fishing. Yet even though her husband often lost his life, her position in the traditional extended family was always considered subordinate and subservient. On the other hand, while the Bedouin and Arabs regarded their young and unmarried daughters a great social burden, they were extremely considerate to their widowed or divorced daughters. Arab women have always believed in their paternal lineage and it has always been duly acknowledged and respected⁸⁷. The house of the father or brother is always open to his daughter or sister who happens to become widowed or divorced. This paradoxical attitude of Arabs towards their women appears to derive from their old traditional belief that the woman is the bearer of the family's as well as the tribe's honour. The family honour is primarily the possession of the woman and is a matter of reputation even more than of fact⁸⁸. Women take responsibility for the observance and enforcement of this code of honour. In tribal and family custom, the chastity of women is the embodiment of the family honour. Because of the high value put on honour and the necessity to defend it, the action of women and, by extension, the actions of men must be circumscribed⁸⁹.

Activities that involve public appearance must be strictly the domain of the male; so must most occupations and economic transactions, and all political and military activities. Education must be segregated by sex. All activities in which women engage, such as household chores, agricultural work, visiting and child rearing, must be predominantly

private or subject to supervision. This is reflected in the custom of veiling and seclusion of women which has played a considerable part in impeding women's progress towards achieving their true position and status in these societies.

1. Seclusion and veiling of women

Neither the veiling of the face nor seclusion was enforced on women by Islam. These were customs picked up from Persian and Byzantine cultures when the Arab conquered these areas. Hansan states:⁹⁰

"Islam and the Arab came into contact with the two greatest of the time - the Persian Civilisation and the Hellenistic-Byzantine. The Arab brought Islam, the new and strong religion, and in return adopted the main traits of the cultures of conquered regions. The seclusion of women from the outer social life was a phenomenon which existed within the Hellenistic-Byzantine area."

According to Philip Hitti, Muslim women served well throughout the period of Arab conquests⁹¹. They won the respect of men and even led troops into battle- some were renowned as saints and others as scholars, and on social occasions their wit and musical talents were admired. But gradually the powerful ruling families took to secluding their women as a sign of their greatness and distance from the common people⁹². This practice was subsequently adopted by the rising middle class families in these societies. Women were regarded as ornamental and were generally treated as sex objects⁹³. The economic prosperity and political stability during the Abbasid period encouraged the upper classes of society to indulge in drinking habits and in enjoying large harems⁹⁴. The increasing number of female slaves during this period also provided a good excuse for the upper and middle classes to veil and seclude their women in order that they may be distinguished socially from slave women⁹⁵. However, later in history when Arab countries were subjected to

successive foreign invasions, the seclusion of Arab women was justified as a necessity for their protection from strangers and foreign soldiers⁹⁶.

Arab women were thus led to believe that their servitude to men was associated with the political and social decline of the Arab under foreign administration. This is evident from the early 20th century history of the Arab's struggle for independence, first against Turkey and then against Britain and France. In those days the movement of Arab independence was closely linked to the cause of women's liberation. However, during the course of this century, all Arab countries have acquired their independence from foreign domination, but the goal of liberation of women has not yet been achieved. Although all Arab governments recognise that full social and economic progress cannot be achieved without the positive and active participation of women in public life, and the principle of sex equality is written into their constitutions, some Arab governments, in particular those of the Gulf States, have been very reluctant and cautious about introducing measures that directly challenge the traditional restrictions on women which, over the centuries, have gathered religious approval. The struggle for women's liberation and for equal access to education and employment has been increasing since the discovery of oil and the introduction of modern education in the Gulf States. The intensity of public argument and the seriousness of these problems have differed, of course, in different States depending on the social and cultural background as well as on the past and present economic conditions.

A female reaching puberty, usually around the age of 13-14 years, was completely confined to the house and secluded from the outside world. She was asked to put on 'batula' and/or 'abyah' whenever necessary and

was not allowed to be seen by any other male except her father, brother and other immediate members of her family. A batula can be described as a black face mask with two oblong openings for the eyes. The abayah is a black silk overgarment normally worn when going out of the house. The strict practice of veiling and seclusion in Arab society and in particular in Gulf society has severely affected the position and role of women. This custom separates women from the world beyond the four walls of their homes; it restricts them from acquiring knowledge and stops them from making any direct contribution to society. It also reduces a woman's existence in life merely to looking after the needs of her husband and bringing up her children. According to Elizabeth H. White, in addition to the legal restrictions and inequalities imposed on women by Muslim scholars, the practice of veiling and seclusion has without any doubt seriously retarded the cause and progress of Muslim women⁹⁷. As well as depriving women of their true role in society, this custom has resulted in the complete dependence of Arab women on their parents prior to marriage and on their husbands after marriage. Centuries of imposition of this custom have almost completely deprived Arab women of their awareness of their right to protest about this denial of their fundamental human rights.

Unlike other Arab countries, such as Egypt, Syria and Lebanon where movements for women's emancipation and liberation began during the early part of the 20th century, no such movements or organisations have been created in any of the Gulf States. However, the argument between traditionalists and modernists concerning women's emancipation in Egypt and other Arab countries has had an influence on the women's cause in Bahrain and Kuwait. According to al-Khusosy, the issue of

the veiling and seclusion of women attracted considerable attention in the early 1950's in Kuwait, when the subject was discussed both privately and publicly and the national press presented both sides of the argument⁹⁸. As a result of this and the modernisation of these societies following the discovery of oil, the custom of veiling and seclusion began gradually to break down in most of the Gulf States. Whilst a majority of first generation educated women in Kuwait and Bahrain have now removed their veils and gained some freedom of movement, Qatari women are still veiled and wear abayah when they go out. The reason for this difference is because Qatari society is relatively more conservative and less modernised than that of Bahrain and Kuwait.

2. The role of women in traditional Gulf society

During the pre-oil era, the traditional society has been described as the 'women's society', at least for the period between June and October each year when all the able-bodied men left home to go to the sea for pearl-diving. This long absence of men from home left the women to take all the necessary actions and make decisions in matters concerning family affairs, as described by Hamaidan⁹⁹:

"During the pearl-diving season, the wives of the pearl divers fulfilled a role similar to that of the heads of the families. They attained some links with the outside world in the form of shopping for food and organising their homes."

Under pressure of poverty, the wives of the pearl divers were engaged in many activities outside the home, such as sewing and selling their handicrafts. The risky and dangerous nature of pearl-diving made women live under the constant fear of losing their husbands, sons, brothers and other relatives at sea. This fear of the sea in the traditional society explains the local customs and superstitions of Gulf women, as

narrated by Helga Graham in her book "Arabian Time Machine"¹⁰⁰.

"When the ships were sighted at sea after four months' absence, we women took cats and palm leaves with us and made for the beach. As soon as the sails were clearly visible we called out:

Away! Away!
We drive you away, oh sea.
Oh our big sea, bring us happiness.

We would beat the sea with the palm leaves and squeeze the cats until they wailed 'waw'. This sounds like 'raja', meaning 'they came back' in Arabic. Then we tied pieces of cloth to the palm leaves, dipped them in kerosene and set them on fire. We wanted to burn the sea so that the divers could never go back to it."

Besides the danger of physical injury or loss of life which this occupation inflicted upon the divers, nine out of ten divers were never out of debt to the captains of their boats¹⁰¹. Under the prevailing customs of pearl-diving, the debts of a diver killed at sea were passed onto his immediate family and inherited by his sons who were forced to enter the pearl industry themselves¹⁰². The wives of the divers had to suffer worse afflictions, as reported by Rumihi. Some of the captains would marry the widow of the diver as payment for the debts, and in doing so they obtained for themselves the diver's children to work in the house and later on to use his sons as pearl divers¹⁰³.

Women in the small agricultural area of Bahrain or in the Bedouin community also played a significant role in society. In the agricultural community women worked on the land and marketed the harvest. Bedouin women looked after the livestock, processed the cheese and butter and wove carpets, cloth and tents¹⁰⁴. The restrictions on women in these communities were less than those imposed on women in the towns, and this was simply because either these communities were large extended families or they were a group of closely related families. The relative freedom of women in the villages and among the Bedouin communities was a reflection of their economic significance in the work but did not confer high social

status. The position of women in that traditional society in general is well portrayed in the following remarks made by al-Genai¹⁰⁵:

"A woman represented no value to men, especially the old ones. She was a worldly pleasure that one should avoid. If you mentioned her in your speech you should say to your listener, 'May God grant you honour'. A girl was compelled to marry her man, especially if he were her cousin. It does not matter if he were ugly or immoral. A man who was 80 had the right to marry a 20 year old girl."

Women of the upper class families, for example rulers, notables and merchants, stayed within women's quarters and met only other women. They did not do any domestic work, which was done for them by slave women in the household.

Many changes took place in the lives of Gulf women following the discovery of oil which brought many socio-economic changes. Women these days do not suffer such hardships as they did in the pre-oil society. The young women of the new generation in Gulf society are no longer confined to their houses. They go out to school and university, and a reasonable proportion of educated women in some Gulf States are now entering government services as civil servants, social welfare workers and teachers, and more recently into other fields such as the private sector, engineering and medicine. A change in the social position of women has been brought about through their access to education and their participation in the socio-economic activities of these societies. The degree of such change in the position of women, however, differs from State to State because of differences in their socio-economic development and the beginning of modern education.

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CHAPTER 2

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN EDUCATION

A. TRADITIONAL EDUCATION: KUTTAB SCHOOLS

Before the start of modern education, the only formal and traditional education in the Gulf States, as in many other Muslim countries, was Kuttab education. This was mainly religious in content and included teaching of the Quran and the basic tenets of Islam¹. The word Kuttab has been used to mean both the education itself and the place of education. It was originally derived from the word 'kataba' which in Arabic means 'to write'². 'Muktab' is synonymous with Kuttab. 'Muttawa' or 'Mulla' was the word locally used for Kuttab education in the Gulf region³. Generally speaking there were two types of Kuttab education, ordinary and advanced⁴.

Ordinary Kuttabs were available in almost every village and did not have any specially constructed classrooms. Male teachers, Muttawa, held Kuttabs in their homes, shops or even village bazaars⁵, while female teachers, Muttawah, held their classes only in their homes⁶. The teaching at ordinary Kuttabs simply consisted of rote memorisation of the Quranic verses. On the other hand, advanced Kuttabs, which were mainly situated in large towns, were housed in special buildings and were attended by boys from rich families⁷. In addition to teaching Quranic and religious principles, advanced Kuttabs also taught reading and writing the Arabic language and elementary arithmetic⁸.

Kuttab schools were attended by children of both sexes under the age of 10 years. The children would join the Kuttab at any time and there were no strict rules on attendance⁹. Kuttab teachers were simple and pious men and women who had a basic knowledge of the Quran, the Hadith, traditions of the Prophet, and the Arabic language. While their teaching methods were extremely simple and primitive, their methods of discipline

were rather harsh. In some cases of harsh punishment in the Kuttab, permanent physical and mental disabilities occurred in the children¹⁰.

There are no proper records of the number of children who attended Kuttab education in the Gulf area. According to Winder¹¹, there were about 800 boys and 400 girls in local Kuttabs in Bahrain in 1914. Although there were some separate Kuttabs for girls, most attended by girls were co-educational¹². In a society where sex-segregation was strictly observed the existence of co-educational Kuttabs is rather surprising. Nevertheless, girls were normally withdrawn from the Kuttabs when they were about 11 years old as they were no longer regarded as children. Furthermore, in some cases the small number of girl students and in other cases the small number of boy and girl students combined did not provide any incentive to local Kuttab teachers to establish separate schools for boys and girls. Also, in small villages or in a district where most of the children belonged to either one big family or to a single tribe, the parents did not object to sending their daughters to these mixed-sex Kuttabs, where all the boys came from related families. A shortage of local women with sufficient knowledge of the Quran and the Arabic language could also be a reason for fewer separate Kuttabs for girls. Most of the Kuttabs in the Gulf area were run by men who would open their Kuttabs for boys initially, but would not mind if girls attended as well. For instance, among the 12 well known Kuttabs in Qatar, only four were run by women teachers¹³. However, single-sex Kuttabs also existed in the area, where girls were taught by women teachers¹⁴. The teacher held her post by virtue of her advanced age, her knowledge of the Quran, and her good reputation among her neighbours, and she taught the girl students in her own home.

B. THE ARABIAN MISSION SCHOOLS

In Kuwait and Bahrain, modern western-style schools were opened by a group of missionaries usually referred to as the Arabian Mission. The Arabian Mission was founded in 1889 by an independent American Protestant group and was adopted in 1934 by the Reformed Church in America¹⁵. The Mission opened its first school for girls in 1892 in Bahrain¹⁶. This school can be considered as the first western-style school in the Gulf area. A school for boys was also opened in Bahrain, but because of financial problems the Mission decided to close it in 1936¹⁷, but it was reopened by the Mission at the end of the 1950's¹⁸. The numbers of boys and girls initially attending these schools were very small but increased during the later period¹⁹. Most of the students enrolled in the schools primarily to learn the English language and learn to read and write²⁰. These missionary schools taught the Bible, the English language, Arabic grammar and geography, together with sewing and embroidery for the girl students²¹. The Arabian Mission schools are still operating in Bahrain and now have a curriculum similar to that of the government primary schools. The Bahraini Ministry of Education in 1973 ordered the Mission schools to prohibit Muslim students from attending lessons on the Christian faith and the Bible²².

In Kuwait a missionary school was first opened in 1913 for boys, followed by a school for girls²³. The Mission schools encountered strong religious opposition only four months after their opening²⁴. However, the Mission arranged to keep its schools open and by 1932 there were about 421 boys and 42 girls enrolled in the two schools²⁵. The curriculum of the girls' school was similar to that of the boys, which consisted of Bible studies, English language and elementary principles of social science²⁶. In addition, girls were taught sewing and embroidery²⁷.

The boys' and girls' schools were closed in 1933 and 1940 respectively, partly because of financial difficulties and partly from competition from the new government schools²⁸.

The Mission did not engage in any education activities in Qatar because of financial difficulty and the fear of opposition, such as it had previously experienced in Bahrain and Kuwait²⁹. Although Christian missionaries put great emphasis on education and played an important role in the education of girls in some Arab countries such as Egypt, Lebanon and Syria³⁰, their influence on the education of girls in the Gulf region has been very limited. The Arabian Mission was the only notable mission operating in this area. In addition, the limited educational services provided by the Arabian Mission were not very successful. The evangelistic aims of its educational work did not encourage parents to send their children to its schools for fear that their children might be turned against the Islamic religion. The missionaries' educational services in all the Gulf countries faced strong opposition from local religious leaders who preached against missionary work in the mosques and, through their personal contact with the people, tried to provoke opposition to the mission work³¹.

The educational services of the Mission would have been more successful if it had not been regarded as an attempt to attract people to the Christian faith. A Christian Arab wrote³²:

"If the mission had stopped evangelising for converts to Christianity and devoted their work to medical and educational services, they would have been more successful, as Moslems in general and the Arab in particular are extremely loyal to their religion and will not accept any other."

C. THE BEGINNING OF MODERN EDUCATION

The early modern schools were different from the contemporary advanced Kuttabs in some aspects. Whereas the advanced Kuttabs placed emphasis on teaching religious studies, the modern schools placed equal stress on other subjects such as the Arabic language, arithmetic, basic geography and history. Furthermore, modern schools were run by committees of local merchants and notables who provided the necessary funds, appointed qualified teachers and also supplied the students with appropriate textbooks and other materials.

1. Bahrain

Bahrain was the first Gulf State to introduce a modern system of education. The strategic position of Bahrain in the Arabian Gulf made it a centre for trade and travel between the Gulf region and India. Unlike the barren desert of the other Gulf States, Bahrain has green farms watered by springs and this made the country an attractive stopping place for merchants where goods could be exchanged. This introduced the Bahraini people to different cultures and ideas, as described in the following statement³³:

"Thus contacts with different civilisations - be those Assyrian, Persian, Indian and recently European - have left their traces on the life of the islanders. In time, the practice of travel and contact with other cultures became established. Consequently, the geographical and historical elements have served in promoting certain attitudes favourable to new ideas and education."

Furthermore, a number of advanced Kuttab schools, financed by local merchants, were functioning in Bahrain during the period 1910-1915³⁴. The era of modern education started in 1921 when the first public school was opened. Although the first public school in Kuwait had been opened in 1912, some eight years earlier than that in Bahrain, the Bahraini early modern schools were more advanced in their organisation and teaching

curriculum. During the 1930's a modern system of education was well established in Bahrain, whereas it was still in its early stages in Kuwait and had not yet started in Qatar.

According to Rumihi, the system of modern public education in Bahrain started in 1921 with the opening of the al-Hidaya school for boys in the city of Muharraq³⁵. The school was supervised by a Sunni committee, composed of notables and merchants, under the guidance of Sheikh Abdulla bin Isa³⁶. This committee opened a second Hidaya school in Manama in 1923³⁷. The growth of schools run by the Sunni committee, which were restricted to the Sunni population, prompted the Shia community to establish their own education committee with the object of raising money to finance their own schools³⁸. The Shia committee opened four classrooms in 1927 in Manama City, which they called al-Jaffariya school, and a school in the village of al-Khamis called the al-Alawiya school in 1928³⁹. The teachers for these schools came from other Arab countries. The Shia committee recruited their teachers from Iraq, in contrast to the Sunni committee who appointed teachers mainly from Syria⁴⁰.

The idea of opening a girls' school was first initiated in 1928 by Lady Marjorie Belgrave, the wife of the British adviser to the ruler of Bahrain. Sir Charles Belgrave, in his book "Personal Column", gives an account of how his wife managed to get the ruler's wife's consent to starting a school for girls⁴¹:

"One day, after we had been a year or two in Bahrain, Marjorie said to the Sheikh's wife, 'What a pity it is that the girls here have no chance of being educated like the boys. The Sheikha was immediately interested. She had been to England with Sheikh Hamed in 1925 and she knew that in other countries there were schools for girls as well as for boys. They discussed the idea and the Sheikha promised to give her support

if Marjorie would organise a school for girls. A few days later I approached the subject with the Sheikh; rather to my surprise he expressed his approval. The next movement was to get some outside support for I knew that a girls' school would be regarded as a disruptive innovation."

With the Sheikh's approval the government opened a girls' school in Muharraq. Although there were immediate repercussions, the school opened in 1928 in a house rented by the Sunni committee who were already supervising the boys' schools⁴².

The government started to subsidise these schools as early as 1925, but apparently was not satisfied with the running and management of finances as carried out by the two committees⁴³. Despite initial opposition from the committees, the government took over control in 1930 and appointed Mr. Fayek Adham, a Lebanese and a graduate from the American University of Beirut, as an inspector of all these schools⁴⁴. One of his early assignments was to start a second girls' school in Manama City⁴⁵. Through its new inspector, the government took firm control of the schools and the two education committees were reduced to an advisory role and later were completely dissolved⁴⁶. By the end of 1941 there were eight boys' schools and four girls' schools in Bahrain with a total enrolment of 1,144 and 667 respectively⁴⁷.

2. Kuwait

The early schools in Kuwait were founded and financed by the people of Kuwait. They realised the need for better organised and advanced modern educational institutes compared to the local Kuttabs. The first school opened in the city of Kuwait in December 1911⁴⁸. It was named al-Mubarakiya, after the ruler of Kuwait, Sheikh Mubarak⁴⁹. The school enrolled boys who had completed the local Kuttab. The curriculum was mainly religious in nature and consisted of teaching the Quran, Islamic

history, jurisprudence, the Arabic language and mathematics⁵⁰. In later years other subjects were added such as commercial correspondence, book-keeping and English language⁵¹. In 1912 the schools enrolled about 254 boys⁵². The school was run by a board of management which was elected by the community, and the board appointed teachers who were either recruited locally or from abroad⁵³. The students paid nominal fees, but very poor students were not required to pay anything.

The subsequent ruler of Kuwait, Sheikh Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah, wanted those who were responsible for the al-Mubarakiya school to add English language to the curriculum, but his idea was rejected. He was advised to leave al-Mubarakiya as it was and to build a new school⁵⁵. The Sheikh donated the land for the school and with the help of public contributions it opened in 1922 and was called al-Ahmadiya school⁵⁶. As well as the subjects taught at al-Mubarakiya school, the new school also offered courses in science, mathematics and English language; at that time these subjects were considered very modern.

The two public schools, al-Mubarakiya and al-Ahmadiya, continued to function successfully, but in the 1930's they were hit by the world economic depression. The advent of the artificially-cultured Japanese pearl also adversely affected the sea-pearl industry in the Gulf area. Both schools lacked adequate funds as most of the merchants who had donated generously in the past were not able to continue their financial support of the schools⁵⁸. By 1936 the economic situation began to improve and the demand for education has also increased by that time. A meeting of people concerned about the education situation was held and it was agreed that the government should help in improving educational conditions in the country⁵⁶. Sheikh Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah was approached

and requested to raise the customs tax by $\frac{1}{2}\%$ and to spend the additional revenue on education. The government approved this proposal in October 1936⁵⁷ and from that time onward education in Kuwait became the responsibility of the government. A board of education was then elected and was headed by a member of the al-Sabah family⁵⁸.

In 1936 the al-Mubarakiya and al-Ahmadiya schools were taken over by the government⁵⁹ and more schools for boys were opened in subsequent years. The curriculum of these schools was adopted from other Arab countries and included modern subjects such as English language, science and mathematics⁶⁰. Most of the teachers in these schools were recruited from Iraq, Egypt and Palestine⁶¹. However, with the income from oil revenue, which commenced in 1946, all financial problems ceased and the education programme began to expand.

The two public schools, al-Mubarakaya and al-Ahmadiya, were for boys only. At that time girls were taught elementary knowledge of the Quran in Kuttabs. Before 1937 there is no mention of any organised efforts to open public schools for girls in Kuwait. However, a private school for girls was started by Aisha al-Azmiri in 1926⁶², a Muslim teacher who came from Turkey accompanied by her husband who was appointed as a teacher at al-Mubarakiya school. The school consisted of one class held by her in her house and can be described as an advanced Kuttab school. The students paid monthly fees but no standard fees were required⁶³. The school closed in 1933 when Aisha al-Azmiri left Kuwait to return to Turkey⁶⁴. However, by 1933 approximately ten similar schools for girls, run by former students of Aisha al-Azmiri, were already operating in Kuwait⁶⁵. The most famous of these schools was

that opened by Badria al-Attiqi in 1930⁶⁶. By 1951 most of these small schools were forced to close because the students preferred to enrol in the new modern schools opened by the government⁶⁷.

The first modern government school for girls was opened in 1937 following the establishment of the Board of Education⁶⁸. Two female teachers were recruited from Palestine to teach in the school, and some 140 girls were enrolled in the first year⁶⁹. The number of girl students increased rapidly and this led to the opening of three more girls' schools in the period between 1939 and 1941. Near the end of 1941 these schools were reorganised into three large schools, namely al-Madrasaha al-Wasta, al-Madrasaha al-Qubliyah and al-Madrasaha al-Shargiah⁷⁰. The number of girls enrolled in these schools in 1940/41 was 400 students⁷¹. By this time there were nine boys' schools with a total enrolment of 1,612⁷².

3. Qatar

In Qatar modern education started at a much later date than in Kuwait and Bahrain. Unlike Bahrain and Kuwait, Qatar was a less organised urban society before the discovery of oil. Qatar also remained isolated from the outside world and did not experience any socio-economic change for a long period between 1913 and 1949 during the reign of Sheikh Abdullah Qasim al-Thani⁷³. Even with the discovery of oil in 1949, Qatar did not gain any immediate socio-economic benefit since the old ruler treated this new wealth as his own property. It was not an uncommon practice in the Gulf area, since all ruling families consider the oil wealth as their own property. According to al-Aqad, Sheikh Qasim al-Thani went to extremes in his attitude to public revenue and private income⁷⁴. The socio-economic conditions of Qatar

did not improve even when the old Sheikh's son, Sheikh Ali Abdullah al-Thani took over⁷⁵. No improvement in education was carried out because the new ruler did not accept the idea of modern education until 1956⁷⁶.

With the exception of a semi-modern but advanced Islamic school called Madrasah al-Sheikh al-Mani, the remainder of education in Qatar was of the Kuttab type before 1952. Madrasah al-Sheikh al-Mani was founded by Muhammed Abdalaziz al-Mani, an eminent scholar who had received his education at Nejd and was a student of the reformer Muhammad Abduh of Egypt and of the scholar al-Alusi of Baghdad⁷⁷. The school continued from 1918 to 1938 and was not only well known in Qatar, but also in other parts of the Gulf because of al-Mani himself⁷⁸. The school was for adult males only and the teaching covered broad areas of Islamic studies including knowledge of the Quran, Islamic theology, jurisprudence, Prophet's traditions and Arabic language and literature⁷⁹. The school closed in 1938 when al-Mani left Doha to go to Saudi Arabia⁸⁰.

According to al-Kobaisi, the movement away from Kuttab education in Qatar started around 1948/49 with the opening of a school in Doha⁸¹. This school was run by one teacher and enrolled about 50 boys⁸². The school was opened by Sheikh Hamad Abdullah al-Thani who was looking after government affairs in Qatar on behalf of his father Sheikh Ali Abdullah al-Thani⁸³. From 1950/51 the government gave financial support to the school⁸⁴, which developed rapidly with an increasing number of students and teachers. The school curriculum consisted of Islamic studies, Arabic language, Islamic history, arithmetic, geography and English language⁸⁵. By 1954 the number of schools in Qatar had increased to four, enrolling a total of 560 boys who were taught by 26

teachers⁸⁶. Teachers were recruited from various Arab countries such as Egypt, Iraq and Palestine. In those days there was neither a systematic plan for teaching nor a well considered curriculum. The headmasters made their own decisions in planning school regulations as well as curricula⁸⁷. The situation worsened with the rapid change of these headmasters who only stayed in Qatar for short periods because of the difficult conditions of life in Qatar at that time⁸⁸. An improvement in the education system took place in 1953/54 when Abd al-Badia Saqr was appointed Education Director. He made considerable contributions to the planning of school regulations and in revising school curricula⁸⁹.

Education for girls in Qatar was initiated by Amina Mahmud when she opened a Kuttab in her house in 1938 for children of both sexes. Her Kuttab became one of the twelve well-known Kuttabs in Doha City⁹⁰. It has been reported that she had about 40 children in her school and that she held morning and afternoon teaching sessions throughout the year⁹¹. Amina Mahmud was keen on the idea that Qatari girls should be encouraged to receive modern education, as illustrated by her comments at an interview⁹²:

"The reason I opened the school was that I read the Quran and all the religious books myself and I knew that knowledge is light. And I had heard that there were girls' schools in other countries. I had not read about them, I had just heard people speak about them, so I thought why does not my own country open a school. So I went to Sheikh Khalifa who was heir to the Emir, and he granted me one."

With the Sheikh's consent Amina Mahmud received government support in 1956. The government supplied her with books and other educational material and also appointed teachers to assist her⁹³. They also built additional rooms in her house to be used as classrooms⁹⁴. There were

about 122 girls students and four female teachers in addition to Amina Mahmud, who was made headmistress of the school⁹⁵. The school curriculum consisted of the Quran, Islamic education, Arabic language, arithmetic and moral and health education⁹⁶.

In 1957/58 a second school for girls was opened by the Education Department of Qatar⁹⁷. The old school was accommodated in a new large house rented by the Education Department with seven classrooms and equipped with the appropriate facilities⁹⁸. Besides the efforts of Amina Mahmud, the early development of education for girls around 1956 and the change in attitude of both the Qatari government and the public towards it owe a great deal to the wisdom and courage of Sheikh al-Mani, who had once founded an Islamic school in Qatar in 1915. Although Sheikh al-Mani was residing in Saudi Arabia at that time, he sent a religious declaration ('Etwa') to the ruler of Qatar in 1957, strongly advocating the cause of education for Muslim girls⁹⁹. He stated that girls' education was not contrary to the teaching of the Quran but was entirely consistent with the principles of Islam. Sheikh al-Mani's declaration thus paved the way for the development of education for females in Qatar. The year 1956/57 thus marks the beginning of modern education for girls in Qatar, when the government decided to reorganise Amina Mahmud's Kuttab into the first public school for girls.

D. REACTION OF GULF SOCIETY TOWARDS THE OPENING OF MODERN SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

As in many other countries, education for girls in the Gulf States started much later than that for boys. According to a UNESCO report, girls' education had been second to that of boys in almost every Arab country¹⁰⁰:

"Jordan, Sudan and Tunisia all note that although the value of education is now recognised, girls' education started later than that of boys due to the fact that the public attached more importance to the latter. This was true in Qatar too, where public education for girls was instituted only in 1957, about five years later than that for boys."

The education of girls and the opening of girls' schools were not welcomed by the majority of the people in these societies, and some opposition was sometimes raised. In Bahrain, where girls' education started earlier than in the other two States, the opening of the first girls' school in 1928 was not without repercussions. Sir Charles Belgrave described it as follows¹⁰¹:

"The next move was to get some outside support, for I knew that a girls' school would be regarded as a disruptive innovation. I thought that I could count on the support of several of the more progressive merchants, so I asked them to come and see me, separately, and told them what we proposed to do. After discussion I found that the attitude of most of them was: 'It would be a good thing to have a girls' school, but I would prefer my name not to be mentioned. Of course, I am not old-fashioned, but some of my friends would be upset if they knew that I was concerned in this. But I will give you all the help I can from the background.' This was a typical Bahraini attitude. Two or three of them, however, openly supported the scheme. With the Sheikh's approval we let it be known that the government was opening a girls' school. There were immediate repercussions. A public petition was organised by some of the leading Arabs and presented to the Sheikh protesting against such a dangerous innovation. One of the kadhis preached a sermon in the mosque, deploring the idea of a girls' school."

According to Sheikh Abdullah al-Sabah, Director of Education in Kuwait (1935-65) at the time when the first modern school for girls was opened in 1937, the school remained open for nearly six months without any students enrolling as no girls would join it. In order to encourage parents to send their daughters to the school, the Education Department initiated a campaign to secure public support and to make the people aware of the importance of education for girls. In addition, some

financial incentives were provided. Every girl enrolled in the school was given a financial reward as well as two school uniforms¹⁰² and it was only after these efforts that girls came forward and joined the school.

Similarly, in the case of Qatar, the idea of a girls' school raised strong opposition and the majority of people did not accept it. In a report on education in Qatar in 1958, it is stated that one of the problems which obstructed the achievement of universal education was that education for girls was not acceptable to the community¹⁰³. When the first girls' school, financed by the government, opened in Amina Mahmud's house in Qatar, she had to go to people's houses to persuade the parents to send their daughters to school. Amina Mahmud describes her efforts as follows¹⁰⁴:

"Some of the parents and guardians did not want their girls to study in the Government schools. I used to go to their houses to persuade them. The fathers did not object to the boys studying but they were fanatical about the girls. They did not want the girls to be educated because they thought that religion forbade it. I had to persuade them that education is a duty for every Muslim, male or female, then they gradually saw that girls' education was not sinful."

In another case when a girls' school started in one of the towns in Qatar, people thought only the Quran was taught there. Only on this condition did they agree to have a girls' school and they send someone to inspect what the girls were learning. A teacher in this school told the author that¹⁰⁵:

"On that day we had to make sure that everything in the school indicated that only the Quran was being taught, otherwise the local people would not allow their daughters to come to the school."

Strong opposition from society to the education of girls was perhaps the major factor which made the Education Department of Qatar include

it in the non-official education category. Apparently the government did not want any confrontation. This approach of the authorities left them room to manoeuvre in case there was strong opposition and they had to abolish education for girls¹⁰⁶:

"The non-official section included fields of education considered as a kind of extra activity which could be abolished at any time."

One main objection to the education of girls in the Gulf area was that through education girls would learn how to write. The training of girls to write was considered a moral danger by those people who suggested to the Sheikh of Qatar that girls should be taught only reading and not writing¹⁰⁷. The underlying reason for this opposition was the fear that the ability to write would enable girls to communicate with the outside world from the seclusion to which they were normally confined. Typical arguments were that if the girls learned to read and write, what was to prevent them from receiving letters from men without their parents' knowledge. The following story illustrates this fear¹⁰⁸:

"Five years ago, a woman from the United Nations who was concerned with human rights, went to a Sheikh in one of the Gulf States to talk about rights for women, and she was trying to promote women's rights in his country. She spoke of the need for education; he nodded, because this was a good idea. She spoke about the need to learn to read and he nodded. She mentioned the need to write, and he raised his head and said, 'Write to whom?'. I suppose he was afraid that some of the women in his country would write to men."

Because of this opposition, the growth of education for girls was very slow during the 1950's and it was not until the late 1960's that girls' primary education started to catch up with that of boys. However, at the same time there took place many changes which helped to soften this opposition and which led to the popular acceptance of education for girls. The most important was the socio-economic change

resulting from the discovery and export of oil in the Gulf States.

E. EFFECT OF OIL INCOME ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION

The discovery of oil in the 1930's started a new era in the Gulf States and marked the beginning of colossal socio-economic changes. The oil revenues encouraged the governments in the three States to provide a wide range of social services including health, education and social welfare facilities. As the awareness and demand for education was growing in these States even before the income from oil revenue, a considerable proportion of the national income from oil export was therefore spent on the development of social services, including health and education. This is illustrated by the analysis given in Table 2.1.

The statistics on the growth of education with respect to the number of schools, students and teachers in the decade before and the decade after the commencement of the export of oil from Kuwait are shown in Table 2.2. These statistics show that there were approximately 3-fold, 5.3-fold and 5.4-fold increases in the numbers of schools, students and teachers respectively during the 10-year period. During this period the Kuwaiti national budget on education increased from KD 357,766 in 1949/50 to KD 16,109,482 in 1959/60, an increase of about 450%¹⁰⁹.

In Qatar the beginning of modern education coincided with the commencement of oil export in 1949, when the first public school was opened. From that time onward the national expenditure on education has been increasing with the growth in oil revenue. For instance, as the national income from oil revenue rose from QR 260 million between 1950 and 1960, the education budget increased from QR 1 million in 1955

TABLE 2.1

Total current expenditure on the social services

State	Total million QDR	Percentage of total current expenditure	Percentage of total oil revenues
Kuwait (1952-1970/71)	6,365	31.8	14.5
Bahrain (1947-1970)	489	65.7	26.1
Qatar (1953/55 and 1966/67)	328	53.7	11.0

Source: Al-Kuwari, Khalifa, 'Oil Revenue in the Gulf Emirates, Patterns of Allocation and Impact on Economic Development'. Bowker, 1978, p.183.

TABLE 2.2

Comparison of total number of students,
schools and teachers in Kuwait between
the periods 1936-45 and 1946-56

Year	Number of schools	Number of students	Number of teachers
<u>Period before the export of oil</u>			
1936/37	2	600	26
1938/39	11	1520	53
1940/41	13	2012	84
1942/43	14	2520	101
1944/45	15	3090	110
Average	11	1948.4	74.8
<u>Period following the commencement of oil export</u>			
1946/47	17	3962	163
1948/49	21	4665	198
1950/51	26	6292	294
1953/53	38	10733	564
1954/56	49	15300	921
Average	30.2	8190.4	428

Source: from statistics published by the Ministry of Education,
Kuwait, Survey Section, undated.

to QR 13 million in 1958 and QR 25 million in 1960¹¹⁰. Similarly, the percentage of the education budget in Bahrain increased from 2.36% to 23.5% between 1939 and 1950¹¹¹.

With the income from oil revenue, the governments in the Gulf States had sufficient funds at their disposal to spend on education in their countries, Government funds have been made available not only for refurbishing and expanding old schools, building new schools and recruiting greater numbers of qualified teachers from abroad, but also for making education free for all people at all levels of society. Students were supplied with free textbooks, stationery, sports materials, winter and summer clothes. They were provided with free medical care, free transport to and from school, and with board and lodgings in the case of boys who came from villages where there were no suitable schools for them to attend. Besides all these facilities, financial support was provided as social assistance for needy children. Moreover, in Qatar the Ministry of Education paid monthly stipends to all students, both boys and girls¹¹². The availability of these facilities appear to have promoted a favourable attitude among the general public in the Gulf States towards modern education and to have encouraged parents to send their children to school and, in particular, not to discourage the education of their daughters.

Provision of free education has always played a significant role in the promotion of literacy among people in general and in particular of the girls in many societies. It is well known that when people have to contribute towards the cost of education, preference is normally given to the education of male children, and girls tend to be neglected. A survey carried out in Sri Lanka and in the state of Kerala in India

provides evidence to support this point, as illustrated below¹¹³:

"Parents who used to send only their sons to school when when they had to pay for education a generation ago, have now taken advantage of the boon of free education for their daughters too."

One of the factors affecting education in the developing nations and girls' education in particular is the inadequacy of funds. Where there are economic limitations, girls' education is faced with problems. These include the lack of schools for girls, lack of school facilities and shortage of well trained teachers. Whenever there is a lack of funds, priority goes to the education of boys and sometimes they are almost the sole beneficiaries¹¹⁴:

"In most regions in which the number of schools in relation to the school-age population is inadequate, schools for boys are built in greater numbers and faster than schools for girls."

While the modern education of women in the Gulf States has not suffered from financial problems due to an abundance of wealth from oil, it is suffering from problems of a social nature caused by the traditional beliefs of the role of women in that society.

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CHAPTER 3

KINDERGARTEN AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

A. INTRODUCTION

The structure of school education in the three Gulf States is similar to that found in most other Arab countries¹. Basically it consists of primary, intermediate and secondary school education. The duration of each level of education varies slightly from one State to another, School education in Bahrain and Qatar is divided into six years in primary education and three years each in preparatory and secondary education, i.e. a 6-3-3 year school system. In Kuwait, education comprises four years each of primary, intermediate (preparatory) and secondary education, i.e. a 4-4-4 year school system². School education at the three levels is provided free to all citizens in the Gulf States. While a great deal of money and effort has been put into the development of school education from primary level onwards, little attention has been given to the provision of kindergarten or pre-primary education in the Gulf States. Since kindergarten is an integral part of primary education and plays an important part in school education in general, the development and present situation of kindergarten and primary education in the three Gulf States will be described in this chapter.

B. KINDERGARTEN EDUCATION

Kindergarten education has neither been universalised nor made compulsory in Kuwait, Bahrain or Qatar. Whereas in Kuwait kindergarten education is mainly provided in government-financed public schools, in Bahrain and Qatar children receive kindergarten education in private schools. Kindergarten schools are co-educational where boys and girls aged 4-6 years attend two-year courses. Kindergarten education seeks to improve children's behaviour and prepare them for formal school

education. Supervised play and rest, story-telling, the encouragement of independence and self-control and the development of manipulative skills through games, handiwork and drawing are the principal features of this level of education. Basic skills like reading, writing and counting are also included in the programme.

1. Kindergarten education in Kuwait

According to Fauzia al-Abdulghafoor³, kindergarten education in Kuwait probably started in 1943. At that time there were no separate kindergarten schools, but the kindergarten classes were attached to primary schools, as illustrated in Table 3.1. During the earlier years of modern education, primary schools accepted children who were not even six years old in order to encourage people to join the modern education movement. These children were separated into primary or kindergarten classes according to their ages. Kindergarten classes were called 'Basatain al atfal', meaning children's gardens⁴. It is clear from Table 3.1 that by 1942 all schools in Kuwait had kindergarten classes attached to them.

In the academic year 1954/55, kindergarten education was reorganised in Kuwait and two separate kindergarten schools were opened⁵. In the 26 years from 1954 to 1980, kindergarten education has been substantially expanded. The number of kindergarten schools has increased to 60 with a total enrolment of 16,814 children and 1,228 teachers (Table 3.2). Girls comprise 48% of the total enrolment in kindergarten schools in Kuwait (Table 3.2). Children spend two years in these schools before going to primary school. Although education at this stage is not compulsory, Kuwaiti children (both boys and girls) between the ages of 4 and 6 years are entitled to enrol in kindergarten schools. Their edu-

TABLE 3.1

Number of schools with kindergarten classes
in Kuwait in 1942

School	Number of classes at each level of education		
	Kindergarten classes	Primary classes	Secondary classes
<u>BOYS' SCHOOLS</u>			
al-Muburakiya	3	6	2
al-Ahmadiya	2	5	-
al-Sharqiah	1	5	-
al-Qubliah	1	4	-
<u>GIRLS' SCHOOLS</u>			
al-Mutawast	1	5	-
al-Sharqiah	1	4	-
al-Qubliah	1	2	-

Source: India Office Records; File No.19, R/15/1/546,
Report on Education in Kuwait, by Wakelin, F.J. (1942),
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TABLE 3.2

Number of schools, children and teachers in kindergarten education in Kuwait from 1945 to 1980

Year	No. of schools*	Students			Teachers	
		Boys	Girls	%	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti
1944/55	2	199	177	55	-	17
1956/57	4	576	457	44	1	55
1958/59	9	1,416	1,158	45	6	102
1960/61	20	2,414	2,129	48	14	178
1962/63	24	3,502	3,245	48	24	276
1964/65	30	4,681	4,125	46	48	347
1966/67	36	5,790	5,335	48	31	468
1968/69	43	6,245	5,657	47	23	598
1970/71	44	6,696	6,137	47	78	711
1972/73	49	6,694	6,092	47	316	566
1974/75	52	6,536	6,046	48	1,001	
1976/77	56	7,728	7,132	48	1,381	
1978/79	57	7,992	7,420	48	1,167	
1979/80	60	8,611	8,203	48	641	587

*There are some kindergarten schools attached to primary schools

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait: various statistical data.

Number of private kindergarten schools and children attending in Qatar and Bahrain during the periods stated below

TABLE 3.3

Year	Kindergarten and creche schools	Schools providing kindergarten + other levels of education	Total non-government schools	No. of children in kindergarten education	
				Boys	Girls
<u>(1) Qatar (a)</u>					
1972/73	6	6	15	561	395
1974/75	4	5	14	558	428
1976/77	7	9	17	1,004	876
1978/79	7	9	17	901	714
1979/80	7	8	17	1,146	1,008
<u>(2) Bahrain (b)</u>					
1970/71	3	7	12	1,097	
1973/74	5	8	14	678	612
1975/76	8	9	18	1,019	964
1976/77	15	8	24	1,352	1,306
1978/79	18	14	32	1,599	1,382

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Reports 1972/73 to 1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Education, Bahrain: Statistical Reports 1970/71 to 1979/80.

cation aims to prepare them for primary school and helps them adjust to the transition from home to formal schooling⁶.

The curriculum and the environment of the kindergarten school is designed to develop the mental and physical skills of the child by using teaching methods consisting of play groups and other activities. The teachers are normally women with two years teacher training at post-secondary level or with a university qualification. The majority of these female teachers are Kuwaiti nationals (Table 3.2) and are graduates from the faculty of women teachers in Kuwait or from similar institutions in other Arab countries.

2. Kindergarten education in Bahrain and Qatar

As in Kuwait, during the early years of modern education, kindergarten education in both Bahrain and Qatar was provided at the existing primary schools. Besides kindergarten classes at primary schools there were, in Bahrain, four separate kindergarten schools for boys with a total enrolment of 7,377 and about 308 teachers in 1955/56⁷. Three out of four girls' schools also offered kindergarten classes in Bahrain in 1958/59. Children between the ages of six and seven years were enrolled for two years⁸. Similarly, at the time when modern education first started in Qatar, a 2-year kindergarten education was provided for 5-year old children by the Education Department⁹. In 1957 there were two kindergarten classes for girls with a total enrolment of 82 in the only primary school for girls in Qatar¹⁰. At the same time, there were five separate kindergarten schools for boys with an enrolment of 453¹¹.

With the increasing popularity of modern education in the Gulf States, the school system was reorganised in the late 1950's. Because

of this reorganisation in Qatar (1957) and Bahrain (1960), government kindergarten schools and classes were abolished. Since that time there has been no government-financed kindergarten education in Bahrain and Qatar, and it is only available privately in these States. The data given in Table 3.3 clearly indicate the growing demand for kindergarten education facilities.

3. The need for public kindergarten education facilities in Bahrain and Qatar

Kindergarten education of children is an essential prerequisite for a sound school education, and the need to universalise it has been emphasised by UNESCO¹³:

"It is important that the authorities responsible for education should encourage the introduction, extension and progress of pre-school education taking into account the stage reached by education in each country and the situation in different localities."

The absence of kindergarten education has been considered to be one of the main causes for the high drop-out and repeat rates at primary school level. According to a UNESCO report, in most of the Arab countries facilities for kindergarten education are rare and a child often enters the first grade of primary school straight from home and has considerable difficulty in adjustment. Often more than one year elapses before the child can adapt itself and start to make reasonable progress¹⁴.

In view of this it is rather surprising to observe that the government authorities in both Bahrain and Qatar have withdrawn public kindergarten education in their countries. Whilst the logic behind these policies is not clear, there is strong evidence that kindergarten facilities are highly desirable. Since kindergarten education is only available on a private basis in these countries, it is both expensive

and of a low standard. Because families have to pay for their children's kindergarten education, parents feel reluctant to send their children to these schools. For instance, whereas 6,779 Bahraini children enrolled in the 1st grade of primary schools in 1979/80, only 1,798 were enrolled in private kindergarten classes two years earlier in 1977/78¹⁵. This indicates that not more than 26% of Bahraini children enrolling for primary education in 1980 had received kindergarten education. For financial reasons, these private kindergarten schools suffer from lack of proper school buildings, equipment and other facilities. Qualified teachers are rare, since they prefer to work in government schools where they are paid higher salaries¹⁶.

An increasing number of women engaged in economic activities outside the home and working mothers with young children require some kind of creche and kindergarten facilities for the care of their children. It is of particular importance in Gulf societies nowadays, because various socio-economic changes in these countries have brought about significant changes in the family structure. In the traditional society working mothers either took their young children with them to work or could rely upon the extended family or sometimes neighbours to care for the children. Such facilities are now becoming rare or unavailable because of urbanisation and because of the transformation from the extended to the nuclear family. This situation is faced by women in many developing countries, as pointed out in the following remark¹⁷:

"In numerous developing countries, traditional roles and institutions are breaking down at a dizzying rate in step with the pace of modernisation and industrialisation in which women are participating. Consequently, very few countries are at present adequately equipped to meet the needs implied by these changes in terms of the care of pre-school children of working mothers."

The need for kindergarten education facilities is growing rapidly with the increase in the number of working mothers, and it is important that the authorities should consider these changes in planning their educational services. A study carried out by the Ministry of Education in Qatar on the feasibility of establishing nursery schools for the children of non-Qatari employees in the Ministry of Education emphasised these points. Some of the findings of this study indicated, for instance, that because non-Qatari women do not have relatives to look after their children while they are at work, their work was adversely affected in many ways. They were frequently absent from school, made excuses to go home during their working hours to check on their children, brought their children to school with them thus creating trouble and disturbance to others; some highly qualified teachers have resigned in order to take care of their children themselves. In addition, the Gulf States suffer from lack of outdoor facilities for children such as playgrounds, gardens, cinemas and theatres¹⁹. Providing free and properly equipped kindergarten schools will compensate for the lack of these facilities and children at pre-primary school age will have full scope to enjoy themselves instead of playing in the streets or accompanying their mothers during their visits to neighbours.

In view of all these facts, it is highly important that government authorities in both Bahrain and Qatar seriously consider introducing free public kindergarten education facilities.

C. PRIMARY EDUCATION

1. Growth of enrolment in primary education during the period 1955-1980

Detailed data on the enrolment of boys and girls in primary education

in the three Gulf States are given in Appendix 1 (Tables A1-A3). A summary of this data based on 5-year intervals is given in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 in order to elucidate the trends and differences among the three States and between the enrolment of boys and girls in primary education. The enrolment figures given for each academic year listed in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 are actual figures for each particular year. The year 1954/55 was chosen simply because from that date onward comparable information is available for all three Gulf States. The rate of increase in enrolment for each academic year was calculated by comparing enrolment in a particular year with the enrolment in the preceding 5th year.

Although modern primary education started in 1921, 1936 and 1951 in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively, the scale of expansion was limited until the late 1950's, and the development of better planned primary education only started in the early 1960's. For instance, the enrolment in 1955 of boys and girls in primary schools in Kuwait increased 6.4 times and 12.9 times respectively in 1960. Although the rate of increase is now declining, the actual numbers of both boys and girls in school has been gradually increasing (Table 3.4). During the late 1950's and early 1960's, the proportion of girls in the total primary school enrolment was considerably lower than that of boys, but in 1980 their percentage enrolment in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar had increased to 44%, 47% and 49% respectively (Table 3.5). According to UNESCO statistics, girls normally comprise 49-50% of the total child population, and therefore an enrolment of 46% or more in primary schools in the Gulf States may be regarded as satisfactory²⁰.

Although mere growth in enrolment is considered an indicator of

Growth in enrolment of boys and girls in primary education
in the period 1954/55-1979/80 on a 5-year basis

TABLE 3.4

Year	BAHRAIN				KUWAIT				QATAR			
	BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS	
	No	Rate of increase	No	Rate of increase	No	Rate of increase	No	Rate of increase	No	Rate of increase	No	Rate of increase
1954/55	6,239		2,618		2,257		810		560			
1959/60	11,581	1.8	5,315	2.0	14,459	6.4	10,455	12.9	3,025	5.4	1,423 ^a	
1964/65	18,508	1.5	11,920	2.2	24,956	1.7	19,075	1.8	6,001	1.9	3,725	2.5
1969/70	20,590	1.1	15,523	1.3	30,476	1.2	23,942	1.2	7,949	1.3	6,056	1.6
1974/75	22,765	1.1	17,660	1.1	45,610	1.5	37,971	1.6	10,528	1.3	9,624	1.5
1979/80	24,576	1.0	20,016	1.1	64,269	1.	57,969	1.5	12,031	1.	11,521	1.1

Source: Appendix 1, Tables A1-A3.

^aModern schools for girls in Qatar began in 1955/56

Percentage of girls to total enrolment in primary education
in the period 1954/55-1979/80 on a 5-year basis

TABLE 3.5

Year	BAHRAIN		KUWAIT		QATAR	
	Total enrolment	% of girls	Total enrolment	% of girls	Total enrolment	% of girls
1954/55	8,857	29.5%	3,067	26.4%	560 ^a	-
1959/60	16,896	31.4%	24,914	41.9%	4,448	31.9%
1964/65	30,428	39.1%	44,031	43.3%	9,726	38.2%
1969/70	36,113	42.9%	54,418	43.9%	14,005	43.2%
1974/75	40,425	43.6%	83,581	45.4%	20,152	47.7%
1979/80	44,592	44.8%	122,238	47.4%	24,248	47.7%

Source: Appendix 1, Tables A1-A3.

^aModern schools for girls in Qatar began in 1955/56

the development of education, it does not show the proportion of children in the age group who are taking advantage of the facilities of modern education. To assess this, it is necessary to calculate the enrolment by age, i.e. the number of children in a certain age group who are actually enrolled in school compared to the total number of children in the population in the corresponding age group. In the following section, the intake rate of 6-year old children into primary education and the enrolment of children in the 6-14 year old age group are discussed.

2. An analysis of intake rates of 6-year old children into primary schools

Since 6 years is the legal age of entry into primary education, the intake rates of 6-year old children in the population into primary schools has been universally accepted as an indicator of the development of education in any society. The data on intake percentages of 6-year old children into primary schools is not available in a comparable form for all three Gulf States, so an attempt was made to extract some relevant data from the available records, based on either actual or estimated statistics. The data were normalised to calculate the number of 6-year old children from actual or projected population statistics²¹.

A simple analysis of this data (Table 3.6) shows some differences between boys and girls in the three States. Whereas the total intake percentage has been increasing during the last decade, the increase in intake of girls has been considerably lower than that for boys. Similarly, while the total intake in Kuwait has been declining, the intake of girls has been lower than that of boys. On the basis of 1980 data, the total intake percentages in all three States appear to be decreasing in the order Qatar > Kuwait > Bahrain.

Intake rate of 6-year old national children in primary schools in 1970, 1975 and 1980

TABLE 3.6

Year	BAHRAIN			KUWAIT			QATAR		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
<u>1970</u>									
No. of 6-year old children in the population	3,041 ^a	3,115 ^a	6,156 ^a	6,315 ^a	6,030 ^a	12,345 ^a	846 ^a	808 ^a	1,654 ^a
No. of 6-year olds in their first year of primary education	711 ^a	699 ^a	1,410 ^a	5,277 ^b	4,150 ^b	9,427 ^b	591 ^c	612 ^c	1,203 ^c
% intake	23%	22%	22%	83%	68%	76%	70%	75%	72%
<u>1975</u>									
No. of 6-year old children in the population	-	-	-	8,338 ^a	8,653 ^a	16,991 ^a	1,005 ^d	979 ^d	1,985 ^d
No. of 6-year olds in their first year of primary education	-	-	-	5,124 ^b	4,559 ^b	9,683 ^b	953 ^c	839 ^c	1,792 ^c
% intake	-	-	-	61%	53%	57%	94%	85%	90%
<u>1980</u>									
No. of 6-year old children in the population	3,120 ^a	3,064 ^a	6,166 ^a	9,824 ^a	9,535 ^a	19,359 ^a	1,154 ^d	1,123 ^d	2,277 ^d
No. of 6-year olds in their first year of primary education	1,352 ^a	1,311 ^a	2,663 ^a	5,673 ^a	4,381 ^a	10,559 ^a	1,120 ^c	981 ^c	2,101 ^c
% intake	43%	42%	43%	58%	46%	54%	97%	87%	92%

Sources: a. Population censuses

b. Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Education and Labour Force in Kuwait Between the Period 1977-2000. Kuwait Government Press, 1981, pp. 30-32.

c. Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1969/70, 1974/75 and 1979/80.

d. Values taken from population projections for Qatar. The number of children aged 6 years was calculated by Sprague Multipliers from the 5-9 years age group taken from population projections.

3. Enrolment rates for children in primary education

School enrolment rates are usually expressed in terms of gross or net enrolment rates, according to the formulae below²²:

$$\text{Gross enrolment rate} = \frac{\text{number of children enrolled in a level of education}}{\text{number of children in the population at the age group corresponding to that level of education}}$$

$$\text{Net enrolment rate} = \frac{\text{number of children of certain age group in schools}}{\text{number of children in the population of corresponding age group}}$$

In the case of the Gulf States, a direct and comparable analysis of enrolment rates cannot easily be carried out, because of the nature of the available data on population and school statistics. Except in the case of Bahrain, where the available school and population statistics permit net enrolment rates to be calculated for children aged 6-14 years, the data available for Kuwait and Qatar only allow the estimation of gross enrolment rates. School data for Kuwait and Qatar also suffer from the fact that they do not exclude repeaters, who would be above the upper limit of the official age group. Furthermore, although primary education starts at the age of 6 years and ends after four years in Kuwait and after six years in Bahrain and Qatar, most of the data on population and school statistics include children between 6 and 14 years old. Hence the enrolment rates discussed in the following section do not represent enrolment at the primary school level only, but also include some children at the level of intermediate school education.

(a) Enrolment rates of Bahrain children. According to the information given in the Third Population Census of Bahrain, which was conducted

in May 1959, only 37.4% of girls compared to 71.2% of boys in the 7-15-year age group were enrolled in primary schools (Table 3.7). However, the subsequent censuses, carried out in 1965, 1971 and 1981, include children in a 6-14 years rather than a 7-15 years age group (Table 3.8). A comparison of girls versus boys in primary schools indicates that whereas net enrolment of girls has increased to 81% of the total 6-14 year age group in the population in 1981, their enrolment rate is about 8% lower than that of the boys (Table 3.8). It is also clear from this data that although girls' net enrolment had been increasing steadily over the last 15 years, it is still lower than that of boys in similar age groups.

(b) Enrolment rates of Kuwaiti children. The data available for Kuwait allows only an estimate of gross enrolment rates. They may also contain some error because repeaters over 14 years of age are included in the statistics. As the statistical treatment of data for both sexes is similar, it was considered safe to use the data for comparison purposes. The data shown in Table 3.9 clearly indicate that the enrolment rate for girls has been lower than that for boys, and that enrolment rates for both sexes has been declining between 1965 and 1980. Although the official reports do not provide any explanation for this decline, it can be ascribed mainly to the number of Bedouin children in the population as a result of the naturalisation of the Bedouin in Kuwait, among whom the value of modern education is not yet fully appreciated.

During the 1970's the Kuwaiti government adopted a policy of encouraging the settlement of Bedouin tribes of the desert area adjacent to Kuwait in order to increase the national population²³. However, according to al-Essa, the reason for granting citizenship was political²⁴.

TABLE 3.7

School enrolment in 1959 of Bahraini children
aged 7-15 years

	Total no. of children aged 7-15 yrs	No. of children in school	No. of children not in school	% in school
Boys	13,153	9,362	3,791	71.2
Girls	12,039	4,499	12,039	37.4

Source: The Third Population Census of Bahrain, May 1959.
R.S.Porter, OBE, Middle East Development Division,
Beirut, 1961, p.28.

TABLE 3.8

School enrolment in 1965(a), 1971(b) and 1981(c)
of Bahraini children aged 6-14 years

	Total no. of children aged 6-14 yrs	No. of children in school	No. of children not in school	% in school
<u>Boys</u>				
1965	19,816	15,886	3,930	80
1971	26,176	20,736	5,440	79
1981	27,744	24,802	2,942	89
<u>Girls</u>				
1965	20,802	11,813	8,989	56
1971	25,040	15,857	10,178	63
1981	27,435	22,440	4,995	81

Sources: (a) Government of Bahrain, Finance Dept., 4th Census
of Population, 1965, pp.39,40,8.

(b) Government of Bahrain, Ministry of Finance and
National Economy, Statistics of the Population
Census, 1971, Statistical Bueau, pp.51,52.

(c) Government of Bahrain, Cabinet Affairs, Director-
ate of Statistics. Bahrain: Census of Population
and Housing, 1981, 1982.

TABLE 3.9

Gross school enrolment of Kuwaiti children aged 6-14 years
by sex in 1957, 1961, 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980

	Population(a) aged 6-14 yrs(c)	Students at primary and intermediate schools (b)	% in school
<u>Boys</u>			
1957	11,925	9,932	83
1961	16,934	16,223	96
1965	28,467	26,513	93
1970	45,751	36,741	80
1975	62,717	45,920	73
1980	75,069	53,584	71
<u>Girls</u>			
1957	10,886	6,371	58
1961	16,019	10,677	67
1965	26,000	18,605	71
1970	45,377	30,250	67
1975	61,290	28,291	62
1980	73,766	47,022	64

Sources: (a) Population data for 1957 and 1961 are taken from Kuwait Ministry of Planning, Statistical Abstract, 1964, pp. 25-26. Population data for the remaining years are taken from Population Censuses 1965, p.1; 1970, Table 1; 1975, Table 9, and 1980, Table 21 p.107.

(b) Kuwaiti Ministry of Education, Schools Statistics.

(c) As (a) except that for the years 1975 and 1980, Sprague Multipliers have been used to extract children aged 5 years from an age group of 5-9 year olds.

Arab Bedouin are extremely loyal to the ruling family because of their tribal links to it. These tribes were automatically and immediately given first class citizenship and provided with social assistance and other services.

(c) Enrolment rate of Qatari children. The only population census carried out in Qatar was in 1970, and the figures for the years 1975 and 1980 are estimates by Shankland Cox partnership²⁵. The net enrolment rate of girls between 6 and 14 years of age in 1970 was 8% lower than that of boys (Table 3.10). For subsequent years, only gross enrolment rates have been calculated using actual numbers of children enrolled in primary and preparatory schools and the projected number of children aged 6-14 years in the population (Table 3.10). A cursory inspection of the data shows a steady increase in the actual numbers and gross enrolment rates of both boys and girls from 1970 to 1980. Gross enrolment rates greater than one hundred per cent for 1975 and 1980 can be explained by suggesting that either projected figures of the number of children in the population were underestimates, or that the school statistics include a large number of repeaters.

From these data it can be summarised that so far in all three Gulf States, the enrolment rates for girls in primary school education are relatively lower than those for boys. The data also show that enrolment has not reached the maximum possible and therefore a considerable number of school-age children in the population are not as yet in school.

As primary education is the basis of an educational system, it was strongly recommended by the Third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and of Economic Planning in 1970 that all Arab states should provide universal primary education²⁶. It appears that the Gulf

TABLE 3.10

Estimation of gross enrolment of Qatari children aged 6-14 years in 1970, 1975 and 1980

	Population aged 6-14 yrs(a)	Qatari children in primary and preparatory schools(b)	% in school
<u>Boys</u>			
1970	6,700	6,363	94
1975	8,139	8,988	101
1980	9,434	11,355	120
<u>Girls</u>			
1970	6,384	4,934	77
1975	7,913	8,610	108
1980	10,150	10,852	107

(a) Data for 1970 are taken from the Qatari 1970 Population Census, Table 10. Data for 1975 and 1980 are projected values made by Shakland Cox Partnership, Table 14, Assumption B.

(b) Real values from school statistics, the Annual Year Books, Ministry of Education, Qatar, 1970, 1975 and 1980.

States have not as yet achieved this goal. The Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and of Economic Planning in the Arab States in 1977 once again drew attention to the state of primary education²⁷:

"It appears that many of the Arab states have not yet been able to develop their primary education fast enough for full enrolment to be achieved in 1980, as decided at the Conference of Marrakesh, nor indeed in 1985 or even later in the case of some of these. However, determined policy aimed at changing these trends and enabling all boys and girls to have access to basic education would probably have to overcome serious obstacles, including the scattered population and the shortage of teachers."

4. Wastage at primary education level

(a) The meaning of wastage in an educational system. One of the major achievements of an educational system is to produce adequate numbers of suitably trained and qualified young people to serve the community. The efficiency of an educational system can thus be assessed from the quantitative output of qualified people produced by it. In this manner it can be considered that, in an ideal situation, a child who enters the first grade of a cycle in a school system should progress to second and to third grades and so on at yearly intervals and should finish the cycle successfully within the specified period of time. However, in practice and in particular in the developing countries, many children who enter school leave before they have completed secondary education. Secondly, a considerable number of students spend more than one year in a grade. The first group of students are usually referred to as drop-outs, the second group as repeaters. Both drop-out and repeat rates significantly affect the efficiency of an educational system.

A high drop-out rate decreases school enrolment whether taken as a whole or on a grade-wise basis, while a high repeat rate apparently increases the overall number of students at school, resulting in a

false impression of the increase in enrolment rates.

(b) Drop-out rates at primary school level 1970-1980. The detailed data for the number of drop-outs and drop-out rates for both boys and girls at primary school level during the period 1970-1980 are given in Appendix 1 (Tables A4-A10). A summary of these data is given in Table 3.11. However, it should be pointed out that data on drop out rate for Kuwait and Qatar include national children only. The reason for excluding non-nationals is that many non-national children leave school in order to return to their home countries. This type of drop-out cannot be considered as wastage in the education system, since these children will join schools in their home countries. Inclusion of non-national children in the data when assessing drop-out rates would give an untrue picture, particularly in Kuwait and Qatar where non-nationals comprise 55% and 33% respectively of the total primary school population. On the other hand, in the case of Bahrain non-nationals constitute only 2% of the primary school population²⁸.

In ideal terms, as in advanced countries, there should be no drop-out at primary school level. Keeping in mind the historical and social backgrounds of the Gulf States and their short history of modern education, the observed drop-out rates at primary school level are not unsatisfactory when compared with many other developing countries. Coombs describes the situation in other developing countries²⁹:

"In virtually all developing countries, whatever their policy of admission at secondary and higher levels, drop-outs are enormous at the primary stage and have been a widespread cause for concern. It is not at all unusual for at least half the children entering the first grade in one of these countries to leave before the end of the fourth year without even having acquired permanent literacy. What is worse, most of these early drop-outs are sentenced to join the ranks of permanent adult illiterates at the bottom of the socio-economic heap."

TABLE 3.11 Annual average enrolment and drop-out rates of boys and girls in primary education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar during the periods defined below

Country	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BAHRAIN 1970/71-1979/80														
EN	4,090	3,354	3,879	3,129	3,802	3,061	4,169	3,028	3,613	2,699	3,301	2,479	22,854	17,750
D0	127	66	54	35	50	33	99	49	115	44	137	47	582	274
% D0/EN	3.1%	1.9%	1.3%	1.1%	1.3%	1.0%	2.3%	1.6%	3.1%	1.6%	4.1%	1.8%	2.5%	1.5%
QATAR 1970/71-1979/80														
EN	1,512	1,434	1,359	1,264	1,240	1,172	1,244	1,149	1,072	1,067	875	758	7,302	6,844
D0	60	64	21	27	22	22	38	31	59	32	46	23	246	199
% D0/EN	3.9%	4.4%	1.5%	2.1%	1.8%	1.8%	3.0%	2.6%	5.5%	2.9%	5.2%	3.0%	3.3%	2.9%
KUWAIT 1976/77-1980/81														
EN	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	27,357	25,307
D0	132	66	79	59	101	56	41	30	-	-	-	-	353	211
% D0/EN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.2%	0.8%

EN = Annual average enrolment D0 = Annual average drop-outs % D0/EN = Annual percentage drop-outs to enrolment
 N.A. = Not available

Source: Appendix I Tables A4-A10.

It is also interesting to note that, unlike other Arab states, the drop-out rates for girls in the Gulf States are lower than those for boys. According to Nagat el-Sanabary, the drop-out rate for girls at the primary level in Arab countries in general is usually higher than that of the boys³⁶.

One explanation for the relatively high drop-out rate at the first grade of primary education (Table 3.11) could be that children in their first year at school find it difficult to adjust themselves to the school environment. The increase in the drop-out rate in the final grades could be a result of differences in methods of examination at these grades (see Section (c)). As the repeat rates show an increase during the final grades of primary education, it can be assumed that most repeaters tend to drop out from school.

Among the three Gulf States, drop-out rates for both girls and boys show a decrease in this order: Kuwait < Bahrain < Qatar. Further analysis of drop-out rates at different grades of primary education indicates that in both Bahrain and Qatar drop-out rates in the first and last years are usually higher than in the middle years at the primary level.

(c) Repeat rates at primary school level 1970-1980. Detailed data on the total number of repeaters and repeat rates for both boys and girls in the Gulf States from 1970-1980 are given in Appendix 1 (Tables A11-A17), and a summary of this material is shown in Table 3.12. An analysis of repeat rates at all six grades of primary school education in both Bahrain and Qatar has been given in Table 3.12. A similar analysis of data for Kuwait was not possible, however, because of the lack of school enrolment data on a grade-wise basis. Nevertheless, some interesting conclusions on repetition trends can be safely drawn

TABLE 3.12 Annual average enrolment and repeater rates of boys and girls in primary education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar during the periods defined below

Country	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BAHRAIN 1970/71-1979/80														
EN	4,090	3,354	3,879	3,129	3,802	3,061	4,169	3,028	3,613	2,699	3,301	2,479	22,854	17,750
REP	714	582	667	512	701	570	1,117	621	770	450	760	385	4,729	3,120
%REP/EN	17.4%	17.3%	17.1%	16.3%	18.4%	18.6%	26.7%	20.5%	21.3%	16.6%	23.0%	15.5%	20.6%	17.5%
QATAR 1970/71-1979/80														
EN	2,184	2,046	1,981	1,802	1,813	1,661	1,789	1,604	1,541	1,462	1,254	1,045	10,562	9,620
REP	524	466	432	348	353	311	423	346	307	329	199	48	2,188	1,848
%REP/EN	23.9%	22.7%	21.8%	19.3%	19.4%	18.7%	23.6%	21.5%	19.9%	22.5%	15.8%	4.5%	20.7%	19.2%
KUWAIT 1976/77-1980/81^a														
EN	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	27,357	25,307
REP	885	856	977	904	981	776	547	276					3,390	2,812
%REP/EN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					12.3%	11.1%

EN = Annual average enrolment REP = Annual average repeaters %REP/EN = Annual percentage repeaters to enrolment
 N.A. = Not available ^aNational students only, information N.A. for non-national students.

Source: Appendix 1, Tables A11-A17.

from the data summarised in Table 3.12.

Repeat rates have been considerably higher than the corresponding drop-out rates at all grades of primary education in the three Gulf States (see Tables 3.11 and 3.12). Similarly to the trends observed for drop-out rates, the repeat rates of girls are lower than those of boys (the actual difference being at least 2%). Again, as with drop-out rates, repeat rates for the three States show the following relationship: Kuwait < Bahrain < Qatar.

One main reason for the lower repeat rates in Kuwait could be that the primary school cycle is shorter (4 years) than that in the other two States (6 years). This might have some effect on the teaching and attention given to Kuwaiti students compared to that given to Bahraini and Qatari students. Differences in the examination systems at the primary school level could be another important factor producing differences in the drop-out and repeat rates in the three Gulf States. The promotion of students from one grade to another at primary school level in Kuwait is based on continuous assessment during the whole academic year³¹. On the other hand, in the case of Bahrain and Qatar, while continuous assessment is used to promote students between the 1st and 3rd grades, promotion between 4th and 6th grades is based on written examinations at the end of the academic year which constitute 50% of the final result³². A sudden increase in the repeat rate for boys in the 4th grade in Bahrain and Qatar could be a result of this examination system which is more likely to increase the failure rate. Data on pass rates at primary school level in the three States (Table 3.13) further support this conclusion, since the pass rate of students in Kuwait is the highest of the three States.

Average percentage pass rates for boys and girls
at primary schools between 1972/73 and 1979/80

TABLE 3.13

	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Bahrain	83%	82%	83%	84%	82%	83%	74%	80%	76%	83%	74%	84%	79%	83%
Qatar	76%	77%	79%	81%	81%	81%	75%	78%	78%	76%	76%	83%	78%	80%
Kuwait	N.A.													
													88%	88%

Source: Appendix 1, Tables A18-A20.

N.A. = Not available.

In addition to the examination system, other factors may influence the repeat rate. According to a study carried out by the Ministry of Education in Qatar, the following factors could be instrumental in increasing repeat rates at the primary education level in particular: (i) lack of a proper curriculum and textbooks, (ii) lack of properly qualified teachers, (iii) lack of cooperation from parents, (iv) frequent and long periods of absence from school, and (v) lack of pre-primary school preparation for children³³.

Analysis of repeat rates at different grades of primary education indicates no significant differences between the grades, except for a sudden rise for boys at the fourth grade and a sharp decline for girls at the 6th grade in Qatar. The reason for this decline could be due to the factors listed in the following statement³⁴:

"The Ministry of Education made it clear that all schools choose the best qualified teachers to teach pupils in the sixth grade of primary school. In addition the inspectors were often instructed to pay more attention to pupils at that standard. Moreover the Ministry of Education directly supervised the general examinations of the general certificates and was very keen to see the general examination result at the highest level. For parents it was a matter of concern that their child should successfully pass his examinations, especially the general ones, which meant for them a great psychological reward."

In general, the relatively lower repeat rates for girls would suggest that the girls' performance in primary schools has been better than that of the boys (Table 3.13).

The problem of repetition among primary school students is open to further analysis to assess the degree of repetition of grades among repeaters as well as the distribution of repeaters at different grades. This analysis was possible because of the availability of relevant in-

formation for the academic year 1979/80 in the case of Qatar only. The data given in Table 3.14 clearly show that only 65% of boys and girls actually completed their primary education without repetition at any grade. Among the repeaters, the degree of repetition varied between one to ten times or more. However, whereas one-time repeaters represented some 20% of the total number of students, the percentage of repeaters who had repeated ten times or more was about 0.02% (Table 3.14).

Further analysis of the distribution of non-repeaters shows a steady decline from 1st to 6th grade of primary education: from 82% to 56% in the case of boys and from 81% to 62% in the case of girls. On the other hand, the percentage of repeaters either fluctuates or shows a definite increase from 1st to 6th grade of primary education (Tables 3.15-3.16). These data also highlight the fact that only 56% of boys and 62% of girls reach the 6th grade of their primary education without repeating any previous grade. It is perhaps rather surprising to observe that although the duration of primary education is for six years only, it can accommodate some hard core of repeaters who repeat ten times or more.

5. Development of school curricula

Broadly speaking, the school curricula in the Gulf States have passed through at least four stages of development since the beginning of formal education in this region. The school curricula were initially based on the Egyptian system of education. The Egyptian syllabus was first put into practice in the early 1940's in Bahrain and Kuwait³⁵. Since then the Egyptian system has not only directly influenced educational systems and curricula of some of the Gulf States, but it has also

TABLE 3.14

Distribution by sex of total enrolment at primary school according to the number of times they repeated their grades in Qatar in 1979/80

No. of times repeated	BOYS		GIRLS	
	No. of students	% of the total	No. of students	% of the total
0	8,086	65.6	7,741	66.06
1	2,481	20.0	2,479	21.60
2	936	7.6	839	7.16
3	442	3.6	403	3.44
4	229	1.8	152	1.30
5	97	0.8	63	0.54
6	46	0.4	30	0.26
7	23	0.2	4	0.03
8	7	0.06	3	0.02
9	3	0.02	-	-
10 or more	3	0.02	3	0.02

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar, Annual Report 1979/80.

Distribution of boy students in each grade of primary education according to the number of times they repeated their grades in primary schools in Qatar in 1979/80

TABLE 3.15

	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total students	2,443		2,353		2,147		2,104		1,736		1,570	
No. of times repeated												
0	2,004	82	1,680	71	1,304	61	1,209	57	1,001	58	888	56
1	375	15	440	18	483	22	484	23	370	21	329	21
2	54	2	153	6	210	10	181	8	178	10	160	10
3	6	0.2	47	2	87	4	119	5	93	5	90	6
4	3	0.1	23	1	37	2	73	3	50	3	43	3
5	1	0.04	9	0.4	14	0.6	21	1	32	2	20	1
6	-		1	0.04	9	0.4	10	0.5	7	0.4	19	1
7	-		-		2	0.09	6	0.3	3	0.2	12	0.8
8	-		-		-		1	0.04	1	0.05	5	0.3
9	-		-		-		-		1	0.05	2	0.1
10 or more	-		-		-		-		-		2	0.1

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar, Annual Report 1979/80.

Distribution of girl students in each grade of primary education according to the number of times they repeated their grades in primary schools in Qatar in 1979/80

TABLE 3.16

	GRADE 1	GRADE 2	GRADE 3	GRADE 4	GRADE 5	GRADE 6
Total students	2,302	2,053	1,948	2,002	1,827	1,585
No. of times repeated	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
0	1,857 81	1,385 67	1,229 53	1,169 58	1,111 61	990 62
1	392 17	506 25	437 22	510 25	354 19	286 18
2	41 0.2	107 5	176 9	167 8	180 10	168 10
3	9 0.3	38 2	70 3	92 4	108 6	86 5
4	3 0.1	14 0.6	22 1	31 1	46 2	36 2
5	-	2 0.1	8 0.4	21 1	18 1	14 0.9
6	-	1 0.05	6 0.3	8 0.3	8 0.4	7 0.4
7	-	-	-	1 0.04	1 0.05	2 0.1
8	-	-	-	1 0.04	-	2 0.1
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 or more	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar, Annual Report 1979/80.

had some indirect effects. The Gulf States, starting their educational programmes at a later date, were dependent in many ways on the advice and facilities provided for them by neighbouring Arab states with longer established educational systems. Textbooks were imported from Egypt, Syria and Jordan during this period.

The second stage in the development of curricula started in the late 1950's with the implementation of the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement³⁶. The Gulf States adopted as the basis of their curricula that laid down by the Arab Cultural Unit Agreement with some modifications required by their own local and social circumstances³⁷. It was during this period that the individual Gulf States first started compiling and writing their own books on social science subjects.

The third stage of development started when formal education had reached a more settled and systematic stage. Ministries of Education, with the help of various committees comprising teachers, inspectors and other educationalists, started revising and amending the existing curricula and textbooks so that they suited the real needs of the individual States. For example, some 232 school textbooks were compiled in Qatar during that period³⁸.

The fourth stage of development started with the beginning of higher education. The opening of the State universities brought specialised teachers from abroad. Their expertise was utilised by the Ministries of Education for the evaluation and development of school curricula and textbooks, and for the development of higher education.

(a) Primary school syllabuses. The primary school curricula in the Gulf States can be divided into major subjects such as (i) religious

studies, (ii) Arabic language, (iii) mathematics, (iv) social sciences, (v) sciences and (vi) English language. Like the development of education as a whole in these countries, the individual subjects in the school syllabuses have also undergone many revisions and modifications over the last four decades. The three main subjects in the primary school syllabuses in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar have been religious studies, Arabic language and mathematics. Mathematics curricula were traditional in the Arab world. The Arab Ministers of Education at their meeting in Tripoli, Libya in 1966 strongly recommended the introduction of mathematics courses similar to those in advanced countries³⁹. The English language curricula had gone through many phases and modifications in the three Gulf States. Although English was considered a second language to Arabic in the pre-World War II era in most Arab states, the teaching of English in primary schools was abandoned for some time during the post-World War II period⁴⁰. At that time some Arab educationalists considered learning English as a second language too much of a burden for young children. The teaching of English was later restored in step-wise stages in the higher grades of primary education⁴¹.

During the last three decades, the Arab states came to realise the wide gap between themselves and the developed world in science and technology. This stimulated the revision and re-planning of the science curricula at all levels of education⁴², but the science curricula and textbooks, almost identical throughout the Arab states, are still outdated and of low standards⁴³.

The importance attached to different subjects at the primary education level can be assessed from the data given in Tables 3.17 and 3.18. The weekly lesson plans for different subjects in primary schools

TABLE 3.17

Primary school syllabus for boys and girls
by weekly lessons in Bahrain in the 1940's

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6		GRADE 7	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
	Number of lessons per week													
Quran	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	2	2	2	2
Arabic language	8	13	8	13	8	13	12	14	10	14	8	10	8	10
English language	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	7	6	7	6
Arithmetic	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	6	6	6	6	8	6	8
Geometry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Geography	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	2	-	2	-	2	-
History	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
General science and hygiene	-	4	-	4	-	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	2	3
Drawing	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Handwork	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Physical education	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	1	2	1
Singing	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
Storytelling	2	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nature observation	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Needlework	-	6	-	6	-	6	-	6	-	6	-	4	-	4
Domes.science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Free activity	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	30	42	30	42	30	42	34	42	34	42	34	42	34	42

Source: Directorate of Education, Bahrain, Annual Report 1950, p.2.

Primary school syllabus for boys and girls
by weekly lessons in Kuwait in 1952

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6		GRADE 7	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Quran	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2
Arabic language	13	13	12	13	12	12	10	9	10	9	8	8	8	8
English language	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7	7	7	8	7	8	7
Arithmetic	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5
Geometry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
History	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Geography	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1
Principles of science health & childcare	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2
Principles of science and health	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-
Drawing and handwork	3	3	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Physical education	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Songs	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Household manage- ment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	2
Needlework	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Embroidery	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	32	32	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	36	34	36

Source: al-Mqdady, Drwaish. Kuwait education in two years 1950/51, 1951/52. Kuwait Government Press, 1952, pp.50-52.

for boys and girls in Bahrain in 1940 and Kuwait in 1952 indicate that the main emphasis was given to religious studies and the Arabic language, followed by mathematics. The number of weekly lessons on religious studies and the Arabic language was higher for girls than for boys in Bahrain in 1940 (Table 3.17). For girls in both Bahrain and Kuwait it is evident that considerable emphasis was placed on subjects such as domestic science, general science and hygiene, needlework and art. This is understandable in view of the fact that the main aim of girls' education at that time was considered different to that of boys, as stated in the Annual Report on Education in Bahrain in 1939⁴⁴:

"The chief object of the schools (for girls) is not as in the case of boys' schools to train girls to earn their living...the aim of the schools is to teach the girls better methods of managing their homes and bringing up their children."

Because of the diminished emphasis on the main subjects such as Arabic and English languages at the 6th and 7th grades at primary schools, the girls were not allowed to sit for the final examination for the primary school certificate in Kuwait. However, in 1950 a preparatory class was opened in al-Quabliyah primary schools for girls to teach them the subjects which were not included in their previous school curricula in order to prepare them for the primary school certificate examination⁴⁵. The first group of girls sat for this examination in Kuwait in 1953⁴⁶.

The primary school curricula for both boys and girls have been undergoing revisions and modifications since then. Nowadays the school curricula and most of the textbooks are designed and composed by the individual State authorities under the guidelines laid down by the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement. Furthermore, the United Nations Convention Against Discrimination in Education strongly recommended that all

all governments should offer the same curricula and facilities as well as equal opportunities to both boys and girls. Article II(a) of the Convention states that⁴⁷:

"Maintenance of separate schools for boys and girls shall not be considered discriminatory if, among other requirements, these institutions offered the opportunity to take the same or equivalent courses of study. It is particularly important that all basic subjects for boys and girls should follow the same curricula in order to give them equal preparation for final examination and the same background with which to continue further studies or future employment; girls should not be handicapped in later life by shortcoming in their education as compared to that of boys."

Nowadays the primary school syllabuses for boys and girls are fairly similar in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar. There are, however, some minor differences in the teaching of subjects such as music and English. Music lessons are given in Bahraini and Kuwaiti primary schools but not in Qatari primary schools. On the other hand, English language is taught in the 4th, 5th and 6th grades of primary schools in Bahrain and in the 5th and 6th grades in Qatar but not in Kuwait. Tables 3.19-3.21 show the weekly lesson plans in the three Gulf States during the year 1979/80. It is clear from these Tables that in primary schools in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar the main subjects are still the Islamic religion, Arabic language and mathematics. In addition, English language is also treated as a main subject in the higher grades of primary education in Bahrain and Qatar (Table 3.19-3.21).

The primary school curricula for both boys and girls is apparently traditional in the sense that more time is devoted to teaching humanities than to teaching science or other practical extra-curricula activities. In the three States, about 66% of the total teaching time is devoted to Arabic language and to the teaching of the Islamic religion and mathematics compared to 8% for science and 8-10% for physical education.

Primary school syllabus for boys and girls
by weekly lessons in Bahrain in 1979/80

TABLE 3.19

Subjects	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	Number of lessons per week											
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Religious education	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Arabic language	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	10	9	9	9	9
English language	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	7	7	7	7
Mathematics	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Principles of science and health education	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Social studies	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Art education	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2
Songs and music	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Domestic science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	30	30	30	30	32	32	36	36	36	36	36	36

Girls will have two lessons of art education weekly and one lesson domestic science

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1979/80, p.99.

Primary school syllabus for boys and girls
by weekly lessons in Kuwait in 1975

TABLE 3.20

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Islamic religion	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Arabic language	13	13	13	13	13	13	12	12
Social studies:								
History	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Geography	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mathematics	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
General science and hygiene	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Arts education	3	3	3	3	4	3	4	3
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Music	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Embroidery	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	34	34	34	34	34	35	34	35

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Education Planning in Kuwait,
monograph, p.8.

Primary school syllabus for boys and girls
by weekly lessons in Qatar in 1979/80

TABLE 3.21

Subjects	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	Number of lessons per week											
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Quran and Islamic religion	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Arabic language	12	12	12	12	10	10	10	9	8	8	8	8
English language	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	4
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6
General science and health	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Social studies	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	4	4	4	4
Art education	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2
Women's education	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	1
TOTAL	30	30	30	30	30	30	34	34	36	36	36	36

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1979/80, p.35.

The only difference in the curricula for girls is in the teaching of domestic science in girls' primary schools. Two lessons per week are given in domestic science in the last three grades of primary education in Bahrain and in the last two grades of primary education in Kuwait. These lessons are either additional to normal teaching or they replace some lessons given in arts or physical education (Tables 3.19-3.21). For instance, in the place of domestic science for girls, boys were given one additional lesson in physical education.

6. Growth in the number of primary school teachers

An analysis of the data on the total number of men and women teachers shows a satisfactory increase in primary school teachers in the three Gulf States over the last three decades (Table 3.22). Although during the period between 1950 and 1960 men teachers outnumbered women teachers, this trend has changed over the last two decades and the number of female teachers is now almost equal to the number of men teachers in both Bahrain and Kuwait. In Qatar, however, for the last five years the number of women teachers has been increasing rapidly and their number is now higher than that of men teachers. One of the reasons for this rapid increase in numbers is that a large number of women students now go to teacher training courses since teaching is socially the most acceptable professional career open to women. Secondly, a new policy adopted by the Ministry of Education to appoint women teachers in boys' schools appears to have increased the overall number of women teachers. This policy was started as an experiment in 1976/77 in Kuwait and Bahrain. In Kuwait, a boys' primary school with 573 boys aged 6-11 years was chosen to be staffed by women teachers as an experimental project⁴⁸. In the same year Bahrain opened two co-educational primary schools for children of both sexes in the first three grades of primary education⁴⁹.

TABLE 3.22

Number of men and women teachers in primary schools
in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar
during periods indicated below

Year	Total number of teachers		% of total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
<u>Bahrain (a)</u>				
1960/61	469	240	66.1	33.9
1963/64	590	446	56.9	43.1
1971/72	580	467	55.4	44.6
1975/76	1,098	946	53.7	46.3
1979/80	1,346	1,287	51.1	48.9
<u>Kuwait (b)</u>				
1960/61	780	663	54.6	45.4
1965/66	1,275	1,041	55.1	44.9
1970/71	1,534	1,279	54.5	45.5
1975/76	2,765	2,679	50.7	49.3
1979/80	3,446	3,226	51.6	48.4
<u>Qatar (c)</u>				
1965/66	298	146	67.1	32.8
1970/71	394	318	55.3	44.7
1975/76	470	526	47.1	52.9
1979/80	615	880	41.3	58.7

Sources (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Annual Reports 1971/72-1979/80

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Unpublished statistical data.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

Qatar, however, followed the Kuwaiti model in 1978/79 when the Ministry of Education established three schools for boys aged 6-9 years to be staffed by women teachers⁵⁰.

(a) Student/teacher ratio

The student/teacher ratios for boys and girls in primary education were calculated by dividing the total number of boys and girls in school by the total number of male and female teachers respectively. In recent years female teachers have been employed in girls' schools, but precise information on the number in this category is not available. The apparently low female student/female teacher ratios are therefore due to the treatment of data and should not be considered a true index. For instance, although the numbers of boys and girls in primary schools are almost equal in Qatar, the number of female teachers is about 1.43 times higher than that of male teachers. If this additional number of teachers, who are actually employed teaching boys, was to be regarded as teachers in girls' schools, it would significantly lower the student/teacher ratio in the case of girls' schools compared to that for boys' schools.

However, analysis of student/teacher ratios in boys' and girls' schools (Table 3.23) shows that this ratio has been decreasing recently. In view of the fact that the total number of students has been increasing in recent years, a decrease in the student/teacher ratio is a satisfactory sign indicating an expansion in the number of teaching staff in the Gulf States.

(b) Nationalities of teachers

While the number of teachers in both boys' and girls' primary schools in the Gulf States has shown a considerable increase during the last two decades (Table 3.24), an analysis of the data on the basis of their

TABLE 3.23

Student/teacher ratios in boys' and girls' primary schools during the period 1950/51-1979/80

Year	BAHRAIN (a)		KUWAIT (b)		QATAR (c)	
	Boys' schools	Girls' schools	Boys' schools	Girls' schools	Boys' schools	Girls' schools
1950/51	25.4	26.7	21.3	21.6	-	-
1956/57	23.5	30.1	19.6	19.0	17.3	20.0
1960/61	27.0	25.9	19.5	17.3	19.4	25.2
1965/66	31.3	27.6	21.3	20.6	22.2	27.2
1970/71	36.5	33.7	20.9	19.7	20.2	20.5
1975/76	21.4	19.2	18.1	15.8	21.2	19.5
1979/80	18.2	15.2	18.6	17.9	20.2	13.4

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Unpublished statistical data.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

TABLE 3.24

Percentage of national and non-national teachers
in primary schools in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar
during the periods indicated below

Year	MEN		WOMEN	
	National	Non-national	National	Non-national
	% of total	% of total	% of total	% of total
<u>Bahrain</u> ^(a)				
1960/61	83.2	16.8	73.4	26.6
1963/64	98.3	1.7	68.2	31.8
1974/75	98.1	2.0	95.7	4.2
1975/76	95.9	4.1	93.2	6.8
1978/79	89.1	10.9	94.4	5.5
<u>Kuwait</u> ^(b)				
1960/61	5.0	95.0	4.4	95.6
1965/66	3.5	96.5	7.6	92.4
1970/71	57.7	42.3	54.7	45.3
1975/76	48.9	55.1	59.1	40.9
1979/80	43.6	56.4	56.2	43.8
<u>Qatar</u> ^(c)				
1965/66	7.9	92.1	1.0	98.9
1970/71	28.7	71.3	13.1	86.9
1975/76	38.6	62.4	40.5	59.5
1979/80	21.2	78.8	79.7	20.3

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Annual Reports 1970/71-1978/79

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Unpublished statistical data.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

nationalities shows some interesting trends. Whereas a large proportion of both men and women teachers in Bahrain are Bahraini, the majority of men teachers in both Kuwait and Qatar are Arab teachers from Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Jordan. Although a similar situation was observed in the case of women teachers between 1960 and 1970, this trend has been changing since then. In all three States, the relative proportions of national women teachers have increased since 1970. It is clear that while fewer local men are attracted into the teaching profession, more local women are taking up teaching as a career. From the point of view of girls' education, it is a healthy trend since the girls are taught by teachers who are not only fully aware of the local environment and culture, but also these teachers have themselves gone through the local education system. This can contribute towards a better understanding between students and teachers and also towards a better realisation by the teachers of the problems of the girl students.

(c) Qualifications of teachers

Broadly speaking, teachers in the primary schools can be sub-divided into four categories on the basis of their academic and professional qualifications:

- (i) teachers with a secondary school certificate only,
- (ii) teachers with diplomas from teacher training institutes following completion of their preparatory school education,
- (iii) teachers with diplomas from teacher training institutes following completion of their secondary school education,
- (iv) teachers with university degrees in teacher training and education.

In this manner, teachers in category (i) are the least qualified and have hardly any professional training. Teachers in categories (ii) and

(iii) have three to four years teacher training but their initial qualifications are of either preparatory or secondary school levels. Teachers in category (iv) are the best qualified in the sense that they have undergone four years of teacher training at the university level.

The data given in Table 3.25 indicate that in all three Gulf States the total number of teachers with the least qualifications constitutes the smallest proportion of the total. It can also be observed that the total number of teachers with university qualifications has been increasing in these States in the last decade. One promising change which took place in teacher training programmes during late 1975 was the upgrading of these programmes from post-secondary school to university level.

D. THE NEED FOR AN EFFECTIVE COMPULSORY SCHOOL EDUCATION LAW .

Keeping in view the historical backgrounds of the three Gulf States, the expansion of modern primary education during the last two decades has been encouraging. However, it is rather unfortunate that despite the availability of adequate financial resources, primary education has not yet become universal. Based on 1980 statistics, nearly 10% of boys and 20% of girls in Bahrain and 30% of boys and 40% of girls in Kuwait aged 6-14 years are not enrolled in primary education. Whilst similar figures cannot be calculated for Qatar, since no population census has been carried out in recent years, the situation in Qatar is not likely to be much different. This situation could be more readily excused if these States were poor and over-populated and if they did not require the maximum participation of their youth in national development programmes. On the contrary, these States urgently need to increase their maximum utilisation of their national manpower reserves and consequently

TABLE 3.25

Primary school teachers according to their qualifications in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar during the periods indicated below

Year	Below secondary school level		Training at secondary school level		Above secondary school level	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<u>Bahrain^(a)</u>						
1975/76	32	59	647	294	419	588
1979/80	22	43	623	259	701	985
<u>Kuwait^(b)</u>						
1970/71	13	3	1,434	1,210	77	76
<u>Qatar^(c)</u>						
1970/71	37	29	207	272	147	44
1979/80	21	15	364	821	379	236

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Annual Reports 1975/76 and 1979/80 pp.57-60.

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Annual Report 1970/71.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71, 1979/8), p.57 (all staff in primary schools).

need to achieve the maximum productivity of their educational programmes. The high rate of illiteracy among the 6-14 year age group and dropout from school education are essentially due to lack of effective compulsory education legislation.

Although the national constitutions of the Gulf States proclaim the right of education for the children of all citizens and offer all the facilities of free education, unfortunately these governments do not provide any legislation for compulsory education.

In Kuwait a law requiring compulsory school education for Kuwaiti children aged 6-11 years was passed in 1965, but it has never been effectively enforced for many socio-political reasons⁵¹. On the other hand the question of compulsory education for Bahraini children was debated in the Bahraini National Assembly in 1972, but a law for compulsory education has not yet been passed. Whilst many members of the Bahraini National Assembly strongly supported the idea of compulsory free education, the government view was that although education would be provided free of cost, the country could not yet afford to make it compulsory for economic reasons⁵². Similarly, Article 8 of the Provisional Constitution of Qatar implied that the government would take all necessary steps in implementing compulsory free education, as stated below⁵³:

"Education is a basic factor in the progress and wellbeing of society and is the right of every citizen. The State shall endeavour to realise the implementation of compulsory general education free of charge at all levels."

However, education in Qatar has not yet been made compulsory.

According to a senior member of staff at the Ministry of Education in Qatar, there is no need to pass a compulsory education law because

of the immense popularity and public demand for education⁵⁴. To substantiate further his arguments, this official remarked that some Qatari parents are so keen on education for their children that they even forge birth certificates for their children in order to get them into primary education as early as possible⁵⁵.

The evidence on intake rate of children into primary education in the Gulf States does not, however, support such assertions. An official attitude or policy of this kind, which impedes the implementation of a constitutional undertaking on the part of the state, is rather detrimental. Lack of an effective compulsory education law undoubtedly results in wastage and low productivity of the educational system because of less than maximum use of the available school facilities and drop out from these schools. Al-Hafidh, in his study entitled 'Qatar Educational Profile', makes the following remarks which clearly support this point⁵⁶:

"I am quite convinced that the fundamental reason for students dropping out of schools lies, as in most developing countries, in the fact that no compulsory education law exists in the State of Qatar or can exist for years to come. Parents are free to send or not to send their children to school. If they do send them, they are free to withdraw them at any time depending on the value they attach to education."

A report by UNESCO in 1970 also points towards the ineffective implementation of compulsory education in the Arab States⁵⁷:

"Although this general picture of the expansion of primary education differs in certain respects from one Arab country to another, the inequality between the educational opportunities available to boys and to girls, and between urban and rural areas, is common to the whole region. Indeed it may be said that the ineffectiveness of compulsory primary schooling is particularly acute where both these phenomena are found, i.e. in the case of girls living in rural areas."

The enforcement of a compulsory education law is of immense importance for girls' education, since it would ensure that all girls of school-age

are enrolled in schools and would remove all social and economic obstacles to sending girls to school. Furthermore, it is also important that laws for compulsory education should be enforced effectively.

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 "The States members should work to reach homogeneous educational levels through coordination between their educational systems, particularly standardisation of curricula, education ladders, study plans, textbooks, examinations, teacher training programmes, degrees and administration of educational institutes."
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CHAPTER 4

SECONDARY EDUCATION

A. INTRODUCTION

Secondary school education was almost non-existent until the early 1960's in the Gulf States. Ahmed al-Umran's comment on the state of secondary education in Bahrain makes the situation clear¹:

"When I took office (in 1945/46) this type of Education (secondary) was hardly worthy of mention. It consisted of only two classes with 36 pupils bearing the name of secondary school."

This was the situation in Bahrain which, in those days, was considered more advanced than the other neighbouring Gulf States. Secondary education in Qatar did not start until 1956. From this humble beginning secondary education has undergone considerable expansion during the last two decades. By the academic year 1979/80 there were 6,399, 47,276 and 4,956 students in secondary education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively². In relation to their total national population, these relatively young Arab states have a record of considerable achievement in the field of secondary education compared with other Arab states (Table 4.1). The development and expansion of secondary school education parallels economic growth. First, they were able to expand their primary education in the 1950's and early 1960's, and as a result of the increase in primary school graduates, demand for more and better organised secondary education began to grow during the 1970's.

As modern education started at different dates in the three Gulf States, the beginning of secondary education shows corresponding variations of date. The history of secondary school education since its beginning at different times in the three States up to 1965 reveals a period of rapid reorganisation and modification in its structure and function. Initially the role of secondary education was considered as

TABLE 4.1

Total enrolment at all levels of education
and its percentage of the population
aged 5-19 years in the Arab States in 1978

Country	Total enrolment (thousands)	Enrolment as percentage of population aged 5-19 yrs
Iraq	2,690.3	57.4
Kuwait	240.2	65.7
Saudi Arabia	950.8	34.5
Bahrain	67.5	75.1
Qatar	38.5	52.1
United Arab Emirates	84.2	64.3
Oman	56.2	18.8
Yemen A.R.	282.2	16.4
P.D.R. Yemen	238.6	42.2
Jordan	611.7	58.1
Syria	1,938.7	56.1
Lebanon	672.4	59.0
Egypt	6,725.9	43.8
Sudan	1,565.8	21.7
Libya	810.7	75.6
Tunisia	1,245.7	53.6
Algeria	3,453.0	50.1
Morocco	2,667.7	38.1
Mauritania	72.9	15.8
Somalia	244.6	19.6
Djibouti	11.9	25.8
TOTAL	24,669.5	42.4

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1978. Population data were obtained from (A) Economic Commission for Western Asia, 1968-77 Statistical Abstract of the Economic Commission for Western Asia, (B) U.N. Statistical Year Book, 1978.

a kind of technical or professional training of primary school graduates for clerical, commercial and teaching jobs. Its preparatory role for higher education attracted least attention from both the public and the authorities, since there was no tradition of university or other forms of higher education in these States. However, because of the rapid economic growth and changes in social attitudes and aspirations of the people during the early 1970's, the demand for different kinds of secondary education also started to increase. Like many other projects in the Gulf States, the planning of secondary education appears to have lagged behind the times and the real needs of the society in raising intellectual standards in the nations and in preparing a new generation to be capable of leading and maintaining their national developmental programmes.

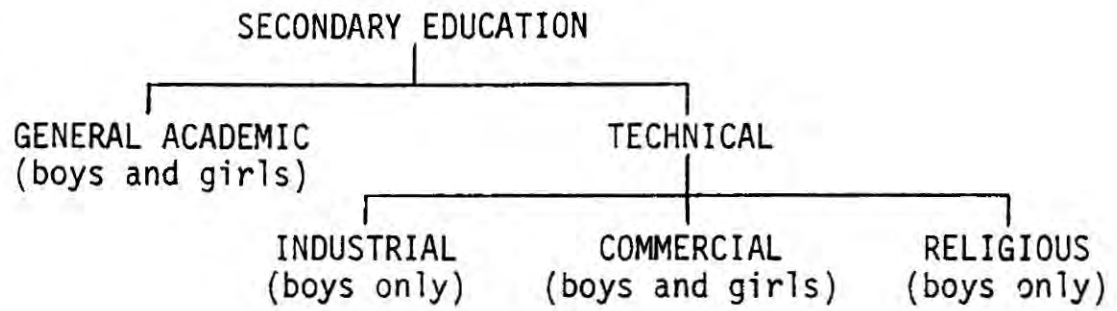
In the early days of modern education, little distinction was made between general academic and technical secondary education. Although various kinds of technical education are available at the secondary level in the Gulf States even today (see Figure 4.1), both enrolment in and popularity of secondary technical education have been declining rapidly. The enrolment statistics for general academic and technical secondary education for 1974/75 are shown in Table 4.2. The technical education and training of youth is of paramount importance to every modern nation and is crucial to the future socio-economic stability of the Gulf States. Bearing in mind these points, and the other problems facing technical education in the Gulf States, this subject is discussed separately in Chapter 5.

The present Chapter will deal mainly with the development and expansion of general academic secondary education and the productivity

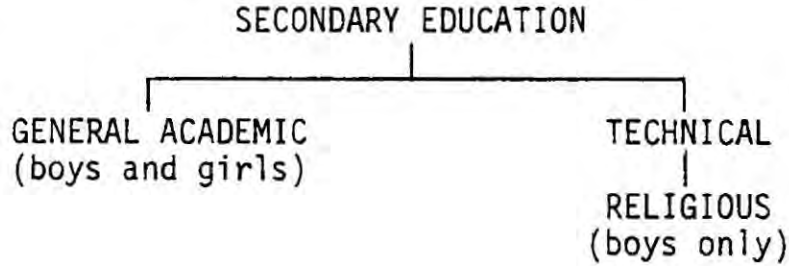
FIGURE 4.1

Present structural organisation of secondary education

BAHRAIN



KUWAIT



QATAR

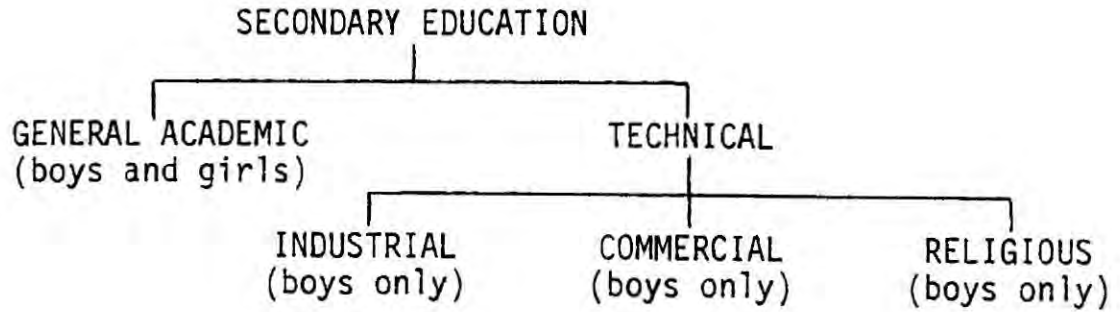


TABLE 4.2

Enrolment of students in general academic and technical education as a percentage of total enrolment at secondary school level

Country	Total enrolment in secondary education	General academic enrolment		Technical enrolment	
		No.	%	No.	%
Bahrain	8,649	7,035	80%	1,614	19%
Kuwait	16,487	1,482	90%	1,067	10%
Qatar	2,733	2,214	81%	519	19%

Source: Various statistics published by the Ministries of Education in the three States.

and efficiency of school education, with special reference to the secondary school education of girls. Since secondary school education started at different points of time in the three Gulf States and underwent many rapid changes during its earlier days, the subject has been chronologically divided into two periods: (i) the development and status of secondary education from its beginning to 1965, and (ii) from 1965 to 1980. It is, no doubt, an arbitrary division but it does make possible a better comparison between the three States. Major events in the development of secondary school education and its present status in each Gulf State are listed in chronological order in Table 4.3(a-c) for Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively.

EDUCATION

B. DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO 1965

1. Bahrain

Secondary education started in Bahrain in 1940 with the opening of Manama College "al-Kuliyah"³. The object of the college was to provide higher education for boys who had completed their primary education and who wanted to join government service, teaching or commercial professions⁴. It gave a three-year course where the language of instruction was English⁵. All boys at this college, except those who were awarded state scholarships, paid privately for their education⁶. After World War II, enrolment started to decline rapidly. According to al-Hammer, this was a common problem at that time, as the majority of older students left school to find paid jobs in order to support their families⁷. However, by 1949 enrolment at Manama College began to increase again⁸.

This change in the enrolment trend was a result of many factors. There was a general improvement in economic conditions because of the

TABLE 4.3(a-c)

Important events (in chronological order) leading to the development and expansion of secondary school education to its present status

<u>Year</u>	<u>Event</u>
<u>(a) BAHRAIN</u>	
1936	Opening of secondary technical school for boys.
1940	First secondary school (general academic) opened for boys.
1943	Opening of secondary school (religious) for boys.
1950/51	Secondary education first started for girls.
1952/53	Opening of secondary school (commercial) for boys.
1954	Opening of secondary teacher-training scheme for boys and girls.
1960	Secondary education divided into two stages, intermediate and secondary.
1966	Closing of teacher-training at secondary school level.
1967	Opening of post-secondary school teacher-training college for men and women.
1970	Opening of commercial studies at secondary school level for girls.
1970/71	Opening of the Gulf Technical School (a technical college at post-secondary level for men and women).
1978	The duration of intermediate school education became three years
1978/79	Closing of the two post-secondary school teacher-training colleges.
<u>(b) KUWAIT</u>	
1940	Two classes for commercial studies opened.
1942	Secondary education started for boys.
1947	Opening of secondary school (religious) for boys.
1950/51	Teacher-training at secondary school level opened for boys.
1951	Secondary education started for girls.

continued...

TABLE 4.3(a-c) continued

<u>Year</u>	<u>Event</u>
<u>(b) KUWAIT (continued)</u>	
1954	Secondary education divided into two stages, intermediate and secondary. Opening of secondary technical school for boys. Teacher-training at secondary level started for boys.
1963/64	First complete secondary commercial school opened for boys.
1968/69	Teacher-training colleges at post-secondary school level opened, one each for men and women.
1969/70	Technical secondary school opened for girls.
1970/71	Closing of the two teacher-training schools at secondary school level.
1975	Two Business Institutes opened, one for men the other for women. Institute of Applied Technology opened for boys. Institute of Health Training opened for girls.
1975/76	All technical and vocational schools at the secondary school level closed.
1978/79	Introduction of secondary school based on the credit hour system.
<u>(c) QATAR</u>	
1956	Secondary school education started for boys.
1957	Secondary education divided into two stages, preparatory and secondary.
1958	Industrial secondary school opened for boys.
1960	Secondary school (religious) opened for boys.
1961	Secondary education first started for girls.
1962/63	Teacher-training at secondary school level started for boys.
1966	Secondary school (commercial) opened for boys.
1967/68	Teacher-training at secondary school level started for girls.
1978/79	Two teacher-training schools closed.

increase in revenue from oil exports following the end of World War II. Many families could then afford to allow their children to continue their secondary education rather than requiring them to find paid employment. A general improvement in the national economic conditions also created a demand for educated people to work in the expanding government services or in the private sector. An increase in the number of primary school graduates, due to the expansion of primary education, also increased the enrolment at secondary schools. For instance, a growing demand for secondary education among the populace necessitated the opening of a boarding house for Bahraini village boys and for students from other Gulf States⁹.

As the demand for education was increasing, new problems concerning the organisation and structure of secondary education began to emerge. Prior to 1954 secondary education was a four-year unified course. Later, secondary education was divided into three sections: general academic, commercial, and teacher-training¹⁰. The programmes for each of these sections were modelled on Egyptian curricula¹¹.

In 1960 the structure of secondary school education was changed from a four-year course to a two-year intermediate and a three-year secondary course¹². By 1962 all intermediate schools were separated from secondary schools¹³. During the 1960's particularly, all students who completed their primary education joined intermediate schools and approximately 85% of the students continued their general academic secondary education¹⁴. At that time the technical school was also gaining momentum whilst undergoing many modifications and much reorganisation.

Secondary education for girls started in 1951/52¹⁵, established along lines similar to those of boys' general academic education. In 1961/62

the girls' secondary school was divided into three sections: general academic for both science and art, teacher training, and domestic science¹⁶. The domestic science section closed within two years of its opening because of low enrolment due to the fact that both girls and their parents looked down on this type of education¹⁷. During the 1960's girls' secondary schools continued to expand very rapidly.

2. Kuwait

The establishment of modern education in Kuwait owes much to the efforts of the Educational Council in 1936. Before 1942 Kuwaiti students who had completed their primary education at al-Mubarakiya and al-Ahmadiya schools were usually sent abroad to Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon and Bahrain for their secondary education¹⁸. During 1942-1952 the Kuwaitis developed their own secondary schools and in 1952 they requested the Ministry of Education in Egypt to recognise the Kuwaiti Secondary School Certificate¹⁹. Between 1946 and 1956 students who had completed a four-year course at secondary school obtained a 'general cultural certificate', or could spend a further year learning mathematics, arts or science in order to obtain their 'Tawjihyah', the Egyptian Secondary School Certificate²⁰.

Two new secondary schools, one for boys and one for girls, were opened in 1953 and 1954 respectively. The structure of secondary education in Kuwait was reorganised between 1954 and 1956²¹. On the recommendations of two Arab educationalists, Ismael Qabani and Matta Akrawi, the educational ladder in Kuwait was changed from seven years of primary education and five years of secondary education to the present system of four years of primary education, four years of intermediate and four years of secondary school education²².

Secondary education for girls in Kuwait started in 1951. In this year two classes for secondary education were opened in two of the girls' primary schools and in 1954 a new, separate secondary school was opened²³. The development of secondary education for girls in the period 1954 to 1965 followed lines similar to those of the schools for boys.

3. Qatar

Secondary education in Qatar started in 1956 with the opening of three classrooms in one of the boys' primary schools with a total enrolment of about 49 boys²⁴. In 1956/57 a new school called Madrasah al-Doha al-Thawawih was also opened for intermediate and secondary education for boys²⁵. Until 1957 secondary education was a five-year course, but in 1957 the educational ladder was changed from two years of kindergarten, six years of primary and five years of secondary education to six years of primary, three years of intermediate or preparatory and three years of secondary education²⁶.

Intermediate (or preparatory) education for Qatari girls started in 1961/62 when the Ministry of Education opened a class in a girls' primary school to enrol 12 girls starting their intermediate education²⁷. By 1963 there were only six girls in their first year of secondary education in Qatar. At that time it was difficult to provide secondary education for students who were living in towns and villages outside Doha, the capital of Qatar, because of their small populations. The provision of primary education for girls was not so great a problem since mixed primary schools were not completely rejected by the parents. The problem of boys' secondary education was easily solved by providing them with boarding facilities in Doha²⁹, but parents of girl students would not accept the

idea of sending their daughters to boarding school for the sake of their secondary education. For most people the education of girls was not so important as to justify seeking it in another town if it was not available in their home town. According to al-Kobaisi³⁰:

"Consequently, girls from the villages rarely had further education beyond the primary stage during the 1960's."

Between the mid-1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, village education was reorganised to provide primary education at all grades, and in some cases intermediate and secondary education was also made available³¹. Students living in small villages were provided with transport to enable them to attend secondary schools established in bigger neighbouring villages³². In recent years, the Qatari government has started a scheme to gather inhabitants of small villages into one large township area³³, and this has made the task of school education for boys and girls much easier.

C. REORGANISATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

Since its beginning, the aim of secondary education has been two-fold. First, to provide young people with sufficient general education so they can make their own way in life and become useful members of society; and secondly, to equip primary school graduates with sufficient knowledge in science and arts subjects to enable them to continue to higher education at university level. The need to provide different types of secondary schools to satisfy these different needs was felt in the early days of modern education. The changes in the economic demands of society made it essential to diversify secondary schools in order to provide skilled manpower for the various sectors of the countries' economies.

In 1954 the existing secondary school for boys in Bahrain was divided into three sections: general academic, commercial, and teacher-training, and the girls' secondary school was divided into two sections: general academic and teacher-training³⁴. However, by 1956 the question of the reorganisation of secondary education was becoming a major issue in Bahrain, and in the early 1960's various suggestions and proposals were put forward to establish two intermediate schools for boys, a commercial and an agricultural training school, and a girls' school for domestic sciences³⁵. In fact these proposed schools were never established because of subsequent changes in educational policies.

By the late 1960's secondary education in Bahrain had been divided into two stages: a two-year intermediate and a three-year secondary stage³⁶. The duration of the intermediate stage in Bahrain was changed to a three-year period in 1978³⁷. In Kuwait and Qatar, intermediate education has been a four-year and a three-year course respectively since 1965. Besides these regional variations, the content of educational programmes at the intermediate school level has been similar for both boys and girls in the three Gulf States.

Until 1965 secondary education for boys comprised (i) general academic (science and arts), (ii) commercial, (iii) teacher-training and (iv) industrial (technical) schools. For girls it comprised (i) general academic (science and arts) and (ii) teacher-training schools. The secondary school education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar is of three, four and three years duration respectively.

Since 1965 there have been no changes in the programme of general academic secondary schools for boys and girls in any of the three States.

D. INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL EDUCATION AND ITS EXPANSION DURING 1965-1980

Intermediate (or preparatory) school has a bridging role between primary and secondary schools. At present the intermediate school covers three, four and three years respectively in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar. The intermediate school qualification is a pre-requisite to join a secondary school. The curricula in the intermediate schools are uniform for both boys and girls and for all types of secondary education. There is no difference in the subjects taught in the intermediate schools and those taught in primary schools, except that the standard is more advanced. The data given in Table 4.4 clearly indicate a steady increase in the numbers of both boys and girls at the intermediate schools during the period 1965-1980. Furthermore, although the enrolment of boys and girls has not reached parity as yet, it is obvious that there has been a considerable increase in the enrolment of girls during this period in the three Gulf States (Table 4.4).

Apart from some minor regional variation in the number of weekly lessons in some subjects, the overall teaching plan at the intermediate schools in the three Gulf States is almost the same (Tables 4.5-4.7). While Arabic and English languages and mathematics comprise the major part of teaching, students are also given lessons in social and general sciences, art and physical education. Teaching programmes of the major subjects are similar for both boys and girls. The only difference is that weekly lessons for girls include home economics.

The lack of data on population as a whole and on the size of the sub-population of intermediate school-age children in particular does not allow any precise calculations of gross and net enrolment rates in the three Gulf States. Hence, apart from the conclusion that the en-

TABLE 4.4 Growth in enrolment of boy and girl students in intermediate education during the period 1965/66 to 1979/80

Year	BAHRAIN ^a		KUWAIT ^b		QATAR ^c		
	Boys	Girls to total	Boys	Girls to total	Boys	Girls to total	
1965/66	2,577	1,261	13,988	9,622	750	211	22%
1966/67	3,251	1,642	16,388	11,686	914	308	25%
1967/68	2,758	2,066	19,102	14,110	1,048	453	30%
1968/69	3,032	2,322	22,317	16,388	1,282	574	31%
1969/70	3,873	2,689	24,860	18,177	1,442	741	34%
1970/71	4,268	3,020	27,199	19,866	1,638	899	35%
1971/72	4,045	3,219	28,625	21,280	1,978	1,185	37%
1972/73	4,227	3,426	29,711	22,688	2,227	1,503	40%
1973/74	4,450	3,566	30,016	23,370	2,312	1,897	45%
1974/75	4,494	3,717	31,014	24,224	2,529	2,241	47%
1975/76	4,632	3,901	33,621	26,146	2,737	2,480	48%
1976/77	4,938	4,215	41,031	33,325	2,984	2,866	49%
1977/78	5,240	4,512	43,325	35,306	3,437	3,132	48%
1978/79	5,707	4,661	47,159	38,430	4,062	3,569	47%
1979/80	7,640	6,601	51,291	41,280	4,328	4,032	48%

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1965/66-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Annual Statistical Abstracts 1974-1981.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

TABLE 4.5

Intermediate school syllabus by weekly lessons
for boys and Girls in Bahrain 1977/78

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3	
	Number of lessons per week					
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Islamic studies	2	2	2	2	2	2
Arabic language	7	7	7	7	7	7
English language	7	7	7	7	7	7
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5
Social studies	3	3	3	3	3	3
Science	4	4	4	4	4	4
Practical education	4	2	4	2	4	2
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2
Art education	2	2	2	2	2	2
Home economics	-	2	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	36	36	36	36	36	36

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Directory to the Educational System in the various Educational Institutes in the State of Bahrain, 1979, p.66.

TABLE 4.6

Intermediate school syllabus by weekly lessons
for boys and girls in Kuwait 1972/73

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4	
	Number of lessons per week							
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Islamic education	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2
Arabic language	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
English language	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
History	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Geography	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
National education		-		-	1	1	1	1
Mathematics	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5
General science	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
Health	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Art education	4	2	4	2	3	2	3	2
Women's education	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	3
Music	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physical education	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Educational Planning in Kuwait, mimeographed, undated, p.9.

TABLE 4.7

Intermediate school syllabus by weekly lessons
for boys and girls in Qatar 1977/78

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3	
	Number of lessons per week					
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Islamic education	5	5	5	5	5	5
Arabic language	7	7	7	7	7	7
English language	6	6	6	6	6	6
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5
Social studies	4	4	4	4	4	4
General studies and hygiene	4	3	4	3	4	3
Art education	3	2	3	2	3	2
Home economics and child care	-	2	-	2	-	2
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2
TOTAL	36	36	36	36	36	36

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1977/78,
p.40.

rolment in intermediate schools is increasing, no firm conclusion can be drawn. Similarly, although some information on the number of repeaters and drop-outs from different grades of intermediate education could be sifted from the statistical year books of the Ministries of Education of Bahrain and Qatar, only very crude data on these matters were made available by the Ministry of Education in Kuwait, despite the personal efforts of the author.

It should be noted that the data on drop-out rates in Bahrain include both national and non-national students because the proportion of non-national students is extremely small, whereas the data on Kuwait and Qatar represent national students only because in these States a large proportion of the school population is non-national. The reason for this has already been discussed in Chapter 3 (p. 98). For the analysis of data on repetition rates, it was desirable to have the data on all students, national and non-national, as in the case of Bahrain and Qatar. However, in Kuwait all the data available, as provided by the Ministry of Education, give information on national students only. From the data summarised in Tables 4.8 and 4.9 it is clear that the number of boys who either repeat a grade or drop out is considerably larger than the corresponding number of girls in each grade of intermediate school in the three States. The factors influencing the repeat and drop-out rates will be dealt with in Section F. of this Chapter.

E. SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION AND ITS EXPANSION DURING 1965-1980

General academic secondary education is a three-year course in both Bahrain and Qatar, and a four-year course in Kuwait. General academic education is divided into two sections, science and arts. The curricula in the first grade in Bahrain and Qatar and in the first two grades in

Annual average enrolment and percentage boy/girl repeaters at intermediate schools in Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait during periods indicated below

TABLE 4.8

Country	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BAHRAIN ^a 1971/72-1979/80	2,685.2	2,117.8	2,162.5	1,897.8					4,847.7	4,015.7
	431.4	180.6	292.8	202.0					724.2	382.6
	16.0%	8.5%	13.5%	10.6%					14.9%	9.5%
QATAR 1970/71-1979/80	1,169.1	958.7	906.0	773.5	742.3	648.2			2,817.4	2,380.4
	197.8	76.2	109.0	50.6	66.6	47.7			373.4	174.5
	16.9%	7.9%	12.0%	6.5%	8.9%	7.3%			13.2%	7.3%
KUWAIT ^b 1976/77-1980	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	24,511.2	20,109.8
	2,563.2	1,386.2	1,669.4	867.0	1,060.6	645.8	276.0	203.0	5,569.2	3,102.0
	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	22.7%	15.4%

Figures for enrolment and repeaters are annual averages. N.A. = not available.

Source: Appendix 2, Tables A21-A23.

^aFigures do not include Grade 3 which was introduced into intermediate education in Bahrain in 1978/79

^bNational students only

Annual average enrolment and percentage boy/girl drop-outs at intermediate schools in Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait during periods indicated below

TABLE 4.9

Country	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
<u>BAHRAIN^a</u> 1971/72-1979/80										
Enrolment	2,685.2	2,117.8	2,612.5	1,897.8					4,847.7	4,015.7
Drop-outs	117.5	41.1	90.7	41.8					208.7	82.9
% DO/EN	4.3%	1.9%	3.4%	2.2%					4.3%	2.0%
<u>QATAR^b</u> 1970/71-1979/80										
Enrolment	823.5	709.3	620.8	559.9	496.5	466.1			1,940.8	1,735.4
Drop-outs	58.2	25.2	42.9	20.6	31.1	24.9			132.2	70.7
% DO/EN	7.0%	3.5%	6.9%	3.6%	5.2%	5.3%			6.8%	4.0%
<u>KUWAIT^b</u> 1976/77-1980/81										
Enrolment	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	24,511.2	20,109.8
Drop-outs	297.0	225.4	313.2	170.8	397.6	225.2	373.2	255.9	1,331.0	876.8
% DO/EN	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5.4%	4.3%

Figures for enrolment and drop-outs are annual averages. N.A. = not available.

Source: Appendix 2, Tables A24-A26.

^a Figures do not include Grade 3 which was introduced into intermediate education in Bahrain in 1978/79.

^b National students only

Kuwait are similar for both sciences and arts, but the curricula of the final two grades are designed to offer specialisation in either science or arts subjects. Weekly lesson programmes for both sections of the general academic secondary school are shown in Tables 4.10-4.12. The main subjects in the pre-specialisation grades of secondary schools are Islamic studies, Arabic and English languages and mathematics. During the final two years of secondary education, emphasis is placed on social studies in the arts section and on science subjects in the science section (Table 4.10-4.12).

So far as the main subjects are concerned, there is no difference in the teaching programmes for boys and girls. The basic difference between the curricula of boys' and girls' schools is that girls are given three, two and two lessons per week in domestic science or women's education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively. These lessons are either given in extra time, as in Kuwait, or by reducing the number of lessons in the curriculum devoted to English language, art education and physical education, as in Bahrain and Qatar (Tables 4.10-4.12). The domestic science or women's education courses include home economics, dress-making and embroidery.

There are no strict regulations for selecting students for either section of general academic secondary education, nor is any importance attached to the student's performance in science or arts subjects during the pre-specialisation grades. The decision as to which of these sections he or she will join is entirely at the student's own choice. However, according to al-Fiqih, students with high academic attainment normally choose the scientific section and students with low academic achievement tend to choose the arts section³⁸. Despite this fact the Ministries of

TABLE 4.10

General secondary school syllabus by weekly lessons and sections for boys and girls in Bahrain 1979/80

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2				GRADE 3				
	B	G	Literary		Science		Literary		Science		
			B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	
Islamic education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Arabic language and literature	7	7	8	8	5	5	8	8	5	5	
English language	8	7	9	9	9	8	10	10	8	9	
History	2	2	3	3	-		4	4	-		
Geography	2	2	4	3	-		4	4	-		
Sociology	-		1	1	-		-		-		
Philosophy and psychology	-		-		-		5*	5*	-		
Economics	-		1	1	-		-		-		
Mathematics	6	6	4*	4*	8	8	-		9	9	
Physics	2	2	-		3	3	-		4	4	
Chemistry	2	2	-		3	3	-		3	3	
History of science	2	2	-		3	3	-		3	3	
Art education	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	-		
Physical education	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	
Home economics	-	2	-	2	-	2	-		-		
Embroidery	-		-	1	-		-	1	-		
TOTAL	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	

*In the literary section, students learning French language do so in place of Mathematics and Philosophy and psychology.

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Directory to the Educational System in the various Educational Institutions in the State of Bahrain, 1979, p.70.

TABLE 4.11

General secondary school syllabus by weekly lessons and sections for boys and girls in Kuwait 1972/73

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3				GRADE 4			
					Literary		Science		Literary		Science	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Islamic education	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Arabic language	8	8	7	7	8	8	6	6	8	8	6	6
English language	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	8	8	7	7
French language	-	-	-	-	5	5	-	-	6	6	-	-
History	2	2	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Geography	2	2	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Arab society	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Sociology	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Economics	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philosophy and psychology	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-
General science	4	4	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Algebra and statistics	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social studies	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Mathematics	6	6	5	5	-	-	8	8	-	-	8	8
Physics	-	-	2	2	-	-	4	4	-	-	4	4
Chemistry	-	-	2	2	-	-	4	4	-	-	4	4
Geology	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	2	2	1	1
Biology	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	4	4
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Women's education	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2
Art education	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	38	40	38	40	38	40	38	40	38	40	38	40

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Education Planning in Kuwait, mimeographed, undated, pp.10-12.

TABLE 4.12

General secondary school syllabus by weekly lessons and sections for boys and girls in Qatar 1977/78

Subject	GRADE 1		GRADE 2				GRADE 3			
	B	G	Literary		Science		Literary		Science	
			B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Quran and Islamic religion	5	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3
Arabic language and literature	5	5	9	9	6	6	9	9	6	6
English language	6	6	8	7	6	6	8	8	6	6
French language	-	-	4	4	-	-	4	4	-	-
Mathematics	5	5	2	2	8	7	2	2	8	8
Science	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	2	-	-
Physics	2	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	4	3
Chemistry	2	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	3	3
Biology and geology	2	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	3	3
History of science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
History	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Geography	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Study of society	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociology	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philosophy and psychology	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Scientific research methods	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Art education	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physical education	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Women's education	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	37	37	35	37	36	37	36	37	36	37

In the second year of the Literary section, students specialised in French language or Mathematics and Science.

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1977/78, p.41.

Education encourage students to take up science subjects in order to expand science education. For example, in Qatar the Ministry of Education offered monthly allowances to students who joined the science section at secondary school³⁹. An analysis of the percentages of boys and girls enrolled in the science and arts sections of the general academic secondary school (Table 4.13) indicates that a comparatively larger proportion of boys join science courses.

As well as increasing demand in the job market for scientifically and technically qualified secondary school graduates, the successful completion of secondary education also provides an opportunity to read for science degrees at the university level and hence male students find it more attractive to pursue science courses. On the other hand, since the idea of women seeking employment in scientific and technical fields is not yet fully acceptable, the tendency among girls is to take up literary subjects. However, an increase in the percentage of girls joining the science section in recent years is an encouraging sign. A slight decline in the percentage of girls' enrolment in the science section in Qatar in 1979/80 appears to be due to the introduction of a French language course as a sub-section of the arts section in 1977/78⁴⁰, which may have attracted girl students.

1. Growth in enrolment in general academic secondary education

Data on boys' and girls' enrolment in general academic secondary schools in the three Gulf States in the period 1965-1980 are given in Table 4.14. It is evident that there has been a many-fold increase in the enrolment of boys and girls during the last 15 years. The enrolment of girls as a percentage of total enrolment has risen from 25% to 51% in Bahrain, 32% to 47% in Kuwait and 18% to 52% in Qatar during

TABLE 4.13

Distribution of boy/girl students in general academic secondary education according to science and arts sections during the periods indicated below

Academic year	BOYS			GIRLS		
	Total no.of boys	%age in science section	%age in arts section	Total no.of girls	%age in science section	%age in arts section
<u>BAHRAIN^a</u>						
1970/71	1,743	55	45	1,518	28	72
1974/75	1,777	62	38	2,135	42	58
1979/80	2,617	56	44	2,674	40	60
<u>KUWAIT^b</u>						
1970/71	699	58	42	606	31	69
1973/74	1,019	62	38	950	38	62
1975/76	1,360	54	46	1,439	32	68
1979/80	1,470	58	41	1,610	35	65
<u>QATAR^c</u>						
1970/71	379	62	38	158	33	67
1972/73	522	64	36	272	33	67
1974/75	816	69	31	471	39	61
1976/77	1,075	67	33	770	41	59
1979/80	1,314	56	44	1,482	37	63

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Education and Manpower in Kuwait 1977-1999, typed manuscript 1981.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80.

N.B. Figures for Bahrain and Qatar include students at the specialisation years of secondary education (last two grades). Figures for Kuwait refer to secondary school graduates.

TABLE 4.14

Growth of enrolment of boy/girl students in
general academic secondary education 1965/66 to 1979/80

Academic year	BAHRAIN ^a			KUWAIT ^b			QATAR ^c		
	Boys	Girls	Girls to total %	Boys	Girls	Girls to total %	Boys	Girls	Girls to total %
1965/66	1,243	493	28	3,972	1,912	32	225	50	18
1966/67	1,859	880	32	4,537	2,404	34	262	76	22
1967/68	2,310	1,380	37	5,706	3,085	35	364	113	23
1968/69	3,001	1,904	38	6,607	3,995	37	433	197	31
1969/70	2,590	2,432	48	8,187	5,236	39	547	222	28
1970/71	2,731	2,511	48	8,914	6,738	43	627	284	31
1971/72	2,435	2,897	54	10,740	8,402	43	773	359	31
1972/73	2,699	3,131	54	11,533	9,745	45	938	521	35
1973/74	2,891	3,506	55	12,779	11,328	46	1,204	649	35
1974/75	3,217	3,818	54	13,692	12,828	48	1,339	816	37
1975/76	3,258	3,896	54	15,047	14,915	49	1,544	1,086	41
1976/77	3,306	3,959	54	18,725	16,901	47	1,814	1,466	44
1977/78	3,568	4,191	54	20,605	19,030	48	1,890	1,816	49
1978/79	4,001	4,425	52	22,180	20,928	48	1,971	2,100	51
1979/80	3,127*	3,272*	51	24,711	22,565	47	2,195	2,401	52

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1965/66-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Annual Statistical Abstracts, 1974, 1981.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

*Fall in enrolment is due to introduction of a third grade in intermediate education in 1978/79.

the period from 1965 to 1980. These figures are encouraging when compared with the findings of an UNESCO survey on "Women and Education in the World Today"⁴¹. This survey shows that out of 182 countries, girls' enrolment accounts for more than 50% of the total in 29 countries, 40% to 50% in 57 countries, 30% to 40% in 30 countries, 20% to 30% in 75 countries and less than 20% in 15 countries. A similar comparison based on the data reported in an UNESCO publication "Recent Quantitative Trends and Projections concerning Enrolment in Education in the Arab Countries in 1970-75"⁴² and shown in Table 4.15 indicates that girls' enrolment in the Gulf States is higher than in any other Arab country.

In order to find out why the proportion of girls in Bahrain and Qatar is greater than 50% of total enrolment in secondary schools, further analysis was carried out on the total enrolment of boys and girls in all types of secondary education. The analysis given in Table 4.16 for Bahrain, which shows (in contrast to the data given in Table 4.14) a relative increase in boys' enrolment compared to that of girls, suggests that a small proportion of boys was enrolled in other types of secondary schools. However, similar analysis of the enrolment data for Qatar (Table 4.16), which also gives a higher enrolment percentage for girls, can be explained on the basis of a higher drop-out rate for boys in general academic secondary schools in Qatar. Detailed evidence will be presented in the following section on drop-out and repeat rates.

2. Repeat and drop-out rates at secondary school level

Information concerning the number of repeaters and drop-outs from secondary education is available for Bahrain and Qatar, but no precise data are available for Kuwait. The data in Tables 4.17 and 4.18 for Kuwait were collected by the author. Lack of information on the total

TABLE 4.15

Enrolment of girls as a percentage of total enrolment in secondary education in the Arab States in 1970 and 1975

Country	1970	1975
Bahrain	40	48
Kuwait	43	45
Qatar	32	47
Algeria	28	34
Egypt	31	34
Iraq	29	28
Jordan	34	40
Lebanon	40	41
Libya	18	32
Mauretania	11	10
Morocco	28	34
Oman	N.A.	44
Saudi Arabia	20	29
Syrian Arab Republic	26	31
Somalia	21	22
Sudan	28	31
Tunisia	28	32
United Arab Emirates	28	39
Yemen Arab Republic	5	12
People's Democratic Republic of Yemen	20	21

Source: UNESCO, "Recent Quantitative Trends and Projections concerning Enrolment in Education in the Arab Countries". Conference of Ministers of Education and those Responsible for Economic Planning in the Arab States (UAE 7-15 November 1977), p.35.

TABLE 4.16

Enrolment of girls as a percentage of total enrolment in all types of secondary education in Bahrain and Qatar during periods indicated below

Academic year	Boys	Girls	Total	Girls as %age of total
<u>BAHRAIN^a</u>				
1972/73	3,691	3,362	7,053	47
1973/74	4,035	3,863	7,898	48
1974/75	4,415	4,217	8,632	48
1975/76	4,465	4,354	8,819	49
1976/77	4,569	4,456	9,025	49
<u>QATAR^b</u>				
1976/77	2,055	1,680	3,735	45
1977/78	2,099	2,006	4,105	49
1978/79	2,157	2,217	4,374	51
1979/80	2,381	2,435	4,816	51

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Annual Reports 1972/73-1976/77

(b) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1976/77-1979/80.

total enrolment in each grade of secondary education in Kuwait prevents any calculation of repeat and drop-out rates for Kuwaiti students. The reason for treating the data on national and non-national students separately or together has been discussed in Section D of this Chapter.

A summary of the data given in Tables 4.17 and 4.18 indicates that in general both repeat and drop-out rates are higher in the lower grades than in the higher grades of secondary education (Tables 4.17 and 4.18). An explanation for this may be that during the course of a cycle, poor quality students are eliminated in the early grades. The number of girls who either repeat or drop out from secondary schools is lower than the corresponding number of boys in all three Gulf States. More positive evidence suggesting that girls' performance in secondary education is better than that of boys can be derived from the data compiled in Table 4.19. In all three Gulf States the average percentage of girl students who pass their examinations at both intermediate and secondary school level is approximately 9% higher than that of the boys. Secondly, the data also indicate that the average pass percentage for both boys and girls is also higher in Qatar compared with Kuwaiti and Bahraini students.

As well as the girls having lower repeat and drop-out rates compared to the boys, their success rate is also higher than that of the boys at all levels, including secondary school level, in all three Gulf States. Furthermore, the girls also secure more top positions in the general school examinations. There is no reason to believe that the girls' teaching and the other educational facilities provided are in any way superior to those of the boys. The relatively better performance by girls is of interest for the following reasons. First, although the idea of education for girls has become increasingly popular in recent years,

Annual average boy/girl enrolment and repeat rates
in general secondary education in Bahrain,
Qatar and Kuwait during periods indicated below

TABLE 4.17

Country	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
<u>BAHRAIN</u> 1971/72-1979/80	1,263.5	1,391.5	983.7	1,132.1	919.5	1,153.5			3,166.8	3,677.2
	289.1	234.7	128.8	72.0	170.6	187.2			588.5	493.9
	22.8%	16.8%	13.0%	6.3%	18.5%	16.2%			18.5%	13.4%
<u>QATAR</u> 1970/71-1979/80	590.5	490.3	441.2	358.0	403.8	301.5			1,435.5	1,149.8
	89.1	43.9	33.9	11.4	39.6	17.5			162.6	72.8
	15.0%	8.9%	7.6%	3.1%	9.8%	5.8%			11.3%	6.3%
<u>KUWAIT^a</u> 1976/77-1980/81	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	11,498.2	11,417.0
	1,034.4	699.2	478.4	466.6	157.4	163.8	132.4	100.6	1,802.6	1,430.2
	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	15.6%	12.5%

Figures for enrolment and repeaters are annual averages. N.A. = not available. ^aNational students only.
Source: Appendix 2, Tables A27-A29.

Annual average boy/girl enrolment and drop-out rates
in general secondary education in Bahrain,
Qatar and Kuwait during periods indicated below

TABLE 4.18

Country	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
<u>BAHRAIN</u> 1971/72-1979/80	Enrolment	1,391.5	983.7	1,132.1	919.5	1,153.5	3,166.8	3,677.2		
	Drop-outs	59.2	36.4	28.6	15.2	27.3	13.7	115.2	65.4	
	% DO/EN	4.6%	2.6%	2.9%	1.3%	2.9%	1.1%	3.6%	1.7%	
<u>QATAR^a</u> 1970/71-1979/80	Enrolment	380.1	329.8	256.2	228.1	226.7	187.5	863.0	745.3	
	Drop-outs	32.2	19.2	10.8	9.5	11.0	8.7	54.0	37.4	
	% DO/EN	8.4%	5.8%	4.2%	4.1%	4.8%	4.6%	6.2%	5.0%	
<u>KUWAIT^a</u> 1976/77-1980/81	Enrolment	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	11,498.2	11,417.0	
	Drop-outs	545.8	312.2	197.0	227.6	65.6	96.0	860.0	687.6	
	% DO/EN	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	7.4%	6.0%	

Figures for enrolment and drop-outs are annual averages. N.A. = not available. ^aNational students only.

Source: Appendix 2, Table A30-A32.

TABLE 4.19

Average percentage pass rates of boys/girls at all grades of intermediate and secondary education in the period 1972/73-1979/80

	BAHRAIN	KUWAIT	QATAR
<u>INTERMEDIATE</u>			
Boys	77%	75%	80%
Girls	87%	83%	88%
<u>SECONDARY</u>			
Boys	72%	74%	84%
Girls	87%	83%	90%

Source: Appendix 2, Tables A33-A34

greater attention and importance is still attached to the education of boys both by society and by the parents. The education of girls is considered merely as a recreational exercise, since most of Gulf society neither sees any purpose in their education nor attaches much importance to it. The idea of women fully participating in the labour force is still not fully accepted, and the outlets and opportunities for qualified women in the job market are very limited. This point can be argued both ways. On the one hand it could be asserted that the lack of employment prospects offers no incentive to women to work hard and do well at school; on the other hand, it can be said that the social restrictions which limit the number and type of jobs that women can get increase the competition for the available jobs, thereby providing an incentive for girls to attain educational qualifications of the highest merit and improve their chances of employment.

The superior performance by girls at school has been discussed at various times, both by the public and by the educational experts in the Gulf States. In his survey on education and manpower in the Gulf States (1971/72), Mertz reported as follows⁴⁴:

"Girls generally and Qatari girls in particular study harder and perform better in examinations than both Qatari and non-Qatari males. What is startling is that the Qatari girls, relative newcomers to formal education, so consistently outscore all other categories, especially in the science subjects. Education officials explain the wide differences by noting that while boys play sports or go out of the house in the afternoons, girls in Qatari society have no such option and that their only diversion is to study."

The high drop-out rates of boys compared to girls can be explained in terms of socio-economic factors. Rapid socio-economic growth has produced greater opportunities for employment for boys. This encourages

some boys who have to repeat their grades many times to leave school. On the other hand, the only alternative for girls who drop out of school is to stay at home. This is substantiated by the results of a study carried out by the Ministry of Education in Qatar on the destinations of a group of students who dropped out from intermediate and secondary schools⁴⁵. While about 60% of boys who dropped out were working, 64% of girls who dropped out stayed at home. The chances for a girl with no educational qualifications of finding a socially-acceptable job are extremely remote.

Other factors also affect the attitudes of boys and girls towards their education. Many boys, particularly those who come from poorer families and who do not have money to spend in the same way as some of their wealthy peers in school, decide to drop out and find a government job with a reasonable salary, which allows them to have a life-style similar to that of their rich friends. On the other hand, girls are able to some extent to avoid such competition because they have a restricted outdoor social life compared with boys. Another reason why girls take their education more seriously and hence are more successful in their performance could be that they have realised that education is very important in order to improve their status in society. There is also the fact that the educated girl will have a better chance of marriage to an educated young man, as pointed out by Molly Izzard in her book "The Gulf"⁴⁶:

"Fathers are proud of their daughters' new accomplishments and the academic success of a daughter is as much an occasion for congratulations as that of a son. It in no way detracts from her desirability as a marriage partner; indeed it can be said to enhance it, for increasingly the rich progressive families seek for their sons wives who will bring into the union those qualities of sophistication and independence of mind that education gives."

F. EFFICIENCY OF PRIMARY, INTERMEDIATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN QATAR: A CASE STUDY.

The data normally available in the statistical year books of the Ministries of Education usually give information on repeaters, drop-outs and students who have passed school examinations. Such information does not provide a clear picture of the performance of a cohort of students from the beginning to the end of an educational cycle. A meaningful evaluation of the efficiency of any educational system can only be made from a close follow-up of students throughout the different cycles of education. Such surveys have not as yet been conducted in any of the three Gulf States. However, the Ministry of Education in Qatar carried out a survey of the efficiency and productivity of boys' and girls' schools in 1974/75 and 1976/77⁴⁷. This study was based on an analysis of school records of repeaters, drop-outs and those who successfully graduated from the three cycles of school education. An analysis of the data from boys and girls is summarised in Table 4.20.

It appears that the productivity of primary schools for both boys and girls is considerably lower than that of intermediate and secondary schools. The primary schools themselves cannot be reproached for this as it can be argued that those students who disliked school or found the subjects difficult would leave early. The secondary school, in this sense, is a selective institution and one would expect those who survived this struggle would be more resilient. The percentage of students who completed primary school without failing in any grade of primary school was less than 30%, whereas the similar percentage values for the intermediate and secondary schools were 63% or more. The percentage of drop-outs among boys and girls in the three cycles of education was between

TABLE 4.20

Numbers and percentages of boy/girl students who had graduated, repeated or dropped out among a group of students selected for study after 6 years of primary, and 3 years each of intermediate and secondary education, from the year they entered each of these levels of education

Cycle of school education	BOYS ^a		GIRLS ^b	
	Total number of students	%	Total number of students	%
PRIMARY: Year of entrance				
	1967		1970	
Entrants	<u>918</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>1,065</u>	<u>100</u>
Graduate	200	21.8	292	27.4
Repeaters	575	62.6	633	59.4
Drop-outs	143	15.6	140	13.2
INTERMEDIATE: Year of entrance				
	1970		1973	
Entrants	<u>614</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>768</u>	<u>100</u>
Graduates	404	65.8	544	70.8
Repeaters	134	21.8	166	20.8
Drop-outs	76	12.4	64	8.3
SECONDARY: Year of entrance				
	1970		1973	
Entrants	<u>221</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>297</u>	<u>100</u>
Graduates	140	63.3	207	69.7
Repeaters	46	20.9	48	16.2
Drop-outs	35	15.8	42	14.1

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Survey of Educational Efficiency in Schools: A Qatari Experiment. Undated, pp.42-48.

(b) Ministry of Education, Qatar. The Findings of Practical Training of Headmistresses and Girls' Schools Deputies. Typed manuscript, undated, pp.1-11.

8% and 16%. This analysis also indicates that a high repeat rate is a major factor which affects school productivity at primary school level. The productivity of girls' schools appears to be approximately 5% higher than that of boys' schools. The result of this study, as shown in Table 4.20, clearly indicates the low productivity of the educational system. For instance, of 918 students enrolled in primary education in 1967/68, only 200 (or 21.8%) graduated after six years, while there were 575 repeaters and 143 drop-outs. In addition, the study highlighted that the main factors causing low productivity were lack of qualified and experienced teachers, the large size of the schools, examinations, inappropriate textbooks and lack of attractive school environments. In order to understand further the reasons for low school productivity, such aspects as school attendance and family background were also studied.

Among students who completed the cycle of education without failing at any grade, only 4%-6.4% of students remained absent from primary and intermediate school for 15-45 days in the academic year and only 11%-20% remained absent for more than 45 days. A similar analysis of the school attendance of drop-outs from the final year of study, given in Table 4.21, indicates that a high proportion of these students remained absent from their schools for more than 45 days in each academic year. No such analysis of school attendance records of students who failed their examination in the final year of study was carried out.

Students' success in school and their regular attendance is closely correlated with the educational backgrounds of their parents. Table 4.22 shows that the large majority of successful graduates came from literate homes. Hence it may be assumed that literate parents took more interest in the education of their children. The percentage of girl graduates who

TABLE 4.21

Rate of absence among drop-out students

	PRIMARY		INTERMEDIATE		SECONDARY	
	Boys ^a	Girls ^b	Boys ^a	Girls ^b	Boys ^a	Girls ^b
High rate of absence (more than 115 days)	23%	71%	67%	67%	96%	87%
Low rate of absence (less than 15 days)	77%	29%	33%	37%	5%	18%

Sources: as Table 4.20

(a) pp.74-80

(b) pp.34-38

TABLE 4.22

Educational levels of parents of graduate students

Parents' educational level	PRIMARY		INTERMEDIATE		SECONDARY	
	Boys ^a	Girls ^b	Boys ^a	Girls ^b	Boys ^a	Girls ^b
University and above	21%	16%	8%	9%	17%	23%
Secondary education	13%	29%	11%	17%	22%	24%
Intermediate or primary education	43%	41%	44%	40%	37%	43%
Illiterate	23%	18%	37%	34%	14%	10%

Sources: as Table 4.20

(a) p.54

(b) p.16

have illiterate parents is considerably lower than that of boys. Al-Hamer⁴⁸ also found that among his sample of secondary school students in Bahrain in 1965, 47.2% of the boys' fathers and 15% of the girls' fathers were illiterate. An analysis of data on Qatari girls demonstrates that a higher proportion of girls from literate families were allowed to attend school and were also encouraged to complete their education. However, similar information for students who either repeated their grades or who dropped out of school was not collected. Further analysis of all three categories of students (graduates, repeaters and drop-outs) in relation to the economic backgrounds of their families (Table 4.23) shows that at the primary and intermediate schools a large proportion of successful graduates were from families of middle income, whereas an almost equal number of successful graduates from secondary schools were from families with low or high incomes.

The data on repeaters and drop-outs at primary and intermediate levels show rather interesting trends in that a high proportion of repeaters and drop-outs were from low income groups. However, in the case of secondary schools, a large proportion of repeaters and drop-outs were from middle income families rather than from low or high income groups.

The positive effects of the economic status of parents on the performance of children in school have been observed by other researchers in many other countries. Similar observations were made by al-Essa in Kuwait, who reported that while the educational system is seen by many Kuwaitis as one of the avenues of social and economic mobility, the motivation to complete education is higher among the well-to-do families⁴⁹. This view is also supported by a study carried out by the Stanford Research Institute

TABLE 4.23 Economic standards of families of the survey students

Parents' income level	BOYS ^a			GIRLS ^b		
	Graduates	Repeaters	Drop-outs	Graduates	Repeaters	Drop-outs
<u>PRIMARY</u>						
Low (less than 1,000 QR)	22%	47%	53%	12%	30%	59%
Medium (1,000-2,000 QR)	53%	32%	21%	57%	52%	41%
High (more than 2,000 QR)	25%	14%	3%	26%	15%	-
Not known	5%	-	-	5%	3%	-
<u>INTERMEDIATE</u>						
Low	23%	40%	68%	24%	45%	27%
Medium	53%	20%	30%	44%	45%	40%
High	25%	21%	4%	32%	10%	13%
<u>SECONDARY</u>						
Low	39%	13%	50%	12%	13%	9%
Medium	32%	50%	32%	69%	75%	73%
High	32%	38%	18%	19%	13%	18%

Sources: as for Table 4.20 (a) pp.54,57,60,64,74 (b) pp.16,18,20,23,38,43.

which pointed out that "in spite of equal education opportunities, children from the richest quintile of both Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti families receive almost twice the educational benefits as children from the poorest quintile"⁵⁰. Factors such as private tuition and a congenial atmosphere at home, which are most likely to be provided by parents of middle and high income, and which apparently improve the educational performance of children, can reduce the repeat and drop-out rates from schools.

G. EXPANSION IN PROVISION OF SCHOOLS FOR INTERMEDIATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Table 4.24 provides a summary of the numbers of schools for intermediate and secondary education since 1965 in the three Gulf States. It is interesting to note that in the last 15 years of expansion, the number of schools has apparently kept pace with the increasing number of students in general secondary education. The number of students, both boys and girls, varies between 30-36 students per class. Since 30 or more students per class may be considered a slight overcrowding, it would be desirable to see the size of classes reduced in future, both for disciplinary purposes and as a means of providing more attention for each individual student.

The schools built in recent years provide all kinds of educational and recreational facilities, such as laboratories, libraries and sports halls (Table 4.25). The authorities provide free transport for boys and girls who do not have private transport. While there is no difference in the facilities provided for boys and girls, girls' schools are run exclusively by female staff. It is interesting to note that the school buildings for girls in Qatar are designed in such a way that they

TABLE 4.24

Number of intermediate and secondary schools
and number of students per class for boys/girls

Country	No. of schools		No. of students per class	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
<u>BAHRAIN</u> ^a				
1964/65	2	4	31	33
1971/72	5	3	29	34
1974/75	6	6	34	34
1978/79	9	11	34	36
<u>KUWAIT</u> ^b				
1965/66	27	20	31	32
1970/71	54	38	30	30
1975/76	65	60	29	29
1979/80	102	92	31	31
<u>QATAR</u> ^c				
1965/66	2	1	28	24
1970/71	4	2	33	26
1975/76	6	4	32	32
1979/80	24	25	30	30

- Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1978/79.
 (b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. "Growth in the Number of Schools, Classes, Students, Teachers 1954/55-1980/81", 1982.
 (c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

TABLE 4.25

Availability of facilities in intermediate
and secondary schools in Bahrain 1978/79

Type of facility	BOYS' SCHOOLS Total no. 8		GIRLS' SCHOOLS Total no. 11	
	Available	Not available	Available	Not available
Laboratories	7	1	0	11
Workshops	6	2	0	11
Libraries	8	0	11	0
Stores	6	2	8	3
Playing fields	8	0	10	1
Art studios	6	2	8	3

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1979/80.

have closed balconies⁵¹, so the girls cannot be seen from the outside. The conservative Qatari parents would not like it if their daughters could be seen by people who happen to walk or drive past the schools.

The school buildings in the Gulf States are much better than those in most Arab countries, mainly for two reasons. First, the relatively small population size, and secondly, the better design and architectural standards which reflect the wealthy economy of these States. According to al-Kobaisi, although the buildings and equipment of most schools in the Gulf States have been modernised, the curriculum and methods of teaching remain traditional. The schools also suffer from excessive administrative control. With greater freedom and more modern methods their efficiency would be greatly improved⁵².

While there has been a rapid expansion in the provision of schools in the cities and large towns, the smaller towns and large villages have so far been neglected. For example, it was reported in 1976 that the two main cities in Bahrain, Manama and Muhurraq, had a high concentration of secondary schools. Approximately 66% of boys and 78% of girls in secondary schools come from these two cities alone. The total population of the age group 15-19 years in these two cities comprises about 61% boys and 60% girls of the total population of the whole country within this age group⁵³. Most of the village schools in the Gulf States have been reported to be unsuitable for modern education. In the case of Qatari village schools, al-Kobaisi has stated⁵⁴:

"They experience many urgent problems, in particular the poor conditions of the school buildings. Most of these schools were built in the 1950's and early 1960's and no less than 220 of the 409 were found to be built of nothing better than clay."

1. Increase in the number of intermediate and secondary school teachers

With the increasing numbers of schools and students, there has been a parallel increase in the number of teachers in the intermediate and secondary schools over the last 15 years (Table 4.26). Whereas the student/teacher ratio in secondary schools in Kuwait and Qatar has fallen in recent years, the ratio in Bahrain has increased. One of the serious problems facing the Gulf States is an acute shortage of qualified national teachers at secondary school level. As can be noted from the data in Table 4.26, national teachers comprise only a small proportion of male teachers in Kuwait and Qatar and about one-quarter of the total number of male teachers in Bahrain. However, the proportion of national women teachers in girls' schools has recently been increasing. The subject of the low proportion of national teachers will be discussed in more detail later (see Chapter 6), but it is interesting to note that among young men in the Gulf States, teaching is the least attractive profession. However, the recent increase in the number of national women teachers in the secondary schools is apparently a result of the increased number of young women graduates for whom there are limited employment opportunities outside the teaching profession. The high proportion of national teachers in Bahrain could be explained by the long history of modern education in that State and because of the competition for jobs in other sectors of the civil service. The competition for such jobs is not as yet so great in Kuwait and Qatar. Also, for economic reasons, the Bahraini authorities do not seem to employ teachers from other Arab countries to the same extent as Kuwait and Qatar.

The high student/teacher ratio in Bahrain in comparison with the other two States may also be as a result of the latter policy. While it is considered necessary for all teachers at the intermediate and

TABLE 4.26

Number of teachers at intermediate and secondary schools, the student/teacher ratio and percentage of national teachers in the three Gulf States 1965/66-1979/80

Country Year	No. of teachers		Student/teacher ratio		% of national male and female teachers to total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
BAHRAIN^a						
1965/66	280	117	14	17	0%	3%
1970/71	320	201	22	27	N.A.	N.A.
1974/75	357	323	22	24	26%	32%
1978/79	387	428	27	23	28%	52%
KUWAIT^b						
1965/66	1,063	720	16	16	0.5%	2%
1970/71	2,476	2,038	15	13	11%	14%
1974/75	3,826	3,559	12	11	17%	22%
1979/80	6,323	6,082	12	15	5%	18%
QATAR^c						
1965/66	55	18	23	15	0%	0%
1970/71	136	102	13	13	7%	1%
1974/75	276	218	13	16	5%	3%
1979/80	463	522	11	11	6%	25%

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. "Growth in the Number of Schools, Classes, Students and Teachers 1954/55-1980/81.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

N.A. = not available

secondary levels to hold university degrees or their equivalent, an analysis of the data on teachers' qualifications (Table 4.27) shows that there are still approximately 20%-25% of teachers who only have post-secondary education training qualifications or even less. The majority of teachers at intermediate and secondary schools these days have university qualifications: approximately 72%, 79% and 81% in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively (Table 4.27). However, a large number of these teachers who hold university degrees and teach at secondary school level did not have any teaching training or experience prior to their first appointment. This can be illustrated from the data in Table 4.27, which shows that of the total number of teachers in secondary schools who held either a post-secondary or university qualification, only 30%, 50% and 32% in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively also held a teaching qualification. According to al-Kobaisi, one of the main reasons for the lack of qualified teachers is that there is an increasing demand for qualified teachers in those Arab countries which traditionally supply the Gulf States with teachers⁵³. In order to resolve this problem it would be highly desirable to establish in-service teacher-training programmes for those teachers with no previous teaching experience.

H. GENERAL DISCUSSION

1. The development of secondary education

The development of secondary education in the three Gulf States, as in other Arab states, shows two predominant features. First, since its commencement, secondary school education has expanded rapidly to absorb the increasing number of students who successfully complete primary school education. Secondly, during the relatively short period of the

TABLE 4.27

Intermediate and secondary school
teachers' qualifications
in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar

Qualification	Male teachers		Female teachers	
	1974/75	1978/79	1974/75	1978/79
BAHRAIN^a				
(1) Less than secondary school	0%	0%	0%	0%
(2) Secondary - general academic	5%	3%	3%	2%
(3) Secondary education with teacher-training	10%	2%	2%	1%
(4) Post-secondary training	11%	8%	13%	15%
(5) University education	56%	60%	61%	59%
(6) University education with teacher-training	15%	26%	20%	17%
(7) Post-university education	3%	2%	9%	5%
(8) Others	0%	0%	0%	0%
KUWAIT^b				
	1970/71	1972/73	1970/71	1972/73
(1)	2%	1%	1%	0%
(2)	5%	3%	10%	8%
(3)	10%	5%	10%	7%
(4)	10%	13%	10%	14%
(5)	45%	40%	38%	43%
(6)	24%	36%	31%	28%
(7)	5%	2%	1%	3%
(8)	0%	0%	0%	0%
QATAR^c				
	1970/71	1979/80	1970/71	1979/80
(1)	3%	0%	1%	0%
(2)	4%	9%	12%	10%
(3)	3%	7%	5%	9%
(4)	0%	0%	0%	0%
(5)	62%	56%	54%	47%
(6)	15%	37%	19%	32%
(7)	0%	0%	0%	0%
(8)	14%	0%	10%	0%

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1974/75, 1978/79.

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Teachers' qualifications in secondary schools, 1970/71, 1972/73.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71, 1979/80.

last 15 years, secondary education has undergone a multitude of changes and reorganisation in almost every respect. If secondary education is to become universal in the three Gulf States in the near future, and if its objectives and goals are to meet the new and ever-increasing demands of Gulf society, then it is imperative that serious consideration should now be given to its quality and scope, and its structure and curricula.

Secondary education is still the weak link between primary and higher education in the three Gulf States. While serious efforts have been made in the past and are still being made in both primary and university education, no serious thought has apparently been given to the development and reorganisation of secondary education. Secondary education not only plays an important and significant role in raising the quality of literacy of any society, it also has a crucial and unique role in determining the quality and standard of university and higher technical education. It is also the secondary school which supplies a large proportion of recruits for administrative and executive posts in government service and private enterprise, as well as in the industrial and commercial sectors of society. In the case of other developing countries, the reasons for the neglect of secondary education at the expense of primary education are understandable, since limited funds do not allow these governments to improve secondary education. While the first target of these developing nations was and is to eradicate illiteracy, the development and expansion of secondary education is not a matter of urgent priority. However, no such justification exists for the Gulf States, whose population is considerably smaller than that of most developing countries and who possess substantial economic resources from oil revenues. On the basis of per capita income, the Gulf States fall into the category of the richest nations in the world. Unfortunately, because of the lack

of real insight and proper planning, secondary education in particular, and the whole educational system in general, have not developed to a satisfactory standard.

Until 1965 the question of educational priorities in most of the Arab countries was considered difficult and complex, as primary education was the focus of attention. A UNESCO document published in 1956 provides some apparent justification for this trend among Arab educational systems, and an extract to illustrate this point is given below⁵⁶:

"It is realised that with the existing limitations, primary schooling is the only type of education which can possibly be extended to cover the child population within a reasonable future. The primary school thus plays a more important role in this region than in countries where post-primary facilities are more amply provided. It is to the primary school that the training of future generations is largely entrusted and it is therefore only realistic that national efforts should be concentrated at this level."

Nevertheless, although secondary education started at different times in different Gulf States, during the period between 1940 and 1960 it did show some growth, though the amount of this growth varied considerably from one country to another. Another important factor was that the expansion of primary education, as a result of the policy of free education for all, led to rapid growth in the number of pupils eligible to enter the secondary level of education. This, in turn, created many initial difficulties in provision of school buildings, teaching staff requirements and in administrative aspects. Yet it undoubtedly speeded up the process of reorganisation of the school education system as a whole. Thus the period following 1965 witnessed not only striking expansion in the enrolment of students but also in the number of schools and teaching staff engaged in secondary education.

Besides this quantitative growth, some subtle qualitative changes also took place in the structural organisation of secondary school education. While in the past some kind of secondary education, such as teacher-training and technical education, were also part of the secondary school system, secondary general academic education was merely a preparatory education for university entrance. However, as a result of a multitude of changes in educational policies between the early 1960's and the late 1970's, most of the technical training programmes were removed from secondary school level and were raised to post-secondary education level. However, one very important consequence of this change was that the role of secondary education was broadened and secondary general academic education ceased to be solely a preparation for university entrance; it also became a requirement for most types of technical training as well. The real impact of this change on the general educational standard of society and on the qualitative aspects of technical education has still to be witnessed.

The effect of this change has been that secondary education, like primary education, now has a much broader role. Furthermore, modifications of curricula, uniformity of programmes for boys and girls and free availability to those who qualify can be considered as great improvements in education in general which have contributed to the overall educational advancement of these countries. Universalisation of general secondary education will not only improve the quality of literacy but will also provide better educated youth to meet the needs of the labour market.

The full benefits of secondary education cannot, however, be derived if the preparation of pupils at this stage has been incomplete or defective. There is thus urgent need for modernisation of the curriculum and

improvements in teaching methods. One of the main defects in the educational system in the Gulf States as far as secondary education is concerned is its lack of objectives and scope. In general, it has been treated either as a continuation of primary education or as a preparation for higher education. So far its curriculum has neither been related to the everyday problems and needs of students nor has it been designed to promote the development of attitudes among students necessary for the achievement of national and social goals. The present curriculum emphasises book-learning, rote memory, and is largely dominated by a stifling examination system. These aspects of secondary education need radical modification. It is hoped that a close follow-up study of a recently introduced credit-hour system at secondary school level in Kuwait may provide valuable information and guidelines for revising the examination and curriculum systems of secondary education now in operation in the Gulf States⁵⁷.

Zarrugh⁵⁸ emphasises the need to reform the curriculum of secondary education and has listed many points raised on this subject by other Arab educationalists. The problems facing these other Arab countries are also applicable to the Gulf States. According to Zarrugh, a theoretical approach is mostly adopted in methods of teaching and lessons are not made interesting with examples and experiments, or any other first-hand experience⁵⁹. The lecture is the primary instructional method while students sit taking copious notes. The majority of children find their school education dull and uninteresting. The school does not extend their talents and fails to bring out the best in them, and although they succeed in passing through the school, they do not take full advantage of the opportunities offered to them later in life.

Because secondary education is isolated from life experience, it tends to alienate the child from his cultural environment. It does not give students insight into their everyday world and thus, when they leave school, they are suddenly faced with unfamiliar situations and cannot take their place in the community as confidently as they ought to. Recently, Sayigh also pointed out that⁵⁹:

"As far as methodology is concerned, education still fails to provide sufficient scope for innovation and intellectual stimulation, and concentrates instead on cramming the students' memories with information. Furthermore, there is insufficient practical work and experimentation in workshops, classrooms and laboratories."

Sayigh further emphasised that these deficiencies in the educational system would constitute serious hindrances to the emergence of education as a strong influence in shaping students' outlook and imparting those capabilities and attitudes most conducive to development⁶⁰. According to Zarrugh⁶¹:

"Arab youth, as exemplified by young Libyans, has been introduced to a type of schooling which leads nowhere. Their superficial school training is not deepened or reinforced in terms of genuine national needs, and although they pass through to reach the university, yet their background in terms of experience and knowledge is extremely limited. All these factors tend to divorce the secondary schools from their communities and thus create a false picture of the purpose and value of secondary education."

In order to cultivate further among students the idea that their secondary school education is not a futile exercise has great utility in society and is a starting point for higher education, both at the university and at the post-secondary technical institutes. From the writer's viewpoint it would be highly desirable some kind of career advisory services were to be set up by the education authorities for the guidance of secondary school pupils. These advisory bodies, working

in liaison with the secondary school authorities, should comprise representatives from higher educational institutes, the universities, and personnel from the private sector and civil services. The advisory bodies should be responsible for introducing final year secondary school students to job opportunities in the labour market and for providing information about careers in government or in the private sector, as well as some guidance in choosing a suitable type of higher education. A need for this type of service cannot be over-emphasised in view of the fact that industrial and technological demands are rapidly increasing and becoming more complex and specialised. Similarly, specialisation at higher educational levels is becoming more diversified. In this respect, the immediate establishment of career advisory and higher education guidance services would be highly valuable and desirable. The organisation of some kinds of introductory courses, run by different government ministries and by industry and the private sector, would be invaluable for the orientation of secondary school graduates who decide not to proceed^{to} further higher education and who wish to seek employment at that stage.

2. General comments on girls' secondary school education

The enrolment of girls into secondary education in the three Gulf States has progressively increased and today represents one-half or more of the secondary school population. This can be considered as a remarkable achievement. In the rest of the Arab world, female enrolment is still only one-third of the total enrolment⁶². Taking into account the fact that modern education started at a relatively late stage in the Gulf States compared with other Arab countries, the rapid growth in girls' secondary education, which is now more extensive than that of

boys, as well as that of girls in other Arab countries, is a striking achievement. This growth in the education of girls is important for the consequences it has on both the status and the role of women in society as a whole. The significance of the growth of education for girls to its present level, compared with that of boys, can be further appreciated if one takes into account the background from which their education started. This point is well illustrated in the following comment, made by Ahmad al-Umran, the Director of Education in Bahrain from 1955-1972, in a report in 1955⁶³:

"I feel some anxiety when I talk of boys' education without mentioning girls, this is an unnatural thing to exist....it is like our sons living in one country and our daughters in another. Are they not the future fathers and mothers of our grandchildren? Do they not live in the same environment? It is imperative that we bring together both boys' and girls' education that they march together to the same goals."

Many factors appear to have contributed towards the development and expansion of girls' secondary education. The first is the availability of the necessary funds as a result of increasing oil export revenues, and the commitment of the governments of these Gulf States to providing education for all citizens who want it and who qualify for it, regardless of their sex. Adherence to this policy by the authorities for women's education has been the result of a deliberate shift in their traditional attitudes towards women's education. There have also been outside pressures from international organisations such as UNESCO which stress the need for provision of equal educational opportunities for both boys and girls. The less advanced and conservative Gulf States have recognised an obligation to follow the educational programmes and progress set by advanced and more liberal neighbouring Gulf States.

The net outcome of these changes was that neither official discouragement-

ment nor discrimination against women's education was shown publicly, nor was any differential treatment given in the provision and expansion of school facilities for girls. With the changing social values in the Gulf States, the idea of women's education has become more acceptable among their male-dominated societies. This acceptance by society in general not only made the authorities react quickly to expand women's education, but it also saved the conservative ruling class from any kind of embarrassment which it might have felt in introducing radical social changes in opposition to public opinion. Finally, following the commencement of modern education and the initial acceptance of the idea of women's education, popular opinion came to accept the view that there was "no harm in educating girls" and the idea of educating girls gained more impetus and in itself became a driving force. All these changes in official policies and in public attitudes combined with the general feeling and awareness among women themselves have brought women's education to its present very satisfactory status in all three Gulf States.

In this context, the admirable performance of female students in all three cycles of school education further proves that whole-hearted support should be given to the cause of girls by providing equal opportunities for their rightful demands. Judging from parameters such as drop-out and repeat rates, which are salient indicators of wastage of educational resources, girls' school records are far better than those of boys'. Furthermore, the girls seem to have excelled in their performances compared with boys in the sense that they secure more top positions in public examinations than their male colleagues. There can be no argument that, according to their performance at school, girls are more diligent and conscientious than boys. Explanations for this difference, such as the fact that girls have no outdoor social life, that they apparently spend

most of their after-school hours in reading and revising, and that they do not play truant or miss school lessons (because they are not allowed to own cars and roam around city centres during school hours or breaks) neither offer a true justification for the relatively poor performance of boys, nor can they obscure the fact and undermine the evidence that girls show more keenness and devotion to their studies.

However, because of persisting attitudes to the employment of women, job opportunities for girls who successfully complete secondary education are still very limited. Though girls work hard at school, it is not because most of them can realistically hope to enter the professions. The expansion of girls' education has been admirable, but clearly attempts should be made to explore further and to utilise fully their capabilities in building tomorrow's world in the Gulf States. Any investment made in the area of girls' education will then be of greater and of more profound significance for the future.

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CHAPTER 5

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

A. INTRODUCTION

The history and present state of technical and vocational education for men and women in the Gulf States is complex. Apart from religious education and some other vocational training courses of a fairly basic nature, other types of technical education started quite late after the beginning of modern education. The precise time of commencement of different types of technical and vocational training varies from one course to another and also within the three Gulf States, and appears to depend on the educational and economic background of each of the States. Technical and vocational education of women has not only been of very low priority, it also appears to be of poor quality compared with that for men. Technical education programmes for both men and women have undergone considerable modernisation and modification, though even today none of these programmes seems to have gained any popularity. Also, during the short history of technical and vocational education in the Gulf States, numerous programmes have been introduced and withdrawn. Although every now and then a 'better' or 'more advanced' system has been introduced to replace the pre-existing scheme, no ideal system has so far been found which would meet the national demands and the aspirations of Gulf youth.

The problem of technical and vocational education in the Gulf, being more complicated than usually acknowledged, has always presented a real challenge for both national planners and educators in order to yield even minimal returns in terms of national benefits. The technical and vocational education in the Gulf States even today is going through a crisis and it is obvious that this cannot be resolved without using a highly critical and diagnostic approach in reviewing and assessing (a) future

national economic growth, (b) future expansion of the existing petrochemical industrial programme, (c) development and expansion of alternative industrial plans, (d) the size of the native population and its growth rate, (e) quantitative and qualitative dependence on foreign labour and advisers, (f) 'transient socio-economic' features of the present-day Gulf society, (g) ideological generation gap between the young and old generations, (h) psychological conflicts which haunt the minds of modern youth, and (i) factors which discourage modern Gulf youth from participating in technical programmes and in careers related to this type of training.

From the evaluation of the data on general academic and technical/vocational education at secondary school level, it is evident that the technical education has been the least popular among Gulf youth (Tables 5.1-5.3). Technical and vocational courses which attract only a small number of national students are now filled with students from other Arab countries or African Muslim states. Only recently, educational and other planning authorities have undertaken remedial measures such as the upgrading of technical education to a post-secondary school level, raising the monthly allowances of students enrolled in technical education, and offering better and higher salaries to graduates with technical educational qualifications. Unfortunately all these efforts appear to have failed to attract the Gulf youth to participate in technical education programmes. In fact, enrolment in this type of education has been declining steadily and the general academic education both at school and university levels appears to be attracting more students than ever (Tables 5.1-5.3). Thus it appears rather irresponsible on the part of the educational authorities to continue to pursue their old policies and to support and

TABLE 5.1

Comparison of boy/girl enrolment in general academic versus technical education at secondary school level in relation to total enrolment at all levels of education in Bahrain 1965/66-1979/80

Academic year	Total enrolment in primary, intermediate and secondary schools (including general academic and technical)		Enrolment in general academic secondary education as percentage of total		Enrolment in technical secondary education as percentage of total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1965/66	22,815	14,027	5.4	3.5	2.0	*
1966/67	25,205	15,819	7.3	5.5	2.2	*
1967/68	26,443	17,795	8.7	7.7	2.2	*
1968/69	26,779	18,862	11.2	10.1	2.4	*
1969/70	26,750	20,072	2.94	3.37	3.07	*
1970/71	28,630	21,326	9.53	11.77	3.63	0.18
1971/72	28,938	21,982	8.41	13.18	4.36	0.49
1972/73	29,750	23,261	9.07	13.46	4.22	0.99
1973/74	30,468	24,133	9.48	14.53	4.16	1.48
1974/75	31,789	25,594	10.12	14.92	4.13	1.56
1975/76	32,742	26,474	9.95	14.48	4.00	1.73
1976/77	33,474	27,332	9.87	14.72	3.88	1.82
1977/78	34,201	28,321	10.43	14.80	4.01	2.03
1978/79	35,738	29,424	11.20	15.03	4.65	2.54
1979/80	36,877	30,502	8.48	10.72	4.16	2.01

*There was no technical education for girls in these years, as teacher-training at secondary school level was withdrawn for both sexes in 1965, and commercial studies for girls at secondary school level did not start until 1970/71.

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1965/66-1979/80.

TABLE 5.2

Comparison of boy/girl enrolment in general academic versus technical education at secondary school level in relation to total enrolment at all levels of education in Kuwait 1965/66-1979/80

Academic year	Total enrolment in primary, intermediate and secondary schools (including general academic and technical)		Enrolment in general academic secondary education as percentage of total		Enrolment in technical secondary education as percentage of total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1965/66	53,550	38,238	7.42	5.00	3.41	3.00
1966/67	58,707	43,026	7.73	5.59	3.60	1.85
1967/68	64,336	47,655	8.86	6.47	3.78	2.79
1968/69	68,877	51,673	9.59	7.73	1.98*	0.35*
1969/70	73,256	55,783	11.18	9.39	2.00	0.91
1970/71	78,402	60,384	11.75	11.23	2.12	1.10
1971/72	84,460	66,229	12.72	12.68	2.17	1.17
1972/73	88,897	71,334	12.97	13.66	1.77	0.85
1973/74	93,371	76,046	13.69	14.90	1.64	0.59
1974/75	106,061	91,041	12.91	14.09	1.48†	0.36†
1975/76	109,873	92,034	13.69	16.21		
1976/77	127,380	107,823	14.70	15.67		
1977/78	136,714	116,498	15.07	16.34		
1978/79	143,586	123,932	15.45	16.88		
1979/80	152,656	132,677	16.19	17.00		

*The reason for this sharp decline is that in this year teacher-training at secondary school level was withdrawn for both boys and girls. However, in this year, the girls' technical secondary school was opened.

†In this year all types of technical education at secondary school level was withdrawn for both sexes.

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Growth in the number of schools, classes, students and teachers from 1954/55 to 1980/81. (1982).

TABLE 5.3

Comparison of boy/girl enrolment in general academic versus technical education at secondary school level in relation to total enrolment at all levels of education in Qatar 1965/66-1979/80

Academic year	Total enrolment in primary, intermediate and secondary schools (including general academic and technical)		Enrolment in general academic secondary education as percentage of total		Enrolment in technical secondary education as percentage of total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1965/66	7,906	4,811	2.85	1.04	4.02	*
1966/67	8,301	5,405	3.16	1.41	4.60	*
1967/68	8,685	5,651	4.19	1.99	5.65	0.30
1968/69	9,371	6,281	4.62	3.13	5.40	0.61
1969/70	10,122	7,101	5.46	3.13	5.18	1.15
1970/71	10,704	7,827	5.86	3.63	4.59	1.46
1971/72	11,883	9,096	6.51	3.95	4.53	1.65
1972/73	12,957	10,435	7.24	4.99	3.64	1.70
1973/74	13,821	11,654	8.71	5.57	3.10	1.92
1974/75	14,885	12,924	9.40	6.31	2.88	1.88
1975/76	15,855	14,087	9.74	7.71	2.62	1.91
1976/77	17,051	15,336	10.64	9.56	2.53	1.19
1977/78	17,572	16,321	10.76	11.13	1.75	1.41
1978/79	18,354	17,306	10.74	12.13	1.49	+
1979/80	19,367	18,284	11.33	13.13	1.70	+

*There was no technical education for girls at secondary school level during this period. Teacher-training courses for both sexes started in 1968/69.

+Teacher-training programmes at secondary school level continued to be the only type of technical education available to girls until 1978/79 when it was withdrawn for both sexes.

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

finance an educational system which clearly is not successful and is highly wasteful as far as youth training and the national economy are concerned.

The cost of technical and vocational training is extremely high. For example, in Kuwait the cost per trainee in agricultural, engineering and wireless telecommunications centres at secondary school level in 1973 was about \$15,344, \$10,031 and \$15,358 respectively¹. Another argument against continued official support for technical education in its present state is that many students who join technical courses do so because they are of poor academic quality and cannot continue in general academic education. It is also true that some of the students who enrol in the technical institutes do so to obtain the monthly allowances while they are actually looking for other jobs. According to Harbison, in some Arab states students who appear least capable for higher academic education are usually sent to technical and vocational schools, and as a result of this these institutes have become the last resort for incompetent students². In some cases the training at these institutes tends to be of poor quality and superficially related to the future occupational requirements. There is also some statistical evidence that suggests trainees end up in jobs that do not relate to the type of training they have received in the institutes³.

A follow-up study of graduates from the vocational training centres of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour in 1974 showed that about 49.2% of the total number of graduates neither accepted nor performed any kind of manual work⁴. Among the graduates from the wireless and telecommunications centre, where the cost was about \$15,358 per trainee in 1973, almost 87% of students rejected manual labour jobs while

their training was essentially in manual work, and almost 86% of the graduates who accepted manual work required in-service retraining before they could be actually employed in some kind of profession⁵. Therefore a critical analysis of the productivity of technical education and training clearly raises fundamental questions about the justification for the extremely high cost and wastage attached to this kind of education in the Gulf States. Furthermore, enrolment in the science and technical faculties of universities also is not encouraging, since a large majority of students join arts, humanities and social science courses. This is exemplified in the data from Qatar University for the year 1976/77 when only 14.6% of the total university enrolment was in the science-based courses. Further detailed data and some discussion of higher education will be given in Chapter 7.

Another pertinent point relating to careless planning on the part of both national economy planners and educators is their unawareness of the fact that the existing system of technical education is completely unrealistic and futile in the sense that it is geared to produce either technicians or low/middle grade managerial and administrative personnel among nationals and not the top-grade personnel who are urgently required for manning national industry and commerce. A system of technical and scientific education directed to train Gulf youth to take these responsibilities appears to be the only way to prevent any further economic wastage and to reap any further national benefits.

The problem of technical and vocational education for women is even more serious than it is for men. Many of the problems of technical education in general apply equally to women's education, but in the case of women the difficulties are exacerbated by deep-rooted traditional customs

and beliefs concerning sex-segregation in the male-dominated Gulf society. Such beliefs among society in general and among national planners and educators in particular not only curtail the access of women to technical education but also diminish their career prospects in technical and commercial professions. Although the hard work and excellent academic performance of female students in schools enables them to overcome some of these social hurdles and to make the best use of what few facilities and opportunities are available to them, the problem of women's technical education and careers needs urgent and impartial review and also requires special and discriminative encouragement, both for their own welfare and for the economic welfare of society.

According to Eileen Byrne, everywhere in the world education has traditionally been a major factor in opening up opportunities for individual advancement and fulfilment in the adult world, but rarely has there been a time when a causal relationship between education and national economies has been so clear⁶. In the present-day society, the educational and technological standards of individuals comprising a nation are of equal importance as her natural resources. However, on a global scale, the major educational resources which remain under-exploited are the brains and skills of 51% of the world population who are women. The main areas of their continued under-achievement are the scientific and technological fields of national economic development. The irony is that national planners and educators in the Gulf States have apparently accepted the idea of sex-segregation instead of opposing it and putting their efforts into dismantling the artificial barriers and making the best use of the brains and skills of women.

Finally, a general comment relates to the authenticity of statistical

data on technical and vocational education and its analysis. The world-wide statistical records on technical and vocational education, and on that of women in particular, suffer seriously from ambiguities due to the lack of proper definitions and classification of different types of technical and vocational educational programmes, as well as from poor procedures of data collection. The Gulf States are no exception and there is often a cursory and casual attitude among many Arab as well as non-Arab researchers in this respect. For example, evening class courses, primarily designed to improve the reading and writing skills of low grade workers in the Gulf States have been included in technical education by some previous researchers. However, in the present study, the statistical data of different types of technical and vocational education have been compiled in accordance with a classification based on the UNESCO definition of technical and vocational education. This is as follows⁷:

(a) Technical education

Education designed at upper secondary and lower tertiary levels to prepare middle-level personnel (technicians, middle management, etc.) and at university level to prepare engineers and technologists for higher management positions. Technical education includes general education, theoretical, scientific and technical studies and related skills training. The components of technical education may vary considerably depending on the type of personnel to be prepared and the education level.

(b) Vocational education

Vocational education is designed to prepare skilled personnel at lower levels of qualification for one or a group of occupations, trades or jobs. Vocational education, usually provided at upper secondary level, includes general education, practical training for the development of skills

required by the chosen occupation and related theory. The proportions of these components may vary considerably but the emphasis is usually on practical training.

Finally, although the main objective of the present investigation is to describe and discuss the position of women's technical and vocational education, the similar education of men has been included for the purposes of comparison. For this reason, whether or not a particular type of technical and vocational training is available for women, it has been documented and described. For reasons of clarity, different types of technical and vocational education have been sub-divided into secondary and post-secondary levels, and any overlap between these stages or courses of pre-secondary or intermediate levels has been pointed out where necessary. The subject of teacher-training programmes is discussed separately in Chapter 6.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GULF STATES AND THEIR RELATION TO TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Unlike many other developing countries, including both Arab and non-Arab states, the present status of the three Gulf States is unique in the club of nations because of their previous history and recent economic development owing to the discovery of oil. These countries at present are in a transitional phase. Education in general and technical education in particular will be crucial factors in the development of a stable society. First, the three States have been undergoing rapid economic growth during the post-Second World War period because of income from the export of oil which has made them the richest economies in the world. Secondly, the population of these countries is relatively small compared

with most other countries, and this factor further contributes to their high per capita income. Thirdly, for historical reasons, these countries have a traditional and conservative culture primarily based on the Bedouin way of life and on Islamic philosophy. The beliefs of the indigenous population are deep-rooted either in primitive tribal values or in the orthodox and strong Sunni traditions of Islam. The contrast between the unquestioning belief of the old generation in the traditional values on the one hand, and the aspirations and ambitions of the young generation resulting from rapid modernisation and economic growth on the other have led to many conflicting ideas in the minds of modern youth in the Gulf States. These factors are of immense importance for the success and productivity of any educational system and, in particular, of technical and vocational education.

All these factors, whether traditional, socio-economic, psychological in nature or resulting from bad planning have created a high degree of disillusionment among Gulf youth regarding technical and vocational education, and account for the costly failure of the different types of technical education. Before embarking upon the subject of the dilemma of technical education, it is important to review briefly the economic, demographic and labour market situation in the three Gulf States.

1. The participation of nationals in the work force

The Gulf States have enjoyed a decade of dramatic economic development. However, they are now beginning to experience acute social and political pressures because of the rapid growth of their economies and continued industrialisation. They have to come to terms with the social costs of their economic development. According to Birks and Sinclair,

the pattern of rapid growth in these States has left little room for further manoeuvre and their former capacity to 'buy themselves out of trouble' may not be of any real value in the future⁸. One of the most serious problems facing these nations is an acute shortage of professionally qualified personnel and a skilled work force among their own indigenous populations. Under no circumstances can the present supply meet the demand created by their rapid economic growth and industrial expansion. Their dependence on expatriate labour not only drains their economies, but also imposes restrictions on their future plans for industrial expansion.

A comparison of the participation of nationals and non-nationals in the labour force in the three Gulf States during the period between 1965 and 1980 is shown in Table 5.4. In the case of Bahrain, although the number of national workers was higher than that of non-nationals until 1970, the number of national Bahraini in the work force decreased to less than 42% of the total work force by 1980 because of expanding development following the rise in oil prices in 1973. From 1965 to 1980 the number of non-Kuwaiti workers has increased from 139,118 to 211,444 and they now comprise 79% of the total work force in the country. In the case of Qatar, nationals constituted only 17%, 18.9% and 15.5% of the total work force in 1970, 1975 and 1980 respectively (Table 5.4).

While the proportion of nationals in the total work force of the three Gulf States is far below a satisfactory level, the proportion of national women in relation to the total work force as well as to the total female work force is extremely low. Although the number of national women in the work force has increased considerably in the last 15 years, their participation rate is still low, reaching only 13.7%, 13.4% and 10.8% of the total national work force in 1980 in Kuwait, Bahrain and

TABLE 5.4 Footnotes

Sources: (a) Population censuses 1965, 1971 and 1981. Data for 1975 are estimates taken from Ministry of State for Cabinet Affairs, Bahrain, Directorate of Statistics. The Population of Bahrain: Trends and Prospects (1979), p.91.

(b) Population censuses 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980.

(c) Population census 1970. Data for 1975 and 1980 are estimates taken respectively from:

1. Birks, J.S. and Sinclair, A. (1978) International Migration Project: Case Study for the State of Qatar, February, p.20.
2. Al-Kuwari, A.K. Towards a Better Understanding of the Population Imbalance in the Oil-Producing Countries in the Arabian Peninsula: Analytical Study of Factors which Influence the Size, Structure and Nature of the Work Force. Working paper, Qatar University, undated, p.2.

Participation of Nationals and non-Nationals in the work force in 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980

TABLE 5.4

YEAR	1965 ^a		1970 ^a		1975		1980	
	Nationals	Non-Nationals	Nationals	Non-Nationals	Nationals	Non-Nationals	Nationals	Non-Nationals
<u>BAHRAIN^a</u>								
Males	30,236	21,015	36,102	20,850	43,570	N.A.	49,304	73,917
Females	995	1,028	1,848	1,401	3,246	N.A.	7,847	6,797
Total	31,231	22,043	37,950	22,351	48,610	30,180	57,178	80,714
%	58.6%	41.4%	62.9%	37.1%	60.8%	39.2%	41.5%	58.5%
<u>KUWAIT^b</u>								
Males	39,163	133,498	57,614	160,262	79,666	183,919	89,645	332,300
Females	1,003	7,620	2,020	14,458	7,350	27,555	13,829	48,270
Total	40,166	141,118	59,634	174,720	87,016	211,474	103,474	380,570
%	22.2%	77.8%	25.4%	74.6%	29.2%	70.8%	21.4%	78.6%
<u>QATAR^c</u>								
Males	N.A.	N.A.	7,884	39,113	N.A.	N.A.	16,880	93,183
Females	N.A.	N.A.	284	1,109	N.A.	N.A.	2,030	9,580
Total	N.A.	N.A.	8,168	40,222	12,500	53,800	18,910	102,763
%	N.A.	N.A.	16.9%	83.1%	18.9%	81.1%	15.5%	84.5%

See facing page for footnotes.

Qatar respectively (Table 5.4). The reasons for this low participation are markedly different from those postulated for other developing countries. Such factors as limited job opportunities, competition between men and women for the available jobs and lack of economic facilities for the training and preparation of girls and women for appropriate technical professions, which reduce women's participation in the work force in other third world countries do not apply to the Gulf States because of their rich economies and expanding labour market demands.

The encouragement of women and girls to join technical and vocational education programmes will not only bring enrolment in technical and other institutes to a satisfactory level, but will also cut down further closure of these technical institutes. An increase in the number of technically and professionally qualified girls and women would also reduce the dependence of these States on foreign labour - a solution central to the problem of the acute shortage of nationals in the work forces of these States.

The problem of the poor participation of nationals in the work force is more serious and acute at the top executive and managerial levels than at the clerical and manual labour levels in all spheres of the manufacturing and service industries as well as the civil service. This point can be clearly illustrated from some employment records of occupational categories and nationalities of the workers of Kuwait. By conventional methods of occupational classification, an analysis of the work force based on the 1980 census showed that a high proportion of all active Kuwaitis were service workers (36%) or clerical and related workers (24%) (Table 5.5). On the other hand, at administrative and managerial level, Kuwaitis constituted only 2.0% of the total Kuwaiti work force and about 0.34% of the

TABLE 5.5

Employment by occupational category
and nationality in Kuwait in 1980

Major list heading	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti
Total number	103,474	380,570
Professional and technical workers	15.5%	16.3%
Administrative and managerial workers	2.0%	0.1%
Clerical and related workers	23.8%	9.3%
Sales workers	5.0%	6.7%
Service workers	36.3%	21.1%
Agricultural and husbandry workers	3.7%	1.5%
Production workers and labourers	13.5%	44.7%

Source: Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Population census 1980,
vol.1 1982, pp.68-69.

total work force (Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti). Direct comparison of the number of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti administrative and managerial workers and professional and technical workers showed that Kuwaitis represented only 21% and 34% respectively in the two categories.

An analysis of the data of employment of nationals and non-nationals in Kuwait on the basis of their academic, professional and technical qualifications (Table 5.6) further revealed some interesting features which are very relevant in reviewing the trends and status of technical and professional education in the Gulf States. In 1975 Kuwaiti nationals constituted only 29% of the total work force in the country. Among Kuwaiti nationals who were working in professional fields, 83% were in those jobs which normally require a university degree in arts and only 17% were in jobs which require a university degree in science and mathematics (Table 5.6). The ratio of Kuwaitis to non-Kuwaitis was 1:8.6 in jobs requiring science or mathematics-based university degrees and 1:0.9 in jobs requiring an arts-based university degree. Keeping in mind the high demand for professional jobs with a science degree, the poor participation of Kuwaitis clearly indicates that higher scientific and technical education is not popular among Kuwaiti nationals.

A similar situation is evident in occupational groups such as (a) technicians and other workers who usually require two or three years post-secondary technical education/training, (b) skilled and semi-skilled office and clerical workers, and (c) skilled and semi-skilled manual workers, where the participation rates between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis are in the order 1:2.49, 1:1.81 and 1:5.96 respectively. Although based on data for Kuwait, these observations indicate that the tendency among Gulf nationals to acquire scientific and technical knowledge and training

TABLE 5.6

Distribution of employment by occupational group and nationality in Kuwait in 1975

Occupational group	KUWAITI		NON-KUWAITI	
	Number	%	Number	%
Professional jobs usually requiring a science- or maths-based university degree	1,050	1.2	9,011	4.3
Professional and sub-professional jobs usually requiring a university arts degree	5,114	5.9	4,571	2.1
Technicians and other jobs which usually require one to three years post-secondary education/training	10,239	11.8	25,522	12.1
Skilled and semi-skilled office and clerical occupations	21,204	24.5	38,284	18.1
Skilled and semi-skilled manual occupations	10,412	12.0	62,027	29.4
Unskilled occupations	38,602	44.6	71,794	34.0
TOTAL	86,261	100	211,109	100

Source: Birks, J.S. and Sinclair, C.A. (1980) 'Arab Manpower', Croom Helm, London, p.47.

is far below the level satisfactory in developing nations with ambitious industrial programmes.

From whatever perspective the labour markets of the Gulf States are examined, the problem of their quantitative and qualitative dependence on migrant labour cannot be resolved in the near future. Some previous researchers appear to give the impression that qualitative dependence need not be inevitable and could diminish with appropriate education and training programmes and the existing employment policies which encourage nationals to work in all sectors of the economy⁹. However, the prevailing attitudes among Gulf nationals towards technical education do not promise any easy solution to this problem. At present government employment policies are not consistent with their objectives. In particular, civil service employment, which attracts graduates with arts degrees on the one hand and non-skilled workers on the other, is open to every national on terms which are better than those available in the private sector. Salaries are neither related to qualifications nor to productivity, with the result that Gulf nationals, particularly boys, lack motivation. According to Birks and Sinclair some of these problems can be resolved by a firm change in government policies¹⁰. However, their forecast about the qualitative independence from a foreign work force, apparently based on the assumption of an improvement in technical education programmes, cannot be serious in view of the existing evidence concerning the present and future position of technical education in these countries.

Speaking in quantitative terms, there is no reason to believe that the Gulf societies can be independent of migrant labour in the foreseeable future, even if the oil, petrochemical and other industries are revolutionised by microchip and robot technologies in order to reduce the number of

workers required. In fact, the small indigenous populations and their projected decreasing growth rates strongly suggest that if the Gulf States are to continue their industrial expansion programmes, they will have to rely on a migrant labour force for a long time to come. The above argument raises another important issue, that real priority should be given to improving and upgrading the standard of technical and scientific education both at the post-secondary school and the university levels. The emphasis should also be given to producing Gulf nationals equipped with better scientific and technical knowledge and training to take up middle and upper technical and managerial positions in the national industries rather than producing nationals qualified only for low grade manual work.

The combined effect of an absence of firm government policies and their lack of popularity among the indigenous population, seriously undermine the role and status of technical and vocational education in the Gulf States. Under these circumstances the problem of the acute shortage of technically qualified people in the Gulf States cannot be resolved simply by pushing national Gulf youth into the existing types of technical education programmes, because the total Gulf youth of appropriate age and qualifications is very small, as shown below.

Number of national students in their final year of secondary school education

(Data based on 1979/80 academic year)

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Bahrain	1,319	1,346
Kuwait	1,470	1,610
Qatar	319	487

(Source: statistical data published by the Ministries of Education of Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar)

Even if all these students from the secondary schools were sent to post-secondary technical education, and assuming that they all qualify and actually seek employment in fields related to their training, the total number would still constitute only a very small fraction of the total number of vacancies available in the job market. For example, in Qatar perhaps as many as 20,000 job opportunities will be available in the Umm Said industrial zone and a similar number will be generated in the industrial centres around Doha¹¹.

The problem is further increased by ambitious new economic and industrial expansion plans. A society with an inadequate technological background, poorly planned technical education programmes for the small indigenous population and with an ambitious industrial expansion programme can easily lose the potential benefits of industrial and economic growth and increase dependence on foreign experts and workers. The doubts shown by government officials over the appropriateness of their industrial programmes is illustrated by the following comment made by Ali Khalif al-Sabah, Minister of Finance in Kuwait in 1976¹²:

"Politicians everywhere put a high premium on industrialisation per se. But the under developed countries such as Egypt, India etc. have gone through a very bad experience in this field because the projects in question were not studied sufficiently carefully and there was an overwhelming drive towards industrialisation as such. The oil exporting countries have been under the same pressure ever since the oil price increases of 1973/74...I can't imagine that Saudi Arabia, Kuwait or any other oil producing country in a similar situation would undertake industrial projects merely for the sake of providing employment. The truth is that every additional job provided by a project will have to go to a non-national, and this in turn will entail considerable added investment in services and infrastructure... I would hate to see a series of white elephants draining the economies of oil exporting countries under the guise of industrialisation."

Despite all these reservations and the official belief that future national economic growth depends basically on industrial development and

expansion, no careful consideration has been given to preparing the indigenous population to provide the technical and scientific personnel needed to man the future industries of the Gulf States.

C. SOME UNIVERSAL FEATURES OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AND THEIR RELEVANCE TO WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE GULF STATES

1. Formal and actual equality in technical education and employment for women

It is evident that educational planners in the Gulf States at various times have planned technical education for girls based on principles dissimilar to those considered for boys' technical education. This type of discrimination is obviously incompatible with the basic principle of equality of the two sexes. In 1967, in its Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (Article 9), the United Nations General Assembly resolved that¹³:

"All appropriate measures shall be taken to ensure girls and women, married or unmarried, equal rights with men in education at all levels, and in particular: (a) equal conditions of access to and study in educational institutions of all types, including universities and vocational, technical and professional schools; (b) the same choice of curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality whether the institutions are co-educational or not; (c) equal opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants; (d) equal opportunities for access to programmes, and (e) access to educational information to help in ensuring the health and wellbeing of families."

In accordance with the above resolution, at the seventeenth session of its general conference held in 1972, UNESCO passed a resolution approving a programme of action designed to hasten the development of the education of girls and women and to encourage them to enter a wider range of technical and scientific courses and studies¹⁴. The aim of equal opportunities in education and training is to prepare women to participate

fully and creatively in the economic and social development of their countries .

However, formal equality in education has not been sufficient to achieve actual equality of opportunities for girls and women either in the educational system or in the working life of the Gulf States. According to Eileen Byrne, in her report on women's technical education in the member states of the United Nations, while only a few planners, educators and politicians deliberately discriminate in designing administrative, organisational and curricular aspects of girls' schools, some do so unconsciously owing to their belief that the education and technical training of girls should be different from that of boys¹⁵. According to her¹⁶:

"One desirable curricular and structural development is the closer integration of secondary (and post-secondary) vocational education into the main stream of educational provision. There is growing evidence of the mismatch between an over-academic or generalised education and the needs of a changing labour market on the one hand; and between an over-specialised, skills-based vocational education requiring premature specialisation and the need for work adaptation and retraining later, on the other. Within this controversy, girls appear to be disadvantaged on the one hand by being channelled into general (rather than vocational) education thus diminishing their motivation and training for work. On the other hand, within a prematurely specialised and sex-segregated system (e.g. requiring 'vocational' choice before the age of about 16 years), the statistics show even greater under-achievement by young women in progression to technical or to advanced further education and training."

As evidence from Western Europe suggests, the earlier a pupil is allowed to choose optional or elective subjects and to discontinue others, the sharper the sex difference in qualifications at 16 or 18 years of age¹⁷.

The school education for boys and girls in the Gulf States has so far been highly polarised. A common core of lower secondary education for

both boys and girls, from 11-15 years or 11-16 years, as a foundation for choice of later vocational education opportunities is essential if girls are to acquire modern technical education and training as well as the usual secretarial and office skills. Such a core should include compulsorily for both sexes until school-leaving age at least mathematics, science, education for family living, some experience of technical manual skills, foreign or international languages where possible, and a pre-vocational course oriented towards the world of work, technology and productivity. It is generally accepted that wherever possible specialisation should be delayed until after completion of the foundation core courses¹⁸, or in other words after completion of general secondary education. However, experience shows that the educational authorities in the Gulf States have taken a long time to realise and accept this fact.

2. Sex-segregation in the labour market and its effect on technical education

The modern industrial revolution is based on high technology, including microprocessors and robots. This raises important questions for national policies for technical education and manpower planning. First, how far do existing educational programmes perpetuate existing practices? Secondly, how long would it take to upgrade and modernise technical education in the Gulf States where the petrochemical and other industries have already entered the microprocessor era and the forthcoming robot technology can be expected to replace repetitive manual labour in the near future? In the Gulf States the transition from the early modern technical education, introduced as a result of economic growth due to oil revenues, to the current technological advancement in industry and commerce, has not only failed to keep pace with the demands and needs of

modern industry and commerce, but also has been retrogressive in the sense that the educational authorities appeared to have adopted programmes of modernisation which might have been successful in some other third world countries but are highly irrelevant to their own social needs and to the demands of the national economies.

Progress in education in poorly industrialised countries and in those countries which have been undergoing industrialisation during the last four decades has been relatively slow¹⁹. Furthermore, in these countries, sex-stereotyping of training options in the secondary technical and vocational education of girls and women has persisted relatively unchanged. In most of the Arab States and in particular in the Gulf States, the concentration of girl students in arts and humanities subjects has been a result of their limited access to alternative technical education courses. For instance, in Egypt which has a longer history of female education compared with the Gulf States, the opportunities for girls are far fewer than for boys. While boys aged 15-18 years have at least 80 options for different trade outlets through some 150 industrial secondary schools, the girls have access to only eight similar options²⁰.

Sex-segregation in the labour market in the Gulf States has been used as an excuse by the educational planners and policy makers, but the very outcome of different types of training for men and women itself results in sex-segregation in the labour market. First, women's work is considered as fundamentally different from men's work. Secondly, women are concentrated mainly into a few government jobs or in the teaching profession, where they constitute a small minority of the total work force and are under-represented in technical and vocational jobs. This pattern is widely used by educational planners and other national policy makers

as a justification for sex-segregation in technical training and, to a lesser degree, for poor investment in technical training programmes for girls and women. In this manner the education authorities and educational planners, whether consciously or not, are reinforcing the existing inequality and discriminatory practices rather than abolishing them in order to meet the growing industrial demands.

According to Eileen Byrne, there is a difficult curricular relationship between the traditional sex-segregation of the labour market, which in all countries possesses ascribed characteristics of 'men's work' and 'women's work', on the one hand, and the sex-segregation of vocational and technical education and training on the other²¹. Educators and planners argue that it is unrealistic to educate girls for employments in which there are no 'female' openings. The labour market then continues to designate their vacancies as male or female, based on the assumption that the pattern of male or female school leavers' qualifications and skills justify their claims that girls or boys are good at X and not competent to handle Y or Z. The stereotypes are unlikely to change unless actual evidence is produced that girls qualified and trained at schools in 'male' areas - as in the USSR and the Democratic Republic of Germany - are of equal capacity²². However, from the little evidence available so far for the Gulf States, it is obvious that provided proper educational and training facilities are made available to girls and women, their academic performance and professional abilities are in no way inferior to those of boys and men. Furthermore, in certain academic and professional areas, girls' and women's performances are outstanding and they surpass boys and men. Here again, reports and surveys carried out in some countries which suggest that women do less well than men in mathematics and technical sciences and in the respective allied professions, in fact

reflect not differences in ability but the social and cultural influences under which girls are brought up in their early years both at home and at school, which discourage them from participating or even developing an interest in mathematical and technical scientific subjects²³.

This situation is not peculiar to the Gulf States, as similar situations exist even in the advanced westernised societies. What is unique to the Gulf States is the gravity of this situation and the apparent slow pace of Gulf society to realise and change its social attitudes. In this manner, national planners and educators appear to have compromised with the traditional and existing practices, instead of mobilising the forces at their command to educate society about the virtues of bringing up girls and women in an atmosphere conducive to their future training and participation in scientific and technological fields. Briefly, the major responsibility lies with the policy-makers, planners and educators to initiate serious campaigns and to carry them through to a successful conclusion. Undoubtedly, this task will not be an easy one.

To abolish sex-segregation in technical and vocational training, it is necessary to convince educators and planners that girls are actually capable of the same range of work activities as boys, and have the same range of physical, mental and practical abilities as boys. Maccoby and Jacklin state that such differences within one sex are greater than between the two sexes²⁴. Secondly, it is necessary to convince educators and planners that it is as right for girls and women to attempt to match supply and demand within the labour market as freely as for boys and men. It is not for the educators to fix artificial limits because they themselves do not perceive suitable employment outlets for girls. Although it is a characteristic feature of the world of work that the majority of

jobs and careers carry an attribution of male or female, these sex differences in work patterns are not consistent or universal²⁵.

3. Role of teachers and guidance counsellors in technical education

The key personnel who hold the responsibility for adjusting the educational structures, content, motivation and output to changing vocational needs and changing female demands are the teachers, counsellors and parents. By the time a girl reaches the age when guidance services are available, several if not most of the barriers mentioned earlier will already have conditioned her choices. Her primary school will have encouraged her to see that while her brother plays with metal, wood and tools, she will have developed her verbal skills but almost certainly have fallen behind in mathematical abilities. In place of the remedial help she needs, she will have been encouraged to 'choose' arts subjects or home economics because she is less good at mathematics. She will have been told that the technical craft classes are full because more boys wanted them than there were available places. The media and girls' magazines, her textbooks and her library books will mostly have shown women as mothers but not as workers, and girls dependent and helpless in feminine roles, rarely in charge of a situation or in danger²⁶. In contrast, boys are shown making something or getting dirty with a motor cycle or climbing a tree. The material on which a counsellor will work has already been conditioned to the femininity of girls and of the female world. And finally, in almost every guidance system, counselling is introduced too late. That is, often key decisions (often of premature specialisation) have already been made, courses or schools selected, subjects dropped. It would and does take a gifted and knowledgeable teacher to counteract all this.

However, the large majority of teachers are average and are themselves highly conditioned. As suggested by Eileen Byrne, the urgent need therefore is for in-service training programmes of existing teaching staff, which would train them to understand the reasons for minimal sex differences, to know the advances in opening up the labour market for women, the benefits of women's participation in employment and the new techniques in non-sexist counselling and job orientation²⁷.

D. TECHNICAL EDUCATION AT SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVEL

Technical and vocational education started at a much lower level than secondary school education. Formerly some types of technical and vocational education were nothing more than evening classes designed to teach low-grade male workers basic reading and writing skills. With the modernisation of the education system, different types of technical and vocational courses were formally organised and the admission requirements were raised to the level of the general academic primary school certificate. During that period the actual length of different types of technical courses varied considerably, and it can be seen as the beginning of the process of upgrading technical school education from its previous primary school stage to intermediate level. However, due to low student enrolment and the poor standard of teaching, the programme of technical education was further revised and upgraded to proper secondary school level, and the admission requirements during the early 1960's were raised to those of general intermediate school certificate.

Because of the lack of reliable statistical data on enrolment and of precise information about the discussions leading to these changes in policy for technical education, any account of the development of technical

education from its pre-secondary school to secondary school level is not possible. However, it should be mentioned that the technical educational courses offered to women were of very poor standard and the options available to them were extremely limited. It should also be pointed out that while a limited type of technical education still exists in Bahrain, various branches of technical education at secondary school level in Qatar and all types of secondary technical education in Kuwait have been closed down.

1. Religious secondary schools

The religious secondary schools have always been exclusively for boys and men. These schools have either been controlled by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Wakef, or by the Ministry of Education. A religious school in Bahrain was first opened in 1943 under the combined supervision of Wakef and of Education²⁸. In 1961 the Ministry of Education became solely responsible for this institute. Similar schools were opened in 1947/48 and 1960/61 in Kuwait and Qatar respectively²⁹. In the early days these schools operated at primary as well as intermediate and secondary school levels. At present in Kuwait and Qatar these schools mainly enrol boys who have completed primary school education³⁰. On the other hand similar institutes in Bahrain operate on a 9-year educational programme which includes 3 years each at primary, intermediate and secondary levels of education³¹. However, the Bahraini school of religious education accepts boys into their intermediate courses who have already obtained general primary school education³².

In the religious schools the main emphasis is on subjects such as Islamic religion and the Arabic language, but general subjects such as history, geography, mathematics, science and English language are also

taught. Graduates from these schools can continue further advanced studies in appropriate fields at the al-Azhar University in Cairo, , Egypt or at other advanced institutes or universities elsewhere³³. Graduates from religious secondary schools are also eligible to seek appointment as primary school teachers, preachers in the mosque, or as clerks in the courts.

While fluctuating during the earlier years, enrolment in these schools has been declining recently in all the Gulf States (Table 5.7). Although the number of Qatari nationals enrolling in the religious institute in Qatar has been declining, the total enrolment in the Qatari school has increased during the last 10 years due to an increase in the number of non-Qatari students. These comprise mainly Muslim students from Arab and non-Arab countries. The low enrolment of Qatari students and the falling numbers which threatened the closure of this institute led the Ministry of Education to offer places to non-Qataris in order to justify the existence and future status of the religious secondary school in Qatar. Hence, in order to attract students from other Muslim countries and to maintain a steady recruitment of students, the Ministry of Education in Qatar has been offering scholarships and free board and accommodation to their non-Qatari students³⁴. Similar policies were also adopted in Kuwait, where nearly half the students enrolled in the religious school were non-Kuwaiti (Table 5.7). In the case of Bahrain, the majority of students in the religious school are Bahraini, constituting about 96% (Table 5.7) of the total. The main reason for the difference between Bahrain and the other two States is that Bahrain cannot afford to adopt similar policies. However, it is important to comment that whereas under present economic conditions these schools are under no threat of closure, further efforts to attract national youth into this type of technical

TABLE 5.7
 Total enrolment of boys in religious secondary schools
 and percentage of non-national students, 1965/66-1979/80

Year	BAHRAIN ^a		KUWAIT ^b		QATAR ^c	
	Total enrolment	% of non-Bahraini students	Total enrolment	% of non-Kuwaiti students	Total enrolment	% of non-Qatari students
1965/66	146	-	309	26%	92	49%
1967/68	146	-	278	28%	128	40%
1969/70	191	-	245	38%	157	45%
1971/72	138	-	284	48%	181	54%
1973/74	113	-	251	47%	159	64%
1975/76	113	0	234	44%	220	74%
1977/78	115	0.02%	413	46%	205	74%
1979/80	99	0.04%	382	45%	287	72%

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1969/70-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Growth in the number of schools, classes, students and teachers 1954/55 to 1980/81. (1981).

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66-1979/80.

education are unlikely to succeed. A better policy would be to encourage young people to obtain first a general secondary school education and then to specialise in religious studies at advanced level.

2. Industrial secondary schools

The industrial secondary schools which opened at different times in the three Gulf States have been exclusively for boys and men. The first industrial school opened in Bahrain in 1936/37 and was simply an evening class centre for vocational training for the Bahraini workers³⁵. Similar evening class courses for training and re-training of national workers in Kuwait and Qatar were started in 1954/55 and 1957/58 respectively³⁶. Initially the objective of these schools was to re-train unskilled and semi-skilled national workers and technicians for local needs. However, the standard of teaching and training in these schools has gradually risen from evening class courses to full time courses of secondary school level. At present the industrial schools accept only those students who have obtained the intermediate school certificate in general academic education.

The main areas of training in industrial schools include carpentry, blacksmithing, fitting, electricity, refrigeration, air-conditioning, automobile and diesel machines, foundry work and pattern designing. The curricula of these schools can be sub-divided into two main sections: (a) general cultural subjects including Islamic religion, Arabic and English languages and physical education, and (b) technical subjects related to the specific areas of training³⁷.

Besides the fluctuations observed in the number of students enrolling in industrial schools between 1965/66 and 1979/80 (Figure 5.1) in the

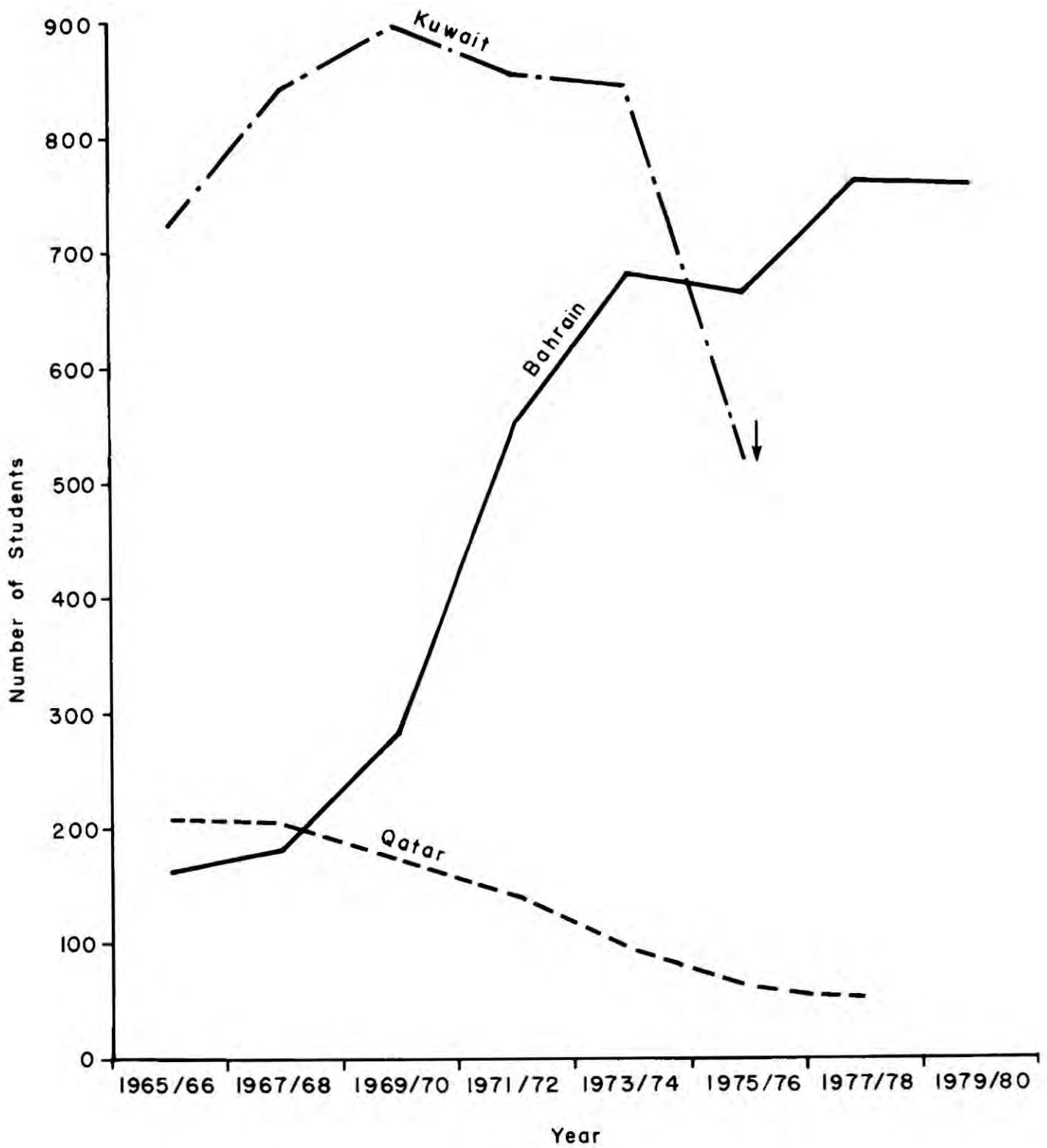
three Gulf States, the overall enrolment has been relatively low and has declined over the years. The Ministry of Education in Kuwait closed down the technical secondary school in 1975/76 in order to establish a new industrial institute at post-secondary school level. As a result of this, further enrolment in the industrial secondary school was stopped from the academic year 1975/76 which explains the sharp decline in enrolment noted in Figure 5.1. Similarly, owing to a decline in enrolment at the industrial secondary school in Qatar, the Council of Ministers decided in April 1976 to incorporate this school into the vocational and career development training centre³⁸. However, in October 1976 the Council of Ministers withdrew its recommendation following a representation by the Minister of Education³⁹. Later, the Ministry of Education also closed down the intermediate stage of the industrial secondary school⁴⁰, but despite these efforts by the Qatari Ministry of Education, there is no indication that the enrolment situation in this school is likely to improve.

3. Commercial secondary schools

Technical education in commercial studies started on an extremely limited scale at its elementary level in the early 1950's in both Bahrain and Kuwait, and in the mid-1960's in Qatar. Apart from some slight variations, the history of the initial phase and subsequent development of commercial education is very similar for all three Gulf States.

(a) Bahrain In 1953/53 a course in commercial studies started as part of the secondary education for boys in the Manama Secondary School. The purpose was to provide the local commercial community with students trained in business methods and typing⁴¹. The duration of the course was two years in the early days, but was raised to three years in 1966/67⁴².

Fig.5-1 Enrolment of Boy Students in the Industrial Secondary School in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar in the Period from 1965/66 to 1979/80



All new enrolment stopped in 1975/76

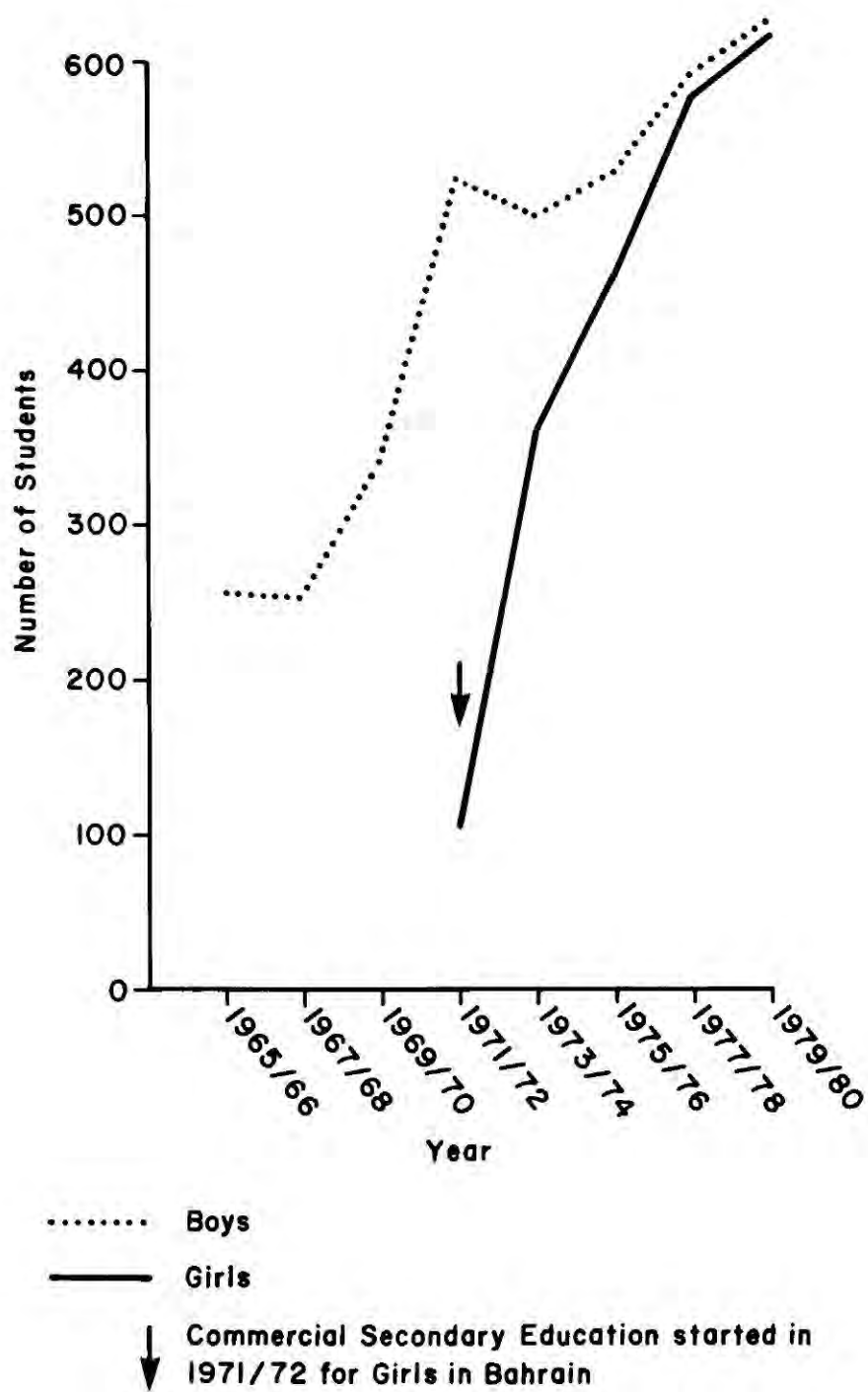
In 1968/69 a similar course in commercial studies was introduced into another secondary school for boys⁴³. Commercial studies for girls did not start until 1970/71, when courses were introduced into two secondary schools for girls⁴⁴. At present there exist eight general academic secondary schools in Bahrain, four each for boys and girls, which offer courses in commercial studies at secondary level⁴⁵. Students who complete their intermediate education with good results in English language and mathematics are normally accepted in these courses⁴⁵. A good background in English language is required because almost one-third of the school curriculum is taught in English. In addition, English is often the language used in banks and commercial institutions.

The curriculum in commercial studies consists of (a) general cultural subjects including religious education, Arabic and English languages, (b) human science subjects including economic history and geography, and (c) basic knowledge in accountancy, book-keeping, commercial and financial mathematics and secretarial work⁴⁷.

The numbers of male students enrolled in the commercial courses have been fairly constant over the years (Figure 5.2). A sudden increase in male student enrolment in 1971/72 was obviously due to the opening of the second commercial school for boys. However, it is interesting to observe that the enrolment of girls in the secondary commercial school, which did not start until 1970/71, has caught up with that of men (Figure 5.2). This clearly indicates that if appropriate facilities are made available to female students, they show a great enthusiasm for training in commercial fields.

(b) Kuwait The history of commercial education in Kuwait began

Fig 5-2 Enrolment of Boys and Girls in the Secondary Commercial School in Bahrain from 1965/66 to 1979/80



with the opening of two classes for commercial studies in 1940 at al-Mubarakiya school for boys⁴⁸. In those days, students who had completed their primary school education were admitted to these classes and were taught book-keeping, mathematics and typewriting in addition to the subjects usually taught to students undertaking general academic secondary school education⁴⁹. Later, the Department of Education reorganised the commercial studies course and also restricted admission to students who had completed two years of their secondary education and had gained good results in Arabic language, general cultural studies and mathematics⁵⁰.

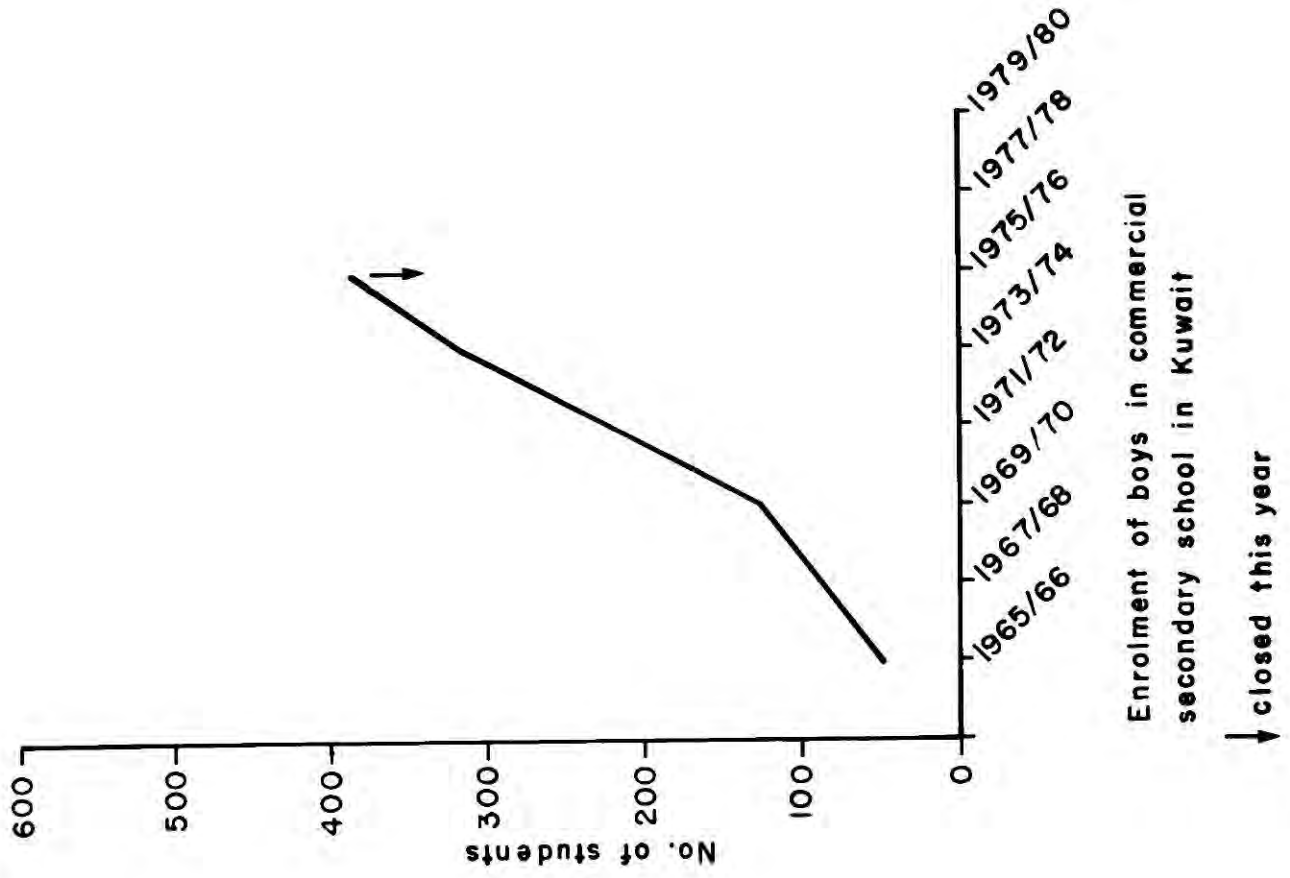
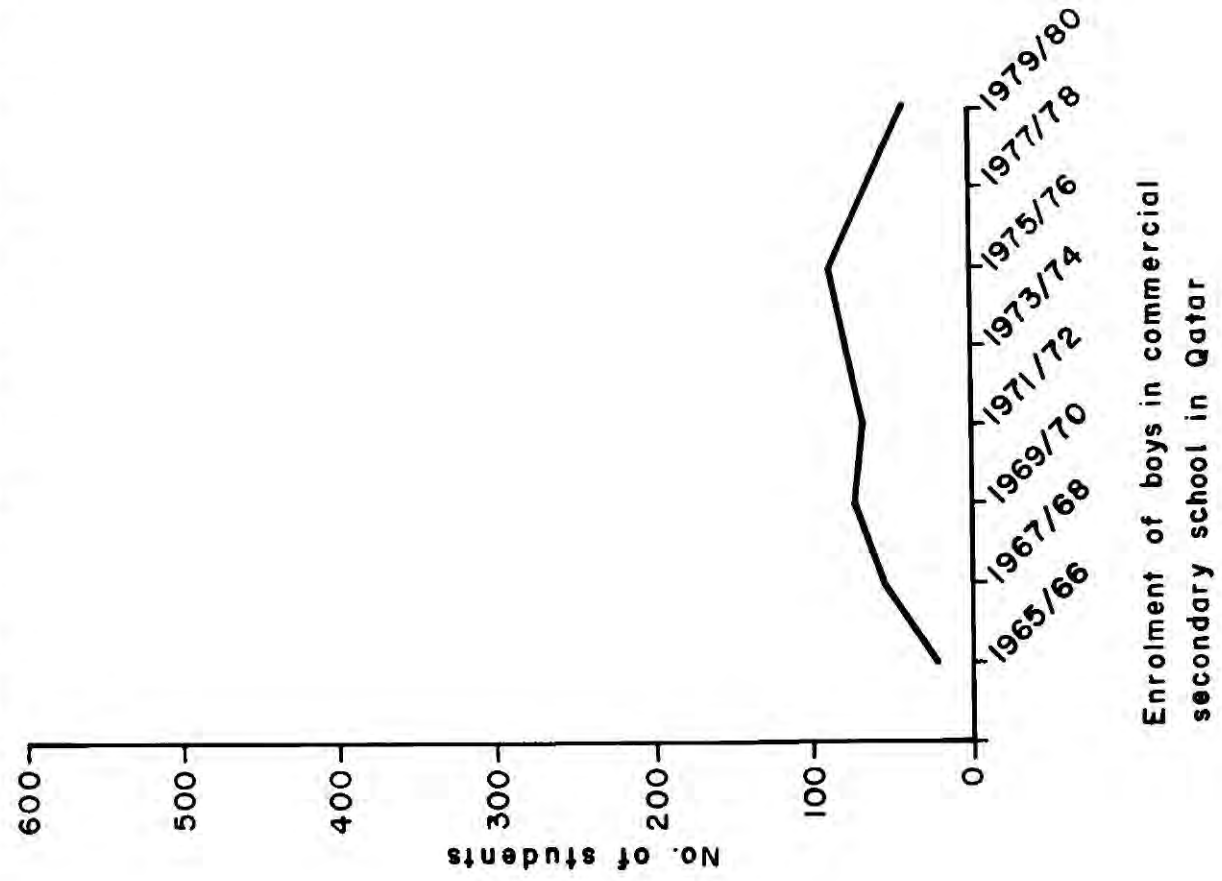
This commercial studies course was closed down in 1952/53 because of lack of demand⁵¹. However, as a replacement, two evening class courses for men employed in government departments or in private industrial commercial enterprises were introduced⁵¹. A proper secondary school for commercial studies for male students did not start until 1963/64⁵³, by which time general academic education was becoming highly popular. This new commercial secondary school was entirely devoted to commercial studies and admission to the school was restricted to boys who had successfully completed their intermediate education. The purpose of this school was to train Kuwaiti boys for low-grade jobs in the commercial and business fields⁵⁴. It was a 4-year course and included teaching and training in general subjects such as Islamic studies, Arabic and English languages, general science and arts, and in technical subjects such as book-keeping and accountancy, commercial and financial mathematics, secretarial and office work, typewriting and correspondence in the Arabic and English languages, general knowledge in economics and commerce, and in accountancy systems of government departments, ports and services⁵⁵. Enrolment in these courses increased from 97 in 1965/66 to 383 in 1973/74,

as shown in Figure 5.3. However, in 1975, seven years after its opening, the school was closed down when commercial studies were upgraded to post-secondary school level with the establishment of the Institute for Business Studies.

(c) Qatar As modern education started in Qatar at a relatively later period than in the other two Gulf States, a commercial secondary school did not open until 1966⁵⁶. This school was started in a rented family house and, unlike early commercial schools in the other Gulf States, from the beginning was a proper secondary commercial school in its academic organisation. The school later transferred to new premises designed to accommodate both the commercial secondary school and the teacher-training institute⁵⁷. The objectives of the commercial school were preparation and training of intermediate school graduates for commercial and clerical professions such as storekeepers, typists, secretaries, cashiers and junior grade accountants. The programme of study included general subjects such as Islamic studies, Arabic and English languages, economic history and geography, and specialised subjects such as accountancy, book-keeping, financial and commercial mathematics, typewriting correspondence in Arabic and English, and introductory courses on routine office work in customs and ports and private and public service departments⁵⁸.

The commercial school in Qatar, as in Bahrain, is still operating but commercial education of an equivalent level in Kuwait ceased in 1975/76. However, like Kuwait, the secondary commercial school in Qatar is exclusively for boys and no commercial education, as yet, is available for girls in Qatar. The enrolment of students in the Qatari commercial secondary school for boys has never reached 100 students since its opening,

Fig.5-3 Enrolment of Boy Students in Commercial Secondary School in Kuwait and Qatar in the Period between 1965/66 to 1979/80



and has been declining steadily during recent years (Figure 5.3)

4. Technical secondary school for girls in Kuwait

The origin of commercial as well as other types of technical education for girls in Kuwait can be traced back to 1957 when a training centre for girls was opened⁵⁹. Although details of the academic and training programmes are not available, the duration of training was six months⁶⁰. However, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs realised the need to modify the programme of training of this centre in view of its increasing social acceptance among Kuwaiti girls. To this end, in 1960 a joint committee of officials from the Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs and Education revised the curriculum and training programme and increased the duration of the course to two years⁶¹. Thereafter the centre was re-named the Training Institute for Girls.

The new curriculum included general studies, administration and commercial studies, and social studies. Furthermore, whereas girls with initial qualifications at the level of primary school education were enrolled in the general studies section, enrolment in the two other sections, administration and commercial studies, was limited to girls who had the intermediate school qualification⁶². Because of the duration of the course and the academic level of the entrants, the new Training Institute for Girls was still below the general academic secondary school level. The Institute underwent further modification in order to raise the standard. According to the Deputy Minister of Education, the Ministry of Education realised the difficulties facing girl students in following the work of the course and the consequent low standard of graduates from the Institute⁶³. It was also pointed out that the socio-economic development in Kuwait necessitated an improvement and diversification in the

educational policies and programmes to prepare young Kuwaiti men and women to participate in activities of modern development in a variety of fields⁶⁴. To this end, the Ministry of Education recommended that the entrance requirement be upgraded from primary school to intermediate school level and that the duration of the study programme be raised from two to four years. In accordance with these recommendations, a Cabinet Decree was issued in 1967 which not only affiliated the girls' training institute directly to the Ministry of Education, but also upgraded both the commercial and technical education for girls to secondary school level⁶⁵.

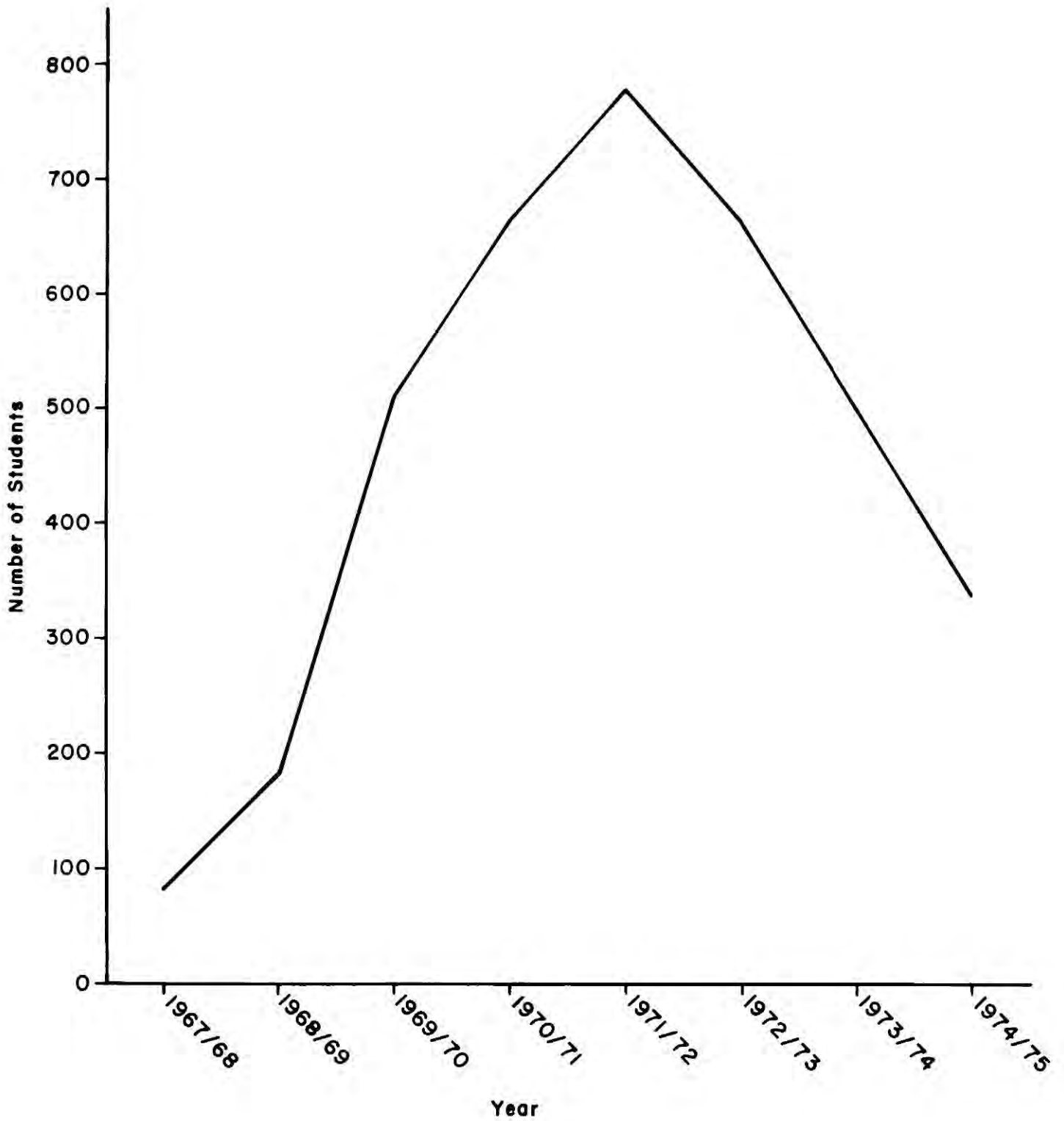
A committee was formed by the Ministry of Education to revise and review the academic and training activities of the existing institute in order to establish a technical secondary school for girls which would fulfil the aims laid down by the Cabinet. The committee made the following recommendations⁶⁶:

1. The entrance requirement should be raised to that of general academic secondary school and only students who had successfully qualified at intermediate school education should be admitted to the secondary technical school.
2. The programme of teaching and training should be revised and more emphasis should be placed on technical subjects; the number of hours of practical training should be raised to six per week in the second and fourth years of the course, and the teaching and training in areas of specialisation should start from the second year.
3. The curriculum should be revised and improved to achieve the new objectives proposed by the committee and to bring it up to an international standard.

The main objectives of the new secondary technical school for girls were to prepare and train them as (a) secretaries and office workers in girls' schools and institutes where only women workers are accepted by social custom, (b) social workers to assist in girls' schools and other government social work departments, (c) home and domestic science assistants for schools and hospitals, and (d) laboratory technicians in girls' schools⁶⁷.

An analysis of the enrolment data clearly demonstrates that the number of girls enrolling in the technical secondary school increased steadily during the period between 1967/68 and 1971/72, but there was a rapid decline during the following years (Figure 5.4). According to H. J. Taha, one of the main reasons for this decline was the extremely poor job opportunities for girl graduates, particularly in home economics and social work studies⁶⁸. Since these two sections comprised almost 56% of the total number of girls enrolled in the secondary technical school, a drop in these courses would obviously result in a decrease in the total enrolment figures. Because of this, it was the intention of the Ministry of Education to close down both the home economics and social work sections of the technical secondary school in 1975⁶⁹. This desperate situation, created through lack of job opportunities, prompted 28 girl graduates to send a letter of protest to the newspaper al-Siyassah in 1973. The students claimed that the Ministry of Education, which had assured them during their course of training that they would obtain jobs as home economics teachers in primary schools for girls, had not only retreated from its promises and declined to offer any jobs, but also had failed to find these applicants jobs in the Ministry of Health departments⁷⁰. In 1974/75, of a total of 332 girls enrolled in the

Fig 5-4 Enrolment of Girls in the Technical Secondary School in Kuwait from 1967/68 to 1974/75



technical school, some 185 girls were in the commercial studies section⁷¹. That the majority of students were enrolled in the commercial section points to an intention at some stage to replace the technical secondary school with a commercial secondary school for girls⁷². However, in 1975/76 the Ministry of Education stopped admission to all sections of the school, in accordance with the new policy of upgrading all technical education from secondary to post-secondary school level.

5. Comparison of different types of secondary school technical education

While it is obvious that the percentage enrolment in technical secondary schools is considerably lower than that in general academic secondary education, a comparison of boys' enrolment in different types of technical school in the three Gulf States shows that both industrial and commercial education appears to attract relatively more students than does religious education (Tables 5.8-5.10). As mentioned earlier, a large number of students in secondary religious schools in Qatar does not actually indicate that this type of education is popular among Qatari students, as a large proportion of these students is from other Muslim countries. Although the total number of secondary school students is greater in Kuwait than in the other two Gulf States, the relative number of boys enrolled in both commercial and industrial secondary education is lower compared with Bahrain (Tables 5.8-5.10). Similarly, while the total number of boys in secondary school in Qatar is lower than in Kuwait and Bahrain, the number of boys enrolled in commercial and industrial education is also extremely small. However, in Bahrain both commercial and industrial courses represent a large proportion of the total secondary school enrolment of boys (Table 5.8).

Number and percentage of boys and girls enrolled in general academic and different types of technical education at secondary school level in Bahrain 1970/71-1979/80

TABLE 5.8

Academic year	BOYS				GIRLS			
	Total enrolment in general academic and technical education	Commercial education	Industrial education	Religious education	Total enrolment in general academic and technical education	Religious education	Total in commercial education	Total in commercial education %
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1970/71	3,657	12	440	12	34	0.9	38	1
1971/72	3,582	15	601	17	23	0.6	104	3
1972/73	3,832	14	592	15	15	0.4	231	7
1973/74	4,672	11	633	14	15	0.3	257	6
1974/75	4,432	12	684	15	15	0.3	399	9
1975/76	4,498	12	681	15	33	0.7	458	11
1976/77	4,529	12	652	14	26	0.6	497	11
1977/78	4,854	12	666	14	31	0.6	576	12
1978/79	5,545	13	815	15	27	0.5	746	14
1979/80	4,584	14	622	18	22	0.5	613	16

Teacher-training for boys at secondary school level was stopped in 1966; girls have access to no other type of secondary school education except commercial education.

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

Number and percentage of boys and girls enrolled in general academic and different types of technical education at secondary school level in Kuwait 1970/71-1974/75

TABLE 5.9

Academic year	BOYS				GIRLS	
	Total enrolment in general academic and technical education	Commercial education No. %	Industrial education No. %	Religious education No. %	Total enrolment in general academic and technical education	Secondary technical school No. %
1970/71	10,605	220 2	898 8	282 3	7,450	667 9
1971/72	12,156	316 3	816 7	284 2	9,177	775 8
1972/73	12,856	314 2	739 6	270 2	10,354	609 6
1973/74	14,582	383 3	786 5	251 2	11,733	445 4
1974/75	15,127	521 3	580 4	234 2	13,160	332 3

In Kuwait, as in Bahrain, teacher-training at secondary school level was stopped in 1966. Technical education for girls was provided in the secondary technical school for girls. However, all types of technical education for both sexes at the secondary school level were closed down in 1974/75 and up-graded to post-secondary school level.

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Growth in the number of schools, classes, teachers and students 1954/55-1980/81. (1981).

Number and percentage of boys and girls enrolled in general academic and different types of technical education at secondary school level in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

TABLE 5.10

Academic year	BOYS					GIRLS		
	Total enrolment in general academic and technical education	Teacher-training	Commercial education	Industrial education	Religious ^a education	Total enrolment in general academic and technical education	Teacher-training	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1970/71	969	123	66	59	63	362	114	31
1971/72	1,122	144	69	52	84	509	150	29
1972/73	1,262	129	70	49	76	698	177	25
1973/74	1,497	97	76	38	68	873	224	26
1974/75	1,674	64	86	46	80	1,059	243	23
1975/76	1,815	55	87	39	90	1,355	269	20
1976/77	2,083	39	87	43	100	1,683	217	13
1977/78	2,140	37	65	53	95	2,010	94	5
1978/79	2,209	*	66	57	115	2,100	*	
1979/80	2,421		42	53	131	2,401		

^aThe majority of students (about 75%) are non-Qatari, mainly from non-Arab Muslim countries, who come to study in the religious schools on scholarships given to them by the Ministry of Education in Qatar.

*Unlike the other two Gulf States, as well as offering commercial, industrial and religious education for boys, teacher-training at secondary school level was available for both sexes until 1977/78 when it was withdrawn. Girls have no access to commercial secondary schools in Qatar.

On the other hand, a simple comparison of girls' enrolment in different types of technical education courses at the secondary school level is not possible because of their limited access to one or other type of course (Tables 5.8-5.10). Furthermore, the proportion of girls enrolled in technical courses has been much smaller than in general academic education (Tables 5.8-5.10).

The situation of secondary commercial and industrial education for boys in comparison with general academic education appears to be significantly different in Bahrain than in Kuwait and Qatar (Table 5.11). This difference is a matter of necessity rather than of choice, as a variety of socio-economic factors seem to dictate the course of action. The number of government grants available to Bahraini students for higher education either at home or abroad is limited, and normally such awards are made only to a small proportion of the total number of students who show outstanding performance in their final examinations. On the other hand, Kuwaiti and Qatari students, even those with low academic results, have easy access to government scholarships for any type of further education both at home and abroad. Furthermore the labour market in Bahrain is more competitive even for Bahraini nationals than the labour markets in Kuwait and Qatar. In this respect, depending on their academic abilities, Bahraini students have to be extremely careful in choosing their field of study if they wish to succeed in securing employment. Because of the small size of her population and longer history of modern education, Bahrain has a rather larger proportion of qualified and skilled people compared with Kuwait and Qatar. In Bahrain the job market, particularly the civil service, is saturated and has little room for expansion. Because of restricted oil resources which limit her revenue, the Bahraini authorities have been more selective and careful in their

Comparison of boys' enrolment in general academic versus commercial and industrial technical courses at secondary school level in the three Gulf States 1970/71-1979/80[†]

TABLE 5.11

Academic year	BAHRAIN ^a			KUWAIT ^b			QATAR ^c		
	General academic	Industrial and commercial	Ratio general: industrial: commercial	General academic	Industrial and commercial	Ratio general: industrial: commercial	General academic	Industrial and commercial	Ratio general: industrial: commercial
1970/71	2,731	891	1:0.33	9,414	1,108	1:0.12	378	174	1:0.46
1971/72	2,435	1,124	1:0.46	10,740	1,132	1:0.11	484	187	1:0.39
1972/73	2,699	1,118	1:0.41	11,533	989	1:0.09	573	201	1:0.35
1973/74	2,891	1,133	1:0.39	12,770	1,168	1:0.09	732	162	1:0.22
1974/75	3,271	1,200	1:0.37	13,692	1,228	1:0.09	782	164	1:0.21
1975/76	3,258	1,207	1:0.37	*	*	*	895	146	1:0.16
1976/77	3,306	1,197	1:0.36				1,096	134	1:0.12
1977/78	3,356	1,255	1:0.35				1,160	103	1:0.09
1978/79	4,001	1,517	1:0.38				1,207	116	1:0.09
1979/80	3,127	1,435	1:0.46				1,323	95	1:0.09

*All technical secondary schools were closed in Kuwait from 1975/76. [†]National students only.

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Growth in the number of schools, classes, students and teachers 1954/55-1980/81. (1981).

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80.

policies on employment and in importing foreign workers compared with the governments of Kuwait and Qatar, In this respect Bahrain is perhaps the only country in the Gulf where the relative proportion of foreign labour to that of national labour has been low. Finally, as a result of recent developments in the Gulf area, Bahrain has become the main commercial area in the region, which apparently has expanded employment opportunities in the commercial field in that country. The combined effect of these and other socio-economic factors which not only influence the students in their choice of technical education but also influence their future employment opportunities, has attracted Bahraini male students to secondary commercial and industrial technical education.

E. TECHNICAL EDUCATION AT POST-SECONDARY LEVEL

With the exception of a few types of secondary technical and vocational education programmes in Bahrain and Qatar, all other types of technical education in these two countries and all types of technical education at secondary school level in Kuwait were closed during the late 1970's with the upgrading of these courses to post-secondary school level in both Bahrain and Kuwait. The minimum requirement for admission to the post-secondary technical institutes was raised to the general academic secondary school certificate. Similarly, the standard of teaching and training and the content of the courses were also upgraded to a more advanced level compared with those of secondary technical schools. Whereas in Bahrain all types of post-secondary technical education and courses are provided at the Gulf Technical College, a number of technical institutes at post-secondary level offer such courses in Kuwait. As in the case of secondary technical education, only a limited number of post-secondary technical courses are available for women. Unlike Bahrain and

Kuwait, there has been no post-secondary technical education in Qatar.

The official reasons for this difference in the educational policy of the Qatari government are not known, but it can be supposed that a variety of factors such as the small size of the native population, the lack of general interest among Qatari youth for any type of technical education, and perhaps some awareness of the disastrous experience of secondary technical education and even of the post-secondary technical education in the neighbouring Gulf States might have dissuaded the Qatari authorities from indulging in this exercise. The following section will therefore deal with the development and present status of post-secondary technical education in Bahrain and Kuwait.

1. Post-secondary school technical education in Bahrain

(a) The Gulf Technical College The Gulf Technical College was created in 1968 to provide post-secondary courses in commercial and technical subjects for students from Bahrain and other Gulf States⁷³. According to the Minister of Education (1972-1981), Sheikh Abdul Aziz al-Khalifa, a committee was formed in 1968 to look into the possibility of establishing a college in Bahrain to train local students in commercial and technical subjects in order to meet the increasing demands for skilled manpower in the Gulf States. Initially the College was based in temporary premises in Awali provided by the Bahrain Petroleum Company⁷⁴. Later, in 1971, the College transferred to a specially built site in Isa Town, on land donated by the ruler of Bahrain⁷⁵. The government of Abu Dhabi and the British Ministry of Overseas Development were jointly responsible for the capital cost of the new buildings and its equipment, and for providing financial support for its day-to-day running⁷⁶.

Although the government of Qatar has also been providing some funds towards this project, according to the Minister of Education in Bahrain the contributions by the governments of Qatar and Abu Dhabi have not been increased over the years to meet the rising cost of running the Gulf Technical College⁷⁷.

The educational and technical training activities of this College mainly comprise full time courses in engineering, commerce and administration as well as some part-time courses in accountancy and book-keeping, secretarial, store-keeping and work-supervision. Applicants for full time courses should hold a secondary school certificate with high grades in all relevant subjects and should have sufficient proficiency in English⁷⁸. All subjects in the Gulf Technical College are taught in English. The College internal examinations are an integral part of each course and students are required to attend them. Failure to do so may prevent a student from entering external examinations on the results of which depends his or her promotion to the next year of the course. The completion of course and homework is essential and a certain minimum performance is required before students are admitted to the annual and final examinations⁷⁹.

Department of Engineering The department consists of five engineering sections together with a section responsible for the teaching of mathematics and science subjects related to the various branches of engineering and a section responsible for the teaching of English language. The final examinations are conducted by the City and Guilds of London Institute, but some of the better students may also sit for examinations conducted by the Associated Examining Board of the University of London. Setting of the examination papers and the issue of certificates are performed

by the appropriate examining boards in the United Kingdom. The courses run by the Engineering Department are primarily designed to produce graduates suitable for employment at the foreman or lower managerial levels. Successful graduates from this department can also apply for admission to degree courses at university level in the Gulf States or abroad⁸⁰.

The Department of Engineering offers full time courses in mechanical and electrical engineering and in civil and construction engineering courses. The first year curricula of all these courses include mathematics, science, English language, elementary chemistry and the handling of chemical materials and knowledge of workshop tools and their usage. On successful completion of their first year course, students may join a two-year specialised course either in mechanical and electrical engineering or in the civil and construction engineering fields. Apart from the teaching and training within the College, students are also sent out into industry for practical industrial and workshop training⁸¹. In addition to these courses the Department of Engineering also offers a variety of Diploma and Certificate courses of one to two years duration. These include (a) Diploma in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, (b) Diploma in Civil and Construction Engineering, (c) Diploma in Building Architecture, (d) Diploma in Surveying, (e) Certificate for Architect Technician and (f) Certificate in Surveying Engineering.

Department of Commerce and Administration This department comprises three sections dealing with business studies, secretarial work, and the teaching of English language. The courses offered by this department include (a) Ordinary Certificate in Business Studies, (b) B.A. in

Business Studies, (c) Certificate in Secretarial Studies, (d) Diploma in Secretarial Studies and (e) Typewriting course⁸³.

(i) Courses in business studies Courses in business studies comprise a preliminary one-year course and a two-year specialised course in business and commercial subjects. Admission to the first year preliminary course is open to both male and female secondary school graduates with good academic records, and to some mature students with good work experience in appropriate commercial and administrative fields⁸⁴. Successful completion of the first year preliminary course is a prerequisite for promotion to the second two-year course for the Ordinary Certificate in Business Studies (Overseas). The setting of examinations and appointment of examiners are both responsibilities of the Royal Society of Arts and the London Chamber of Commerce⁸⁵.

The programme of study includes courses in the structure of commerce, accounting, cost accountancy, statistics, economics, business administration and English language. Careers for successful graduates are available in accountancy, banking, marketing and personnel management, and administrative posts in public services⁸⁶.

(ii) Secretarial course This is a two-year course and is open to women students with a good secondary school certificate and good marks in English. The subjects of study and training include English language, arithmetic, book-keeping, accounting, commerce, office practice and typewriting. Those students who want to obtain a Diploma in Secretarial Studies have to undertake a further one-year course which includes typewriting in both Arabic and English, and shorthand in English. The examinations for both stages of the course are conducted by the Royal Society of Arts⁸⁷.

In addition to these courses, the Gulf Technical College also offers part-time and evening-class courses in the Departments of Engineering and Business Studies. These courses are primarily designed to prepare technicians for the building and construction industry and in business studies to work as secretaries or office clerks⁸⁸.

(b) Enrolment in the Gulf Technical College Whereas the number of male students enrolled in the full time courses at the College has been fluctuating, women's enrolment in the various courses has been steadily increasing. Since 1975 there have been more women than men enrolled in some courses (Tables 5.12, 5.13). The total enrolment in part-time as well as evening-class courses has always been higher than for full time courses (Tables 5.12, 5.13). However, the trend to join part-time courses has been declining over the last few years and only an extremely small number of women enrol in these courses (Table 5.13). The enrolment of both men and women in the evening-class courses has been higher compared with that in the full time courses and has been increasing over the past four-year period (Table 5.13). The increasing number of female students in full time and evening-class courses indicates an increasing awareness among women and a growing acceptance of women obtaining technical training and working in industry or commerce. The low enrolment of women in part-time courses may be due to their poorer employment prospects. While part-time further education can help men already in jobs to get promotion, a similar situation does not exist in the case of women. It may also be that men find it easier than women to undertake a commitment to part-time education.

An analysis of the enrolment data on men and women in different types of courses indicates that many more women than men join the Department

TABLE 5.12

Full time students (male/female)
enrolled at the Gulf Technical College
in Bahrain 1973/74-1979/80

Year	Male students	Female students
1973/74	166	60
1974/75	258	74
1975/76	290	132
1976/77	137	156
1977/78	184	196
1978/79	202	261
1979/80	264	283

TABLE 5.13

Part-time and evening class students
(male/female) at the Gulf Technical College
in Bahrain 1976/77-1979/80

Year	PART-TIME		EVENING CLASSES		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1976/77	172	6	426		598
1977/78	97	16	133	149	395
1978/79	81	4	450	258	793
1979/80	61	77	397	193	728

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Annual Reports
1973/74-1979/80.

of Commerce and Administration, but that men outnumber women in the Department of Engineering (Table 5.14). Similarly, with an increasing number of women in the administration section of Business Studies since 1976/77, their total enrolment has surpassed that of men (Table 5.14). The trend among female students to enrol in business and commerce courses rather than in engineering courses may also explain the high enrolment of women in evening-class courses related to business and commercial studies. Furthermore, the number of women in the secretarial section of Business Studies, which is open to female students only, has also been showing a steady increase (Table 5.14). Since Bahrain is emerging as a commercial centre in the Gulf area, the reason for the increased demand by women for secretarial courses is in part due to the expanding employment opportunities for trained and competent secretaries, and in part due to the acceptance among Bahraini society of the idea of women working in offices or commercial centres. These factors appear to have encouraged women to acquire secretarial training.

2. Post-secondary school technical education in Kuwait

Technical and vocational education in Kuwait was originally designed to train skilled workers and technical assistants in various fields of production and the service industries. The responsibility for this was shared by many authorities and was not that of the Ministry of Education alone. An industrial secondary school for boys, known as the Technical College, was established by the Ministry of Education in 1954/55 to prepare skilled labourers for many trades including car mechanics, electrical fitting, cabinet making, radio repairs and refrigeration and air-conditioning. The Ministry of Education also established a commercial secondary school for boys in 1963/64, and a school for girls in 1967/68.

TABLE 5.14

Distribution of full time* students between
business and engineering courses in the
Gulf Technical College in Bahrain 1975/76-1979/80

Year	Dept. of Commerce and Administration		Dept. of Engineering	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1975/76	60	94	153	18
1976/77	28	122	38	20
1977/78	42	159	63	22
1978/79	60	204	71	28
1979/80	65	208	103	27

Year	Business Studies			
	Secretarial		Business Administration	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1975/76	-	68	60	26
1976/77	-	88	28	34
1977/78	-	103	42	56
1978/79	-	122	60	82
1979/80	-	127	65	81

*Does not include students in the preparatory year of their studies

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Annual Reports 1975/76-1979/80.

Together these schools prepared boys and girls for lower levels of commercial and business professions. During the same period, other Ministries such as Public Works, Defence, Social Welfare and Communications were also running various kinds of vocational training centres to meet their own needs.

The rapid modernisation in different fields of production and services in both the public and private sectors after the early 1960's created new demands for manpower at all levels. This played an important role in influencing the authorities to establish a coherent educational policy for technical and vocational education, capable of coping with the increasing and changing labour demands. Although the administrators of the newly organised Technical and Vocational Education Department made a comprehensive revision of their earlier plans, the present system of technical and vocational education is based on the recommendations jointly made by the experts from UNESCO and from some other Arab countries for the Ministry of Education early in 1975. Their recommendations were as follows⁸⁹:

1. The reform of technical and vocational education should begin with the reform of the system of general education. Technical and vocational education should be merged with general education as an integral part of it and at an early stage so that students would realise its value. Technical and vocational education should be given the same status as general education in all study programmes and its students should be given the same opportunities in the labour market as the students of general education.
2. Technical and vocational education in its new form and with the new programme of study should be based on practice in Kuwait. The

planners of educational policies should take into consideration Kuwait's circumstances in all its geographic, demographic, economic, social and cultural aspects. They should also take into consideration the future trends so that the system would be capable of responding to all future developments in these areas.

The main policy matters emerging from this report were (a) to introduce students to the value of manual work at an early stage, and therefore technical training must become an integral part of primary and intermediate school education, (b) to reorganise technical and vocational and general education into a comprehensive system during the first two years with specialised courses during the third and fourth years being open to students depending on their interests and aptitudes. Such steps would ensure the preparation of students for higher education at the university or at the institutes of technical and vocational education, according to their choice and ability, (c) to raise standards of technical and vocational education in accordance with technological advancement and economic trends to meet the needs of the Kuwaiti labour market, (d) to reorganise all training centres and other educational establishments to equip their students with a basic knowledge of mathematics, science and general education required for an average skilled labourer, (e) to direct the development of technical and vocational education in order to supply better trained and skilled personnel for the rapidly advancing technological and social sectors of society. In addition it was recommended that in order to attract people to technical and vocational education and to ensure that qualified people stayed within their field of specialisation, the government should provide financial incentives during and after their training as well as moral support to improve their social status. Also, greater attention should be paid to the training

of teachers and instructors appointed in the institutions of technical and vocational education.

In the light of these recommendations, and as a result of discussions between the Ministry of Education and experts in the labour market, it was decided to implement the new policy in the following ways⁹⁰: (i) the Central Training Department (which comes under the direct supervision of the Council of Ministers) was made responsible for training skilled labour and specialist technicians. (ii) A Ministerial Decree was issued requiring the inclusion of manual work and training programmes at all levels of general education so that technical education should become an integral part of the new educational system. (iii) Technical specialities were introduced into secondary school in 1978/79, under a special Ministerial Decree, by adopting a credit-hours system where students specialise in one of the four main areas: arts, science, commerce, industry. A school for boys on these lines was opened in 1978/79 and one for girls in 1979/80. (iv) As a result of the introduction of the new policy, and after establishing new secondary schools based on the integrated general and technical education systems, all existing technical secondary schools were closed. (v) In accordance with the new educational policy, the following Institutes of technical and vocational education, operating on the basis of two years or more post-secondary education, were opened⁹¹: the Teacher's Education Institute (one for male and one for female students) 1972/73; the Health Institute (for females) 1974/75; the Business Institutes (one for male and one for female students) 1975/76; the Kuwait Institute of Applied Technology 1976/77. Many new departments have been added to these Institutes at various times since their first opening.

While the specific admission requirements to different Institutes vary slightly, a general requirement is that students should normally be Kuwaiti citizens⁹². Students from other Gulf and Arab States and from other Islamic countries who fulfil admission requirements are also accepted but at a rate not exceeding 10% of the total enrolment. It is also required that students should hold the certificate of general secondary education or its equivalent, and that they should be medically fit and able to devote their full time to their studies.

The study scheme in all these Institutes is based on the credit-hours system. A certain number of credit-hours is required for graduation, and students must have at least 75% of the total credit-hours or their equivalent. For one full academic term, contact for one hour per week for each theoretical course and two or three hours per week for each practical course constitutes one full credit-hour in all Institutions with the exception of the Institute of Applied Technology, where each contact hour is counted as one credit-hour whether it is in theoretical or practical courses⁹³.

This system of credit-hours offers students a choice and the advantage of being able to select optional and elective courses in a department which offers a specialisation suitable to their interests, abilities and aptitudes. This can be of great importance if they wish to continue higher education in the areas of their elective courses. Counselling in technical and vocational education institutes is also part of the credit-hours system. A counsellor from the faculty is assigned to each student and advises him or her in making plans for appropriate courses⁹⁴.

In addition to the continuous assessment of students' performances in verbal and practical skills in library, laboratory and field work training and in their research projects, written examinations are held at the end of each term. The total grade marks for each course are divided equally between term work and the final examination⁹⁵.

In order to attract more students to post-secondary technical institutes, the Ministry of Education also offers financial incentives. Students admitted to teacher-training institutes, the Institute of Applied Technology, and the Health Institute are given monthly allowances of KD40, KD100 and KD60 respectively. Furthermore, all necessary opportunities for higher education in Kuwait or abroad are also provided for outstanding graduates from these post-secondary technical institutes. The government has also revised and improved the salary scale of graduates from these institutes who obtain employment in the civil services⁹⁶.

In the following section, the Business and Health Institutes for girls, the Business Institute for men and the Kuwait Applied Technology Institute for men will be discussed. Teacher-training institutes for both men and women will be discussed in Chapter 6.

(a) The Health Institute for Girls As a result of the new policy on technical and vocational education, a Health Institute for female students was established in 1974/75. This Institute is under the control of the Ministry of Education and trains girls as nurses for schools and other institutes for girls and health visitors for some hospitals and clinics. It is quite separate from the other nursing institutes run by the Ministry of Health which train nurses qualified to work in hospitals.

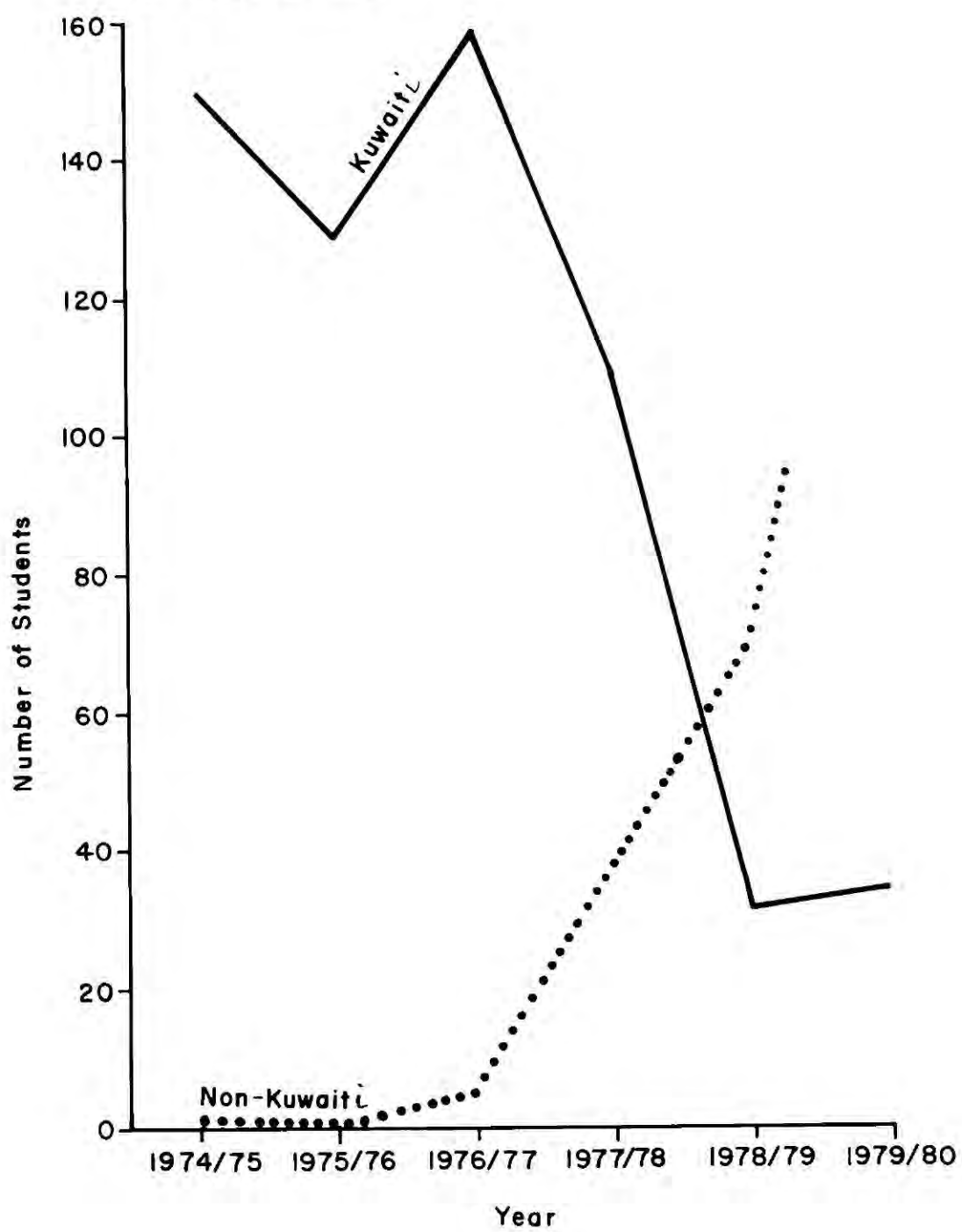
In the Health Institute for Girls, the two-year post-secondary school

programme of studies includes training in general nursing, first-aid procedures, maintenance of school students' health records, the assistance of school doctors when dealing with school children, initiation of preventive measures within a school in case of an epidemic, and the identification of pupils who become ill and reporting them to the school doctor⁹⁷. In principle, entry to this Institute is based on a general admission policy similar to that for other post-secondary technical and vocational education institutes.

The enrolment of girls in the Health Institute has been low compared with other technical education and training institutes for girls (Figure 5.5). During the first six years after its opening, Kuwaiti girls comprised approximately 25% of the total enrolment in this Institute. In addition to the fact that technical education and training for girls is highly unpopular in the Gulf States, there prevails a strong negative attitude among Gulf society towards the training of women for the nursing profession. According to official policy on admission, the quota for non-Kuwaiti girls is limited and considerably lower than for Kuwaiti girls, but in fact the large majority of places in this Institute are occupied by non-Kuwaiti girls, indicating that the authorities have waived the rules to delay the closure of this type of technical education and to cover up their earlier, inappropriate planning.

(b) The Business Institutes for Boys and Girls Following the closure of the commercial secondary school for boys and the technical secondary school for girls as a result of the new educational policy, two new Institutes of Business Studies, one each for male and female students, at the post-secondary school level were opened in 1975/76. The main aim of these Institutes was to provide men and women with general secondary

Fig.5-5 Number of Students at the Health Institute for Girls in Kuwait from it's Opening to 1979/80 by Nationality



qualifications for middle grade jobs in the commercial, financial and administrative fields in the public and private sectors. In addition to the general admission requirements for entry to any institute of technical education, admission to the Business Institutes includes the requirement that students hold a certificate of any of the following: (a) secondary education in science or arts, or its equivalent, (b) secondary commercial education or its equivalent, or (c) certificate of secondary (technical) education for girls, or its equivalent⁹⁸.

The Institute offers a two-year course in both theoretical and practical subjects to train students for employment as assistant accountants, assistant administrators and secretaries, medical secretaries, assistant insurance and banking personnel and assistant computer programmers⁹⁹.

Enrolment in the Business Institutes has been increasing steadily since their opening and it is also evident that during recent years the number of women joining this Institute has been increasing more rapidly than the number of men (Table 5.15). An analysis of the data concerning the number of qualified graduates in the field of accountancy and administrative and secretarial areas shows that these courses are more popular than courses in insurance, banking and computing. The Diploma course in accountancy appears to be more popular among men and the administrative and secretarial Diploma courses among women. In 1978/79 men constituted 58% of the total number of graduates in the field of accountancy, while women comprised 67% of the total taking a Diploma in administration and secretarial work (Table 5.16). A tendency among women to take secretarial courses is a world-wide phenomenon and office and secretarial work is viewed more as women's work than men's.

TABLE 5.15

Student enrolment (male/female)
in the Business Institutes in
Kuwait 1975/76-1980/81

Year	No. of students in men's Business Institutes	No. of students in women's Business Institutes	Total
1975/76	370	375	745
1976/77	480	567	1,047
1977/78	544	688	1,232
1978/79	396	612	1,008
1979/80	550	819	1,369
1980/81	518	1,192	1,710

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Growth in the number of schools, classes, teachers and students 1954/55-1980/81. (1981).

TABLE 5.16

Number of male/female graduates from the
Business Institutes in Kuwait from their
establishment until 1978/79

Specialisation	Male	Female	Total
Accounting	184	131	315
Administration and Secretarial	134	269	403
Insurance and banking	26	45	71
Computer	59	76	135
TOTAL	403	521	924

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Technical and Vocational Education in Kuwait, 1979, p.49.

(c) Kuwaiti Institute of Applied Technology This Institute, which opened in 1976/77, is for men only and it prepares technicians. The admission requirements are that students must hold either a general certificate of secondary education in science, or its equivalent, or a technical secondary school certificate, or its equivalent. Exempted from these rules are students holding certificates from the industrial section of the technical secondary school, but they have to attend a preparatory course for one term to enhance their educational standard, particularly in mathematics and chemistry. While priority of admission is made according to this order of qualification, the actual selection of candidates depends on their previous examination records¹⁰⁰.

The course is of two and a half years' duration. Students receive a two-year education in both theoretical and practical aspects in all general courses, and six months' training in their major field of specialisation. A sufficient number of science subjects is provided for all students to familiarise themselves with the relationship between their field of specialisation and other technological sciences. Students also attend a course in the humanities to equip them with some managerial skills. The curriculum of the general course includes theoretical and practical knowledge, production and quality control systems, operation and repair of modern machinery, equipment and instruments, fault-finding and evaluating repair costs, supervision and management of lower grades of skilled workers¹⁰¹.

Enrolment in the Kuwait Institute of Applied Technology has been increasing steadily since its opening. However, the enrolment is only one-quarter of total enrolment in all institutes of technical education (Table 5.17). A comparison of enrolment of Kuwaiti students in this

Distribution of male Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students
between the Kuwait Institute of Applied Technology and
and Men's Business Institute 1976/77-1979/80

TABLE 5.17

Year	Kuwait Institute of Applied Technology		Men's Institute of Business Studies		Total (men)	Total number of men and women in post-secondary technical institutes
	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti		
1976/77	79	27	470	20	963	1,326
1977/78	193	75	515	29	1,214	1,626
1978/79	238	124	358	38	1,148	1,422
1979/80	375	141	496	54	1,510	2,022

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Growth of schools, classes, students and teachers 1954/55-1980/81. (1981).

Institute compared with that in the Institute of Business Studies shows that Kuwaiti students prefer the latter (Table 5.17). However, enrolment in all post-secondary institutes of technical and vocational education is still considerably lower than in university courses. While some 6,000 students applied for admission to Kuwait University in 1976/77, only 1,387 applied to post-secondary technical education institutes¹⁰². One of the main reasons could be that both students and Kuwaiti society in general still consider the post-secondary school technical education inferior to university education.

F. FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FAILURE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN THE GULF STATES

Technical and vocational education programmes, whether operated at secondary or post-secondary levels, seem to attract a considerably smaller proportion of students than general academic education at the corresponding levels. The lack of interest among young people in undertaking technical education courses and the acute shortage of nationals of sufficient and appropriate technical training in the Gulf States are problems experienced in many other developing countries. But the situation is serious in the Gulf States because of their ambitious plans for industrialisation and economic development. In addition, the general prejudices of Gulf society against technical and vocational training in comparison with academic education, a common phenomenon in Middle Eastern countries, have also played a damaging role. Further, there are many other factors, either based on the deep-rooted cultural traditions of these States or arising from changing social values due to the present socio-economic conditions resulting from oil revenues. Some of the major factors are listed below.

1. Technical and vocational education is looked down upon by a majority of parents, irrespective of their own educational background.
2. It is a commonly held view among the general public as well as among students and educationalists that admission to technical and vocational education programmes is the last resort for those who either fail to enter general academic education or who cannot find employment. Although these beliefs may not be entirely true, the attitude of technical and vocational education authorities in enrolling students with extremely poor academic records or in offering financial inducements to students, some of whom merely enrol to get some financial assistance while seeking employment opportunities, further reinforces the commonly held view.
3. It has been noted that the majority of students take no real interest in their studies and specialisation programmes because they believe that there will be a secure post for them in government regardless of their academic performance or their training programme.
4. Technical and vocational education is also less attractive because manual and technical workers have always been regarded as inferior to white collar workers, both in the Gulf States and in other developing countries. The reason for this attitude in Gulf society could be its adherence to Bedouin culture and tradition which is opposed to any kind of settled life and hence perceives technical and manual workers as peasants who settle for manual labour.
5. As provision of technical and vocational education is a relatively recent event in the Arab states, it is still considered inferior to general academic education. Until the first half of the twentieth

century, the educational system available in these societies was not only of the general academic type but was also restricted to a few privileged people who could afford it.

6. The introduction of secular education in other Arab states, in particular Egypt, from which the Gulf States adopted their modern education systems, has been identified with government employment. According to Mahmud A. Faksh¹⁰³, the main object of sending young men to Europe and opening new secular schools in Egypt during the nineteenth century was to train officials for government service. Thus, from its very beginning secular education was associated with working in government offices. This, in turn, branded any type of education which did not lead to this goal as inferior.
7. First, from the beginning of modern education, the Gulf States not only adopted the educational system of other neighbouring Arab states, but in doing so also inherited the basic dichotomy between general education and technical education. Secondly, during the course of developing their own technical education system, they adopted plans which were applicable to other developing countries whose social and economic circumstances were very different from those of the Gulf States. These technical education systems have proved to be unsuitable and unproductive in present Gulf society. The cumulative effect of lack of proper planning of technical education is that it is geared to train national youth only to be technicians or low-grade workers. This conflicts with their ambitions and aspirations.
8. Increasing dislike and lack of interest among young nationals in the Gulf States in the existing technical education system also

springs from the fact that they find themselves in a social category similar to that of the emigrant labour force and also as social rejects compared to their peers who have either enrolled in general academic education or are going to pursue some financially rewarding career or profession.

9. The inconsistency in government policies with regard to salaries for civil servants with a university degree and those with a post-secondary technical institute degree discourages many students from joining technical education. Secondary school students thus prefer to enrol in a university course rather than in a technical institute.
10. The early introduction of technical education at secondary school level undoubtedly limits the future prospects of students who enrol in comparison with those who continue with their general academic education which offers a wider choice for further education, also appears to have a discouraging effect on technical education.
11. The policies of Gulf States governments of providing employment to all secondary school leavers regardless of the standard of their technical training and of their field of specialisation removes all incentives for students to take technical education courses seriously.
12. The segregation of technical from general academic education early at secondary school level has an adverse influence so far as girls are concerned. Also, lack of employment opportunities or further higher education in technical courses for girls makes them highly cautious about enrolling for this type of education, in case it closes further educational outlets and jobs to them in the future.

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CHAPTER 6

TEACHER-TRAINING

A. INTRODUCTION

From its beginning, modern education in the Gulf States has been heavily dependent on expatriate teaching staff. While Egypt has been the main supplier of teachers to the Gulf States, other Arab countries such as Jordan, Syria and Lebanon have also contributed in supplying teachers to these States. The acute shortage of teachers, particularly in the early days, led to the employment of less qualified personnel in primary schools. Some of these teachers themselves had only a primary school certificate or a secondary school qualification. Almost all developing countries have been and are still facing this problem of shortage of trained and qualified teachers, and the only short-term means to overcome it have been either to import qualified teachers from abroad or to make use of less qualified national teachers, as illustrated by the following comment¹:

"In developing countries, wherever they may be situated, the pre-service training of primary teachers forms a basic difficulty because the education system leading to the production of trainees has not functioned for long enough to produce such trainees in sufficient numbers, and until the system has been organised and planned to do so, the Ministry has probably to (a) hire teachers from elsewhere, or (b) made do with 'un-trained' teachers. In most cases it is the latter situation which has to be chosen because most countries in the world are short of good primary teachers for their own schools and so cannot permit them to be sent to other countries."

As soon as modern education had expanded to secondary school level in the Gulf States, teacher-training institutes were opened to train national men and women students to join the teaching profession in order to ease the problem of acute dependence on expatriate teachers. The academic standard of these institutions was that of the secondary school. Later they were up-graded or new institutes were opened to an academic level equivalent to post-secondary school, in order to produce teachers

with better qualifications and a higher level of basic knowledge. However, more recently, with the establishment of national universities in the Gulf States, the responsibility for training teachers, particularly for secondary schools, has been taken over by these universities. In the following section the development of teacher-training programmes in the three Gulf States will be described in chronological order.

B. TEACHER-TRAINING PROGRAMMES AT SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVEL

In Bahrain, the teacher-training programme first began in the 1940's², in Kuwait it began in 1950³ and in Qatar in 1962⁴. Since then it has undergone major reorganisation leading to its present advanced level in all three Gulf States. Until 1966 in Bahrain⁵, 1970 in Kuwait⁶ and 1978 in Qatar⁷, teacher-training training courses were mainly of secondary school level. After completing intermediate school, both boys and girls could join secondary schools for teacher training. The duration of the training programme was three, four and three years respectively in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar. In addition to the syllabus of the ordinary general secondary school, additional subjects such as educational theory, the psychology of teaching, fine arts, visual aids and teaching practices were included in the last two years of the course. Those who qualified from these secondary teacher-training schools were eligible to take up posts teaching up to the 4th grade in primary schools.

Data for the total enrolment of males and females in these secondary teacher-training schools during the last 10 years, prior to their closure, are given in Tables 6.1 and 6.2. The expansion of modern education and the realisation of a need for better qualified teachers than those produced by the secondary teacher-training schools led to the closure of

TABLE 6.1

Enrolment of male/female students in
teacher-training institutes at
secondary school level in Kuwait
1960/61-1967/68

Year	Male	Female
1960/61	-*	78
1961/62	-*	106
1962/63	120	154
1963/64	252	159
1964/65	464	216
1965/66	725	419
1966/67	952	798
1967/68	1,134	1,250

*Men's institutes opened in 1962/63

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait.
Growth in the Number of Schools
Classes, Teachers and Students
in Kuwait 1954/55-1980/81 (1981).

TABLE 6.2

Enrolment of male/female students in
teacher-training institutes at
secondary school level in Qatar
1967/68-1977/78

Year	Male	Female
1967/68	86	17
1969/70	123	114
1971/72	144	177
1973/74	99	224
1975/76	55	269
1977/78	20	194

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar.
Annual Reports 1967/68-1977/78

these schools in 1965/66 in Bahrain, 1967/68 in Kuwait and 1977/78 in Qatar.

C. TEACHER-TRAINING SCHOOLS AT POST-SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVEL

1. Bahrain

In the late 1960's Bahrain, like other Gulf States, became concerned at the rising cost of education. In 1965 the Directorate of Education in Bahrain engaged D.J.S.Crozier and V.Z.Griffiths to investigate the problems⁸. In addition to other recommendations, these two experts suggested the closure of the teacher-training schools at secondary level for both boys and girls and their replacement with new teacher-training colleges at post-secondary school level⁹. Entrance to these colleges was to be restricted to those who had completed their general academic secondary education. These schools were no longer part of the secondary school system and they were designed to provide higher calibre teachers for primary and intermediate schools.

An important aspect of this change was that the opening of these colleges reduced the number of teachers recruited from abroad and hence was beneficial to the national economy of Bahrain as well as to the education services. The programmes of study in these colleges was of two-year duration, and the curriculum covered three main areas¹⁰:

(1) General studies: Islamic studies, Arabic and English languages, social studies, general science, mathematics, art and physical education; (2) professional subjects: general and educational psychology, curriculum, teaching methods, audio-visual aids and teaching practice; (3) specialisation subjects: teacher-training in these colleges took a number of different specialised forms in that teachers are not 'class teachers'

but are trained to teach specific subjects such as Arabic Language and Islamic studies, science and mathematics, English language, social studies, physical education and arts and handicrafts.

Usually, students with the secondary school certificate from the science section were trained as science and mathematics teachers. Similarly, students who graduated from the arts section were trained as teachers in arts subjects. Training in specialised branches was normally undertaken during the third and fourth terms. In order to qualify as a science teacher, students were required to complete 32, 22 and 36 credit-hours in general, professional and specialised subjects respectively¹¹; and to qualify as arts teachers students were required to complete 39, 22 and 18 credit hours in general, professional and specialised subjects¹².

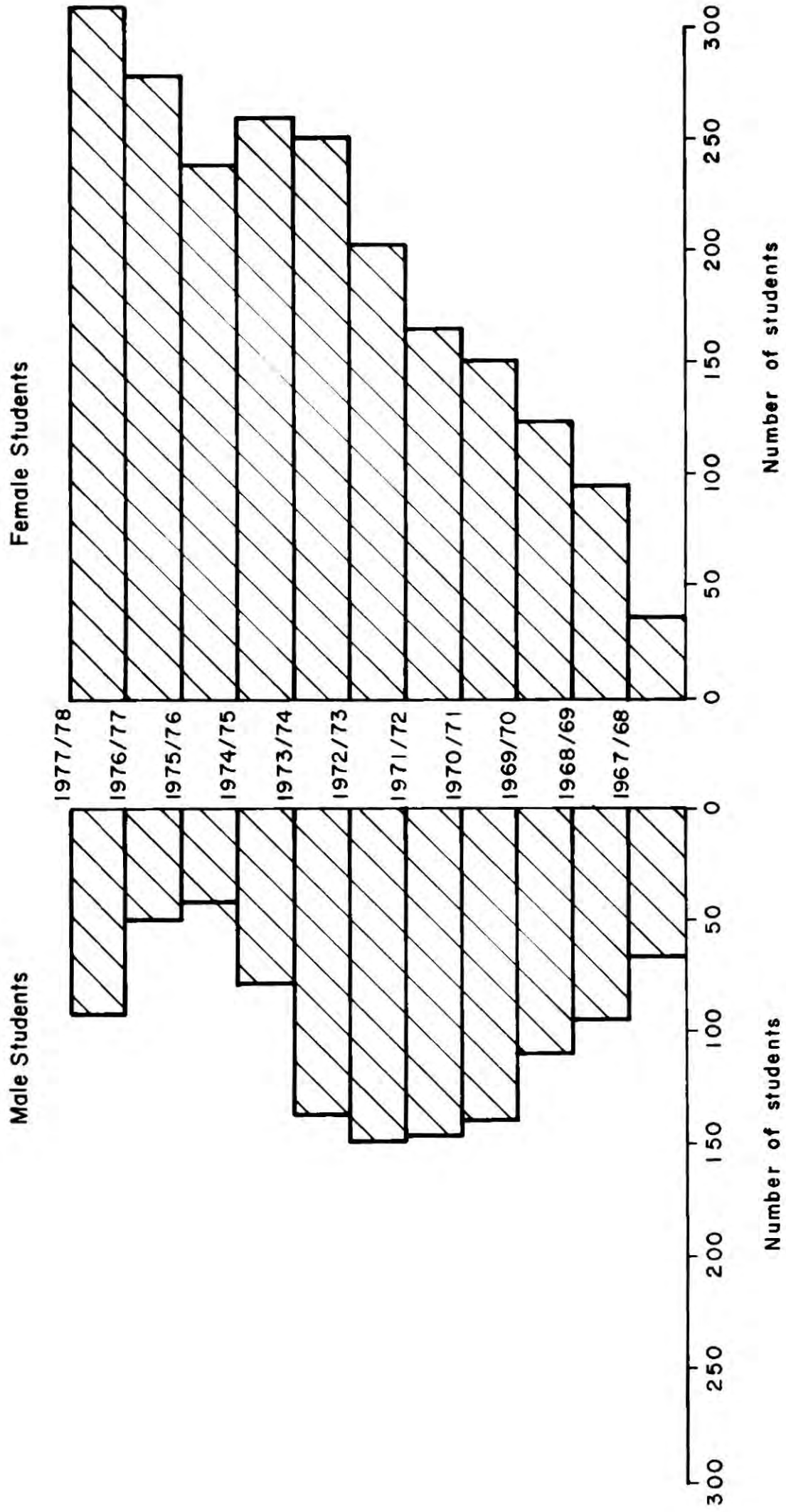
Enrolment data during the period 1967/68 to 1977/78 (Figure 6.1) indicate two main interesting features. First, more girls than boys have enrolled in these colleges, and secondly, the number of girls was increasing steadily over this period.

However, these colleges for teacher-training for males and females were closed in 1977/78 with the opening of the university college in Bahrain which took over responsibility for teacher-training programmes in Bahrain

2. Kuwait

During the late 1960's, the Ministry of Education in Kuwait realised there was a need for better qualified teachers than those produced by teacher-training schools at secondary school level. In order to implement this policy, all enrolment in secondary teacher-training schools was

Fig. 6-1 Enrolment of Men and Women Students at Teacher Training Colleges in Bahrain from 1967/68 to 1977/78



stopped and two new teacher-training colleges for boys and a similar college for girls were opened in 1968/69¹³. Admission to these colleges was restricted to students holding a secondary school certificate¹⁴. This improvement in the teacher-training programme was in line with the changes already occurring in Bahrain. The new teacher training colleges offered specialisation in subjects such as Arabic language and Islamic studies, English language, mathematics and science. Two new subjects for specialisation, physical education and art education, were added to the boys' and girls' colleges in the following years¹⁵.

However, in accordance with the revised policies of the Ministry of Education to further improve the standard of Kuwaiti teachers, these colleges were raised to the status of teacher-training institutes in 1972/73¹⁶. The salient features of this reorganisation can be summarised as follows¹⁷: (1) the old teacher-training schools at secondary level were abolished; (2) the minimum requirement to enter teacher-training was raised to the successful completion of secondary general academic education in order to produce better qualified teachers for kindergarten and primary schools; (3) further education and re-training was provided for teachers already in service; courses were made available for training personnel such as assistant librarians and educational technicians; (5) responsibility for the training of teachers qualified to teach at intermediate and secondary school levels was transferred to the University of Kuwait.

Initially, these institutes comprised science and liberal arts sections, but in 1978/79 further sections such as a kindergarten section for women only and physical education, fine arts and library science sections for both men and women were also established. The duration of

the teacher-training programme is two years. The admission requirements for the different sections of the institutes are as follows¹⁸:

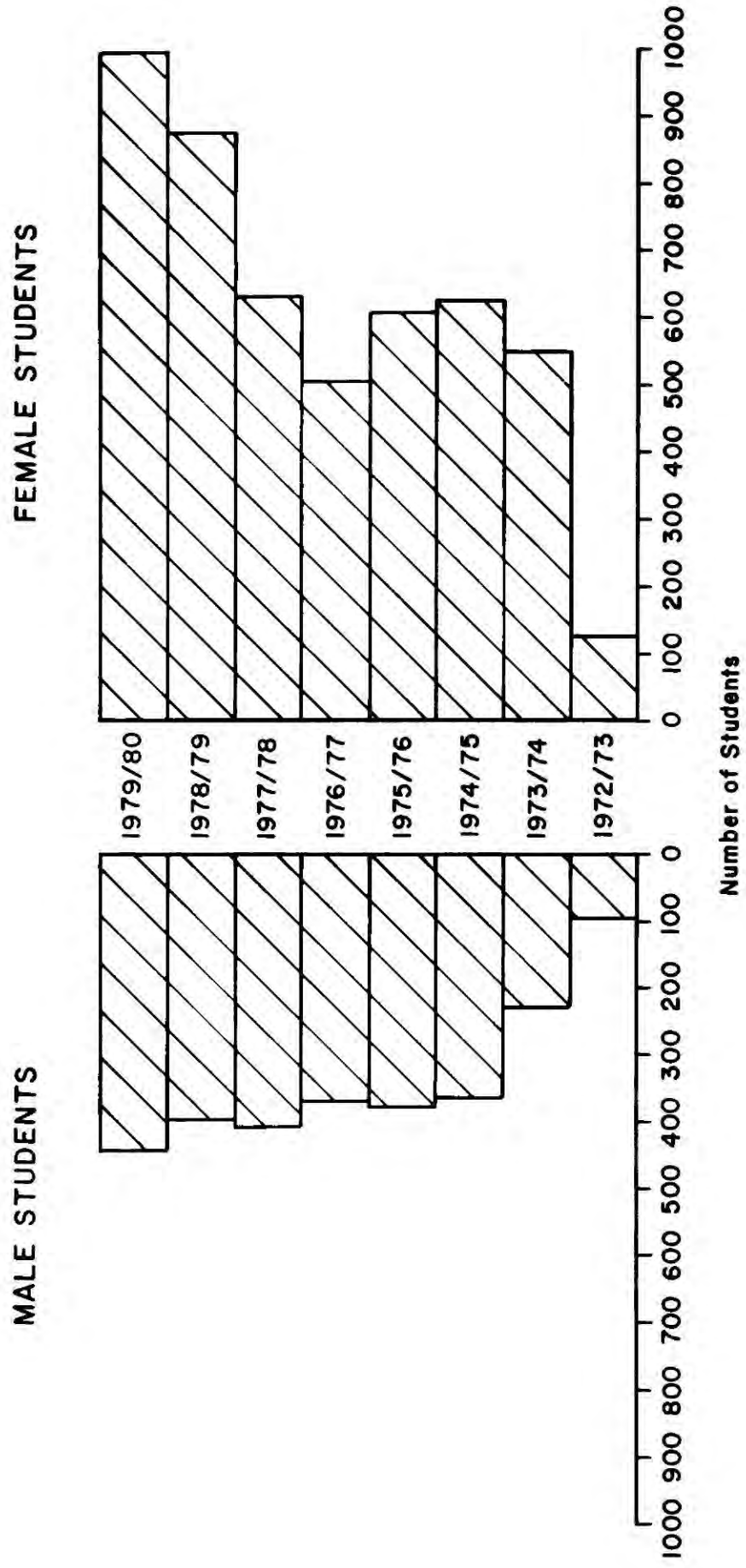
(a) students who have obtained 45% and 50% of total marks at the general secondary school examination in science and arts sections respectively can be admitted in the science and liberal arts sections of the institutes; (b) male students holding the religious secondary school certificate and who have obtained 50% of the total marks in their examinations can join the liberal arts section at the men's teacher-training institute; (c) both men and women holding teaching diplomas from the old teacher-training college and with a good record can join the liberal arts section or, in the case of women, the kindergarten section; (d) men and women with teaching diplomas in physical education or fine arts can join the corresponding sections in the teacher-training institutes.

The enrolment of male and female students in the teacher-training institutes from 1972/73 to 1977/80 is shown in Figure 6.2. These data indicate that the number of women enrolled in the women's institute has been greater (average percentage enrolment being 65%) than that of men (average percentage enrolment being 55%) throughout this period, and the enrolment of women has been increasing steadily over the last eight years.

D. TEACHER-TRAINING PROGRAMMES AT UNIVERSITY LEVEL

Since the beginning of modern education in the Gulf States, the education authorities have either depended on recruiting teachers from other Arab countries or have relied on their own graduates from universities abroad. Because of this shortage of properly trained, qualified teachers to teach at all levels of school education, the quality of

Fig 6.2 Enrolment of Male and Female Students at the Teacher Training Institutes in Kuwait in the Period between 1972/73 to 1979/80



teaching in the past has not been satisfactory. In order to improve this situation and to meet the growing demands for teachers and improve the status of the teaching profession, the education authorities decided to launch teacher-training programmes at a level higher than that of the post-secondary teacher-training institutes. This idea not only initiated the beginning of teacher-training at university level in Kuwait University on its establishment in 1968/69 and hence played a major role in its establishment, but it also gave birth to Qatar University which was eventually established in 1977/78, four years after the opening of the teacher-training colleges in 1973/74. The teacher-training programme for producing teachers qualified to teach at intermediate and secondary schools was made the responsibility of the University of Kuwait in 1968/69, and the responsibility of the teacher-training colleges in Qatar and of the University College of Bahrain in 1978/79. Although the basic structure of university courses for teacher training has been similar in its major aspects in all three Gulf States, some changes in organisation have occurred because of the growth of these national universities.

1. Kuwait

At the time of its establishment in 1968/69, the University of Kuwait had a joint Faculty of Arts and Education and a Faculty of Science. Students with appropriate grades in their secondary school certificate either in the science or arts sections were eligible to enrol for a Bachelor's degree either in Arts and Education or in Science and Education. The course for degrees in education extended over a four-year period. Depending on the faculty to which they were admitted, students enrolling for degrees in education spent their first year in general science and

arts courses. During the second year they were offered general or specialised courses by both the Department of Education and by the Departments of Science or Arts according to their specialisation.

The system of examination and assessment of students was based on that of the Egyptian universities until 1975/76, when the University of Kuwait introduced a credit-hours system based on that of the American universities¹⁹. One credit-hour is given for each hour of lectures per week or for each two- to three-hour laboratory practical work per week over a period of one semester. In order to obtain a Bachelor's degree in education, students have to fulfil three main requirements laid down by the University authorities, as follows²⁰: (a) University requirements, which include courses such as Arabic and English language and history of Islamic civilisation and some elective courses chosen by the student in addition to those in the department of their specialisation and in the Department of Education; (b) Faculty of Education requirements, which include history and philosophy of education, psychology, curriculum, teaching methods and teaching practice; (c) Faculty of Science/Arts requirements, which include specialised courses in either one major and one subsidiary course, or one major and one minor subject. The credit-hours required in all courses to obtain a degree of Bachelor of Arts/Science and Education from the University of Kuwait are listed in Table 6.3.

2. Qatar

In Qatar, teacher-training programmes at a standard higher than the secondary school level started in 1973/74 with the opening of two teacher-training colleges in Doha. The opening of these colleges was also the beginning of the University of Qatar. In this manner programmes of

TABLE 6.3

Study programme of teacher training
at Kuwait University

Area of Studies	Number of credit-hours
<u>(1) University requirements</u>	
Arabic language	6
English language	9
History of Islamic civilisation	3
Elective subjects	12
SUB-TOTAL	30
<u>(2) Faculty requirements</u>	
Education (history, philosophy, etc.)	
Psychology	
Curriculum	
Teaching methods	
Practical teaching	
SUB-TOTAL	42
<u>(3) Department requirements</u>	
Either one major with supplementary courses or one major with one minor	
SUB-TOTAL	54
GRAND TOTAL	<u>126</u>

Source: University of Kuwait, General Study Directory
1981/83, pp.98-320.

teacher training can be considered the nucleus around which the new Gulf Universities of Qatar, Kuwait and Bahrain have evolved. During the period between 1973 and 1978, the two teacher-training colleges in Qatar offered a four-year course for the degree of Bachelor of Arts/Science and Education to secondary school graduates. However, in 1977/78 with the establishment of the University of Qatar, the teacher-training colleges were reorganised into four faculties: Education, Islamic Studies, Humanities and Social Sciences, and Science. Since then the students reading for the degree of Bachelor of Science/Arts and Education spend their first year following a general course either in science or arts subjects, depending on their secondary school qualification. They then transfer to a three-year programme of studies which is shared by the Faculty of Education and by the appropriate departments of the Faculties of Science, Humanities and Social Sciences, and Islamic Studies.

The teaching and training programme, and the assessment and examination system is based on a credit-hours system and the successful completion of the course is subject to the following requirements²¹:

(a) University general requirements, including Islamic studies and Arabic language, English language and other elective subjects of the student's own choice; (b) Faculty of Education requirements, including history and philosophy of education, psychology, teaching techniques and practices; (c) Faculties of Science/Arts requirements, including specialisation in one major and one minor subject and some elective subjects. The details of credit-hours required in different course units are given in Table 6.4.

3. Bahrain

The teacher-training programme at university level in Bahrain, which started only in 1978/79 with the opening of the University College

TABLE 6.4

Study programme of teacher training
at Qatar University

Areas of studies	Number of credit-hours
(1) <u>University requirements</u>	
Islamic studies	4
English language	8
Electives	12
SUB-TOTAL	24
(2) <u>Faculty requirements</u>	
Education	
Psychology	
Curriculum	
Teaching methods	
Practical teaching	
Supplementary subjects (subjects outside the major and minor specialisation)	
SUB-TOTAL	58
(3) <u>Department requirements</u>	
Major specialisation	
Minor specialisation (for some specialisation, such as English language, there is no minor specialisation)	
SUB-TOTAL	62
GRAND TOTAL	<u>144</u>

Source: University of Qatar, Students' Directory 1980/81, p.23

of Bahrain is similar to that described for Kuwait and Qatar Universities. The exact details with respect to both content of the course and the credit-hours requirements are not yet available. The University College of Bahrain has not so far planned a formal programme, as it is still dealing with its first intake of students and experimenting with the system established in the Kuwaiti and Qatari Universities.

Although there are no apparent differences between the courses taught to students reading for a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree at the university or at the post-secondary school teacher-training institute levels, the courses offered at the university are considered to be of an advanced standard designed to produce teachers capable of teaching in the secondary schools. The programme of training at university level is geared towards producing teachers who specialise in teaching particular subjects to secondary school students rather than producing general subject or class teachers who are trained at the post-secondary school teacher-training institutes.

In order to provide better training in teaching methods as well as in subject-oriented specialisations, the B.Ed. degree programme at university level is spread over a four-year period instead of over two years as at the post-secondary school level. Although some similarities between the two types of teacher-training courses do exist, the standard of teachers produced at the university level has been a major improvement. In addition, the upgrading of teacher training to university level will have some impact on the social status of the teaching profession in general in the Gulf States, and will also provide opportunities for teachers who are already in service to improve their training by joining

the in-service teacher-training programmes provided by these universities.

4. Enrolment in teacher-training programmes at the university level

Student enrolment in teacher-training courses at university level in Kuwait shows trends similar to those noted for enrolment in teacher-training institutes at the post-secondary school level. Whereas only 5% or less of the total number of men enrolled at the University of Kuwait are registered for teacher-training courses, almost one-fifth of the total number of women students in the university are enrolled in these courses. In the B.Ed. courses, on average 85% are women and only 15% are men. The enrolment data for 1979/80, however, indicate that the numbers of both men and women joining teacher-training degree courses at the University are declining (Table 6.5).

The enrolment situation in the two teacher-training colleges in Qatar is not different from that in Kuwait. Women students constitute a considerable proportion of the total. However, since 1978/79, with the reorganisation of the two colleges and the establishment of the University of Qatar, and the opening of additional faculties such as those of science, humanities, social science, Islamic studies and education, the enrolment of both male and female students in teacher-training degree courses has dropped sharply (Table 6.6). Whilst it is obvious that before the opening of other faculties all those wishing to take a degree course at Qatar University were automatically enrolled in teacher-training courses, a sharp decline in the number of Qatari students enrolled in the Faculty of Education since 1978/79 indicates that Qatari students, if they have a choice, prefer to undertake university degrees in courses other than teacher training. This trend is particularly marked

TABLE 6.5

Number of male/female students studying for
B.Ed. degree at Kuwait University 1976/77-1979/80

Year	MALE STUDENTS		FEMALE STUDENTS		Women as % of total B.Ed. students
	Total no. of students	% of total university students	Total no. of students	% of total university students	
1976/77	157	5%	829	20%	84%
1977/78	237	5%	1,009	20%	81%
1978/79	166	5%	1,042	21%	86%
1979/80	104	3%	819	16%	89%

Source: University of Kuwait, Information Department, Statistical
Section. Statistics for the academic years 1976/77-1979/80.

TABLE 6.6

Number of students admitted to the Faculty of Education
at Qatar University 1973/74-1979/80

Year	MALE STUDENTS		FEMALE STUDENTS		TOTAL	
	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Male	Female
1973/74+	48	8	72	21	56	93
1974/75+	48	18	56	40	66	96
1975/76+	24	21	69	57	45	126
1976/77+	67	37	157	41	104	198
1977/78+	67	70	150	85	137	235
1978/79*	12	38	49	65	50	114
1979/80*	6	60	62	136	66	198

+Number of new admissions to the Faculty of Education when it was the only faculty, i.e. before the decree creating the University of Qatar.

*Number of new admissions to the Faculty of Education after the issue of the decree creating the University of Qatar and the opening of three faculties in addition to the Faculty of Education.

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1973/74-1979/80.

TABLE 6.7

Qatari students at their first year of specialisation
at Qatar University 1978/79-1979/80

Year	Total number of students in all University faculties		Faculty of Education			
	Male	Female	Male No.	Male %	Female No.	Female %
1978/79	83	103	27	32	43	41
1979/80	90	164	6	7	58	35

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1978/79 and 1979/80.

in the case of male Qatari students. The Qatar University enrolment data indicate that not only has the number of non-Qatari male and female students been increasing in the teacher-training course over the last five years, but also that they substantially outnumber the Qatari men and women. The growing numbers of non-Qatari nationals joining these courses can be explained by the secure job opportunities available for these non-nationals owing to the acute shortage of qualified teachers in the Gulf States. In addition to the fact that the teaching profession is not considered a prestigious career by Qatari male students, the government's employment policy of offering Qatari nationals all sorts of government jobs regardless of their qualifications, training and experience has created the impression among Qatari youth that access to such jobs is almost their birthright. It is also important to observe that while the enrolment in teacher-training courses at the University has been declining, that in all the other degree courses it has increased (Table 6.7).

Further evidence supporting the view that Qatari men are not attracted to teaching as a profession can be derived from a study carried out by the Ministry of Education in Qatar in 1979 on the first two cohorts of male graduates in teacher-training courses produced by the University²². Only 38% in 1977 and 25% in 1978 of the total male graduates qualified as teachers sought employment in the Ministry of Education, as shown in Table 6.8. This study also showed that only two graduates actually became teachers. The remainder obtained administrative posts in the Ministry of Education²³.

E. LACK OF INTEREST IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The teacher-training programmes at all three levels, secondary, post-

TABLE 6.8

Male graduates who accepted employment in the Ministry of Education from the first and second cohorts of graduates of the Faculty of Education at Qatar University

Cohort	Total no. of graduates	No. accepting employment in education	%
First cohort 1977	31	12	38.7
Second cohort 1978	35	9	25.7

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Study of the disinclination among Qatari youth to enter the teaching profession (1979), p.2.

secondary and university, have no doubt contributed to an increase in the participation of national teachers in the schools in the Gulf States, as is clear from the data in Table 6.9. The rate of increase in the number of national teachers has been slower than the increase in the actual demand as a result of the rapid expansion of the educational system. With the exception of Bahrain, where national teachers comprise nearly 80% of the total teaching force, the large majority of teachers in both Kuwait and Qatar is made up of non-Kuwaiti and not-Qatari nationals. However, it is worth mentioning that the prediction made by Sinclair in his paper "The future development of highly qualified manpower in the Gulf States", presented to a Conference in 1975 on "Human Resource Development" held in Bahrain, suggesting that both Bahrain and Qatar would be able to reach a comparable level of self-sufficiency in teachers in 1979/80 has not been fulfilled in the case of Qatar, which still recruits about 58% of its total teaching force from other Arab countries. The reasons for Bahrain becoming nearly self-sufficient in the supply of national teachers in contrast to Kuwait and Qatar are (a) the greater tendency among Bahraini nationals to join technical education courses as shown by the high enrolment (see Chapter 5), and (b) stricter government policy for financing students for higher university education compared with the two other Gulf States.

However, despite all efforts to attract more national men to the teaching profession, the number of national male teachers is still not increasing. Moreover, the percentage of national men to total male teachers shows a decline in the three States during 1975 (Table 6.9), and one major reason for this could be that the expansion in the development programme which followed the increase in oil prices in 1973 created many financially and socially better job opportunities in

TABLE 6.9
Total number of male/female teachers and percentage national male/female teachers in the three Gulf States 1972/73-1979/80

Year	BAHRAIN ^a		KUWAIT ^b		QATAR ^c	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	Total national %	Total national %	Total national %	Total national %	Total national %	Total national %
1972/73	1,376	1,017	5,724	5,771	740	634
1973/74	1,425	1,072	6,199	6,408	813	702
1974/75	1,500	1,189	6,990	7,223	873	814
1975/76	1,567	1,303	7,481	7,991	976	950
1976/77	1,510	1,316	8,818	9,409	1,066	1,117
1977/78	1,510	1,316	9,363	10,405	1,166	1,324
1978/79	1,783	1,629	9,832	10,918	1,287	1,591
1979/80	1,822	1,735	10,104	11,540	1,439	1,765

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1972/73-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Growth in the number of schools, classes, students and teachers in Kuwait in the period 1954/55-1980/81 (1981).

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1972/73-1979/80.

comparison with the teaching profession.

Conversely, women in the Gulf area show more interest in the teaching profession for social reasons which limit their access to other types of technical training and professional courses. The tendency among women to acquire teaching qualifications has produced a surplus of women teachers in some subjects during recent years and, in the future, there may be a problem of unemployed women teachers. In an interview, reported in 'al Bahrain al Youm' in 1978, the Minister of Education in Bahrain mentioned that his Ministry had been unable to offer employment to some eighty women graduates in social sciences who wanted to work as social science teachers because there were already more than sufficient numbers of teachers of these subjects in that year²⁵. Nevertheless, the introduction of a new policy of employing women teachers in primary schools for boys has not only provided an outlet for qualified women teachers and reduced unemployment, but also has helped to overcome the problem of the shortage of male teachers in the primary schools.

However, the preference for careers other than teaching is not only widespread among trainee-teachers, but also among those who already work as teachers. Al-Kobaisi states²⁶:

"The Qatari teachers with University degrees often mourn the bad luck which led them to the teaching profession and anxiously wait for any chance to leave the school for higher-class jobs either at the headquarters of the Ministry of Education or at any of the other Ministries."

An investigation carried out by the Ministry of Education in Qatar in 1979 into the reasons for the reluctance of Qatari men to enter the teaching profession came to the following conclusions²⁷. Teaching responsibilities are onerous and include long working hours, daily

preparation of lessons and correction of students' homework. Teachers' salaries are low compared with those of less qualified people in the public and private sectors. Opportunities for promotion are extremely limited in the teaching profession compared with those in other professions. In countries such as the Gulf States, which are still in their early stages of development, many more financially rewarding jobs are available²⁸. From the point of view of social status, the teaching profession is not rated highly in Gulf society. There are still serious deficiencies in the training of teachers who will eventually have to undertake demanding responsibilities of the classroom.

There is no doubt that some newly-appointed teachers do abandon their careers as teachers because they realise that their training has insufficiently prepared them for the demands which it makes upon them. Nor are students whose expenses have been paid by the State during their period of training under any legal constraint to enter the teaching profession. However, it should be noted that a law requiring trainee-teachers to work in the profession would do nothing to resolve the essential problem, because enactment of law cannot induce those who have made up their minds to leave the profession to work as good teachers.

The study also made some recommendations designed to improve the working conditions and the economic and social status of teachers²⁹. These recommendations included reducing class sizes at all levels of education, raising the teachers' salaries, the establishment of parent-teacher associations which it was hoped would result in parents having a better understanding of the difficult task which teachers have to perform and would promote greater respect for the teaching profession. However, apart from a government ordinance in 1980 which doubled the

monthly allowances for students enrolling in the Faculty of Education at Qatar University (Table 6.10) and increased the salaries of teachers, no other measures have so far been introduced to improve the attractiveness of the teaching profession³⁰. This increase in teachers' salaries is not peculiar to Qatar, as the authorities in both Kuwait³¹ and Bahrain have taken similar measures to attract their nationals to the teaching profession.

TABLE 6.10

Increase in the monthly allowance paid to students in the Faculty of Education at the University of Qatar since 1980

Academic year	Faculty of Education	Other Faculties
First year	1200 QR	600 QR
Second year	1350 QR	650 QR
Third year	1500 QR	750 QR
Fourth year	1550 QR	820 QR

1. Vietmeyer, W.F. (1969) Some of the Problems of Libyan Primary Education with Emphasis on Teacher Training Courses Conducted in the Last Few Years. Tripoli, p.8.
2. Government of Bahrain. Annual Report of the Year 1370. The Times of India Press, Bombay. October, 1950-51, pp.24-29.

Note: In 1947 a special course of evening classes was introduced into secondary school called Qsim al-Muallimin al-khass (special teacher section). The duration of the course was one year and it was for prospective teachers who had completed secondary school or its equivalent but who had no teacher training. The main subjects were psychology, teaching methods and the theory and practice of education. By 1954 a new stream of secondary teacher-training came into operation.
3. Riza, M.A. and Hamdij, H.A. Education in the Emirate of Kuwait, op. cit., p.19 (A).
4. Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1963/64, p.173.
5. Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Secondary Education in Bahrain, op. cit., p.2.
6. Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Annual Report 1972/73, p.17.
7. Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1978/79, p.146.
8. Crozier, D.J.S. and Griffiths, V.L. (1966) Bahrain Education. Mimeographed in Arabic, January.
9. Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Institute of Higher Teacher Training. Mimeographed in Arabic, undated, pp.5-6.
10. Ibid, p.6.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Annual Report 1967/68, p.45.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Technical and Vocational Education in Kuwait, op. cit., pp.41-42.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. University of Kuwait, Kuwait. Prospectus 1981-83, p.20 (A).
20. Ibid.

21. University of Qatar, Qatar, Students Directory for the Academic Year 1980/81. Data compiled from different sections.
22. Ministry of Education, Qatar. A Study of the Disinclination Among Qatari Youth Towards the Teaching Profession, p.2.
23. Ibid.
24. Sinclair, C.A. (1975) The Future Development of Highly Qualified Manpower in the Gulf States. Paper presented to the Conference on Human Resource Development, Bahrain, February. p.26.
25. al-Bahrain al-yaum. Bahraini weekly magazine. No.481, October 1978, p.8.
26. Al-Kobaisi, A.Y., op. cit., p.203.
27. Ministry of Education, Qatar. Ref.22, op. cit., pp.5-17.
28. Razik, T.A. (1982) Faculty of Education Self Study: A Re-examination of Teacher Training in the Arabian Gulf Universities. The Experience of Qatar. University of Qatar Press, Qatar, p.33.
29. Ministry of Education, Qatar., op. cit., pp.18-22.
30. al-Auraha, Qatari magazine, No.522, July 1980, p.4.
31. According to al-Essa, the government of Kuwait has awarded teachers a 25% increase in salary in recent years in order to encourage nationals to work in the teaching profession.
Al-Essa, S. (1981) The Manpower Problems in Kuwait. Kegan Paul International, London and Boston, p.50.

CHAPTER 7

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

A. INTRODUCTION

The development of university education in the Gulf States has differed considerably from that of secondary school education. Once the policy to modernise and expand school education was made and the necessary funds provided, school education projects went ahead without further complications. On the other hand, the beginning and the development of university education in different subjects for men and women have raised much debate and have undergone many modifications.

Before the development and during the early date of secondary school education, the number of Gulf nationals engaged in university education in countries abroad was too small to raise any serious concern. The expansion of secondary school education in the Gulf States, however, created two problems of immediate importance for the authorities: a shortage of qualified teachers, and the demand for higher education.

In order to ease the problem of an acute shortage of national teachers and difficulty in recruiting qualified teachers from other Arab states, the authorities took immediate steps to establish advanced teacher-training colleges to produce teachers to staff the secondary schools. At the same time the authorities made no secret of their intentions that these colleges were established so that they would form the nuclei of future universities. There is no doubt that every university in the Gulf States started with the opening of either a teacher-training college or a faculty of education.

Furthermore, the need to produce significant numbers of highly qualified teachers of university level was given as the main reason for opening national universities by the Gulf States governments to

UNESCO and other international educational bodies. Another outcome of the expansion of secondary education in the Gulf States was that it increased rapidly the total number of secondary school graduates, and hence of students who wanted to enrol in university education. It was at this stage that the need to organise university education for national students was first realised by the concerned authorities. This led to the establishment of special departments at Ministries of Education to arrange admission and finance for students and to maintain records of national students going to universities abroad, and also to look into the possibility of providing higher education in home institutions and of opening national universities.

However, during the period prior to the opening of home universities, the demand for university education was growing rapidly among both students and the public. A number of factors was responsible for this change in the attitude of these Gulf societies. One of the main factors was that Gulf nationals returning home with degrees from overseas universities were offered jobs with incredibly high social status. The prestige attached to university degrees undoubtedly created strong aspirations among many young students and their families to obtain university education. At that time, the government authorities were trying hard to attract more national students to join the advanced colleges of technical education, but the disparity in the market value of a university degree and a diploma from a technical college and the importance attached to a university degree were so great that no more than a handful of students was attracted to the technical colleges. A large majority of students, despite their poor school qualifications, wanted to obtain a university degree regardless of its standard, subject of study or place of education.

An increase in the number of female secondary school graduates, as a result of expansion of school education, also created unique problems for the authorities regarding prospects of their higher education. Up to this level of education, women were provided with equal opportunities and were considered 'just little girls'. However, their graduation from school as well as from girlhood to womanhood, and their keenness to undertake university education, appears to have caused considerable headaches for the authorities.

Whilst the degree of support for the higher education of women varied considerably among the Gulf States, the authorities usually supported conservative lobbies who were strongly opposed to the idea of higher education for women. Although the secondary education of girls started much later than that of boys, an overwhelming demand for education among women soon increased their number above that of male students. Secondly, the number of female students obtaining top positions and first classes in school examinations has been and is always higher than those of men. It is reasonable that female students should have been given at least equal right of access to university education, but neither of these reasons appear to have affected the attitude of the government authorities or of the general public.

Consequently, with the beginning of national university projects, the condition of women's education at universities abroad started to deteriorate rapidly in some Gulf States. Many facilities, which were especially offered to female students for their university abroad, were not only curtailed and withdrawn, but also new laws were passed which prohibited women from enrolling in universities abroad. Although the availability of university education at home started to alleviate some

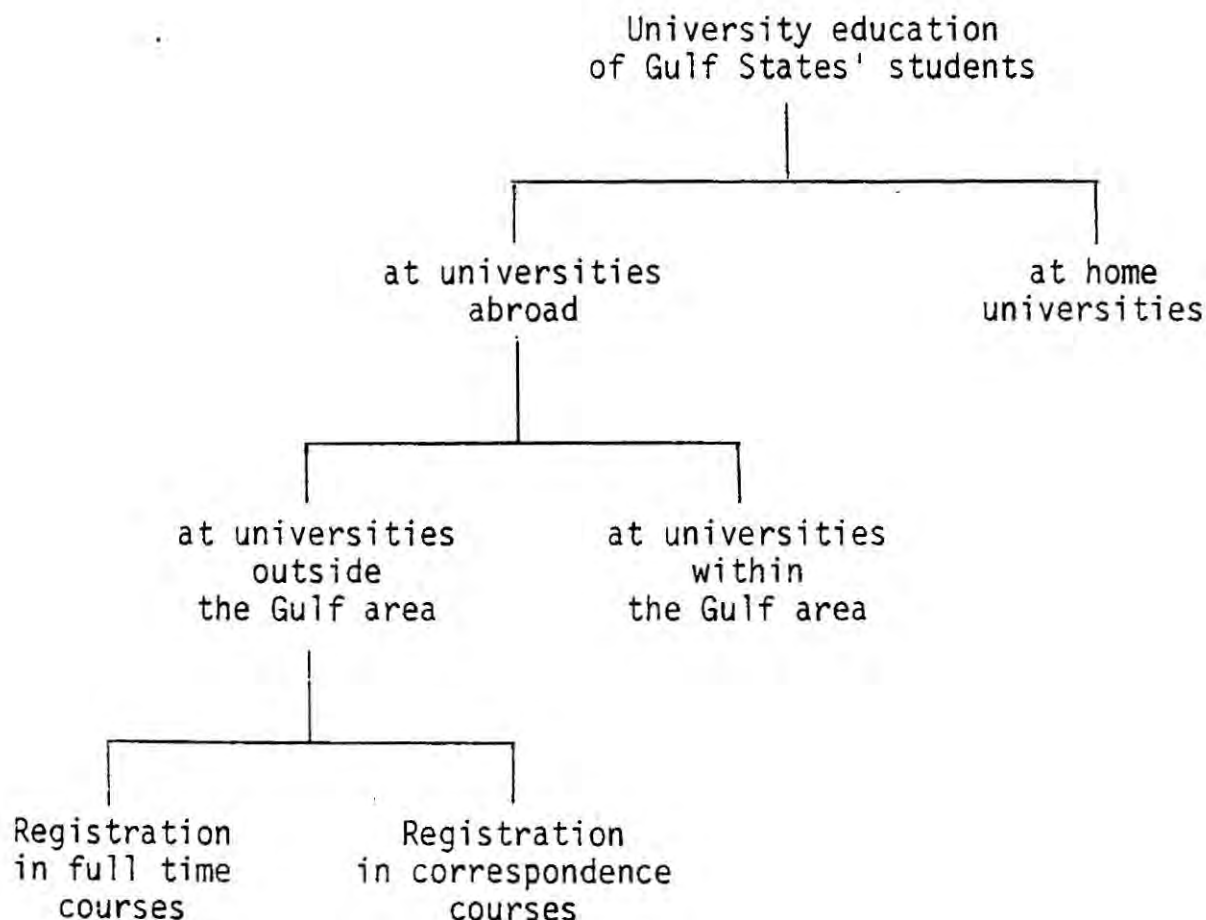
of the problems facing the higher education of women, the absence of a proper policy on this issue had undoubtedly created further problems for the university authorities as well as for female university graduates.

One of the problems and drawbacks in planning a coherent and consistent policy for the higher education of women is the lack of understanding of their potential role in Gulf society. The principal role of a woman in this society is still considered to be as a housewife. Only under special circumstances is a woman allowed to participate in work outside the house in highly restricted fields. One of the main reasons for this attitude is that in Gulf society the idea of men and women working together in any sphere of civil service or industry is still unacceptable.

Despite the growing public demand for higher education, such change would have been impossible without full government support for the projects. The rivalry and competition among different Gulf States' governments, which resulted in duplication of many other development schemes and projects, played a significant role in the development and expansion of university education in these countries. The establishment of a home university was taken as a matter of national pride rather than as a real necessity. At that time it was necessary for these governments to seek the support and help of international agencies, since no such experts were available at home. Although all consultative committees and UNESCO experts on these university projects repeatedly warned these governments about the wastefulness of their ambitious national projects on the grounds of the small size of their indigenous population, these governments kept pressing their requests by changing

their tactics. In this manner, in almost every request made by each of these governments, it was clearly emphasised that the establishment of the proposed university was not for national students only, but was intended to serve the-whole Gulf area.

At present, university education is available both at home universities and at universities abroad, but before the opening of national universities the only way to acquire higher education was to go to universities abroad, either privately or on a government scholarship. For the purpose of a comparative analysis and to assess the impact of national universities on overall university education, various ways of obtaining such education have been outlined in the following scheme:



Gulf students entering their home universities or other universities in the neighbouring Gulf States have been sub-divided into two categories for statistical purposes only, as there is no reason to believe that they receive any different treatment. They are offered help and other facilities on equally generous terms as the national students.

It is also important to sub-divide students registered at universities abroad outside the Gulf area into full time and correspondence course students, because the two systems of education are widely different and also a significantly large proportion of Qatari women were actually registered in correspondence courses.

It should be noted that a considerable time difference exists between different Gulf States in the beginning of education at universities abroad and at home universities as well as in the education of men and women at universities abroad, as indicated in Table 7.1. For these reasons, this chapter is divided into two main sections, namely university education abroad and university education at home, where each section will deal separately with the expansion of university education in the three Gulf States and with other points raised in the foregoing introduction.

TABLE 7.1

Timetable of the beginning of
university education

Gulf State	At universities outside the Gulf area		At home universities	
	Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students
Bahrain	1928/29	1956/57	1978/79	1978/79
Kuwait	1943/44	1955/56	1966/67	1966/67
Qatar	1960/61	1970/71	1973/74	1973/74

B. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AT COUNTRIES ABROAD

1. Bahraini students

The beginning of university education abroad for Bahraini students can be traced back to 1913, when a Bahraini was sent to an Egyptian University¹. During the first quarter of this century, Bahraini students received university education, mostly privately, in Egypt and in other Arab countries. According to Winder², the reason for the lack of government support for university education abroad was due to its experience that some Bahraini students, on their return home, not only showed a great dislike for the social system of their homeland, but also strongly criticised the authorities for their administration of the country's affairs. From an article published in 1969 it appears, however, that in 1928 the government of Bahrain, on the advice of the High Council on Education, started to send Bahraini students to universities abroad for their higher education. In those days students were usually sent to universities in Arab countries such as Egypt, Iraq and Palestine, or to India³.

For the period between 1928 and 1946 no proper records are available on the number of Bahraini students at universities abroad. The official data on the number of students, their subjects of study and specialisation, and on the host countries is also extremely sparse for the period between 1946 and 1977. According to the data in Table 7.2, some 123 Bahraini male students were sent abroad between 1946 and 1956, with an average rate of about 13-14 students per year. Statistics published in 1963 reported that out of 97 Bahraini women students who had completed their secondary education during the period 1956-1962, nine girls on government scholarships and 15 girls privately went to universities abroad⁴.

TABLE 7.2

Number of male Bahraini students at
universities abroad 1946/47-1955/56

Year	Number of students	Year	Number of students
1946/47	18	1951/52	10
1947/48	11	1952/53	14
1948/49	13	1953/54	15
1949/50	14	1954/55	*
1950/51	12	1955/56	16

*Data not available.

Total over 9 years = 123; average = 13.6 per year.

Source: Directorate of Education, Government of Bahrain. Annual report 1965. Dar al-Alam, Cairo (1956), pp. 23-48.

Following this period and until 1971, there is hardly any information available on the education of Bahraini students at universities abroad. The quality of official records for the period 1971-1976 (Table 7.3) is also extremely poor. Besides the reasons stated earlier in this work (p. 8) for the poor quality of the statistics, the official records do not contain proper information concerning Bahraini students' education abroad until 1976/77.

An apparent and sudden increase in the numbers of students studying abroad, from 256 in 1973/74 to 1,044 in 1974/75 could be due to economic changes resulting from the 1973 oil price increase. In 1976/77 the government of Bahrain passed a law proclaiming that (i) every Bahraini student wishing to enrol at a university in a foreign country must obtain permission from the Ministry of Education before leaving the country, and (ii) the Ministry of Education would prevent a student from going abroad or would withdraw him from the university abroad if he participated in political activities incompatible with government policies⁵. This law reads as follows:

"The Scholarship Committee (of the Ministry of Education) has the right to withdraw its approval from a student to continue studies abroad if the student joins a political party or an organisation or interferes in the affairs of the country where he or she is undertaking his or her course of study or if a student engages in political activity contrary to the policies and welfare of the country (Bahrain)."

While the enforcement of this law appears to have improved the informational quality of official records on university education abroad, the obvious political motives of the authorities have been criticised by both students and academics. This attitude of the educational authorities acting as a 'political watchdog' over students is not unique to Bahrain, as it is also common practice in other Gulf States.

TABLE 7.3

Number of male and female Bahraini students
at universities abroad 1971/72-1979/80

Year	Number of male students	Number of female students	Total number
1971/72	394	225	619
1973/73	256	101	357
1973/74	NA	NA	256
1974/75	495	548	1,044
1975/76	NA	NA	2,199
1976/77	NA	NA	2,544
1977/78*	1,613	1,099	2,712
1978/79	1,673	1,159	2,832
1979/80	1,746	1,167	2,913

NA = not available

*In 1976/77 a law was passed enforcing the Ministry of Education to maintain records of all Bahraini students going to universities abroad, irrespective of their source of funding.

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1971/72-1979/80.

Since official statistics up to 1976/77 are of poor quality and also represent a mixed population of students receiving university education abroad (both government- and privately-funded), these data have not been used in the present analysis. The statistical data for the period 1977/78 to 1979/80 were therefore selected for a comparative analysis as they were of better quality.

(a) Distribution of Bahraini students according to the host country of their university education. The data on the total number of male and female students who went to universities abroad between 1970 and 1980 are shown in Table 7.4. These data indicate that the number of Bahraini male and female students in Arab countries has been higher than in non-Arab countries. The relative proportion of male students receiving education in non-Arab countries compared to that in Arab countries has been much smaller than that of female students (Table 7.4). It also appears that whilst the tendency among Bahraini students to go to universities in Egypt, Kuwait, Iraq and Saudi Arabia has been declining, it shows a small increase in the number of students going to the University of Qatar. The data also indicate that there has been no significant differences between the numbers of Bahraini men and women students in universities in Egypt and Iraq, but the number of female students going to Saudi Arabian universities has been much smaller compared with that of male students. The main reason is that women's university education in Saudi Arabia has started only recently. The opportunities for female Bahraini students in university education abroad in non-Arab countries has been extremely poor compared with male students.

(b) Distribution of Bahraini students in countries abroad according to their financial source of support. For financial support for university education abroad, the Bahraini student has three options which include a limited number of Bahraini government scholarships, fellowships from other governments or agencies, and private finance. The data for the period 1977-1980 (Table 7.5) shows that about 50% of Bahraini students receive their university education abroad privately. On the other hand, the government of Bahrain's scholarship scheme offers opportunities to only 25% of total students, the remaining 25% receiving fellowship awards from governments other than that of Bahrain (Table 7.4).

There has been little difference between the numbers of male and female students sponsored by government scholarships, but the number of female students receiving university education at their own expense has been almost half that of male students (Table 7.5). This clearly indicates that when Bahraini parents have to pay for their children's education at universities abroad, preference is usually given to boys. The social and traditional practices in this society must have influenced the parents' decisions in this respect.

The analysis of the data on enrolment of Bahraini students at universities abroad on the basis of their financial support (Table 7.6) was further analysed in relation to the distribution of the students in different Arab and non-Arab universities. From the analysis shown in this table, it appears that among the total number of students on Bahraini government scholarships, 67% were sent to universities in Arab countries and 37% to universities in non-Arab countries; almost 97% of students on Bahraini government scholarships receiving education in

Comparison of number of male and female Bahraini students at universities abroad on the basis of their source of financial support 1977/78-1979/80

Table 7.5

Year	Number of students on Bahraini government scholarships		Number of students on fellowships from other governments		Private students		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1977/78	301	285	337	228	975	586	1,613	1,099	2,712
1978/79	329	291	393	300	951	568	1,673	1,159	2,832
1979/80	295	261	404	353	1,047	553	1,746	1,167	2,913
TOTAL	925	837	1,134	881	2,973	1,707	5,032	3,425	8,457

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1977/78-1979/80.

Arab countries were at Egyptian universities; almost 98% of the total number of Bahraini students with fellowship awards were at universities in Arab countries, particularly universities in the Gulf area. Among these students, about 38%, 36%, 15% and 7% were respectively enrolled in universities in Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq; among Bahraini students receiving higher education at their own expense, almost 58% enrolled at universities in Arab countries and about 42% in non-Arab countries (Table 7.6). The preference for private students receiving their education in Arab universities appears to be in the following order: Kuwait 35%, Egypt 27%, Iraq 25%, Saudi Arabia 15% and Qatar 0.7%, while the trend of those going to non-Arab universities appears to be U.K. 45%, India 31%, USA 17% and Canada 4% (Table 7.6).

Further analysis of the data (Table 7.7), with special reference to the university education of Bahraini women in countries abroad and in relation to their sources of financial support, shows that among the total number of male and female Bahraini students on government scholarships sent to Arab and non-Arab universities, female students constituted 57% and 37% respectively. While 98% of women on government scholarships in Arab countries were in Egyptian universities, about 45% and 51% of female students receiving education in non-Arab countries were at universities in USA and Canada respectively. Among the total number of male and female Bahraini students on fellowship awards who went to Arab and non-Arab universities, female students comprised 44% and 29% respectively. Among a total of 869 fellowship awards to Bahraini women to study in Arab countries, some 56%, 17% and 11% of awards respectively were offered by Qatar, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to study in their universities.

Comparison of number of female Bahraini students on government scholarships, fellowships or privately funded at universities in countries abroad

TABLE 7.7

Host country	SCHOLARSHIPS			FELLOWSHIPS			PRIVATELY FUNDED			TOTAL			
	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	Total	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	Total	1977/78		1978/79	1979/80	Total
<u>ARAB COUNTRIES</u>													
Egypt	231	234	189	654	-	-	-	-	116	117	110	343	997
Kuwait	-	-	-	-	58	50	46	154	204	229	171	604	758
Saudi Arabia	-	-	-	-	22	36	39	97	1	1	1	3	100
Iraq	9	4	3	16	27	18	28	73	118	74	71	263	352
Qatar	-	-	-	-	118	172	195	485	7	7	7	21	506
UAE	-	-	-	-	-	21	28	49	-	-	-	-	49
Other Arab countries	3	3	2	8	-	-	11	11	58	57	48	163	182
Sub-total	243	241	194	678	225	297	347	869	504	485	408	1,397	2,944
<u>NON-ARAB COUNTRIES</u>													
U.K.	2	2	2	6	-	-	-	-	37	36	36	109	115
U.S.A.	15	16	18	49	-	-	-	-	15	14	57	86	135
Canada	24	30	47	101	-	-	-	-	3	4	27	34	135
India	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	24	24	23	71	72
Other non-Arab countries	1	2	-	3	3	3	5	11	3	5	2	10	24
Sub-total	42	50	67	159	3	3	6	12	82	83	145	310	481
TOTAL	285	291	261	837	228	300	353	881	586	568	553	1,707	3,425

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1977/78-1979/80.

Only 12 Bahraini women students, constituting almost 1% of the total, obtained fellowships from non-Arab countries to receive university education in their countries. Among students receiving university education at their own private expense, women students represented 52% and 15% at universities in Arab and non-Arab countries respectively. Within these groups of female Bahraini students going to Arab universities, 40% went to Kuwait, 24% to Egypt and 18% to Iraq, and among the groups going to non-Arab universities, 35% went to the U.K., 28% to the U.S.A., 23% went to India and 4% went to Canada.

(b) Distribution of Bahraini students according to their fields of study. The analysis of data given in Table 7.8 indicates that a larger number of female Bahraini students joined courses in general arts studies and in music, fine arts, home economics and physical education compared to male students. On the other hand, a larger number of male Bahraini students enrolled in courses in engineering, commerce, economics and business studies, and in general science and mathematics. The preferences for different subjects among male Bahraini students decrease in this order: engineering > commerce, economics and business studies > general arts > general science and mathematics > medicine. The preference among female students decreases as follows: general arts > commerce, economics and business studies > general science and mathematics > medicine or music, fine arts and physical education (Table 7.9a).

(c) Enrolment of Bahraini students in universities in the Gulf. The enrolment of Bahraini students at Kuwait and Qatar universities has been increasing steadily since their opening in 1966/67 and 1973/74 respectively (Figure 7.1). However, the number of Bahraini students at Kuwait university has declined since 1976. One main reason for this decline

Total numbers and percentages of male and female Bahraini students enrolled in different courses of studies in universities abroad

TABLE 7.8

Year	General arts		Commerce, economics and business studies		Music, fine arts & home economics & physical educ.		General science and mathematics		Engineering		Medicine		Other	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1977/78	328	474	356	209	55	90	221	164	477	46	139	102	39	14
1978/79	342	474	347	211	52	96	248	189	504	66	137	98	43	25
1979/80	334	401	391	194	57	102	216	211	490	118	114	89	144	52
TOTAL	1,004	1,349	1,094	614	164	288	685	564	1,471	230	390	289	226	91
Total male + female	2,353		1,708		450		1,249		1,701		679		317	
Male as % of total	43%		64%		36%		55%		86%		57%		71%	
Female as % of total	57%		36%		64%		45%		13%		42%		28%	

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1977/78-1979/80.

TABLE 7.9 (a)

Analysis of trends among Bahrini men
and women to join different courses of
study at university 1978/1980

Course of study	Percentage of men in each course of study (Total no. of male students = 5,034)	Percentage of women in each course of study (Total no. of female students = 3,244)
General arts	19.9	39.4
Commerce, economics, business studies	21.7	17.9
Music, fine arts, home economics, physical education	3.2	8.4
General science and mathematics	13.6	16.5
Engineering	29.2	6.7
Medicine	7.7	8.4
Other	4.5	2.7

Analysis of data in Table 7.7.

Analysis of data on total number of Bahraini students and female students receiving university education in the Gulf universities through fellowships and private funding 1977/78-1979/80

TABLE 7.9

Host country	FELLOWSHIP STUDENTS		PRIVATE STUDENTS		TOTAL		% to total students on fellowship and privately funded students in all universities abroad	
	Total male + female	Female	Total male + female	Female	Total male + female	Female	Total	Female
Kuwait	288	154	966	604	1,254	758	18.7	29.3
Qatar	752	485	21	21	773	506	11.5	19.5
Saudi Arabia	705	97	43	3	748	100	11.2	3.8
U.A.E.	76	49	1	1	77	49	1.1	1.9
TOTAL	1,821	785	1,031	629	2,852	1,413	42.5	54.5
							(6,695)	(2,588)

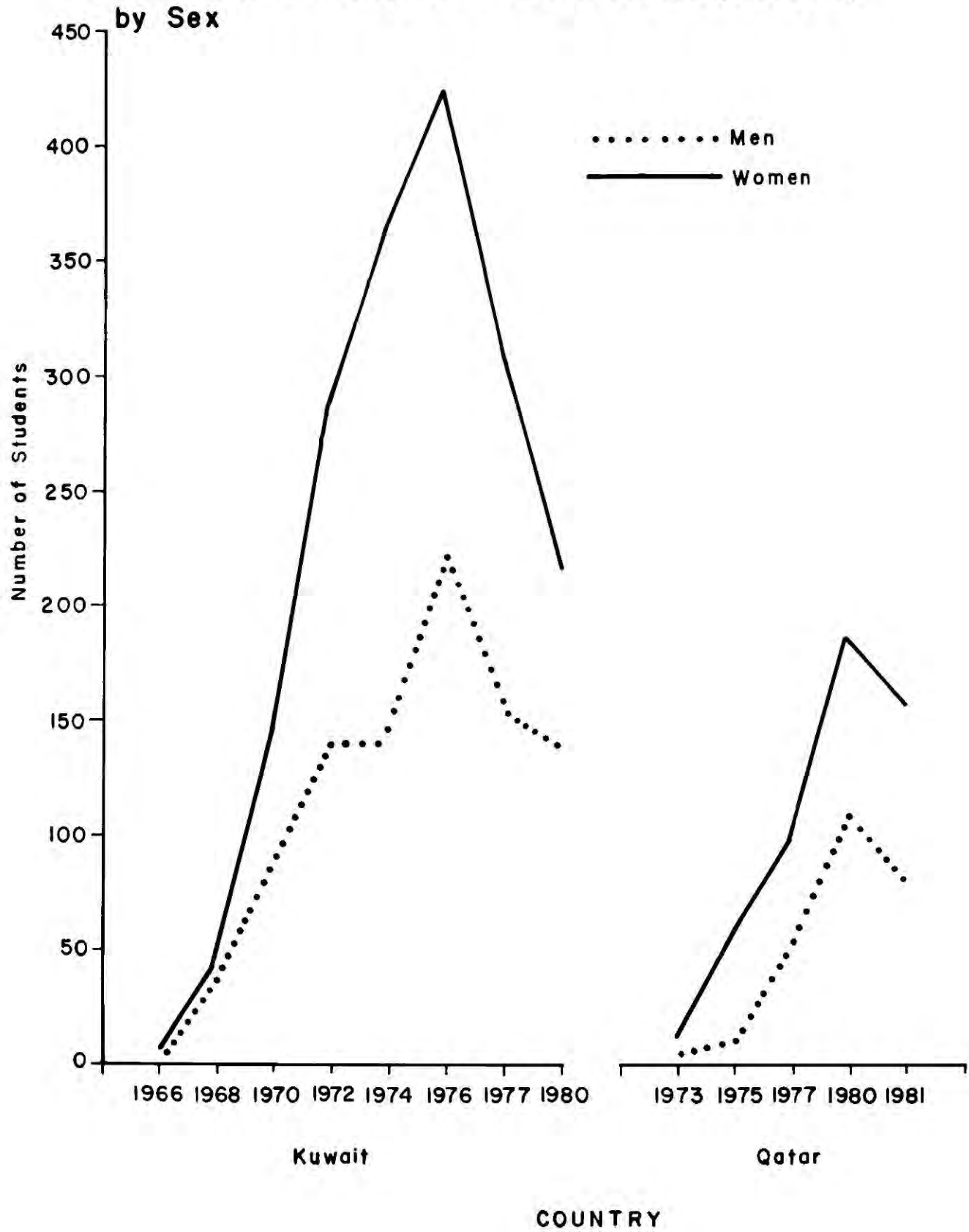
Analysis of data in Table 7.5.

could be due to the opening of other national universities in the Gulf area, such as Qatar University in 1976/77 and the United Arab Emirates University in 1977/78 and lately the University College of Bahrain in 1978/79. It also appears that the opening of this latter University in 1978/79 has resulted in a slight fall in the enrolment of Bahraini students in the University of Qatar (Figure 7.1).

The Bahraini students at these universities are mostly on fellowship awards from the Kuwaiti and Qatari governments. The financial help and university facilities offered by both Kuwait and Qatar have provided opportunities to about 18.5% and 11.4% respectively of the total number of Bahraini students receiving higher education at universities, as shown by the analysis in Table 7.9b. There appears to be a significant difference in the trends of Bahraini students joining Kuwait and Qatar Universities if they have to pay for their own education. For example, the ratios of private Bahraini students to those on fellowship awards at Kuwait and Qatar Universities are 0.3:1 and 35:1 respectively.

The financial assistance and facilities provided by Kuwait and Bahrain have, however, made a considerable contribution towards the university education of female Bahraini students. Among female Bahraini students receiving university education abroad privately or through fellowship awards, almost 29% and 20% go to the Universities of Kuwait and Qatar respectively (Table 7.9). Here again the relative proportion of fellowship to private students has been considerably higher at Qatar University (23:1) than at Kuwait University (0.26:1). This indicates that when a student has to pay for her own university education, she prefers to go to Kuwait University rather than to Qatar University.

Fig.7-1 Enrolment of Bahraini Students at the University of Kuwait and Qatar in the Period Between 1966-1980 and 1973-1980 Respectively



The Kuwait University was the first to be established in the Gulf area (apart from Saudi Arabian universities), which makes it a better established university than the University of Qatar. In addition, Kuwait University offers a wider range of specialisations and disciplines than are available at the University of Qatar.

From the point of view of female Bahraini students who could neither obtain a government scholarship nor could afford private funding for their university education, the financial and educational facilities provided by the Universities of Kuwait and Qatar cannot be underestimated. Over the last three years, some 81% of the total number of Bahraini women who have received university education through fellowship awards have been able to do so through Kuwaiti or Qatari government fellowships (Table 7.9b).

2. Kuwaiti students

(a) Education of Kuwaiti students at universities abroad 1943-1966.

Although following completion of their primary education, some Kuwaiti students are reported to have gone for higher education to Egypt during this earlier period, the Education Council passed a bill in 1945 which prohibited the award of government scholarships to primary school graduates⁷. The new regulations allowed only those students who had completed their secondary education in Kuwait to go to countries abroad for university education⁸. The main reason for this decision was that by that time modern secondary school education was well established in Kuwait. However, in those days there was no difficulty for students who had completed their secondary education to obtain government scholarships for university education in countries abroad. The policy of the Ministry

of Education in the early 1950s was to send all secondary school graduates to universities abroad if they wished to continue their higher education. A statement by the Ministry of Education, given in the Annual Report for 1956/57, reads as follows⁹:

"The number of boy and girls students who complete their secondary education is still very small. This year (June 1956) only 25 boys from the general arts section, 14 boys from the science section, 9 boys from the mathematics section and 8 girls from the general arts section completed their secondary education. The scholarship law provides the opportunity for every Kuwaiti boy or girl, who holds a secondary school certificate to obtain higher education at a university abroad on the government scheme if they wish to do so."

Furthermore, no official restrictions were imposed on students to join any particular branch of university education. Since, in the government's opinion, Kuwaiti society needed qualified and trained personnel in all fields and specialties, the students were given free choice to select subjects of their own interest for university education¹⁰. This lenient government policy rapidly increased the number of secondary school graduates enrolling in university education abroad. In 1959 a new scholarship law was introduced which set higher academic standards for secondary school graduates wishing to qualify for university education abroad. The total number of scholarships to be awarded each year in different subjects of study was also limited. According to the new regulations, only the first 80 male students from the general science section and the first 70 male students from the general arts section, on the basis of their secondary school examination results, were eligible for government scholarships¹¹. However, following the opening of the University of Kuwait in 1966/67, government scholarships for university education abroad were further restricted

to students with outstanding academic records and also limited to fields of study and training which were not available at the University of Kuwait¹².

(b) Education of female students at universities abroad. The earlier records show that some female students were sent to Egypt to continue their secondary education before 1956. Government scholarships for girls were restricted to those students who had completed their secondary school education and wished to take a university degree following the introduction of the new scholarship law in 1956. According to al-Saleh, some Kuwaiti girls had been sent to universities abroad by their parents at their own expense before 1956/57¹³.

During those days, the policy of the Ministry of Education was to encourage women students to continue their higher education by enrolling in universities abroad, as indicated in its Annual Report for 1956/57¹⁴:

"It is a matter of great pride that all girl students who completed their secondary education in the general science section and about 85% of the girls who completed their secondary education in the general arts section and were willing to continue their education were sent to universities in countries abroad."

It is worth mentioning that the introduction of the new scholarship regulations in 1959/60 put a limit on the number of scholarships awarded to male students, but did not impose any restriction on the number of scholarships for university education abroad for female students¹⁵. This positive discriminatory attitude of the authorities apparently enabled an additional number of female students to obtain a university education. The small number of eligible and willing female students for university scholarships and the government's

intention to encourage the Kuwaiti public to support women's education by setting an example appear to be the main reasons for adopting this policy.

With the opening of the University of Kuwait, the availability of government scholarships for university education abroad for female students was restricted in a similar way as applied to male students. During the late 1970's the official policy on university education of Kuwaiti women at universities abroad underwent two further major changes. First, the majority of government scholarships for education abroad were offered to male students, and secondly, government scholarships for women were restricted to universities in Arab countries¹⁶. This is clear from the following analysis of the statistical data on Kuwaiti students at universities abroad.

(c) University education abroad 1966/67-1979/80. According to official sources, both male and female students were enrolling in universities abroad at their own expense before and after the introduction of the scholarship scheme. Like other Gulf States, no accurate records were kept by the Kuwaiti authorities concerning these students. The data for the number of male and female students at universities abroad according to their subject of study or host countries are sparse, if not completely lacking, until 1965/66. Similarly, the official records for the period 1966/67 to 1974/75 either give the number of male and female students together or separately with no other information; the records for 1975/76 and 1976/77 give some information on the number of male and female students separately and on the host countries and means of financial support; data for the period 1977/78 to 1979/80 provide information on the number of male and female students

separately in relation to the host countries, sources of financial support and major fields of study.

The composite data given in Table 7.10 shows that while there has been a steady increase in the number of male students in relation to the total number of students during the period 1965/66 to 1976/77, the percentage of female students has been fluctuating. Apart from a slight fall in the number of male students in 1977/78, their number has been increasing steadily. The number of female students has been declining consistently since 1976/77. On average, however, female students constitute about 20% of the total number of students receiving university education abroad during the period 1966/67 to 1979/80 (Table 7.10).

Kuwaiti students acquire university education abroad through Kuwaiti government scholarships, fellowship awards from other governments, organisations or wealthy Kuwaiti philanthropists, and through private financial sources provided by their own families. An analysis of the data in Table 7.11 indicates that some 50%, 14% and 36% of the total number of male and female Kuwaiti students in university education abroad were respectively on government scholarships, fellowship awards or privately funded (Table 7.11). A similar analysis of the data on male and female students separately shows that between 1975/76 and 1979/80 about 14% of both male and female students received their education abroad through fellowship awards. On the other hand, some 48% of the total number of male students and 57% of the total number of female students in education abroad were on government scholarships. Therefore the percentage of female students privately funded (28% of the total number of female students) had been smaller compared with that

TABLE 7.10

Number of male and female Kuwaiti students in university education in countries abroad 1965/66-1979/80

Year	No. of male students	No. of female students	Total number	Female students as % of total
1965/66	933	295	1,228	24.0
1966/67	945	273	1,218	22.4
1967/68	866	251	1,117	22.0
1968/69	700	159	859	18.5
1969/70	847	153	1,000	15.3
1970/71	843	155	998	15.5
1971/72	NA	NA	1,278	NA
1972/73	1,345	308	1,653	18.6
1973/74	NA	NA	2,071	NA
1974/75	NA	NA	2,455	NA
1975/76	2,168	619	2,787	22.2
1976/77	2,203	671	2,874	23.3
1977/78	2,144	605	2,749	22.0
1978/79	2,158	535	2,693	19.8
1979/80	2,319	429	2,748	15.4
TOTAL	17,471	4,453	27,728	20.3*

NA = not available.

*Percentage of total number of male and female students (21,924) including for 1971/72, 1973/74 and 1974/75.

Source: Various statistics published by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Planning, Kuwait.

Comparison of numbers of Kuwaiti students at universities abroad in relation to their source of financial support

TABLE 7.11

Year	GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIPS			FELLOWSHIP AWARDS			PRIVATELY FUNDED		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1971/72	NA	NA	588	NA	NA	222	NA	NA	468
1972/73	NA	NA	792	NA	NA	238	NA	NA	623
1973/74	NA	NA	1,039	NA	NA	281	NA	NA	751
1974/75	NA	NA	1,253	NA	NA	378	NA	NA	824
1975/76	1,054	321	1,355	297	97	394	817	201	1,027
1976/77	1,069	355	1,424	331	116	447	803	200	1,003
1977/78	1,072	350	1,422	336	108	444	736	147	883
1978/79	1,086	339	1,425	228	39	267	844	157	1,001
1979/80	1,000	256	1,256	386	54	440	933	119	1,052
Total	5,272	1,621	6,893	1,578	414	1,992	4,142	824	4,966
% of total	76.4	23.5	100	79.3	20.7	100	83.4	16.6	100

Male:female ratio = 1:0.31

NA = not available.

Source: Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, Kuwait. Statistical Year Books 1971/72-1979/80.

of the corresponding proportion of male students (38% of total male student number). However, it is noteworthy that the ratios of male to female students in these three categories of funding are 1:0.31, 1:0.26 and 1:0.19, the female ratios being very small.

(d) Distribution of Kuwaiti students according to host countries of their university education. Since 1971/72 most Kuwaiti students have been going to universities in Egypt, Lebanon, the U.K. and the U.S.A. and a small number to universities in Iraq, France, the U.S.S.R., Pakistan and India. Because the number of students is small, these latter countries have been grouped together under the heading 'other countries' in the present work. The analysis given in Table 7.12 shows that a large majority of students went to universities in Egypt and the U.S.A. Until 1976/77 the number of Kuwaiti students at Egyptian universities was higher than that at United States universities, but this trend has been changing since 1977/78, when the number of Kuwaiti students at United States universities began to increase compared with Egyptian universities (Table 7.12). On the other hand, the number of students at universities in the U.K., while showing fluctuations, has been less than 10%, and the number of students going to Lebanon has been declining steadily over the last nine years (Table 7.12).

Further analysis of the data for the period 1975/76 to 1979/80 on the basis of sex of students (Table 7.13) shows that a large majority of female Kuwaiti students (63%-75%) had been enrolled in Egyptian universities. The number of male students going to the U.S.A. had increased from 37% to 55%, with a parallel decrease at the Egyptian universities from 41% to 23% (Table 7.13).

Comparison of total numbers of Kuwait students in
university education in countries abroad 1971/72-1979/80

TABLE 7.12

Host country	1971/72		1972/73		1973/74		1974/75		1975/76		1976/77		1977/78		1978/79		1979/80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Egypt	460	35	617	38	848	41	1,098	46	1,333	48	1,440	50	1,352	49	1,073	40	800	32
Lebanon	221	19	298	18	322	16	306	13	278	10	214	7	81	3	17	0.6	213	9
U.K.	109	8	122	8	148	7	164	7	157	6	146	5	153	6	223	8	225	9
U.S.A.	401	31	525	32	662	32	764	32	871	31	901	32	973	35	1,207	45	1,300	52
Others	87	7	91	5	91	5	123	2	148	5	173	6	190	7	173	6	210	8
TOTAL	1,278	100	1,653	100	2,071	100	2,455	100	2,787	100	2,874	100	2,749	100	2,693	100	2,748	100

Source: Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, Kuwait. Statistical Year Books 1971/72-1979/80.

Comparison of male and female Kuwaiti students in university education in countries abroad 1975/76-1979/80

TABLE 7.13

Host country	1975/76		1976/77		1977/78		1978/79		1979/80											
	MALE		MALE		MALE		MALE		MALE											
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%										
Egypt	895	41	438	71	945	43	495	74	695	32	378	73	530	23	270	63				
Lebanon	208	9.6	70	11	152	6.9	60	8.8	56	2.6	25	4.1	1	0.1	16	3.1	169	7.2	44	10
U.K.	150	6.9	7	1.1	137	6.2	9	1.3	140	6.5	13	2.1	192	8.8	31	6	199	8.6	26	6
U.S.A.	816	38	55	8.8	853	39	48	7.2	936	44	37	6.1	1,165	54	42	8	1,265	55	35	8
Others	99	4.6	49	7.9	114	5.2	59	8.8	116	5.4	74	12	105	4.8	68	10	156	6.7	54	12
TOTAL	2,168	100	619	100	2,202	100	670	100	2,144	100	605	100	2,158	100	535	100	2,319	100	429	100

% of total number of students in each country

Source: Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, Kuwait. Statistical Year Books 1975/76-1979/80.

(e) Distribution of Kuwaiti students at universities abroad according to their sources of financial support. An analysis of male and female Kuwaiti students receiving university education in countries abroad during the period 1977/78-1979/80) would show that 50% or more of the total number of male students on government scholarships were sent to U.S. universities and about 20% to 40% to Egyptian universities (Table 7.14). Similar analysis of the data in Table 7.15 shows that a large majority of female Kuwaiti students on government scholarships (72% to 82% of the total) were sent to Egyptian universities, only a small proportion of female students (less than 6%) going to U.K. or US universities and about 11% going to universities in other countries such as Iraq, France and Pakistan (Table 7.14). The distribution of Kuwaiti men and women on fellowship awards, while showing a wide scatter, indicates that male students preferred to go to the U.S. universities and that female students either went to Egypt or to other countries. Similarly, among privately funded male Kuwaiti students, more than 80% went to the U.S.A., and 50% to 75% of female privately funded students to Egyptian universities (Table 7.14).

(f) Distribution of Kuwaiti students in major fields of university education according to the sources of financial support. The Ministry of Education records on the subjects studied by Kuwaiti students in universities abroad are rather limited in that they provide information on the number of students in medical and engineering sciences only. Students undertaking degree courses in other subjects (e.g. arts, science, etc.) have been listed under a heading 'other subjects'. However, an analysis of these data between 1977/78 and 1979/80 (Table 7.15) indicates that the Kuwaiti authorities lay more emphasis on engineering courses for

Comparison of Kuwaiti men and women in university education
in different host countries in relation to their
sources of financial support 1977/78-1979/80

Table 7.14

Host country	GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIPS				FELLOWSHIP AWARDS				PRIVATELY FUNDED									
	1977/78		1978/79		1979/80		1977/78		1978/79		1979/80		1977/78		1978/79		1979/80	
	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male
Egypt	405	288	319	259	214	187	190	79	21	7	102	27	301	89	355	112	214	56
Lebanon	0	3	0	7	1	10	0	1	0	2	1	3	56	21	1	11	167	31
U.K.	117	1	118	18	111	17	6	2	8	2	33	2	17	10	66	1	55	7
U.S.A.	520	19	624	17	619	12	66	2	136	8	162	4	350	16	405	17	484	19
Others	30	39	25	38	55	30	74	24	63	20	88	18	12	11	17	9	13	6
TOTAL	1,072	350	1,086	339	1,000	256	336	108	228	39	386	54	736	147	844	150	933	179

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN DIFFERENT HOST COUNTRIES

Egypt	38	82	29	77	21	73	55	72	9.2	18.	26	50	41	61	42	75	23	48
Lebanon	0	0.8	0	2	0.1	3.8	0	0.9	0	5	0.3	5.5	8	14	0.1	7	18	27
U.K.	11	0.3	11	5.3	11	6.6	1.8	1.8	3.5	5	8.5	3.7	2.3	7	7.8	0.7	6	6
U.S.A.	49	5.4	57	5	62	4.7	20	1.8	60	21	42	7.4	48	11	48	11	5.2	16
Others	3	11	2.3	11	5.5	11	22	22	28	51	23	33	1.7	7	2	6	1.4	3.4

Source: Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, Kuwait, Statistical Year Books 1977/78-1979/80.

Number and percentage of male and female Kuwaiti students in different subjects of study in universities abroad in relation to their source of financial support 1977/78-1979/80

TABLE 7.15

Year	GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIPS						FELLOWSHIP AWARDS						PRIVATELY FUNDED					
	Male students		Female students		Total		Male students		Female students		Total		Male students		Female students		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>1977/78</u>																		
Total	1,072		350		1,422		355		104		459		739		147		886	
Medicine	244	23%	222	63%	466	33%	57	16%	28	27%	85	19%	28	4%	15	10%	43	5%
Engineering	697	65%	35	10%	732	51%	77	22%	0	0	77	17%	198	27%	7	5%	205	23%
Other*	131	12%	93	27%	224	16%	221	62%	76	73%	297	64%	513	61%	127	85%	638	72%
<u>1978/79</u>																		
Total	1,000		256		1,256		211		48		259		768		96		864	
Medicine	191	19%	154	60%	345	27%	38	18%	9	19%	47	18%	18	21%	11	11%	29	3%
Engineering	584	58%	20	8%	604	48%	37	18%	2	4%	39	15%	146	19%	7	7%	153	16%
Other*	225	23%	82	32%	307	24%	136	64%	37	77%	173	67%	604	79%	78	81%	682	79%
<u>1979/80</u>																		
Total	967		199		1,166		271		25		396		965		113		1,078	
Medicine	133	41%	125	63%	258	22%	10	4%	6	24%	16	41%	9	0.9%	12	10%	21	2%
Engineering	521	54%	11	61%	532	46%	96	35%	1	4%	97	24%	242	25%	7	6%	249	23%
Other*	313	32%	63	32%	376	32%	165	61%	18	72%	283	71%	714	74%	95	83%	808	75%

*Includes all other arts and science subjects

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Unpublished statistics.

male students and on medicine for female students compared with other arts and science subjects when awarding scholarships for university education abroad. More than 50% of male students and 60% of female students on government scholarships were sent to engineering and medical courses respectively (Table 7.15). It appears that the tendency for both male and female students on government scholarships to enrol in courses other than engineering and medicine has been increasing during the last three-year period (Table 7.15).

Among male and female students receiving university education abroad on fellowship awards, more than 60% of students appear to choose courses other than engineering and medicine. On the basis of a percentage analysis, more women enrolled in medicine than engineering, while male students showed a preference for engineering rather than medicine (Table 7.15). Similarly, among both male and female students who received their university education through private financial resources, between 70% and 80% joined degree courses other than engineering and medicine (Table 7.15). Generally speaking, female students show a preference for medicine while male students prefer engineering (Table 7.15).

3. Qatari students

Unlike Bahrain and Kuwait, university education at countries abroad for Qatari students did not start until the mid-1960's. One of the main reasons for this late beginning is that modern school education did not start in Qatar until the late 1950's, whereas modern school education started as early as 1920 in Bahrain and 1936 in Kuwait. Furthermore, the small number of Qataris with secondary school qualifications and the even smaller number of students who wished to obtain higher education did

not require any organised effort on the part of the authorities, as stated in the first report of the Ministry of Education, published in 1956¹⁷:

"The state of education in Qatar is still of secondary school level so far, with the exception of two Qatari students who required university education. Of these two Qatari students, the one who received his secondary school education in Saudi Arabia was sent to an American university, and the other student to the Arab University of Beirut in Lebanon."

In 1963 the Ministry of Education set up a new Department of Scholarships and Cultural Relations in order to organise university education at countries abroad for Qatari students who had completed their secondary education at home¹⁸. But it was not until 1967/68 that Qatari women also started to receive university education abroad for the first time¹⁹.

Another important difference in the university education abroad of Qatari students is that unlike 25% of Bahraini and 14% of Kuwaiti students who receive funding through fellowships from other governments for university education abroad, this kind of financial assistance is not available to Qatari students²⁰. A considerably larger majority of Qatari students, whether participating in full time or in correspondence courses, obtain their university education abroad usually through the Qatari government scholarship scheme. Although there is some evidence that a number of Qatari students receive university education abroad privately, no reliable data are available. Thus, it is important to mention that all statistical data on Qatar to be discussed in the following account, refers to students sponsored by the Qatari government. This point is of considerable importance in evaluating the numerical and statistical differences in university education abroad among the three Gulf States.

A further difference in the university education abroad of Qatari students as distinct from Bahraini and Kuwaiti students is in the accessibility of full time educational courses. A large number of Qatari students had been receiving university education in the form of correspondence courses run by universities in Lebanon and Egypt, rather than being full time students. An extremely small number of Bahraini and Kuwaiti students received their university education through this system. This point can be illustrated by a comparison of the limited amount of available data (Table 7.16) for different academic years. It is evident that only a small minority of private students from Bahrain and Kuwait participated in correspondence course schemes. Because of its relatively low cost compared with that of full time courses, almost 30% of Qatari students on government scholarships were put into the scheme.

A high percentage of private Bahraini students are enrolled on correspondence courses compared with Kuwaiti students, and this may be due to financial difficulties for Bahraini students. The 30% of Qatari students on government scholarships enrolled in this kind of education appears to be due to socio-political restrictions imposed on female Qatari students²¹.

(a) Correspondence course system. Correspondence courses leading to the award of a university degree have been offered mainly by the Arab University of Beirut in Lebanon and to a smaller extent by some Saudi Arabian and Egyptian universities²² (Table 7.17). There are, however, no hard and fast admission regulations regarding the academic standards of students entering the courses, provided they are able to pay the fees and other expenses, either privately, through government

TABLE 7.16

Comparison of enrolment of Qatari versus Bahraini/Kuwaiti students in full time and correspondence courses at universities abroad

QATAR versus BAHRAIN for the academic year 1975/76^a

	<u>Qatar</u>	<u>Bahrain</u>
Number of students in full time courses	591	2,199
Number of students in correspondence courses	242 ^c	591 ^d
Enrolment in correspondence courses as percentage of total	29.1%	21.2%

QATAR versus KUWAIT for the academic year 1979/80^b

	<u>Qatar</u>	<u>Kuwait</u>
Number of students in full time courses	724	2,748
Number of students in correspondence courses	233 ^c	258 ^e
Enrolment in correspondence courses as percentage of total	24.3%	8.5%
Ratio of male:female students	1:0.32	1:0.09

^aData on correspondence course students for Bahrain is only available for the academic year 1975/76

^bData on correspondence course students for Kuwait is only available for the academic year 1979/80

^cRepresents number of Qatari students sponsored by Qatari Government scholarship scheme.

^{d,e}Represents number of Bahraini and Kuwaiti students receiving education privately. The Bahraini and Kuwaiti authorities do not offer scholarships for correspondence courses.

Sources:

Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1975/76 and 1979/80.
Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1975/76.
Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Unpublished statistics.

TABLE 7.17

Comparison of enrolment in correspondence courses
at the Arab University of Beirut and other universities

Year	Total enrolment of students in correspondence courses	%age enrolment at the Arab University of Beirut	%age enrolment at Saudi Arabian and Egyptian universities
1972/73	152	96.1	4
1973/74	197	97.2	3
1974/75	218	97.3	3
1975/76	242	87.2	13
1976/77	244	86.4	14
1977/78	238	89.4	10
1978/79	299	89.3	11
1979/80	231	97.0	3

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1972/73
-1979/80.

scholarships or fellowship awards. The policy of these universities provides an opportunity for many students who are otherwise not eligible to enter university because of low academic standards.

Admission to correspondence courses can be sought privately or through the respective government agencies without any academic selection procedure. Once registered, the students start receiving their textbooks, reading materials and other information at the beginning of each academic year, and are supposed to study at home on their own accord. At the end of each academic year, the students are required to go to the university where they are registered to sit for examinations. During all four years of their studies, students receive no lectures, seminars or tutorials, and there is hardly any teacher-student contact except at the time of the examination. It is doubtful that these students take the same examinations as full time students.

Because of the nature of the system, which does not provide direct and formal tuition of the student or a fair evaluation of their academic achievement, the education and academic standard of degrees obtained through correspondence courses are of inferior quality compared with those of full time courses. The large number of Qatari women who participated in this type of education rather than in full time education can be explained by suggesting that the Qatari authorities as well as society in general have been extremely conservative in their attitude towards their womenfolk. Because of this, women have been left with no alternative but to lament the situation, as illustrated in the following passage²³:

"I have wanted to go to university since I was in my third year of secondary school but my parents would not allow me to study full time. They thought it was alright for a girl

to study but she should remain within her own country. They had heard there was an extra-mural course at Beirut Arab University so they suggested that I studied by myself during the year and went to Beirut to take the final exams at the end of each year."

(b) Enrolment of Qatari students in universities abroad. In its cumulative form, the data presented by the Ministry of Education (Table 7.18) give an impression that the level of university education for Qatari students at universities abroad has improved steadily, and the percentage of female students to that of total student numbers has been constant over the last five years (25% to 30%). An analysis of the data based on full time versus correspondence courses (Table 7.19) clearly indicates that only 70% to 75% of the total number of Qatari students had opportunities for full time education. Bearing in mind the economic conditions and the small number of students qualified to enrol in full time university education abroad, a 25% to 30% proportion of Qatari students in correspondence courses does reflect that in comparison with Bahrain and Kuwait, the overall situation on university education abroad for Qatari students is still relatively poor.

Further comparison between male and female students enrolled in full time and correspondence courses also reveals rather distressing results so far as women's education is concerned. The data (Table 7.19) indicate that the average percentage of Qatari women in correspondence courses has been increasing rapidly during the last five-year period, while the percentage of male students has been declining steadily (Table 7.19). Similarly, while the number of Qatari women enrolling in correspondence courses has been increasing at the rate of 1% over the last five-year period, there has hardly been any change in the rate of Qatari women enrolling in full time university education abroad. On

TABLE 7.18

Number of male and female Qatari students enrolled
in university education abroad 1960/61-1979/80

Year	Number of male students	Number of female students	Total number
1960/61	6	*	6
1961/62	12	*	12
1962/63	18	*	18
1963/64	25	*	25
1964/65	41	*	41
1965/66	71	*	71
1966/67	89	*	89
1967/68	106	1	107
1968/69	136	5	141
1969/70	148	16	164
1970/71	215	28	243
1971/72	302	52	354
1973/73	431	102	533
1973/74	485	104	589
1974/75	567	129	696
1975/76	667	166	833
1976/77	711	180	891
1977/78	718	230	948
1978/79	721	299	1,020
1979/80	711	246	957
TOTAL	6,180	1,558	7,738

*University education abroad of female Qatari students did not start un 1967/68.

Total male and female Qatari students enrolled in full time and correspondence courses at universities abroad 1972/73-1979/80

TABLE 7.19

Year	MALE STUDENTS			FEMALE STUDENTS			TOTAL		
	No. in full time courses	No. in correspondence courses	% of total in corres.	No. in full time courses	No. in correspondence courses	% of total in corres.	No. on full time courses	No. in correspondence courses	% of total in corres.
1972/73	359	72	18%	22	80	78%	381	152	29%
1973/74	383	102	21%	27	77	74%	410	179	30%
1974/75	452	115	19%	26	103	80%	478	218	30%
1975/76	547	120	18%	44	122	73%	591	242	29%
1976/77	605	106	15%	40	140	78%	645	246	27%
1977/78	662	56	7%	47	183	77%	709	239	25%
1978/79	674	47	6%	47	252	84%	721	299	29%
1979/80	665	46	6%	59	187	80%	724	233	24%

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1972/73-1979/80.

the other hand, there has been a steady increase in the number of Qatari men enrolling in full time courses in universities abroad with a corresponding decrease in enrolment in correspondence courses. One must not forget that there is at least a 10-fold difference in the number of male and female students registering for full time courses in universities abroad (Table 7.19).

(c) Distribution of Qatari students according to the host countries of their university education. This section will first describe the enrolment of male Qatari students in different universities abroad during the period 1960/61-1970/71 because at this time it was mainly male* students who had opportunities of obtaining this kind of education. It should be mentioned that these data do not provide separate information on the number of full time and correspondence course students. Nevertheless its analysis indicates that 33.5% and 20.3% of Qatari men students were sent to Egyptian universities and to the Arab University in Lebanon respectively (Table 7.20). Among the remainder of students, a majority (20.5% of the total) received their university education in other Arab and non-Arab universities, while only 14.5% and 11.3% went to universities in the U.K. and U.S.A. respectively (Table 7.20). These data (Table 7.20) also show that since 1966/67 the number of male Qatari students enrolling in university education in Lebanon and in countries other than those listed in Table 7.20 had been increasing (with some fluctuations), but there had been a steady decline in the number of male students attending Egyptian universities. On the other hand, the number of male students enrolling in universities in the U.K. and U.S.A. had been relatively small compared with the number of students attending

*The first Qatari girl reported to have enrolled in a university abroad was in 1967/68.

TABLE 7.20

Number of male Qatari students in university education (full time and correspondence courses) in countries abroad 1960/61-1970/71

Year	No. of male students in universities in					Total
	Egypt	Lebanon	U.K.	U.S.A.	Others	
1960/61	6	0	0	0	0	6
1961/62	11	0	6	0	0	17
1962/63	16	0	11	2	0	29
1963/64	14	0	15	4	0	33
1964/65	26	3	11	5	0	45
1965/66	40	7	3	7	0	57
1966/67	42	21	9	4	18	94
1967/68	39	20	6	8	18	91
1968/69	30	32	15	14	50	141
1969/70	30	48	28	17	43	166
1970/71	36	44	21	37	48	186
TOTAL	290	175	125	98	177	865
Average of 11 years	26.4	15.9	11.4	8.9	16.1	78.6
% of total	33.5%	20.3%	14.5%	11.3%	20.5%	100%

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1960/61-1970/71.

universities in other countries (Table 7.20). A steady increase in the actual number of students also suggests an increasing tendency among male Qatari students to go to Western universities from 1969/70 onwards.

An analysis of the data on male Qatari students at universities abroad for the subsequent period, i.e. 1971/72-1979/80 and its comparison with the data for 1960/61-1971/72, shows some rather interesting features. The average number of male Qatari students per year going for university education in countries abroad shows an increase from 26 to 163 in the case of Egypt, from 16 to 106 in the case of Lebanon, from 11 to 96 in the case of the U.K., from 8 to 214 in the case of the U.S.A. and from 16 to 54 in the case of other countries (see Tables 7.20,7.21).

Besides a significant increase in the number of Qatari men going to universities abroad during the last decade, the data also indicate a change in the tendency of Qatari men regarding their choice of host country and also a change in the policy of the Qatari authorities towards the education and training of their students. The percentage of Qatari men enrolling in universities abroad follows the pattern: U.S.A. (36.7%) > Egypt (27.9%) > Lebanon (18.2%) > other countries (9.3%) > U.K. (7.9%), and this reveals that while the trend to go to countries such as Egypt, Lebanon and the U.K. has been declining, the trend to go to universities in the U.S.A. has been increasing rapidly (Table 7.21).

The data in Table 7.21 provide the first opportunity to analyse the position of Qatari women in university education abroad from the year 1971/72. A summary of the analysis of the cumulative data over the last nine years (1971/72-1979/80) reveals the following interesting features.

Number of male and female Qatari students in university education (full time and correspondence courses) in countries abroad 1971/72-1979/80

TABLE 7.21

Year	Number of male and female students at universities in														
	EGYPT		LEBANON		U.K.		U.S.A.		OTHER COUNTRIES		TOTAL				
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total		
1971/72	64	3	88	43	58	2	60	44	0	48	2	50	302	50	352
1972/73	111	11	130	81	62	3	65	64	0	64	10	71	431	102	533
1973/74	132	16	162	77	55	1	56	85	0	51	10	61	485	104	589
1974/75	163	22	183	101	54	0	54	115	0	52	6	58	567	129	696
1975/76	267	40	307	99	41	0	41	197	0	48	27	75	667	166	833
1976/77	210	35	245	120	47	0	47	283	0	47	25	72	711	180	891
1977/78	212	35	247	168	40	2	42	340	2	66	23	89	718	230	948
1978/79	171	25	196	223	30	2	32	406	5	66	44	110	721	299	1,020
1979/80	138	20	158	182	30	2	32	399	13	50	29	125	711	246	957
TOTAL	1,468	207	1,675	1,094	417	12	429	1,933	20	489	151	640	5,303	1,484	6,747
Average of 9 years	163.1	23.0	186.1	106.3	46.3	1.2	47.5	214.8	2.2	54.3	16.8	71.1	584.9	164.8	749.7
Ratio men: women	1:0.14	1:1.14	1:0.26	1:0.01	1:0.31	1:0.28									
Men as % of total	27.9%	18.2%	7.9%	36.7%	9.3%	100%									
Women as % of total	14.0%	73.8%	0.7%	1.3%	10.2%	100%									

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1971/72-1979/80.

(i) Women students comprised only 28% of the total number of students studying at universities abroad; (ii) the ratio of Qatari men to women students at universities abroad is 1:1.14 in Lebanon, 1:0.26 in the U.K., 1:0.14 in Egypt, 1:0.01 in the U.S.A. and 1:0.31 in other countries; (iii) among the total number of women students at universities abroad, a large majority (74%) were registered at the Arab University of Beirut in Lebanon, 14% at Egyptian universities, 1.3% at U.S. universities, 0.7% at U.K. universities and 10% at universities in other countries (mainly Saudi Arabia and Kuwait); (iv) although the data in Table 7.21 represent both full time and correspondence course students, out of 1,094 female Qatari students registered at the Arab University of Beirut during the period 1971/72-1979/80, only 12 were full time students and the remaining 1,082 were enrolled in correspondence courses.

Further analysis of the enrolment of female Qatari students in full time courses in universities abroad (Table 7.22) indicates that they have extremely limited access to university education in Western universities. A majority of female Qatari students enrolled in universities in the U.S.A. during 1978-80 were the spouses of Qatari men who were receiving university education in that country²⁴. According to the official records, the Qatari government does not offer scholarships to unmarried female students for university education abroad, except for a limited number which are allocated to Qatari women to go to Saudi Arabian universities to undertake courses in medicine.

(d) Distribution of male and female Qatari students according to their fields of study. A comparison of the number and proportion of male and female students in university education abroad on the basis of

TABLE 7.22

Number of female Qatari students enrolled in full time courses in universities abroad 1971/72-1979/80

Year	No. of full time female students at universities in countries abroad					Total
	Egypt	Lebanon	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait, U.A.E. and Iraq	Non-Arab countries	
1971/72	3	0	0	0	0	3
1972/73	11	2	0	6	3	22
1973/74	16	3	0	7	1	27
1974/75	20	3	1	2	0	26
1975/76	37	2	0	4	1	44
1976/77	35	2	0	3	0	40
1977/78	33	0	5	5	4	47
1978/79	25	0	8	7	7	47
1979/80	20	0	14	6	19*	59

*Female students mainly in USA universities who went to America as spouses of male Qatari students receiving their university education in that country.

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1971/72-1979/80.

their subject of study is shown in Table 7.23. Unfortunately, the official statistical records of the Ministry of Education in Qatar do not give information on the enrolment of students in different subjects with respect to their host country of education, or about the nature of courses, i.e. whether they are full time or correspondence courses. On the basis of enrolment data for the last eight years, the average number of Qatari male students in different subjects shows a decrease in the following order: engineering > commerce, economics and business studies > general arts > other subjects > medicine > general science. On the other hand, the average number of Qatari women in different subjects shows a decrease in this order: general arts > commerce, economics and business studies > engineering > general science (Table 7.23). While a large majority of male students (37.7% of the total number of men) is enrolled in engineering courses, a considerably higher proportion of female students (77.9% of the total number of women) is in general arts courses (Table 7.23). Male to female student ratios in general arts and engineering courses have been 1:1.43 and 1:0.006 respectively.

A summary of the data on student enrolment during the period 1972/73-1979/80 in science versus arts and in applied courses versus academic courses (Table 7.24) shows the following interesting trends. (i) General arts versus general science enrolment ratios have been almost 10 times higher for women students than those of men students; (ii) a large proportion of students prefer to join applied sciences rather than general and academic science courses, enrolment ratios in academic to applied science courses being 1:25.8 and 1:10.5 for males and females respectively; (iii) ratios of student enrolment in academic versus applied arts courses have been significantly lower compared with similar ratios in science

Number of male and female students in university education abroad on the basis of their subjects of study 1972/73-1979/80

TABLE 7.23

Year	General Arts		Commerce, econ. business studs.		General science		Engineering		Medicine		Other subjects		TOTAL								
	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot						
1972/73	154	85	239	132	7	139	9	1	10	94	2	96	24	2	26	23	4	27	436	101	537*
1973/74	160	81	241	162	7	169	13	1	14	111	2	113	28	5	33	27	8	35	501	104	605*
1974/75	171	106	277	159	7	166	18	0	18	139	2	141	41	6	47	64	9	73	592	130	722*
1975/76	145	124	269	194	14	208	12	0	12	224	1	225	35	11	46	57	16	73	667	166	833
1976/77	127	132	259	199	18	217	8	1	9	287	1	289	37	13	50	53	15	68	711	180	891
1977/78	95	167	262	204	24	288	11	1	12	318	1	319	45	19	64	55	15	70	728	227	955*
1978/79	76	237	313	197	28	225	8	3	11	347	1	348	49	20	69	44	10	54	721	299	1020
1979/80	79	179	258	188	28	216	9	3	12	344	2	346	51	25	76	40	9	49	711	246	957
TOTAL	1007	1111	2118	1435	133	1566	88	10	98	1863	12	1875	311	101	411	363	86	449	5067	1453	6520
Avg. of 8 yrs	125.8	138.9	264.7	179.3	16.6	196	11	1.3	12	232.7	1.6	234.3	38.8	12.6	51.3	45.4	10.7	56.1	633.3	181.6	815
Ratio male: female	1:1.04		1:0.9		1:0.11		1:0.006		1:0.32		1:0.23		1:0.28								
Men as % of total	19.9%		28.4%		1.7%		36.8%		6.1%		7.1%		100%								
Women as % total	76.5%		9.2%		0.6%		0.8%		6.9%		6%		100%								

*Due to error in the official statistical records on the distribution of students among fields of study, the total number of students in these years differ from that listed in other Tables.

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1972/73-1979/80.

TABLE 7.24

Comparison of enrolment of male and female students in general academic versus applied courses in arts and science at universities abroad 1972/73-1979/80

The data used for this comparison are listed in Table 7.23, except that the number of students listed under 'Other subjects' has been excluded. Total enrolment in science includes students studying engineering, medicine and general science, whereas total enrolment in applied sciences includes students in engineering and medicine only. Similarly, total enrolment in arts includes both general arts students and those studying commerce, economics and business studies, whereas applied arts includes students registered for degrees in commerce, economics and business studies only.

I. Ratio of students in science versus arts degree courses

	<u>Total no. in science</u>	<u>Total no. in arts</u>	<u>Ratio science:arts</u>
Male	2,262	2,442	1:1.07
Female	123	1,244	1:10.11

II. Ratio of students in applied science versus academic science degree courses

	<u>Total no. in academic science</u>	<u>Total no. in applied science</u>	<u>Ratio academic science: applied science</u>
Male	88	2,174	1:24.7
Female	10	113	1:11.3

III. Ratio of students in applied arts versus academic arts degree courses

	<u>Total no. in academic arts</u>	<u>Total no. in applied arts</u>	<u>Ratio academic arts: applied arts</u>
Male	1,007	1,435	1:1.42
Female	1,111	133	1:0.11

subjects. Enrolment ratios in academic to applied arts courses are 1:1.49 for male students and 1:0.11 for female students; (iv) with regard to changes in the trends of male and female students it appears that while the number of men studying engineering, medicine, or commerce, economics and business studies has been increasing slowly, there has been a steady decrease in the number of men enrolling in general arts courses over the last five-year period. On the other hand, apart from a slight decrease in the number of women enrolling in general arts studies, commerce and business courses, medicine and other subjects over the last two-three year period, no clear pattern in the trends of women studying for a particular course can be seen. As will be discussed later, women students are usually given only a very limited choice in selecting their courses of study.

(e) Enrolment of Qatari students in the national Gulf universities.

It is interesting to note that the establishment of Kuwait University in 1966/67 appears to have made hardly any significant contribution towards the higher education of Qatari men and women. It is important to note that a very large majority of female Qatari students were obtaining their higher education from correspondence courses from universities abroad rather than taking advantage of the Kuwait University. Although the official records of both the Qatari Ministry of Education and Kuwait University show different figures for the number of Qatari students in Kuwait University (Table 7.25), the small numbers make it insignificant. On the other hand, it is still too early to notice any impact of the opening of the University College of Bahrain, which started in 1978/79, on the position of the higher education of Qatari students.

TABLE 7.25

Enrolment of Qatari students at the University of
Kuwait since its opening 1966/67-1979/80

Year	No. of students on Qatari governmentscholarships taking full time courses according to Qatari official records ^a			No. of Qatari students registered in full time courses according to Kuwait University records ^b		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1966/67				4	1	5
1967/68			5	5	1	6
1968/69			11	6	1	7
1969/70			8	8	3	11
1970/71			11	8	3	11
1971/72	17	4	21	8	6	14
1972/73	17	5	22	6	5	11
1973/74	5	6	11	6	5	11
1974/75	9	1	10	5	6	11
1975/76	8	4	12	5	8	13
1976/77	9	3	12	4	9	13
1977/78	11	5	16	2	6	8
1978/79	8†	7†	15†	0	8	8
1979/80	7*	6*	13*			

†These figures include students at Kuwait and U.A.E. universities.

*Students in Kuwait, U.A.E. and Iraq universities.

Sources:

(a) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1966/67-1979/80

(b) Kuwait University, Kuwait. Statistics for academic years 1966/67-1979/80.

(f) The state of Qatari women's higher education at universities abroad. Contrary to the promise made by the Qatari authorities at the time of the establishment of a national university, to improve the state and standard of higher education for men and women in the country, subsequent changes in official policies have apparently done more damage than good to the cause of women's higher education. The establishment of Qatar University has reversed the progress of women's higher education at universities abroad as it has provided a good excuse for the authorities to withdraw all the facilities previously offered to women for university education abroad. These harsh and illogical decisions and the hostile attitude of the conservative Qatari society towards the higher education of women have made the women's position completely hopeless. Qatari women wishing to acquire university education other than that available at home have been left with no other option than to enrol in correspondence courses run by the Arab University of Beirut. As stated earlier, the quality of this type of education is by no means comparable with that of full time university education. Furthermore, since education through correspondence courses is limited to areas of study which do not require practical training, it leaves no alternative to Qatari women other than to enrol in general arts courses.

(g) Comments on the higher education of Qatari women. Since no institutions for higher education were available in Qatar in the early 1960's, students were sent for university education abroad if they wished to acquire higher education. This did not start for women until the early 1970's, when the Ministry of Education started to sponsor female students for university education abroad, as long as their families raised no objections. Such official policy appears to have provided

good cover and protection for the authorities to carry out their distressing policies regarding the accessibility to Qatari women of higher education and also a good defence against opposition from influential members of Qatari society who still hold very orthodox and conservative views on the role of women in Arab society. An almost total lack of opposition from Qatari intellectuals, educationalists and general members of society to the official policies of the government has encouraged the authorities in denying the right of access to full time university education to Qatari women at universities abroad,

Before this change in educational policy, which took place in 1975/76, the Ministry of Education used to offer at least some facilities for women wishing to enrol in full time university education in Egypt. Qatari women students were provided with accommodation in a boarding house supervised by female staff appointed by the Ministry of Education. This boarding house was in Cairo, as the majority of female students enrolled in the universities in Cairo. In addition, full time female students enrolling in universities in countries abroad were allowed to take a member of their family on their first visit to the university. The Ministry of Education paid one week's travelling expenses to a member of the family who would accompany these female students²⁵.

Providing these facilities in addition to helping female students pursue university education abroad resulted in an encouraging social impact on the conservative Qatari society, where the idea of sending female students to universities abroad was least acceptable. Unfortunately, this benevolent policy towards the higher education of women did not last long. The Ministry of Education completely reversed its decision in 1976. A ministerial circular, issued in 1976, withdrawing the facilities

reads as follows²⁶:

"For the sake of public welfare and the common will, we decided that first, university scholarships abroad will be restricted to boy students only. Secondly, girls' scholarships will be confined to Doha College for teacher-training, any scholarships for girls and university awards abroad are not allowed."

The Ministry of Education neither provided any justification for this action nor gave any reasons explaining why preventing women from enrolling at universities abroad as full time students would be to the public benefit. The economic cost of sending female students abroad for university education cannot be considered as a serious financial problem because the total number of students eligible and wishing to go to university was too small to upset either the national economy or the educational budget. Secondly, it is also arguable that these measures were taken merely to increase the intake of Qatari women into a newly opened teacher-training college for women in Qatar. The number of women enrolling in university education abroad, as estimated on the basis of the last six years' statistical records, was too small to be considered as a threat to the overall intake of women into the local Doha College.

The irony of the situation is that these official policies not only deprived women of their constitutional rights of equal educational opportunities, but also gave rise to superstitions among the conservative Qatari society that, perhaps, higher education for women as full time students in advanced universities in countries abroad is 'against the public welfare and common good'. These discriminatory official policies, general public apathy, and restricted choice of subjects of study are an explanation for the increase in the number of Qatari women joining correspondence courses at the Arab University of Beirut in Lebanon.

Finally, it is important to mention that the introduction of the new policy on the higher education of Qatari women at universities abroad has not only closed doors to them for postgraduate education once they have completed their first degree, but has also created a serious administrative and social crisis within Qatar University. An increasing number of Qatari university graduates, employed as graduate assistants by the University authorities, have no opportunity for any postgraduate degree or education, since the University of Qatar has no such facilities.

C. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AT HOME UNIVERSITIES

1. Factors influencing the opening of national universities in the Gulf States

If the late 1960's and early 1970's saw the development of modern secondary school education in the Gulf States, then the late 1970's witnessed the development of higher education and the establishment of national universities in this area. By 1985, there will be six universities in the Gulf area alone, excluding those in Saudi Arabia and Iraq. This rapid development of higher education within a relatively short period appears to be a result of many economic, social and political factors arising mainly from the rapid economic growth of these countries owing to income from oil revenues.

The development and expansion of modern secondary school education significantly increased the number of secondary school graduates wishing to acquire higher education at the university level. By the late 1970's the total number of male and female students completing secondary school education was approximately 3,000, 2,000 and 1,000 per year in Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar respectively²⁷. It was also predicted that the number of these students would increase many times by the late 1980's. For instance, in the case of Kuwait alone, it has been predicted that the number of secondary school graduates would reach some 4,000 students per year by 1990²⁸. With the exception of Bahrain, it has been taken for granted in other Gulf States that the governments ought to provide all the necessary means of higher education for their own national students who qualified for and desired it. An increase in the number of secondary school graduates wishing to join university education thus appeared to have created some difficulties for these

authorities in securing a sufficient number of places in universities abroad. On the other hand, in the case of Bahrain, a limited number of government scholarships for higher education abroad imposed severe restrictions on access to higher education for Bahraini students.

At the same time, the demand for university education was rapidly increasing owing to the high social status attached to university degrees. A university degree was a passport to acquiring prestigious positions both in the civil service and in the private sector. The people of the Gulf States began to realise the importance of holding a university degree when the national students, on their return home with university degrees, were given top jobs in government establishments. A university degree not only automatically provided a guarantee of a job in the government, but also a loan for building a house, buying a car, or even in some cases, wedding expenses. The prestige attached to a university degree is a common social feature of Arab society, as can be exemplified in the following remark made by Szyliowicz²⁹:

"The realisation of personal ambitions and aspirations is only possible...besides the army...through university education. That is why there is in each Arab country a veritable flood towards the universities, and an almost infinite prestige attached to the university itself. Even under the circumstances when students are prevented from joining a university faculty of their choice, owing to limited numbers of places available, they seek enrolment in any faculty whatsoever, regardless of their preference for the subject of study, but only to obtain a university degree."

The development of secondary school education and the provision of equal opportunities for women to acquire secondary school education not only rapidly raised the overall number of female school graduates but also upset the numerical balance of male and female candidates

eligible for university education abroad on the basis of academic merit. As secondary school students, females showed their superiority over their male colleagues by acquiring the top positions in

school examinations. It must have been rather embarrassing for the authorities to comply with their policies for higher education at universities abroad which were based at that time on the academic merit of students and not on social and official prejudices regarding women's education at universities abroad. It appears reasonable to assume that this paradoxical situation must have exerted some pressure on the authorities to think of an alternative means of providing higher education at home.

One piece of evidence to substantiate this point can be derived from a statement made by a Kuwaiti Minister of Education in 1964 on the issue of delay in the opening of the national Kuwaiti University. Whilst the Minister of Education forecast a delay of some five years before the opening of the national university because of an acute shortage of Kuwaiti academics to staff it, he emphasised the need to establish a university college for female students, exclaiming that³⁰:

"Our daughters should not have to endure the hardship of going abroad and being away from their families in order to obtain higher education."

It appears, however, that the major concern of the conservative governments of the Gulf States was the criticism of the social and political system of Gulf society made by some students who had obtained education at universities abroad. The policies of some Gulf governments reflect their fears and beliefs that education of Gulf students at universities abroad exposes them to different social and political

ideologies which make them critical of the social and political status quo of their own societies. A statement made by Ahmad al-Umran, the Director of Education in Bahrain, in 1958 provides clear evidence of this³¹:

"It is highly doubtful at present whether or not the education of Bahraini boys at schools in England is beneficial and desirable. Whatever education they acquire abroad, it equips them with sufficient knowledge to become highly critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country. They resent having to resume the life style they were used to and they show no inclination to settle down in Bahrain."

Similar evidence can also be obtained from a comment made by Littlefield in his book 'Bahrain as a Persian Gulf State'³². He wrote:

"At the end of each academic year Bahrain witnesses the return of a group of students (Bahraini students who are studying at universities abroad) who strongly believe and express their views that the sheikhdom system is reactionary and unacceptable. Their criticism, no doubt, reflects the failure of the Bahraini regime to catch up with the progress they (the students) have witnessed during their studies abroad. In addition, these students feel that they have the ability to participate in running their country on a national basis. But the government disregarded these demands and kept the administration in the hands of the ruling family only, which resulted in a number of genuine revolts demanding social and political reforms in the country."

The rapid economic growth resulting from income from oil revenues appears to be the main driving force in the race among different Gulf States to establish national universities. This rapid economic change, as well as changes in social attitudes that followed it, motivated the Gulf States' governments to have their own universities which are regarded as a mark of civilisation and modernisation. The great financial costs involved in carrying out ambitious university projects was a matter of little importance in those days, particularly after the rise in oil prices in 1973. The main concern of all these governments was to get

technical advice and support from UNESCO and other United Nations' organisations for launching these projects. While it was the considered opinion of various consultative committees, appointed by the different Gulf States at different times, that the establishment of a university in each Gulf State was not justifiable on the basis of the small size of the indigenous population and of the extremely small number of national students eligible for university education, all these university projects eventually went ahead because all these states wanted to have their own national university.

Duplication of industrial and commercial projects in the oil-rich Gulf States is not an unusual phenomenon, and in this respect university projects are no exception. It is undoubtedly a matter of serious concern. This kind of attitude of the authorities can produce nothing but wastage of national resources and efforts. It appears, however, that in the competitive atmosphere of the Gulf area, the launching of independent university projects was inevitable. The feeling of rivalry between the Gulf States which originally stemmed from the tribal mentality of both the public and the rulers, was further augmented as a result of increasing income from oil revenues. The obvious result of this attitude was that these governments turned a blind eye to the question of the feasibility and productivity of their development projects, as illustrated by the following comment³³:

"In the heated competitive climate of tribal nationalism in the lower Gulf area, the economic logic may not prevail over the emotional considerations encouraged by an abundance of investment."

The competition among the different Gulf States, which played a leading role in establishing national universities, undoubtedly benefited

students from the whole Gulf area. It is equally important to point out that once the enthusiasm for establishing national universities was over, these Gulf States started to cooperate to open the Arab Gulf University in Bahrain. The outcome is that by 1985 there will be a national university in every Gulf States, i.e. Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, U.A.E., Oman and the Arab Gulf University in Bahrain.

2. Development of Kuwait University

Kuwait University was the first to be established in the Gulf area. Although the planning of it started during the early 1960's, the Ministry of Education first approached UNESCO in 1960 with a request to appoint an expert body to carry out some feasibility studies. A team of education-
alists comprising Sir Ivor Jennings, a professor from Cambridge University, Dr. Suleiman Huzin, president of the Asiut University in Egypt, and Dr. Constantin Zurriq, from the American University in Beirut, visited Kuwait in 1960 and was first asked to look into the possibility of establishing a university in the country, and second to make appropriate recommendations about the timing and means of implementing this project³⁴.

In its report, the Committee agreed in principle with the government's proposal for establishing a university in Kuwait and pointed out that a careful feasibility study and planning were absolutely necessary before such a project could be implemented³⁵. The Committee also believed that it would require at least two to three years to carry out meaningful research and planning for the successful implementation of the university project. On the recommendations of this Committee, the Ministry of Education immediately set up a special office with an independent budget³⁶. Such arrangements were considered necessary so that all busi-

ness matters concerning the administration and finance of the new university could be run smoothly from a central point, before the establishment of a permanent administrative apparatus for the university³⁷. Furthermore, in pursuit of this policy, the government also appointed a temporary University-Director and a University Council in 1962, with responsibility for the academic planning of the new university³⁸. The Council of Ministers was made responsible for the planning of different fields of study and faculties for the proposed university and it was hoped that it would be in operation by the academic year 1964/65³⁹.

An analysis of official records and of subsequent actions taken by the Ministry of Education clearly indicates that this university project was completely abandoned in 1963. At the time, instead of disclosing its real intentions for shelving the project, the government of Kuwait made the excuse that the project was merely delayed. In the meantime the Ministry of Education not only redeployed all the administrative staff employed previously in the Central Office of the Proposed University into other departments within the Ministry, but also dismissed all 21 non-Kuwaiti lecturers initially appointed to work in the proposed university⁴⁰. The main reasons for dropping the project were the strong opposition from some members of the Kuwaiti Parliament in 1963, in a debate on the establishment of a Kuwaiti university. The following comments, made by Dr. Ahmad al-Khatib during the parliamentary debate, illustrate the point⁴¹:

"We heard two years ago about the government's intention of opening a university in 1974. I opposed the idea from the beginning on the grounds that it is merely for propaganda reasons. We can do whatever we want to do with our money for propaganda purposes, but we should not be playing with the learning and science and abusing them for reasons of

political propaganda. However, I wish that this government would stop the whole project (University project) and modify its decision...and utilise the funds for other projects like health and social welfare."

As well as the opposition raised in parliament, various other public groups also raised objections to the opening of a national university on the lines proposed by the government. For instance, Kuwaiti elites expressed their fears that the proposed university was simply a new ploy of the government to improve its public image. In their considered opinion, the scientific and academic milieu necessary for the creation and maintenance of a successful university were either lacking or still immature in Kuwaiti society⁴². Doubts were also expressed as to whether the proposed university would be an independent organisation or whether it would function merely as another official source of government propaganda⁴³.

Objections were also raised against the wisdom of establishing a university comprising faculties of general arts and sciences only. In the opinion of those who opposed the university project, the university if launched should set up faculties of petroleum and marine science technologies as its main priorities⁴⁴. Generally speaking, all those who opposed the project, including politicians, academics, influential and common Kuwaiti citizens, strongly believed that the creation of a national university was the result of political motives of the authorities rather than based on real needs. It is noteworthy that during this period of confrontation and opposition, the government provided neither a good defence of its policy of opening a national university, nor gave a good explanation for shelving the recommendations of the first Committee. The only government explanation for the delay in opening the proposed

University of Kuwait was that the buildings to house it were not ready.

At the same time, however, some sectors of Kuwaiti society wanted to have a national university. During this period, the Kuwaiti press expressed a great deal of concern and dissatisfaction about the delay. An article published by al-Ibrahim in the Kuwaiti press (1964) clearly reflects the annoyance of the public about the delay. It states⁴⁶:

"Had there been no oil, we might have been more determined in establishing a university, like we (Kuwait) did half a century ago when we raised the customs tax to finance education; why can't we have similar strong determination in order to open a national university."

It now appears that the government of Kuwait took a dramatic and tactical turn during the period between 1962 and 1965 in order to achieve its ambition to have a national university. In its new policy, the government authorities put the main emphasis on starting an advanced teacher-training college for men and women students with the argument that the country needed better qualified male and female teachers to staff its secondary schools. The Kuwaiti Council of Ministers issued a special decree to establish these colleges in 1965 so that they would form a nucleus for the future university of Kuwait⁴⁷.

In accordance with the new policy, the Ministry of Education appointed a Committee of Egyptian experts, headed by the then Under Secretary of the Ministry of Higher Education in Egypt, to draw up a comprehensive plan for setting up two higher teacher-training colleges for men and women separately⁴⁸. Keeping in view the wishes of the Government to establish a university in the future, the Committee suggested that it would be advisable to set up two colleges which could offer degree courses in arts, science and education instead of establishing advanced teacher-

training colleges⁴⁹. The Committee also outlined the objectives of the future University of Kuwait, which can be summarised as follows⁵⁰:

(a) to improve the standard of living and life style in Kuwaiti culture in general, through artistic, scientific and technological developments best suited to the local environment; (b) to complete the educational ladder by providing facilities for higher education so far lacking in the country; (c) to cope with the increasing demand for professionally qualified personnel such as teachers, doctors, engineers, accountants, etc.; (d) to overcome the problem of sending young Kuwaiti students to countries abroad for higher education and to avoid the financial losses incurred through the failure of some Kuwaiti students suffering psychological stress as a result of home-sickness; (e) to provide higher education for the increasing number of secondary school graduates and to overcome the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of places for them in universities abroad; (f) to provide an opportunity for higher education for students from neighbouring Gulf States, since one of the main objectives of the future University of Kuwait was to serve the whole Gulf area, and (g) to cooperate with all other Arab and non-Arab universities and institutes for higher education in all fields of knowledge in the service of mankind.

In compliance with the recommendations made by the second Education Committee on the proposed Kuwait University project, the government opened two colleges in October 1966⁵¹. One was called the 'College of arts, science and education' and the other was called the 'University college for women'. In addition to their role as advanced teacher-training colleges, they also offered degrees in arts, science and education. The courses provided in science included mathematics, physics,

chemistry, botany, zoology and geology, and those in arts included Arabic language and literature, Islamic studies, English language, history, geography, philosophy and psychology⁵². These colleges also provided courses in education with specialised training to teach any of these subjects at secondary school level. The colleges were initially housed separately in two secondary school buildings. The administrative staff shared the building used as a men's college⁵³.

The opening of these colleges in 1966 marked the foundation of Kuwait University, and it expanded rapidly shortly after that. In 1967 two more colleges, a college of law and Sharia (Islamic law) and a college of commerce, economics and political science were opened to offer undergraduate training in these subjects⁵⁴. According to al-Abdulghafoor, the main reason for the haste in opening these new colleges was the great demand for a much wider range of subjects and fields of studies that the usual arts, science and education courses⁵⁵. Like other developing nations, the desire of Kuwaitis to acquire higher education in applied fields rather than in classical academic subjects offered by the two colleges of arts, science and education arose for the following reasons. First, the rapid economic growth which requires a greater number of personnel trained in legal and commercial fields not only increased the demand for training in these subjects but also created social prestige because of the high salaries and wages being offered in these areas compared with those in the teaching profession. Secondly, a general rise in the number of secondary school graduates as a result of the expansion of secondary school education increased the number of students wishing to acquire higher education in applied and technical fields.

The College of Law and Sharia provides courses in Shariah and Islamic studies, general law, private, criminal and international law. The College of commerce, economics and political sciences offers courses in accountancy, business administration, economics, political science, insurance and statistics⁵⁶.

In 1971, the college of arts, science and education was split into two separate colleges - a college of science and a college of arts and education⁵⁷. In 1973, the government passed a bill to open two new colleges, a college of engineering and petroleum and a college of medicine which started functioning in the academic years 1975/76 and 1976/77 respectively. A college of postgraduate studies was also opened in 1977/78⁵⁸.

Besides the opening of new colleges in the mid-1970's, another major change that occurred in university education in Kuwait was the introduction of a "credit-hours" programme on lines similar to that in American universities⁵⁹. According to al-Essa, this system was introduced in Kuwait when Kuwaiti graduates originally trained in American universities, started holding key positions in the university administration. These people were of the opinion that an improvement in the educational system could only be achieved by replacing the old Egyptian style educational system with the American university system of credit-hours⁶⁰.

(a) Higher education facilities for women at the University of Kuwait.

In 1966/67, when the University of Kuwait started, a separate college for women was opened which offered courses in arts, science and education. With the expansion of Kuwait University and the opening of new facilities or colleges specialising in commerce and related subjects, law, engineering

petroleum and medicine the old traditional system of single-sex education was gradually phased out at the university level. Currently all Kuwaiti female students who are eligible and wish to enrol in any branch of higher education at Kuwait University are free to do so. Except for the college of law and Shariah and the original university college for women, all other colleges and departments of Kuwait University now enrol both male and female students. Although co-education is practised in many faculties of Kuwait University, it is not recognised officially for fear that it might upset conservative groups in Kuwaiti society.

3. Development of Qatar University

The higher education of Qatari men and women in the form of university education abroad did not start until 1960. Although modern secondary school education was well established, the number of secondary school graduates was still so small that a national university in Qatar was not justifiable. However, the expansion of secondary school education raised some serious problems regarding the acute shortage of properly qualified national teachers to staff local schools. The Ministry of Education also had great difficulty in attracting qualified teachers from other Arab states to Qatari schools, because the demand for qualified teachers was also increasing in their own home countries. The urgent need of the Qatari government for qualified teachers to staff its expanding secondary education combined with strong ambitions of the government to establish a national university because other Gulf States had opened universities, played a leading role in the development of advanced teacher-training colleges which became the nucleus of the future University of Qatar.

(a) The project of a University of Qatar. The idea of establishing an institute for higher education was considered for several years before it was actually announced and put into action. The first attempt to establish an institute for higher education in Qatar dates back to 1969, when a proposal was presented to the Ministry of Education concerning the establishment of a regional college to train teachers for the preparatory and secondary schools⁶¹. However, the Committee on the "university project" advised the Ministry to exclude the programme of secondary school teacher-training, as it was not cost-effective because of the small number of secondary school graduates and little demand for secondary school teachers⁶².

Hence, it was suggested that it would be more appropriate if prospective secondary school teachers should be sent for further training to other Arab countries which had long histories of higher education⁶³. It was recommended that students with secondary school certificates, if willing, should be given a two-year training to enable them to teach at secondary school level, and students with intermediate school certificates should be given three years training to qualify them to teach at primary school level⁶⁴. Although the Committee emphasised the importance of training female teachers in the same way to meet the increasing demand for female teachers for girls' schools, it did not recommend establishing a regional teacher-training college for women⁶⁵. The reasons given by the Committee were as follows. First, it believed that as girls' education was still at an early stage of development, efforts should be directed towards training primary school female teachers at the already established teacher-training institute at secondary school level. Secondly, and this could be described as the most logical reason, a regional teacher-training college for women could

not be opened in Qatar because social customs and traditions would have prevented women from other parts of the Gulf coming to Qatar and the number of secondary school graduates from Qatar itself was too small to justify such a college. Thirdly, as the opening of a regional teacher-training college for men was a new experience, it was considered that all the efforts of the Ministry of Education ought to be concentrated on this one college.

Nevertheless, this plan did not gain the approval of the authorities and the government started to consider a major project to establish a full national university. Two committees were consulted by the government concerning the university project. One of these committees consisted of Sir James Cook and Professor Howard Bowen-Jones of Durham University in the U.K. This committee visited Qatar in 1970 to investigate the situation and to make recommendations. According to its report, the government's intentions were⁶⁷:

"To found in Qatar a university or college of higher education for students from all Arabian states in the lower Gulf."

In its report presented to the government in 1971, the committee suggested that the proposed university should be organised into five schools of study: (1) Social Science, (2) Cultural and Human Sciences, (3) Earth Sciences, (4) Life Sciences, and (5) Education. The period of undergraduate study would be four years after obtaining the secondary school certificate⁶⁸. Keeping in view regional and national customs, it recommended a separate college for women, but it pointed out the high cost of this plan in the following words⁶⁹:

"We drew attention to the fact that capital and recurrent costs will be higher than if men and women were educated together."

In order to reduce the cost of educating men and women separately, it was also suggested that the timetable should be planned in such a way that the expensive equipment required for teaching science subjects should be shared by male and female students⁷⁰.

In the same year (1970), the second committee, consisting of six professors from Egyptian universities⁷¹, also proposed a university for Qatar similar to that suggested by the British committee⁷². The Egyptian committee recommended that the proposed university should be designed in the Egyptian style, with seven faculties including arts, sciences, education, law, engineering, economics and a women's college where female students would be taught separately⁷³. Arrangements like those proposed in the first study were recommended to mitigate the high cost of educating men and women separately⁷⁴.

Although both committees used the same statistical information for the projected estimates of total student populations in the University of Qatar, their estimates of the number of students undertaking university education in Qatar showed vast differences. While the British committee estimated that there would be about 2,000 university students in Qatar by 1980, the Egyptian team gave an estimate of 4,000 students for the same year⁷⁵. Both reports made appropriate recommendations on various aspects of the project, including finance, organisation, staff, buildings, etc. The government of Qatar, however, implemented neither of these plans, perhaps on the grounds that the projects were too ambitious and their success depended on close cooperation of the other Gulf States. In those days, cooperation was remote since all the Gulf States wanted to establish their own national universities.

The Qatari government then called for the assistance of the United

Nations Development Programme to look further into the possibility of establishing higher education facilities in Qatar. An agreement was signed between the government, the United Nations Development Programme and UNESCO as the executive agency in 1973, and the project was described as "the establishment of higher teacher-training colleges". Two teacher-training colleges, one for men and the other for women, were then launched and started enrolling students in 1973⁷⁶.

The specific aims of this project were as follows⁷⁷: (a) to assist the Qatari government staff the existing and future schools at all levels with Qatari teachers and administrators; (b) to introduce reforms in the educational system, school administration and supervision, curriculum structure and content, textbooks and instructional material, in order to make them relevant to the changing needs and aspirations of Qatari society; (c) to improve the quality of teaching and learning by introducing modern methods and techniques; (d) to assist in establishing higher education institutions at university level with a view to providing the nation with higher education.

It is clear from these objectives that the government of Qatar never abandoned its intention to create a university. This became more obvious in 1976/77 when similar aims were emphasised in order to assist planning a new university for Qatar which would meet the nation's need for skilled manpower urgently required to keep pace with socio-economic development in the country⁷⁸. At that time UNESCO realised that the setting up of two teacher-training colleges was simply an excuse and a stepping stone towards establishing a university. An extract from UNESCO's report pointed out the government's intentions in the following words⁷⁹:

"The rapid build-up of the two higher teacher-training colleges to which the project has contributed is seen by the government as a first phase in the development of the university."

UNESCO soon became aware of the government's intentions of establishing a full university, and expressed its willingness to assist in the project, as indicated by the following statement⁸⁰:

"The planning of the Gulf University of Qatar is moving ahead rapidly until UNESCO could assist in this process if requested to do so. The plan should include a large measure of cooperation among the Gulf nations in developing higher education for the whole area."

It did not take long for UNESCO to realise that such cooperation between neighbouring Gulf States was not possible, as each of them believed that its national prestige would be at stake if it did not have the same plan in hand as its neighbours. What increased the rivalry among the Gulf States was their large incomes from oil revenues and the tribal mentality which is deep-rooted in this area.

On June 8th 1977, the government of Qatar issued a decree on the creation of the University of Qatar and its charter which proclaimed⁸¹:

The University is a public scientific and cultural institute having an independent entity and budget. It is an Arab university which will be concerned with all aspects of university learning and scientific research, preparation of specialised manpower and expert promotion of science, literature and arts, together with the progress of Qatar and the Islamic heritage in general."

The two higher teacher-training colleges for male and female students were reorganised into four faculties: faculty of humanities and social science; faculty of Shariah and Islamic studies; faculty of education, and faculty of engineering, which opened in 1980/81⁸³. These faculties are accommodated in the two buildings originally occupied

by the two teacher-training colleges and are segregated into campuses for men and for women. All undergraduate courses in these faculties are of at least four-year duration and the programme of studies and the progress of students and the final award of a university degree are based on the American credit-hour system.

4. Development of the University College of Bahrain

According to Winder, for some reasons the government of Bahrain did not consider the need to introduce facilities for higher education at home until the late 1960's⁸⁴. Most Bahraini students, following completion of their secondary education, used to seek employment or join their families' businesses⁸⁵. In those days there was no shortage or competition for jobs⁸⁶. As a matter of fact, there were more job opportunities in both government and the private sectors than there were young Bahraini citizens who could fill them⁸⁷. Similarly, there was no shortage of school teachers in Bahrain as compared with other neighbouring Gulf States such as Kuwait or Qatar, who made good use of the problem as an excuse to establish their home universities. Nevertheless, there was a great demand for higher education at home since many capable young Bahrainis could not go to universities abroad because of lack of financial resources. On the other hand, while the pressure for providing facilities for higher education within the country was certainly growing, the Bahraini government could not afford to indulge in setting up its own university because of its relatively poor economic conditions.

Besides this, national emotions appeared to have exerted a significant political pressure on the authorities to revise their policy con-

cerning the availability of university education at home. It is also important to mention that whilst Bahrain, with the longest history of education, did not have a home university, other neighbouring Gulf States such as Kuwait, Qatar and the U.A.E. had already established their own home universities. According to the Minister of Education, efforts were made in the late 1960's and early 1970's to establish a university in Bahrain, when the government asked for assistance from UNESCO to establish a regional college for teacher-training and to review the curriculum of the existing post-secondary school teacher-training institutes established in 1966/67⁸⁸. The government's intention was to upgrade these institutes to the standard of university colleges and to raise the duration of the teacher-training programme from two years to four years. To this effect a team of UNESCO experts, which came to Bahrain in 1966/67, submitted its report in 1970⁸⁹. In the meantime the government authorities appear to have changed their minds, as becomes clear from the following comments made by the Minister of Education⁹⁰:

"During this period we started to think about expanding the fields of study for Bahraini men and women and instead of establishing an advanced teacher-training college, we thought of opening a university college for arts, science and education."

The government of Bahrain then approached the United Nations Development Programme Agency for their technical advice and financial assistance in order to establish a university college. In 1978 an agreement was signed between the government of Bahrain and the United Nations Agency to establish the University College of Bahrain⁹¹. With the help of UNESCO and the cooperation of other universities in the area, a president and council of the University College of Bahrain were appointed⁹².

The site for the college was provided and the college built by the government of Kuwait⁹³. Following the initial preparation and other provisions, the University College of Bahrain opened in 1978/79⁹⁴.

In contrast to other universities in the Gulf States, which are financed entirely by their own governments, the financial resources of the University College of Bahrain depend on funds from the government of Bahrain, grants and gifts from individuals and commercial corporations, public and private donations and from income raised from tuition fees⁹⁵. While in Kuwait students pay only nominal tuition fees of KD5 per semester and at Qatar University no fees are paid, the students actually receiving monthly stipends from the government, students admitted to the University College of Bahrain have to pay tuition fees of about BD720 per annum for their higher education⁹⁶. The College is co-educational.

(a) Fields of study at the University College of Bahrain. The University College of Bahrain offers programmes of study leading to degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science. In addition, it provides other courses in the field of education including (i) a higher diploma in education and teacher-training for students with a university degree in order to prepare them to teach at secondary school level, (ii) a course of further education and training for secondary school teachers to bring them up to university level by providing specialised programmes of studies leading to degrees of BA in arts and education, BSc. in science and education, and BA in education, and (iii) a further education training course for teachers already in service in schools in Bahrain⁹⁷. There are also plans to start courses to prepare pre-primary and primary school teachers at the Education Department of the University College of Bahrain⁹⁸.

The authorities have often given the impression that the present University College of Bahrain is the nucleus of a future University of Bahrain, as expressed by the Minister of Education in Bahrain in the following statement⁹⁹:

"There is no doubt that the development of the University College on one hand and the Gulf Technical College on the other, and the fact that these colleges are located next to each other, is not just a coincidence but is designed to lead to the establishment of the University of Bahrain in the near future."

However, despite this public announcement, it appears highly unlikely that the University College will ever become a full university because the limited financial resources of Bahrain would not permit her to indulge in this extravagance, and secondly, the creation of the Arab Gulf University in Bahrain, financed by all other Gulf States, would discourage the opening of another university in the same country.

5. Development of the Arab Gulf University

The desire to create a Gulf university serving the whole Arab Gulf area has been expressed repeatedly over the past two decades by all governments of the Gulf States. It happened almost every time, when these governments started the planning the establishment of universities in their home states and needed both expert advice and financial assistance from UNESCO. Briefly speaking, both Kuwait and Qatar, who started planning their national universities in the 1960's and 1970's respectively and which opened in 1966/67 and 1973/74 respectively, both initiated and accomplished their projects on the pretext of creating these universities as the 'Gulf University'. For instance, the University of Qatar has been referred to as the Gulf University throughout its initial period of planning, as indicated by the following statement¹⁰⁰:

"The planning of the Gulf University in Qatar is moving ahead rapidly, until UNESCO could assist if required to do so, the plan should include a large measure of co-operation among the Gulf nations in developing higher education for the whole area."

However, as mentioned earlier, such cooperation was neither available nor was actually desired because all the Gulf States wanted to establish their own universities. It should be mentioned that the Gulf State governments who have established their own national universities have been extremely generous to students from other Gulf States as far as their higher education is concerned. It is equally important to mention that while there exists a remarkable sense of cooperation between the neighbouring Gulf states in helping each other in various respects, there exists also a considerable degree of national rivalry among these states. The combined effect of these feelings among the states has in the past produced duplication of a variety of projects, and in this respect the university projects either being completed or under planning are no exception. A typical example substantiating this point is the opening of a university in Oman, which does not at present have a national university. Not only had Oman signed an agreement in 1980 with the other six Arab Gulf states to cooperate and give financial support towards the establishment of the Arab Gulf University in Bahrain, it also signed in 1982 an agreement with UNESCO to create a national university in Oman which is expected to open in 1985¹⁰¹.

In earlier days the chances of establishing the Gulf University looked very bleak because of the opening of national universities in many of the Gulf States in the mid-1960's and 1970's. The project of the Gulf University gained some impetus, however, when the first conference of the Ministers of Education of Gulf States was held in 1975 in Riyadh

under the auspices of the government of Saudi Arabia. The main purpose of this conference was to organise and promote cooperation in educational fields among the participants in order to unify and advance their educational systems and facilities, with special emphasis on Islamic culture and values and on Arab nationalism¹⁰². The conference decided to convene its sessions annually and to set up an Arab Bureau of Education in Riyadh with the responsibility of studying and reviewing various educational projects in the area, including that of the Gulf University¹⁰³. On the recommendation of the Arab Bureau of Education, the fourth Ministers' Conference, held in 1974, agreed to establish the Arab Gulf University in Bahrain. Seven participant Gulf States - Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, UAE and Oman - signed the bill on the Gulf University in 1980¹⁰⁴.

The main reason for the establishment of the Arab Gulf University was the desire of the member states to cultivate a greater spirit of cooperation in different technical and cultural fields¹⁰⁵, and consequently it was established as a symbol of cooperation in the fields of higher education and scientific research.

Although no clear reasons for choosing Bahrain as the host country for the Arab Gulf University were given by the Council of Ministers of the seven Gulf States, it appears that a number of factors might have played a significant role in influencing the official decision. Despite the fact that from geographical and historical reasons the State of Bahrain has been and remains a central and integral part of the Arab Gulf, Iranian governments, under false pretences, have laid claim to the sovereignty of this Gulf State. Because of these illegitimate claims by Iran, it appears right and crucially important to choose

Bahrain as the host country for the Gulf University in order to express a spirit of solidarity among the nations in their whole-hearted support for Bahrain. Because of limited oil resources and hence little revenue from oil export compared with neighbouring Arab states, the Bahraini government could not afford to establish a home university. In view of these circumstances it is understandable that economically well off neighbouring Gulf States considered it pertinent to provide both financial and moral support for the Arab Gulf University in Bahrain.

Although the Arab states could have provided Bahrain with the funds necessary to establish and expand its own university, it was important to these states that the new university should be a co-operative project and a symbol of their unity and cooperation. It was also considered important by the Bahraini authorities to have facilities for higher education at home in order to clamp down on the increasing number of dissident and rebel Bahraini students at universities abroad. There had been considerable dissatisfaction and unrest among the Bahraini students studying abroad. According to Rumihi, during the period between the late 1950's and 1960's, some Bahraini students while studying abroad started organising 'Rabitas' types of student organisations. Not only did they strongly criticise the prevailing political and social structure of their home country, but they also challenged the political and social developments taking place in Bahrain.

Unfortunately, instead of taking a compassionate view of the students' organisations and their protests, the Bahraini authorities took harsh measures by gaoling these students on their return home or by banning them from re-entering their homeland¹⁰⁶. The Bahraini government

obviously considered that by having a university at home, it would be able to suppress this kind of political uprising among students by keeping a close watch on their activities. It is also probable that the Bahraini authorities were of the opinion that the problem of 'political awakening' in students might not have arisen if they were not sent abroad to the free and liberal societies of Western countries.

Hence, the provision of a university at home was considered a panacea for all these problems. It is rather peculiar that all the Gulf State authorities singularly misunderstood one important fact: that the very process of education itself broadens people's horizons and views and makes them more critical of their environments.

In the past the majority of Bahraini students who obtained university education abroad did so at their own expense. The high cost of education in overseas universities and the limited financial resources of an average Bahraini family could have prohibited many Bahraini students, particularly women, from acquiring a university education. It can be considered that this factor might have influenced the Council of Ministers when choosing Bahrain as the host country for the Arab Gulf University.

The reason for opening yet another university in the Gulf area, and its role in relation to the existing national universities was pointed out by a report of the Working Committee on the Gulf University project in 1979. This states¹⁰⁷:

"It is important to point out that the function and role of the Gulf University will not be to replace any other national university, nor will it be a copy or a competitive university to the already established national universities in the Gulf area. On the contrary, its role will be complementary in

filling the gap. The new university will work on the basis of cooperation and coordination between the various national universities and will provide further initiative and drive for their future development."

Without further details it is difficult to envisage what exactly this meant in practical terms.

As yet, the exact role of this university with respect to its teaching and research activities is not entirely clear. For instance, the first three faculties to be opened in the Arab Gulf University are faculties of medicine, science and education¹⁰⁸. While it seems reasonable to expand teaching and training faculties for medicine, which at present are only available in Kuwait, the opening of yet another faculty of education does not seem to make much sense because all the other national universities have faculties of education and Gulf nationals show little inclination to join the teaching profession.

As agreed by the Council of Ministers and suggested by the Working Committee on the Arab Gulf University project, the main objectives and aims of the new university can be summarised as follows¹⁰⁹.

- (a) To look after and promote interest in Arabic language and literature and in Islamic culture and civilisation, and to direct efforts to make Arabic and Islamic values the foundation for building cultural aspects of Gulf society.
- (b) To prepare and train university graduates and specialists in scientific and technical disciplines, and particularly in areas not covered by the national universities in the other Gulf States.
- (c) To conduct research and investigation into social, economic, administrative and technical problems facing these Gulf States.
- (d) To comply with the needs and requirements of the member Gulf States in organising scientific and cultural conferences, meetings and exhibitions.
- (e) To concentrate on planning and developing programmes at post-

graduate level and in other specialised fields designed to serve the local needs of the Gulf States. (f) To attract scholars and researchers whose interests lie within the policy framework of the Arab Gulf University and in particular those Arab and Muslim scholars and scientists who previously emigrated because of lack of research facilities. (g) To plan and develop research projects of geographical, social, economic and political nature characteristic to the Gulf States. (h) To exchange experience with other universities and institutes of higher education in fields beneficial to the Gulf States.

(a) The establishment and organisation of the Arab Gulf University.

The bill for establishing the Arab Gulf University in Bahrain was passed on the occasion of the Fifth Conference of Ministers of Education of the Gulf States, held in Kuwait on 30th March 1980¹¹⁰. The seven Arab States - Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, U.A.E. and Bahrain - are signatories to this agreement to provide necessary financial help and facilities for the administration and working of the University. The proportion of financial contributions provided by the seven member states towards the budget is listed below¹¹¹:

<u>Member State</u>	<u>Contribution as percentage of the total University budget</u>
Kuwait	25%
Saudi Arabia	25%
Iraq	21%
United Arab Emirates	15%
Qatar	9%
Oman	2.5%
Bahrain	2.5%

Three administrative and consultative bodies, as listed below, were made responsible for running all the academic and administrative affairs of the University¹¹². (i) The Council of Ministers of Education from the seven signatory Gulf states; (ii) the Council Secretariat, comprising representatives of the seven Gulf states, the Director-General of the Arab Bureau of Education, and the President of the Arab Gulf University; (iii) the University Council, comprising the President, Deputy Presidents, Deans of Faculties, Directors of the University research centres, and three elected members of the teaching staff.

The policy of the Arab Gulf University on enrolment of students from the seven member states can be summarised as follows¹¹³. (i) The University will accept only those students nominated by the education authorities of their respective countries and who fulfil the admission requirements specified by different faculties under the University regulations. (ii) Thirty per cent of the total number of places available in each faculty or department will be allocated to students coming from member states where that particular discipline(s) of study or training is not available at the national university. (iii) The remaining 70% of places in all faculties and departments will be available in equal numbers to students from all seven member states irrespective of the availability or non-availability of such facilities in their own national universities.

6. Programmes of study at the national Gulf universities

The system of study at all national universities in the Gulf area is based on the credit-hour system of American universities. This system was first introduced in Qatar University in 1973/74 and was followed by

Kuwait and the University College of Bahrain in 1975/76 and 1978/79 respectively. According to this system, an academic year is divided into three terms: autumn, spring and summer. The first two terms, being long terms, extend over 16 weeks each, and the third short term covers a 6-8-week period. While both Kuwait and Qatar adhere to this system, the academic year at the University College of Bahrain is divided into two terms only, autumn and spring. One credit-hour is given for one 1-hour lecture per week or one 2-3-hour laboratory practice per week over the period of one full term. Normally a student is expected to spend two hours per week studying and preparing for each credit-hour. Thus, a student enrolled for 16 credit-hours in a term is expected to put in at least 48 hours of study per week. There are, however, minimal and maximal limits to the number of credit-hours per term that a student must take in order to qualify for the final assessment. A full time student is expected to obtain some 12-16, 12-18 and 12-20 credit-hours per term at the Universities of Kuwait and Qatar and the University College of Bahrain respectively¹¹⁴. A student who obtains credit-hours either below or above this range in any particular subject of study is only allowed to proceed under special circumstances with the permission of the respective heads of departments. The total number of credit-hours required for degree courses at these institutions in the three Gulf States are listed in Table 7.26.

These credit-hours include three specific requirements, as listed below. (1) University or College requirements: students must obtain a minimum number of credit-hours in general but compulsory subjects including Arabic language, English language, and Islamic studies and civilisation, and in an elective subject outside their specialised field of study. (2) Faculty or departmental requirements: students must

TABLE 7.26

Number of credit hours required for different degree courses at the Universities of Kuwait and Qatar and the University College of Bahrain

University and course	No. of credit hours required
<u>University of Kuwait^a</u>	
1. Bachelors degrees in arts, science, law and sharia, commerce, economics and political science	120
2. Bachelors degrees in arts education or science education	126
3. Bachelors degree in engineering	144
<u>University of Qatar^b</u>	
1. Bachelors degrees in Humanities and Social Science, and Sharia and Islamic Studies	144
2. Bachelors degree in engineering	148-154*
<u>University College of Bahrain^c</u>	
1. Bachelors degrees in arts, science and education	128

*The number of credit hours varies depending on the subject of specialisation in the engineering field.

Sources

- (a) University of Kuwait, Kuwait. General Study Guide 1981/82, pp. 93-392.
- (b) University of Qatar, Qatar. Student Guide 1980/81, pp.15-43.
- (c) University College of Bahrain, Bahrain. Bulletin 1980/81, pp.31-102.

acquire at least a minimum number of credit-hours in all major compulsory subjects, both general and specific, that are required by regulations of the faculty or of the department for degree courses in arts or science. (3) Course specialisation requirements: students must obtain appropriate number of credit-hours in their subject(s) of specialisation. Normally at least half the total number of credit-hours of a degree course is devoted to the specialised courses. Students can either choose two subjects or one major and one minor subject in their specialised courses.

7. Enrolment of students in the national Gulf universities

The number of national school graduates in the Gulf States had been small because of the small size of the indigenous populations. Attention was drawn to this crucial point by various consultative committees on all three Gulf States university projects as a reason against establishing home universities. The small number of secondary school graduates and the even smaller proportion willing to join national universities created an internal debate on the issue of academic standards for university entrance requirements. One viewpoint was that the national universities ought to maintain some minimal standard regarding the academic qualifications of their secondary school graduates, even if it meant that some university places would be left vacant due to lack of sufficient numbers of suitably qualified candidates. It was argued that maintenance of academic standards was more important than filling the universities with students of poor academic standards. A second viewpoint was that entry to the national universities should be open to all national secondary school graduates who wished to join, regardless of their academic performance during their secondary school

education. This argument was based on the view that the introduction of restrictions would reduce the number of national students to a drastically low level. A recommendation made by the President of Qatar University suggested improving the methods and techniques of teaching at the university level by introducing special courses to raise the academic standards of low-grade university entrants¹¹⁵.

In our view the Gulf universities will have to tolerate a relatively low academic standard, at least at the first degree level, for some time to come. As demand increases (and experience in all other countries shows that it will increase), the standard can be raised appropriately. Higher degrees, however, from the start should meet international standards.

8. Admission requirements in the national Gulf universities

A certificate of secondary school education is a minimal requirement for university entrance, but different national Gulf universities also require that students should have a certain percentage of marks in their secondary school examinations. According to official regulations, the University of Kuwait and the University College of Bahrain require that national students should have at least 60% in the secondary school examination¹¹⁶. The University of Qatar requires that national students should have obtained 50% or 55% in their school examinations for entrance to arts or science courses respectively¹¹⁷.

The entrance requirements for non-national students have been slightly higher compared with those for national students. For instance, the University of Kuwait requires that students from other Gulf States should have at least 70% in their secondary school examination, and Arab

students from countries other than the Gulf States should have at least 80% of total marks¹¹⁸. Similarly, the minimum requirements for non-Qatari students entering Qatar University are 60% and 65% in the secondary school examinations for arts and science sections respectively¹¹⁹.

In both Kuwait and Qatar Universities, about 85% of the total university places are reserved for national students, 10% for Arab students whose families are resident in these countries and 5% for students from other Gulf States and on fellowship awards¹²⁰. In fact, the percentage of national students in these universities has always been less than 85%. The main reasons for this are the small size of the national student populations and the tendency among national students, particularly male students, to go to universities abroad rather than to their own national universities for higher education.

A UNESCO report on Qatar University points out this latter fact in the following words¹²¹:

"The desire of students to study abroad is a factor limiting the admission to the University."

In the University College of Bahrain, 5% of the total College places are allocated to non-Bahraini students whose parents are former employees of the government; the remainder of places are reserved for Bahraini students¹²². In view of the fact that the Gulf States will continue to depend on an immigrant workforce for the foreseeable future, the national universities and college should admit more non-national students whose families have been resident in the Gulf States for a

long time, Because these people have lived all their lives in the Gulf States, their sense of belonging to this area and their readiness to take part in the development of the area would be invaluable.

9. Comparative analysis of student enrolment and of its trends at the Universities of Kuwait and Qatar, and the University College of Bahrain

(a) Enrolment at Kuwait University Since the opening of Kuwait University in 1966/67, student enrolment has been increasing steadily, as indicated from the data in Table 7.27. Although during the first four years female students formed 50% or less of the total student population, on average the number of women has increased to 56% of total student numbers during the period 1966/67 to 1979/80.

The student population at Kuwait University includes Kuwaiti nationals, other Arab students whose families are settled in Kuwait, and students from other Gulf States and other non-Arab countries who come to Kuwait University mainly for education in the Arabic language and Islamic studies. An analysis of student enrolment according to nationality is given in Table 7.28 and indicates that:

(i) Kuwaiti students comprise the majority in their national university, their average percentage being 63.3% of the total since the opening of the University in 1966/67.

(ii) Students coming from other Gulf States belong to various categories such as private students, scholarship holders from their respective governments and students who had been offered fellowship awards by the University of Kuwait. Bahrainis have comprised almost 8.4% of the total student population on average over the past 14 years, but the average percentage of students from Qatar and the U.A.E. had been only

TABLE 7.27

Total number of men and women
at Kuwait University 1966/67-1979/80

Year	No. of men	No. of women	Total	Women as % of total
1966/67	243	175	418	41%
1967/68	467	407	874	47%
1968/69	709	628	1,337	50%
1969/70	875	838	1,713	50%
1970/71	956	1,032	1,988	52%
1971/72	1,113	1,340	2,453	55%
1972/73	1,429	1,857	3,286	57%
1973/74	1,596	2,240	3,836	58%
1974/75	1,803	2,642	4,445	59%
1975/76	2,482	3,350	5,832	57%
1976/77	3,343	4,185	7,528	56%
1977/78	4,277	4,098	9,375	54%
1978/79	3,634	4,981	8,615	59%
1979/80	4,000	5,395	9,395	57%
TOTAL	26,826	34,168	60,995	56%

Source: Kuwait University, Kuwait. Statistics for the academic years 1966/67-1979/80.

Analysis of enrolment at Kuwait University according to student nationality

TABLE 7.28

Year	Total no. of students	Students of different nationalities as percentage of total								Non-Arab students
		Kuwaiti	Jordanian & Palestinian	Bahraini	Qatari	Yemeni	U.A.E.	Egyptian		
1966/67	418	82	4.7	1.6	0.2	1.4	0.2	1.4	-	
1967/68	874	79	4.3	3.4	0.5	3.0	1.4	2.1	-	
1968/69	1,337	72	5.0	6.0	0.4	4.0	1.9	2.4	0.6	
1969/70	1,713	72	5.1	8.1	0.4	2.9	1.3	2.9	1.2	
1970/71	1,988	67	5.8	11.7	0.5	2.8	1.3	2.9	2.1	
1971/72	2,453	62	9.7	14.2	0.4	3.2	1.0	3.3	2.3	
1972/73	3,286	55	12.7	12.9	0.5	3.2	2.0	3.5	3.8	
1973/74	3,836	52	18.9	12.7	0.2	3.5	1.8	3.2	3.5	
1974/75	4,345	50	19.0	11.7	0.2	3.6	2.2	3.3	3.9	
1975/76	5,832	48	20.8	9.4	0.2	3.4	2.2	3.6	4.1	
1976/77	7,528	53	18.1	8.6	0.2	2.9	2.0	3.6	4.5	
1977/78	9,375	58	15.6	7.7	0.1	2.4	1.5	3.8	4.4	
1978/79	8,615	66	12.6	5.3	0.1	1.8	1.1	2.8	4.2	
1979/80	9,395	71	11.2	3.7	0.08	1.5	0.7	2.8	3.7	
Average		63.3	11.7	8.4	0.29	2.7	1.5	3.0	3.4	

Source: University of Kuwait, Kuwait. Statistics for the academic years 1966/67-1979/80.

0.3% and 1.5% respectively. The provision of almost free education, on payment of an extremely small and nominal registration fee, appears to be a major factor for the relatively high proportion of Bahraini students at Kuwait University, who otherwise would not have had any chance of university education. The data in Table 7.28 also indicate that the trend among Gulf States' students to go to Kuwait University has been declining during recent years. One obvious reason for this decline is the opening of universities in the other Gulf States.

(iii) Among other Arab students, Palestinian or Jordanian (who are mainly Palestinians with Jordanian passports) who are resident in Kuwait constitute the second largest group at Kuwait University - almost 11.7% of total enrolment since the University's opening in 1966/67. Egyptian students are another large group (after Palestinians) who comprise 3% on average of the total University student population. The majority of these students are children of parents employed by the government of Kuwait.

(iv) Students from other non-Arab Muslim countries from Africa and Asia comprise about 3.4% on average of the total student population of the University of Kuwait.

(A) Comparison of student enrolment in different faculties at Kuwait University

As described earlier, the University of Kuwait at the time of its opening in 1966/67 consisted of faculties of arts, science and education only. Other faculties were established in subsequent years in the following order: Faculty of Law in 1967/68; Faculty of Commerce, Economics and Politics in 1967/68; Faculty of Engineering and Petroleum in 1975/76; Faculty of Medicine in 1976/77. An analysis of enrolment in different faculties (Table 2.29) shows that on average only one-fifth

Comparison of percentage enrolment of students in different faculties at Kuwait University 1966/67-1979/80

TABLE 7.29

Year	Total no. of students	Arts	Science	Law	Commerce	Engineering & Petroleum	Medicine
1966/67	418	78%	22%	-	-	-	-
1967/68	874	62%	16%	6%	16%	-	-
1968/69	1,337	53%	15%	8%	24%	-	-
1969/70	1,713	49%	16%	8%	27%	-	-
1970/71	1,988	43%	16%	9%	32%	-	-
1971/72	2,453	39%	19%	9%	33%	-	-
1972/73	3,286	38%	21%	8%	33%	-	-
1973/74	3,836	38%	27%	7%	28%	-	-
1974/75	4,445	41%	26%	6%	26%	-	-
1975/76	5,832	41%	28%	6%	23%	2%	-
1976/77	7,528	41%	25%	7%	22%	4%	0.7%
1977/78	9,375	41%	24%	6%	22%	6%	1%
1978/79	8,615	41%	20%	6%	23%	7%	2%
1979/80	9,395	40%	18%	7%	22%	9%	3%
Average		45.6%	21.0%	7.2%	25.6%	5.8%	1.4%

Source: University of Kuwait, Kuwait. Various statistics for the academic years 1966/67-1979/80.

of the total number of students was enrolled in the Faculty of Science and a large majority of students (60%-80% of the total) was enrolled in the Faculty of Arts. With the opening of the new Faculty of Commerce, Economics and Politics, the number of students in general arts has shown a slight decrease. The average percentage enrolment in the different faculties up to 1979/80 appears to be in this order: Faculty of Arts 46%, Faculty of Commerce, Economics and Politics 25.6%, Faculty of Science 21.0%, Faculty of Law 7.2%, Faculty of Engineering and Petroleum 5.8%, and Faculty of Medicine 1.4%.

Further comparison of enrolment of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students at different faculties of Kuwait University (Figure 7.2) shows that almost two-thirds of the total number of students in both the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Commerce, Economics and Politics are Kuwaitis. Similarly, in the Faculty of Law almost 75% of the students are Kuwaitis. On the other hand, in the Faculty of Science, Kuwaiti students comprise only 46% of total enrolment. As well as a relatively high proportion of Kuwaiti students (71% of the total) in the Faculty of Medicine, enrolment of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students in the Faculty of Engineering and Petroleum has been approximately equal.

(B) Female students at Kuwait University

As indicated earlier (see Table 7.29), the number of female students at Kuwait University has exceeded that of men during recent years. Further analysis of the enrolment data on the basis of sex of students (Table 7.30) shows that among Kuwaiti nationals the ratio of male to female students has almost reversed since the opening of the University. In 1966/67 Kuwaiti women represented only 42% of the total national

Fig. 7.2 Distribution of Kuwaiti and Non-Kuwaiti Students Among Kuwait University Faculties. Average Percentage in the Period between 1966/67 to 1979/80

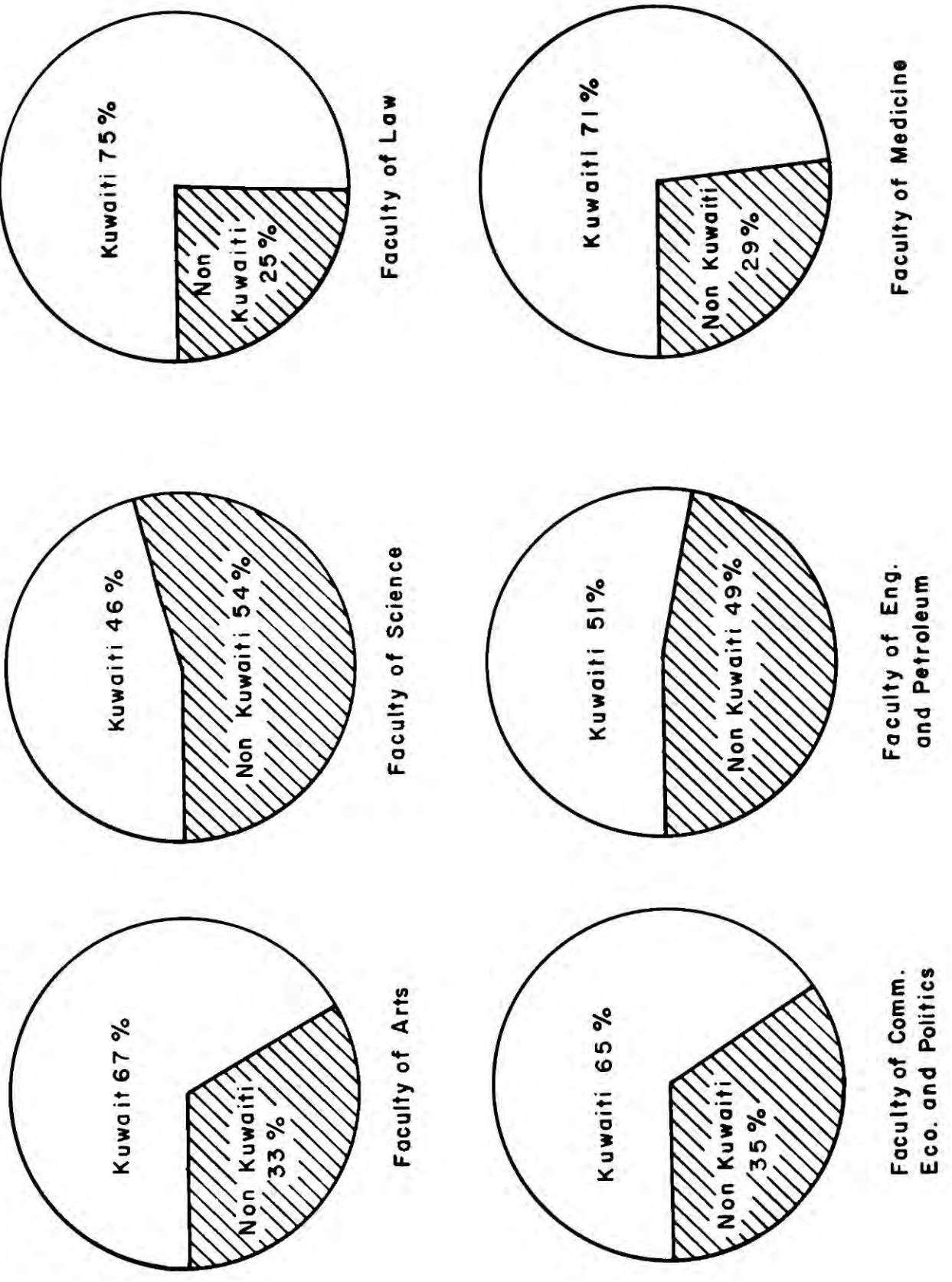


TABLE 7.30 Comparison of male and female students at Kuwait University according to their nationalities 1966/67-1979/80

Year	Kuwaiti students			Students from other Gulf States			Students from non-Gulf Arab States			Students from non-Arab countries		
	Total	Male %	Female %	Total	Male %	Female %	Total	Male %	Female %	Total	Male %	Female %
1966/67	35	58	42	51		50.9	29	28	72.4	-	-	-
1967/68	694	52	48	92	73	27.1	88	42	57.9	-	-	-
1968/69	967	51	49	224	67	33.3	137	43	56.9	9	100	-
1969/70	1,240	49	51	256	66	38.6	196	47	53.0	21	86	11.2
1970/71	1,330	45	58	373	53	46.6	242	50	49.5	43	74	25.5
1971/72	1,522	43	57	468	48	51.9	406	49	51.2	57	72	12.6
1972/73	1,794	37	63	652	47	52.6	715	49	50.9	125	78	22.2
1973/74	1,977	36	64	742	44	55.5	981	48	52.4	136	70	30.1
1974/75	2,171	33	67	813	44	55.9	1,291	43	56.9	170	72	28.2
1975/76	2,801	35	64	913	45	55.0	1,876	47	53.5	242	76	23.9
1976/77	3,977	40	60	1,050	45	54.9	2,156	47	53.2	345	79	21.1
1977/78	5,452	42	58	1,132	46	53.7	2,377	48	51.9	414	83	17.1
1978/79	5,721	39	61	749	43	56.8	1,777	44	56.2	368	81	19.2
1979/80	6,682	39	61	587	46	53.8	1,770	46	53.8	356	81	19.3
Average		43%	57%		51%	49%		45%	55%		79%	21%

Source: University of Kuwait, Kuwait. Various statistics for the academic years 1966/67-1979/80.

student number, but they now constitute almost 61% of the total national student population at Kuwait University (1979/80). The average percentage of male and female Kuwaiti students enrolled over the past 14 years has been 43% and 57% respectively.

Similarly, among students from other Arab states outside the Gulf area, the average percentage of female students has been higher (55%) than that of male students (45%). On the other hand, while the average percentages of male (51%) and female (49%) students from other Gulf States has been approximately equal, the majority of students (79%) coming from non-Arab countries has been male (Table 7.30).

A comparison of male and female Kuwaiti student enrolment in different faculties in Kuwait University (Figure 7.3) shows that female students constitute the large majority in the Faculty of Arts (69% of the total). Similarly, in the Faculties of Science and Medicine, the average percentages of female Kuwaiti students, being 56% and 59% respectively, have been higher than those of male Kuwaiti students (Figure 7.3). On the other hand, average percentages of female Kuwaiti students in the Faculties of Law (37%), Commerce, Economics and Politics (42%) and Engineering and Petroleum (35%) have been lower than those of male Kuwaiti students (Figure 7.3). Although there have been no official restrictions on women joining any faculty at Kuwait University, the analysis of the data suggests that Kuwaiti women prefer to enrol in degree courses in basic arts, science and in medicine rather than in other applied fields such as commerce, law and engineering

(b) Enrolment at Qatar University. Since its opening in 1973/74, enrolment at Qatar University has been increasing steadily (Table 7.31).

Fig 7-3 Distribution of Kuwaiti men and women enrolled at different faculties of Kuwait University. Average percentage for the period between 1966/67 and 1979/80

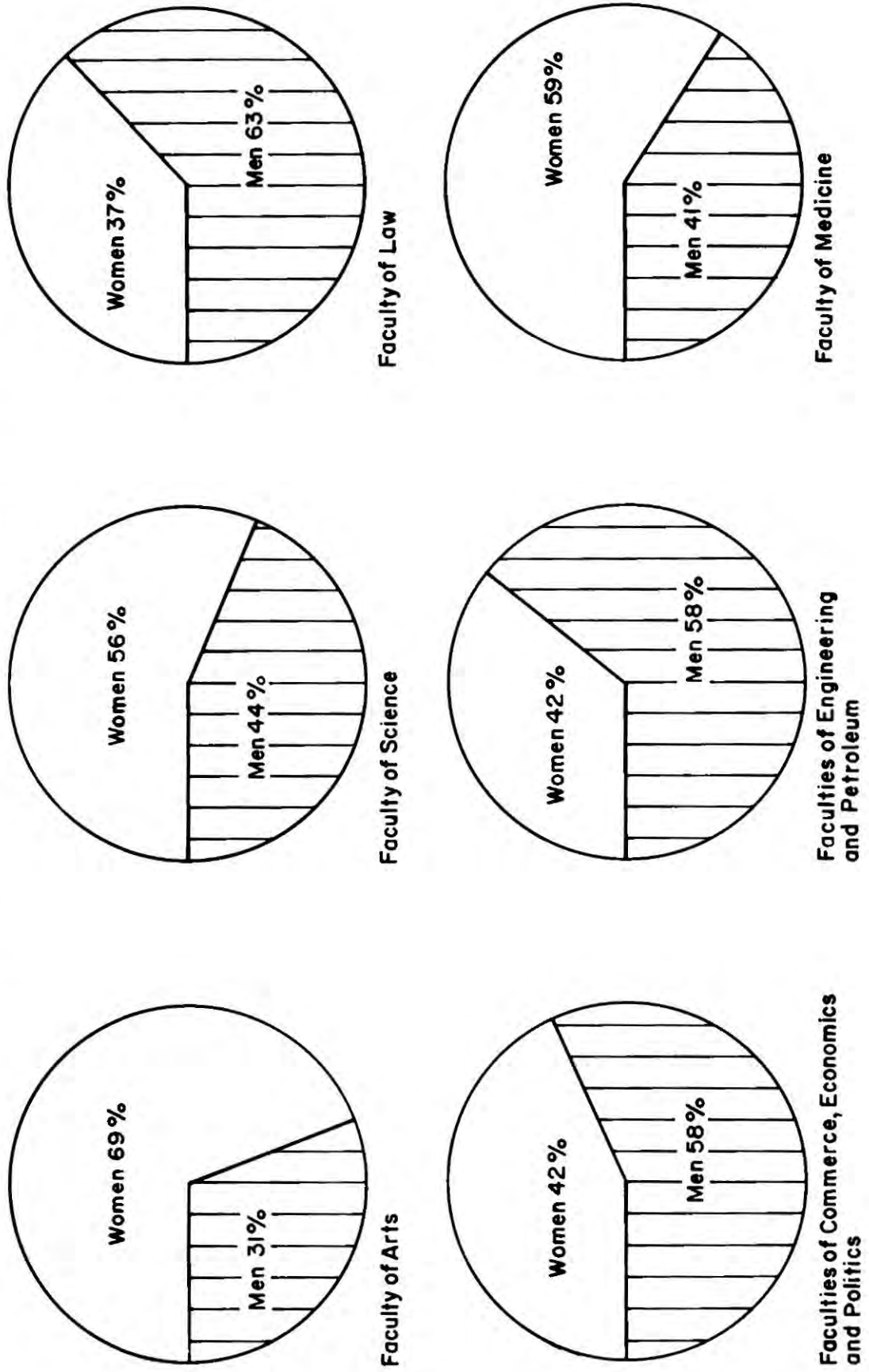


TABLE 7.31

Enrolment at Qatar University according to nationality 1973/74-1979/80

Year	Total	Qatari as % of total	Gulf area students				Other Arab students			Non-Arab students
			% of total	Major nationalities			% of total	Major nationalities		
				Bahraini	Yemeni	Kuwaiti		Jordanian & Palestinian	Egyptian	
1973/74	157	79%	8%	7%	0.6%	-	13%	11%	0.6%	-
1974/75	328	68%	18%	13%	2%	0.3%	13%	12%	0.6%	0.3%
1975/76	513	62%	20%	13%	3%	0.2%	16%	12%	4%	0.5%
1976/77	765	65%	17%	12%	2%	-	16%	12%	4%	1.3%
1977/78	964	59%	23%	18%	2%	-	21%	11%	5%	1.2%
1978/79	1,204	54%	24%	19%	2%	-	19%	12%	5%	1%
1979/80	2,013	58%	18%	14%	2%	-	22%	10%	5%	2%
Average		64%	18%	14%	2%	0.25%	17%	11%	3.5%	0.9%

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1973/74-1979/80.

Although the total number of Qatari national students has increased considerably over this period, the relative proportion of Qatari students to that of the total number of students shows a steady decline. Among non-Qataris, students from other Gulf States have always constituted a majority compared with any other group of students at the University. However, among groups of Gulf students and other Arab students, Bahrainis and Palestinians form a relatively high proportion compared with students from other countries. An increase in the number of non-Arab students, coming mainly from Asian and African Muslim countries (although the total number of these is small), can be considered to be a result of an increase in the number of fellowship awards being offered by Qatar University to these students to come and study in Qatar.

(A) Comparison of male and female student numbers at Qatar University

An analysis of the total enrolment of male and female students at Qatar University shows that since its opening in 1973/74, female students have usually formed two-thirds of the total student population (Table 7.32). Further analysis of the enrolment data indicates that among Qatari national students and students from other Gulf States and Arab countries, the number of female students has been almost twice that of male students (Table 7.33). On the other hand, the number of female students from non-Arab Asian and African Muslim countries has been considerably lower (14%) compared with the number of male students from these countries (Table 7.33). On average, female Qatari students form the largest group, almost 63% of total female students, and female students from other Arab countries and from other Gulf States constitute about 38% each of total enrolment (Table 7.33). Female students from other Muslim countries are only 0.2% of the total female enrolment at Qatar University.

TABLE 7.32

Comparison of percentage of male and female students at Qatar University 1973/74-1979/80

Year	Total students	% male	% female
1973/74	157	34%	66%
1974/75	328	35%	65%
1975/76	513	41%	59%
1976/77	765	33%	67%
1977/78	964	35%	65%
1978/79	1,204	37%	62%
1979/80	2,013	36%	64%
Average		35%	64%

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports for the academic years 1973/74-1979/80.

Comparison of male and female students at Qatar University according to major nationalities 1973/74-1979/80

TABLE 7.33

Year	Qatari students		Students from other Gulf States		Students from other Arab countries		Students from non-Arab countries	
	Total male + female students	Females as % of total students	Total male + female students	Females as % of total students	Total male + female students	Females as % of total students	Total male + female students	Females as % of total students
1973/74	124	65%	13	77%	20	70%	-	-
1974/75	223	61%	61	73%	43	70%	1	-
1975/76	317	51%	109	71%	84	76%	3	-
1976/77	501	66%	131	73%	123	72%	10	25%
1977/78	564	66%	224	63%	164	69%	12	25%
1978/79	657	55%	295	57%	235	65%	17	18%
1979/80	1,172	71%	367	58%	427	54%	47	7%
Annual average	508	64%	171	67%	157	68%	13	14%
Total students	3,558	445	1,200	472	1,096	222	90	70
		550	107	106	106	106	4	4

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1973/74-1979/80.

(B) Distribution of Qatari and non-Qatari male and female students in different faculties at Qatar University

Although the University of Qatar started enrolling students in 1973/74, at that time it consisted only of the Faculty of Education. After the passing of the bill for the establishment of the University in Qatar, Faculties of Science, Social Studies and Humanities, and Islamic Studies were opened in 1977. For the purpose of comparative analysis of trends for preference for different courses, the enrolment data of male and female students in these faculties during the last two-year period is given in Table 7.34.

It appears that while the large majority of students joined the Faculty of Education (49%), enrolment in other faculties was in the following descending order: Humanities and Social Science Science Shariah and Islamic Studies (Table 7.34). Further analysis of enrolment of Qatari and non-Qatari male and female students in different faculties shows the following interesting trends:

(i) In earlier years the number of Qatari students in the Faculty of Education was higher than that of non-Qatari students, but the situation is now reversed (Figure 7.4). Although the percentage of Qatari women in the Faculty of Education has always been higher than that of Qatari men, the numbers of both male and female Qatari students have been declining. In the case of non-Qatari students enrolled in this faculty, the percentage of women has always been higher than that of men (Figure 7.4). Finally, for the last two years, while the percentages of both Qatari male and female students have declined considerably, there has been a considerable increase in the numbers of non-Qatari male and female students. For instance, on the basis of enrolment data for 1979/80, non-Qatari female students formed 51% of total enrolment in

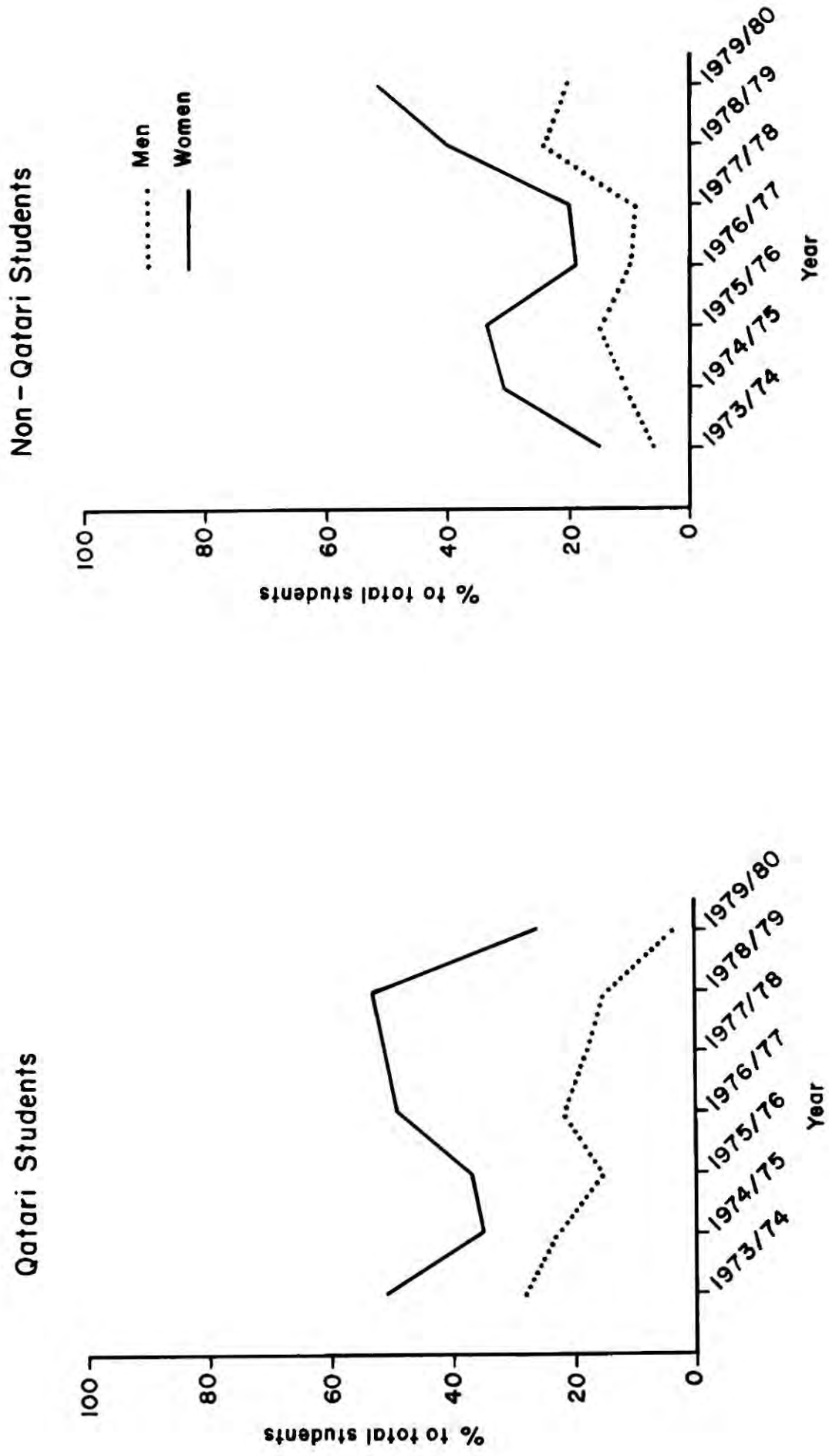
TABLE 7.34

Percentage distribution of total number of students at their first year of specialisation (fourth term) in different faculties at Qatar University in 1978/79 and 1979/80

Year	Total no. of students	Percentage distribution in different faculties			
		Education	Humanities & Social Science	Science	Islamic Studies
1978/79	363	53%	20%	19%	8%
1979/80	515	43%	32%	21%	8%
Average	439	48%	26%	20%	8%

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1978/79-1979/80 $\frac{1}{2}$

Fig 7.4 Comparison of Number of Qatari and Non-Qatari Men and Women Students Entering Faculty of Education since its opening up until 1979/80



the Faculty of Education.

(ii) In the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, since its opening in 1977/78, the relative proportion of Qatari students has been significantly higher (about 80% of the total) than that of non-Qatari students (Table 7.35). The number of female Qatari students in this faculty is lower than that of male Qatari students but their number has increased considerably during the last two academic years.

(iii) In the Faculty of Science, the number of non-Qatari students on average has been slightly higher than that of Qatari students. Among Qatari students, the percentage of women is significantly higher than that of men. On the other hand, the percentage of non-Qatari male and female students is now approximately equal.

(iv) In the Faculty of Shariah and Islamic Studies, although the number of Qatari students has been higher than that of non-Qataris, a rapid decline in the number of Qatari students during the last two academic years indicates that this trend will continue in the future.

(c) Enrolment at the University College of Bahrain. The enrolment of men and women at the University College of Bahrain is given in Table 7.36. While no firm conclusion can be derived because of the relatively late opening of this College in 1979/80, the data indicate that the pattern of male and female student enrolment is no different from that observed in the other national universities in the Gulf area. For example, while the number of men is significantly smaller than that of women, the number of women has increased rapidly (Table 7.36). The number of non-Bahraini students in the College is extremely small; there were only seven in 1980/81 out of a total enrolment of 499 students. This is

TABLE 7.35

Comparison of number of Qatari and non-Qatari male and female students entering the Faculties of Humanities and Social Science, Science, and Shariah and Islamic Studies in 1978/79 and 1979/80

Year	Total No.	Sex of students	Qatari students	Non-Qatari students
<u>(A) Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences</u>				
1978/79	73	Male	56%	6%
		Female	26%	12%
1979/80	146	Male	45%	9%
		Female	38%	8%
<u>(B) Faculty of Science</u>				
1978/79	68	Male	13%	30%
		Female	40%	17%
1979/80	106	Male	11%	27%
		Female	35%	27%
<u>(C) Faculty of Shariah and Islamic Studies</u>				
1978/79	28	Male	21%	7%
		Female	50%	21%
1979/80	39	Male	21%	36%
		Female	33%	10%

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1978/79 - 1979/80.

TABLE 7.36

Enrolment of students at the University
College of Bahrain 1978/79-1980/81

Year	Male	Female	Total
1978/79	32	73	110
1979/80	25	144	168
1980/81	54	445	499

Source: Various statistics obtained from the
University College of Bahrain.

understandable in view of the fact that the College allocates only 5% of its places to non-Bahrainis.

10. Teaching staff at the national universities

The Universities of Kuwait and Qatar and the University College of Bahrain are well staffed. The academic organisation of faculties and departments, while showing some variations (Tables 7.37-7.39), is based on the American university system. The academic teaching staff in both Kuwait and Qatar Universities comprise professors, associate professors, readers and associate readers, while in the University College of Bahrain it comprises professors, associate professors and assistant professors (Table 7.39). A senior member of these academics acts as a chairperson or head of the faculty or department. Normally a Ph.D. degree is a minimal requirement for appointment to these positions¹²³.

Most academic staff are usually appointed on a temporary contract for a 3-4 year period. A large majority of the academic staff is made up of non-nationals, most of whom come from other Arab countries, mainly Egypt. For instance Egyptians comprised 78% of the teaching staff at Qatar University during the period 1977/78-1979/80.

In addition, the universities employ a number of instructors, teaching assistants and tutors. The minimum academic requirement for appointment to these posts is a B.A. or B.Sc. degree, although many instructors have Master's degrees or additional postgraduate diplomas. The main duties of these personnel is to assist in teaching and to demonstrate in practical classes. They also help with supervision of students during examinations, mark examination papers and take tutorials. Gulf nationals

Teaching staff at Kuwait University
by sex and nationality 197 /76-1979/80

TABLE 7.37

Year	Professors			Associate Professors			Readers			Graduate ^a Assistants			Language Teachers		
	K	NK	Total	K	NK	Total	K	NK	Total	K	NK	Total	K	NK	Total
<u>1975/76</u>															
Male	2	110	112	6	99	105	29	77	106	NA	NA	23	NA	NA	43
Female	-	4	4	-	5	5	6	3	9	NA	NA	64	NA	NA	36
Total	2	114	116	6	114	110	35	80	115	66	21	87	2	77	79
<u>1976/77</u>															
Male	3	124	127	7	119	126	38	84	122	5	8	13	2	54	56
Female	-	3	3	-	2	2	11	10	21	33	8	41	16	26	42
Total	3	127	130	7	121	128	49	94	143	38	16	54	18	80	98
<u>1978/79</u>															
Male	4	149	153	10	135	145	59	119	178	7	2	9	2	59	61
Female	-	2	2	1	3	4	15	17	32	20	6	26	12	32	44
Total	4	151	155	11	168	189	74	136	210	27	8	35	14	91	105
<u>1979/80</u>															
Male	4	157	161	72	141	213	72	141	213	NA	NA	NA	3	67	70
Female	-	2	2	25	20	45	25	20	45	NA	NA	NA	18	39	57
Total	4	159	163	97	161	238	97	161	258	NA	NA	NA	21	106	127
Average	4	135		9	128		64	118		43	15		11	88	

K = Kuwaiti NK = Non-Kuwaiti NA = not available ^aNot including those continuing their post-graduate studies at universities abroad.

Source: University of Kuwait, Kuwait. Statistics for the academic years 1975/76-1979/80.

Teaching staff at Qatar University
by sex and nationality 1977/78-1979/80

TABLE 7.38

Year	Professors			Associate Professors			Readers			Associate Readers			Graduate Assistants			Language Teachers			
	Q	NQ	Total	Q	NQ	Total	Q	NQ	Total	Q	NQ	Total	Q	NQ	Total	Q	NQ	Total	
<u>1977/78</u>																			
Male	-	30	30	-	26	26	-	2	2	-	2	2	-	24	-	-	20	20	
Female	-	3	3	-	6	6	-	1	1	-	6	6	-	31	-	-	10	10	
Total	3	33	33	-	32	32	-	3	3	-	8	8	-	55	-	-	30	30	
<u>1978/79</u>																			
Male	-	28	28	-	30	30	-	30	30	5	-	5	23	-	-	-	23	23	
Female	-	2	2	-	8	8	-	3	3	1	-	1	47	-	-	-	7	7	
Total	-	30	30	-	38	38	-	33	33	6	-	6	70	-	-	-	30	30	
<u>1979/80</u>																			
Male	-	35	35	-	21	21	2	34	36	5	-	5	30	-	-	NA	NA	NA	
Female	-	2	2	-	4	4	2	1	3	-	-	-	60	-	-	NA	NA	NA	
Total	-	37	37	-	25	25	4	35	39	5	-	5	90	-	-	NA	NA	NA	
Average	-	33		-	32		1	24		4	2		72	-	-	-	30		

Q = Qatari NQ = Non-Qatari

Source: University of Qatar, Qatar. Student Guide for the academic years 1977/78-1979/80.

Teaching staff at the University College of Bahrain by sex in 1980/81 and 1982/73

TABLE 7.39

Year	Professors		Associate Professors		Assistant Professors		Instructors		Teaching Assistants		Graduate Assistants		Tutors								
	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot						
1980/81	14	1	15	9	-	9	6	4	10	25	11	36	3	1	4	-	-	-	-		
1982/83	15	3	18	12	2	14	30	11	41	29	8	37	-	-	-	19	14	33	16	5	21
Average	14	2		10	1		18	7		27	9		1	0.5		9	7		8	2.5	

M = male F = female Tot = total

Source: University College of Bahrain, Bahrain. Bulletins 1980/81 and 1982/83.

who have worked as tutors, instructors or teaching assistants for a few years and gained some experience are also encouraged to continue higher education in their field of interest or in allied areas suggested by the department or faculty.

To this end, these institutes sponsor staff to go to universities abroad for higher degrees, for instance the Ph.D. They also have a scheme which could be called a graduate assistantship scheme, to train and improve the academic qualifications of young national graduates to take up university teaching and research positions in the future, as the number of national academic staff is extremely small in these Gulf universities. Every year departments and faculties select one or two graduates, usually on the basis of their academic achievement during their undergraduate studies and their keenness to obtain higher education and to join the university teaching profession. Normally these graduate assistants are sent to universities abroad within a year or two of their appointment. For instance, Kuwait University was sponsoring 112 men and 53 women in 1979/80¹²⁵, enrolled for postgraduate degrees in universities abroad. However, because of government policies and social attitudes which discourage women from going abroad for higher education, the number of female graduates able to go for higher education assistantships has been declining year by year (Table 7.38).

During the time these graduate assistants are working at their home institutes before they are sent abroad, their main job is to help senior members of the academic staff. These institutes also employ a number of language teachers to assist mainly in teaching the English language, which is a basic requirement of all university degrees.

An analysis of the number of teaching staff in relation to student enrolment indicates that the student/teacher ratios at university level are 17:1 and 15:1 at Kuwait and Qatar Universities respectively. The annual increase in the number of teaching staff between professorial and instructor levels, though varying from one university to another, appears to be greater than the increase in the number of students at these universities. What is very surprising is that a large majority (83% and 94% at Kuwait and Qatar Universities respectively) of the academic staff is non-national (Tables 7.37 and 7.38). In relative terms, the national Gulf universities appear to depend more heavily on non-national staff than do many other industrial and commercial organisations in these countries. The contributions made by these non-nationals in university education have been considerable and as a matter of fact these universities could not have reached their present status without their help.

The present policies of expansion and the establishment of more universities in the Gulf area require more thought, because of the increasing degree of dependence on non-national staff in carrying out such projects. In this context and in order to reduce their dependency on non-national academic staff, the Gulf States governments and universities should not introduce laws which prevent their women from obtaining higher education either at home or at universities abroad. Rather they should introduce policies which positively encourage women to take a more active role.

11. Postgraduate teaching and research at national Gulf universities

As yet the national Gulf universities are undergraduate teaching

universities. Teaching and research at postgraduate level, if available, is very limited. In the past various attempts have been made to start postgraduate courses, but because of lack of proper planning and organisation, the experiment has not been successful. For example, until 1976 Kuwait University offered postgraduate courses leading to Master's or Ph.D. degrees in most of its faculties¹²⁶. However, in 1973 the University Council ended postgraduate programmes leading to Ph.D. degrees in most of its faculties¹²⁷. In 1976 a similar decision was taken concerning postgraduate courses leading to Master's degrees¹²⁸.

The main reason for this closure of postgraduate courses was that they were of a very low standard¹²⁹. It was also considered that the teaching programme at undergraduate level was not up to standard and that the students were not fully qualified for postgraduate studies. Their proficiency in English was poor which meant much extra work for supervisors to bring them to an adequate standard. The time required for a Master's degree was very long, and in some cases took eight to nine years to complete M.A. courses. In some departments and faculties, the facilities for postgraduate studies were too little to cope with the number of students. There were no set plans for these programmes. Many postgraduate courses were dependent upon the initiative of keen academic staff. Since the majority of the staff are appointed from other countries on a temporary contract, there was no continuity in any area of postgraduate studies.

For these and many other reasons, all postgraduate programmes were stopped in 1976. In the same year a committee, including experts from

outside Kuwait University, was formed to look into the problem of the reorganisation of postgraduate studies at Kuwait University¹³⁰. The committee appointed a special body in 1977 with responsibility to study the administrative and academic structure and organisation of a school of postgraduate studies at the University of Kuwait¹³¹. After two years of planning, a college of postgraduate studies was opened in 1979 at Kuwait University and the first group of students was admitted¹³². This college offers Masters degree courses in chemistry, mathematics and physics¹³³. In 1980 16 students were registered for postgraduate studies¹³⁴.

The University College of Bahrain, which started in 1978/79, offers a postgraduate programme of studies leading to the M.Ed. degree, with specialisation in biology, chemistry or physics¹³⁵. At the University of Qatar, apart from a postgraduate diploma in education, no other postgraduate studies are available¹³⁶.

12. Effect of the national universities on the education of women

The question of the effect of the opening of national universities on the education of women is complex. First, it is difficult to anticipate what course of action different Gulf governments and societies have taken with regard to the higher education of women abroad in view of their conservative policies and traditional concepts on the issue of women's education, if the national universities had not been established. The education of women has always been regarded as secondary to that of men, even when it is readily available. Secondly, it is also difficult to envisage to what extent Qatar in particular and Bahrain and Kuwait in general were prepared to accept the idea of sending women abroad for

higher education had there been no such facilities available at home. Even before the establishment of the national universities, women were strongly discouraged from going to university both by the government authorities and by their parents. The extremely low participation of women in higher education, and the introduction of university education through correspondence courses, are clear indications of the attitude of the public and the authorities towards higher education for women.

On the other hand, while the opening of national universities appears to be advantageous to Gulf women, the very establishment of these universities has almost completely deprived them of the right to better and more competitive higher education at universities abroad. In this respect countries like Qatar introduced rigid laws preventing women from going abroad for higher education, and the Kuwait authorities discourage women from doing so. This can be clearly demonstrated from the enrolment data on higher education of national men and women in these Gulf States (Table 7.40).

In both Kuwait and Qatar, where national universities were established in 1967/68 and 1973/74 respectively, only 10% and 5% of the total number of women in university education had access to university education abroad in 1979/80. In the case of Bahrain, however, where the College was established in 1978/79, 89.1% of the total number of women in university education were enrolled at universities abroad (Table 7.40). Government policies and laws which prevent women from obtaining higher education at universities abroad are also adversely affecting the post-graduate education and training of women.

Looking at the problem from another angle, although the academic

Total number of male and female students and percentages in university education in countries abroad and at national universities 1979/80*

TABLE 7.40

Country	Total no. of university students		% of students at universities abroad		% of students at national universities		% Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Abroad	National universities
BAHRAIN	1,771	1,311	99%	89%	1%	11%	95%	5%
KUWAIT	4,925	4,505	47%	10%	53%	90%	29%	71%
QATAR	1,132	891	63%	5%	37%	93%	38%	62%

*National students

Based on data in Tables 7.3, 7.10, 7.18, 7.30, 7.33, 7.36.

standards of the national universities are in no way comparable to those of old established universities in other parts of the world, the national universities have apparently made tremendous contributions to the education of Gulf citizens in general and of Gulf women in particular. An analysis of the enrolment in universities for 1979/80 clearly demonstrates these points. The national universities in Kuwait and Qatar provided higher education for about 72% and 62% of the national student population engaged in university education in the two countries respectively. Among these students, women were the largest group: 61% and 71% of the total student population in Kuwait and Qatar respectively (Table 7.40). As a matter of fact, the number of national women in national universities exceeded the number of men in 1979/80: 4,676 women compared with 2,606 men in Kuwait University, and 832 women compared with 340 men in Qatar University (Table 7.40).

Although there have been many changes in government policies on the higher education of women in these countries, the popularity of university education among women, even under circumstances of limited access to national universities, appears to be greater than initially anticipated by the educational planners. For example, a comparison of the data on the predicted and actual enrolment in Qatar University (Table 7.41) indicates that the actual enrolment at the time of the opening of the University (1973/74) and that in 1979/80 has been many times higher than anticipated by the authorities. An increase in the percentage enrolment of women compared with that of men has been gradual over the years in these national universities, as illustrated in the data for Qatar (Figure 7.5).

While the argument as to whether the opening of national universi-

Comparison between actual and predicted numbers and relative percentages of female students at the University of Qatar 1973/74 and 1979/80

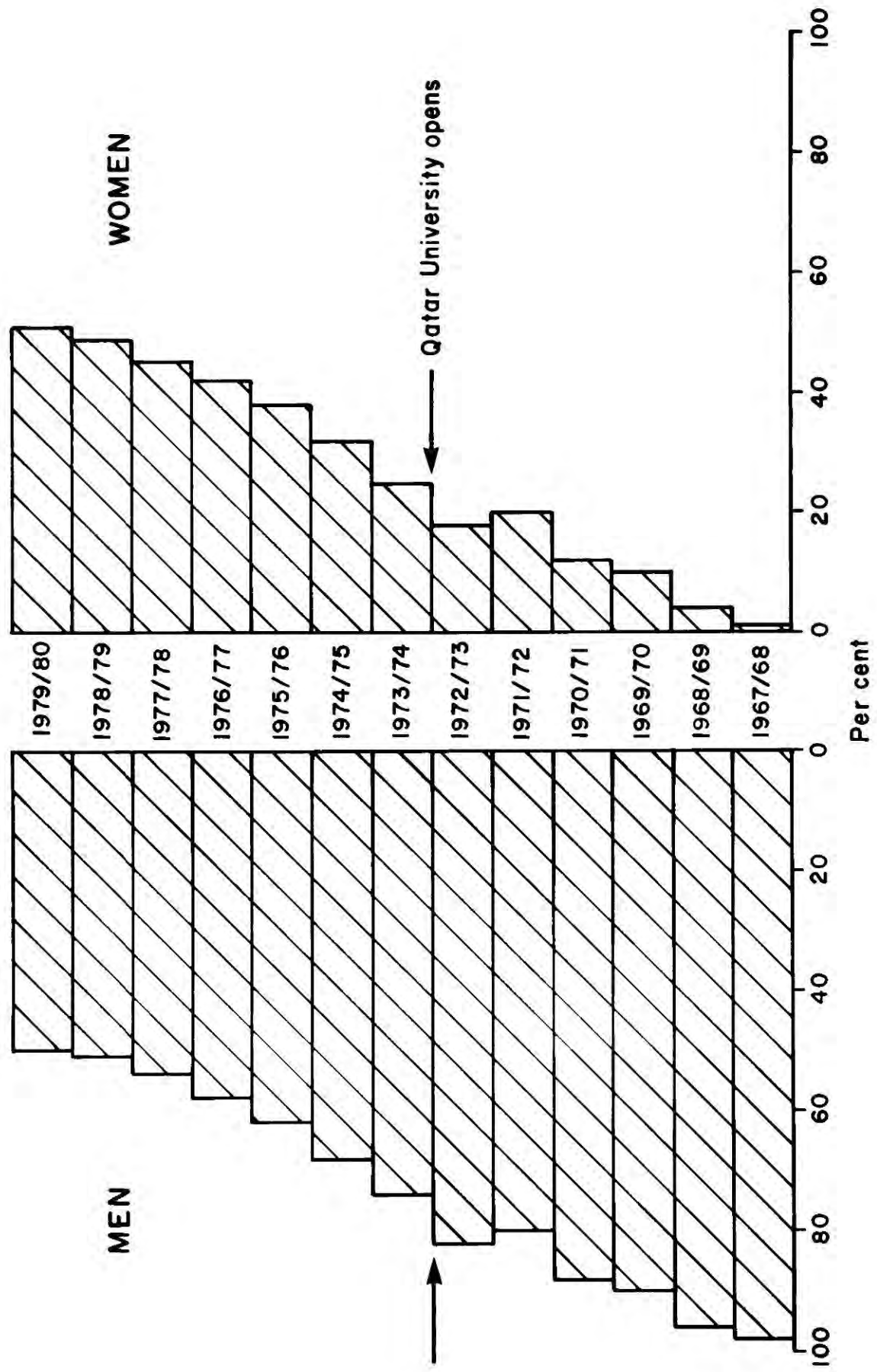
TABLE 7.41

Year	PREDICTED VALUES ^a		ACTUAL VALUES ^b		DIFFERENCE between actual and predicted	
	No. of female students	Percentage in relation to total no. of students	No. of female students	Percentage in relation to total no. of students	Total no. of female students	Percentage in relation to total no. of students
<u>1973/74</u> First year of opening of Qatar University	15	8%	80	64%	5.3 times greater	8.0 times greater
<u>1979/80</u> Seven years after opening	210	14%	838	71%	4.0 times greater	5.1 times greater

Sources: (a) Cook, J. and Jones, H.B. (1971) The University of Qatar and the Gulf. Report presented to the Deputy Ruler of Qatar, p.9.

(b) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1973/74 and 1979/80.

Fig 7.5 Percentage of Men and Women to Total Students in University Education in Qatar in the Period from 1967/68 to 1979/80



in every Gulf State was a worthwhile and forward step or a waste of national resources will continue, on the above evidence it is clear that these national universities have certainly been helpful to women in their pursuit of higher education.

D. DISCUSSION AND COMMENTS

University education of national Gulf students in the form of education at universities abroad started much earlier than university education in national universities. Although university education in the form of national universities has expanded rapidly during a short period of time, university education abroad is still the main venue for Gulf national students. Until the early 1970's there was hardly any pressure for university education in the Gulf area, the number of secondary school graduates being extremely small, neither creating a need to organise the prevailing system of university education abroad nor a need for provision of university education at home.

However, with the development and expansion of secondary school education during the 1970's, both the total number of secondary school graduates and those wishing to acquire university education increased rapidly. The expansion of secondary school education thus appears to have influenced the development of university education in two ways. First, it created an increasing demand for university education, and secondly it increased the demand for better qualified teachers to meet its own expanding requirements.

While the immediate effect of an increase in the number of secondary school graduates wishing to acquire university education was the need to reorganise the system of university education abroad, the

increasing demand for university education also provided further support for the Gulf States governments to press on with their plans to establish national universities. On the other hand, an acute shortage of qualified national teachers to staff the secondary schools resulted in the setting up immediately of advanced colleges for teacher training. According to the plans of these governments, these colleges were conceived as the nuclei for the future national universities which were becoming top priority projects by that time. Historically, one of the main reasons for launching projects of higher education in the Gulf area was to produce qualified teachers for local needs. Although various teacher-training colleges at post-secondary level were established to achieve this goal, because of rapid changes in the socio-economic conditions of the Gulf area as well as in the attitude of Gulf citizens, secondary school graduates were unwilling to attend these colleges and were not attracted to secondary school teaching as a career. Technical education at post-secondary level has suffered a similar set-back. In fact, national Gulf students have so far shown very little interest or desire to participate in any kind of technical education.

Despite some internal and external opposition, a variety of factors has resulted in the expansion of university education abroad as well as the development of national universities. These factors include (a) a rise in the total number of secondary school graduates, (b) an enthusiasm for university education and a lack of interest in technical education, (c) an unexpected increase in the number of female students, and (d) an official policy which has promoted university education.

Although every effort has been made to discuss the effect of both university education overseas and at home, there is bound to be some

overlap. The expansion of national universities in these Gulf States has not only had a dramatic effect on the university education abroad of female students, but also a significant effect on the education of men. Throughout its short history, university education in the Gulf States has laid significant emphasis on sending male students to universities abroad for their higher education. Although prior to the establishment of Kuwait University, when some restrictions were imposed on the total number of government scholarships for male students, all Kuwaiti female students graduating from secondary schools were encouraged to go to universities abroad for higher education. Besides this example of positive discrimination in favour of women's university education abroad, no other instance of female students being encouraged to go abroad for higher education can be found in the whole Gulf area. Nevertheless, a gradual shift in the allocation of government scholarships to male students rather than to female students becomes evident following the opening of Kuwait University.

At the other extreme, the government of Qatar almost completely barred female students from going to countries abroad for higher education when the national university opened at home. In this respect, official policies of the Bahraini government regarding university education abroad for female students have so far been extremely liberal. The main reasons for the difference in the attitudes of the two countries could be that both Bahraini society and the ruling class are less conservative than in other Gulf States, and that the facilities for university education at home are not yet fully developed.

The priority given to the education of men both by the authorities and society in general stems from the deep rooted customs and beliefs

prevalent in the Gulf area. In a family, sons are given preferential treatment over daughters, and also any financial expenditure put into the educational training of men is considered an investment in the future fortunes of the family. This attitude is not only typical of Gulf societies, as similar trends can be observed in many other third world countries as well. However, a very crucial point regarding the appalling condition of women's education in some Gulf States, and its deterioration in other Gulf States, is the fact that instead of protecting the genuine right of access of women to higher education at universities abroad, official policies and actions are gradually withdrawing support, if they have not done so already.

There are several reasons for this attitude towards the higher education of women and for other differences observed in the patterns and policies of women's education. A large majority of Gulf people think that it is sufficient for women to acquire school education and there is no need for them to have higher education if they have to go to countries abroad for that purpose. Secondly, whether in higher education or in employment, the idea of men and women working together is not acceptable in conservative Gulf society. Thirdly, according to the male-dominated societies of these countries, the main role of women is considered to be as housewives and mothers, and for this reason education abroad is not justifiable. However, because of these social and traditional attitudes which discourage women from higher education abroad, their number in home universities has now almost double that of male students.

In contrast to the decrease in the number of women at universities abroad, the education of male Gulf students at universities abroad has

been expanding since the late 1970's. There have been major changes in government policies concerning choice of subjects and fields of training of male students. Whereas in the earlier days the education authorities placed no restrictions on the choice of studies, and students were allowed their own preferences, which were most often in general arts, with the establishment of Faculties of Arts and Science, the government began to restrict the number of scholarships allocated in these areas of study while increasing scholarships in scientific and technical fields such as medicine and engineering. A large majority of students with fellowship awards or privately funded prefer to undertake courses in general arts or business studies and allied subjects. This trend can be explained by the fact that technical and industrial jobs are not particularly popular. Most young people in the Gulf tend to obtain administrative, executive and managerial positions after finishing their university education (whether from home or abroad). Art-based university degrees provide wider choice in the job market than do science degrees because of the restricted nature of industry in the Gulf area. In addition, many students avoid enrolling in science courses because they believe this will demand harder work and take a longer time to complete than will an arts degree. In the case of female students, social circumstances and traditional restrictions appear to have a significant effect on the choice of subjects of study.

For the limited number of scholarships which are awarded to women for university education abroad, the emphasis is now put upon science and medicine courses. In the case of Qatar in particular, where some 99% of women in education abroad are enrolled in correspondence courses run by the Arab University of Beirut, they have only a limited choice of arts courses because of the nature of these courses.

Although the government authorities have recently started to limit the number of scholarships for university education abroad and to restrict them to specific areas of training, these measures do not appear to have had any significant effect on the tendencies and desires of Gulf students to study abroad, as the number of students paying their own fees has been increasing. On the other hand, it can be argued that with the expansion and development of new faculties in technological subjects and strict scholarship regulations, the number of students going to universities abroad may be reduced to some extent. However, it is feared that in addition to these factors, the recent surge in Islamic revivalism in neighbouring Iran and the growing lobbies within the Gulf States, the existing chances and conditions of women's education at universities abroad will be further restricted.

With regard to the choice of host countries for university education abroad, there appears to have been a significant shift from Egyptian to American universities during the last decade. The change in government policies and student trends can perhaps be explained by suggesting that with the development of national education programmes, these States no longer depend on educational advice and facilities provided by Egypt. With the diminishing Egyptian influence, and with the growing demand for better and advanced Western style education and training, both the Kuwaiti and Qatari authorities and the students tend to choose American rather than British universities. The preference for American universities may be because they do not require high 'A' level standards for entrance and that the study programmes are based on the credit-hours system which gives the students wider flexibility in the choice of their courses. On the other hand, because the majority of Bahraini students in university education abroad are privately funded, they tend to choose host countries

where university education is less expensive.

There is no doubt that the national students of these Gulf States have benefited tremendously from the establishment of the national Gulf universities. It is quite obvious that without their establishment it would have been impossible to provide university education for all students abroad, due to the difficulties involved in securing sufficient numbers of places in foreign universities. A comparison of the enrolment of national male and female students of Kuwait and Qatar at universities abroad and at home (Table 7.42) clearly supports this view. Furthermore, it is also clear that without the availability of these facilities, the university education of female students would have been in a most precarious condition. It is also obvious that the national universities will soon become the major venue for undergraduate university education. Although a majority of male Qatari students are enrolled in universities abroad for undergraduate courses, this pattern is bound to change in the near future. Furthermore, it is also important to point out that other Arab students and Muslim students from African and Asian countries have also benefited from the opening of the national Gulf universities. At present these students comprise approximately one-third of the total enrolment in these universities.

Despite the considerable efforts which have been put into the development of university education at home in these Gulf States, university education abroad is still more popular and attractive among male students in this area. This is perhaps due to the fact that there are no social or official restrictions on men who wish to undertake undergraduate courses at universities abroad. Secondly, a large majority of male students, who do not have to depend on free national education and

TABLE 7.42

Comparison of Kuwaiti and Qatari students
at national universities and universities abroad*

	No. of men	No. of women	Total no.
<u>KUWAIT</u>			
At universities abroad	2,207	523	2,730
At Kuwait University	2,381	3,571	5,952
<u>QATAR</u>			
At universities abroad	716	258	974
At Qatar University	255	543	798

*Data are averages of three years' enrolment (1977/78-1979/80) of Kuwaiti and Qatari national students in the Universities of Kuwait and Qatar respectively, and at universities abroad.

Based on data in Tables 7.10, 7.18, 7.27 and 7.32.

can obtain higher education through their own private resources, tend to go to universities abroad, There are two reasons which can be suggested to explain this trend among Gulf students. First, the standard of education and training at the national universities in general and in scientific and technological subjects in particular is not to the same standard as at advanced Western universities. Secondly, in terms of job prospects, degrees from foreign universities are given higher value than those from the national universities.

Students prefer to get their degree from a well known, old-established university, and if there is a chance of doing so they will certainly avail themselves of it. Also the excitement of being able to see new places and experience different styles of life is another attractive feature. Finally, the national universities have no social life or what could be called university life. They are more or less similar to secondary schools, where the only contact between the student and the university is the lecture, and as soon as students finish lectures they return home. On the other hand, the tendency among Qatari women to enrol in correspondence courses at the Arab University in Beirut after the opening of the University of Qatar are not entirely clear. It can be suggested that perhaps some Qatari women who are already in employment in teaching or other professions and want to improve their educational qualifications find it more convenient to enrol in correspondence courses since they do not conflict with other commitments and daily routines.

The productivity of any educational system is partly related to its ability to attract increasing numbers of students to participate in it. The degree of participation, in turn, is determined by many factors

including employment prospects, financial and social rewards, and opportunities for further education. In this manner, generous opportunities for university education both at home and abroad appear to have played a significant role in attracting and inspiring increasing numbers of Gulf youth to join in university education, but the absence of postgraduate training and research facilities and the lack of consistent policies regarding such programmes appear to have had an adverse effect on the attractiveness of university education at home.

With the exception of M.A. or M.Sc. courses in some subjects at the University of Kuwait, no other postgraduate education or training facilities are as yet available in any of the Gulf universities. The lack of these facilities in the case of Bahrain and Kuwait do not appear to be of major concern to the students, as both male and female students can go abroad for postgraduate education, either privately or on government scholarships. For this purpose, however, the number of scholarships available depends on the economy of the particular State. However, similar facilities for female graduates are not available, as government scholarships are not granted to women.

The new policy of the Qatari government, introduced in 1981, stipulates that a female student going for postgraduate studies abroad must be accompanied by her husband or by a Mahrum (meaning brother, father or a male member of the family) who, according to Islamic law, is forbidden to have marital relations with the woman student he is accompanying¹³⁷. This makes it extremely difficult for an unmarried Qatari woman graduate to go abroad for postgraduate training.

An adverse effect of the Qatari government's policy of preventing female students going to universities abroad for postgraduate training

can be demonstrated from the case of female postgraduate assistants employed by the University. As shown in Table 7.43, the number of female graduate assistants has been increasing ever since the opening of the University. Owing to the inability of the University to provide postgraduate training for these female graduates and the fact that they are unable to travel abroad for postgraduate education, their number has now reached a point where it is causing serious concern to the university authorities. Although no other Gulf State government has so far implemented such radical policies on women's education at countries abroad, it is important to point out that such a change of policy, introduced without careful forward planning, is bound to produce a crisis.

Perhaps it is important to conclude that contrary to the fears of some critics at the time of its initiation, university education in these Gulf States has not been a complete failure. Although it has involved a certain degree of wastage, this is inevitable given the socio-economic climate of these countries and their lack of experience in the field of higher education. These national universities are still in their infancy and one should not expect too much of their academic, scientific and research achievements. Even if they have failed to prove their qualitative excellence so far, these universities have made a considerable contribution to raising the number of Gulf nationals with a university education. This is particularly true for the female national students of these States, who otherwise had very little chance of university education in the presence of hostile social customs and traditions concerning their course of higher education and their general role in modern Gulf society. At the same time, expansion of university education abroad, mainly benefiting male students, has improved their

TABLE 7.43

Number of Qatari graduates employed as
graduate assistants at the University
of Qatar 1973/74-1979/80

Year	Male graduate assistants	Female graduate assistants	Total
1973/74	5	2	7
1974/75	NA	NA	NA
1975/76	17	7	24
1976/77	18	8	26
1977/78	23	47	70
1978/79	24	31	55
1979/80	26	60	86

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1973/74-1979/80.

chances both qualitatively and quantitatively. It is to be hoped that national investment in these young men will produce desirable results one day when they will implement their logical and liberal ideas and experience to change the prevailing social system in general and its attitude towards the role of women in particular.

Had the governments and education authorities of the Gulf States given more considerate and serious thought to some of the objections raised against the opening of national universities, and taken logical steps towards the expansion of university education abroad and the development of national universities, they would perhaps have achieved better results. From a review of the present situation of university education in the Gulf area, it now appears that some of the proposed objections were extremely worthwhile.

For example, one of the objections raised was the uncertainty of students' preferences to join national universities. Analysis of enrolment trends at universities at home and abroad indicates that only a small minority of male students enrol in home universities whereas the large majority prefer to go to universities abroad. Had it not been for national women whose number is about twice that of men, and non-national students who comprise about one-third of the total university enrolment, the total enrolment of national male and female students would not have comprised more than 40% of total enrolment. This small number has not made these universities viable projects simply from the logistic viewpoint. In fact, the actual enrolment of national students is very close to the predictions which gave rise to doubts about the feasibility of these projects.

Similarly, the objection concerning the lack of proper academic

and research facilities and the adverse effect of this on the development and progress of an academically active university also seem to hold good. A lack of highly qualified academics and researchers in arts and science subjects, essential for undergraduate teaching and training as well as for establishing postgraduate research activities, shows its effect in the poor standard of undergraduates and the absence of any postgraduate research and training facilities in these universities.

The case of graduate assistants at Qatar University presents an example to illustrate one of these points. The University of Qatar appoints some female Qatari graduates with the intention that they will take over teaching responsibilities following their postgraduate training at universities abroad. However, with the change in government policy which prevents female students going abroad, these female graduate assistants have been left in limbo because of the lack of postgraduate facilities at Qatar University. The availability of postgraduate education and research facilities is highly essential for academic credibility as well as for the ability of the University to attract good students and academic staff. In this manner, neither has any positive step been taken in the past nor are there any signs of proper planning for the future. These changes in government policy on university education in Qatar have been and remain highly inconsistent.

Finally, it appears that the doubts cast at the time of the opening of these universities concerning possible interference from governments and the ruling class, who provided all the funding for the universities, and consequently about the academic and political freedom of the universities, have proved to be true. Concrete evidence exposing such official interference is hard to find, either in the national press of these countries or from comments or protests made by the uni-

versity authorities or academics, because of the prevailing political system and censorship. However, an overall review of some practices and policies in higher education being carried out in these countries provides sufficient evidence that the universities' authorities and academics are not consulted in the formulation of these policies.

It is important to point out that whereas a university and its academics are traditionally regarded as having freedom of thought and expression, a complete lack of evidence that they have challenged government authorities on their illogical decisions suggests that they have not succeeded in achieving the necessary measure of autonomy.

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CHAPTER 8

EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON THE ROLE AND
STATUS OF WOMEN IN GULF SOCIETY

A. INTRODUCTION

As with many other subjects concerning the Gulf States, the study of the effects of education on the role and status of women presents its own problems. First, there is no comparable situation either in wealthy and advanced societies or in the poor and developing nations of the world. Secondly, there are no well-defined and universally accepted indicators which can be used directly to assess the role and status of women in different societies. Further difficulties arise from our tendency to assess a situation in a non-Western society from the viewpoint of Western society. The role and status of women in any society ought to be judged from within that society and according to its own norms and traditions. On the other hand, while a comparative study on the role of men and women in different societies can be a stimulating academic exercise, its usefulness is debateable since it does not necessarily offer any solutions or means of improving people's role in a particular society.

An assessment and criticism of the role of people belonging to a particular society can only be of value if the indicators and parameters applied in such a society cover the historical background as well as the existing trends and norms within that society. This point is of crucial importance to any study of this kind of Gulf Society because it was neither agricultural before its recent economic development, nor has it become industrial during the short period of its rapid economic growth. Parameters such as the attitudes of society to men and women, participation in the economic development and in wage-based employment, electoral and political rights and emancipation were all developed to assess the changes in Western societies during their transition from

agricultural to industrial economies. Since then they have been used as indicators of progress and development, as well as of women's emancipation and the improvement of their status in society and their social role.

It is certainly beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the usefulness of these parameters in assessing changes in the role and status of women in Gulf society together with the effect of education on this changing role and status. Some of the parameters, however, have been used in this chapter in order to discuss the effect of the education of Gulf women on their role and status in Gulf society whilst bearing in mind the historical and social backgrounds as well as the rapid economic growth of these societies.

Education of the masses is one of the most powerful forces which can bring significant cultural, social and economic changes in a society. The phenomenon of youth education not only influences their aspirations and their attitude towards life and social values, it also makes them critical of their environment, social system and order. In an advanced society, where the education of youth has a long history, the changes brought about by education are not easily perceived. However, in societies such as those of the Gulf States, which had hardly any background of modern education and had been and remain very conservative, modern education of the young generation may have dramatic effects. Furthermore, mental conflicts emerging from changing trends and tendencies of the young generation will interact with traditional beliefs and social practices regarding the role of women and may create socio-political controversies of a serious nature.

Gulf society is an example of this pattern. Facilities for school

and higher education for all citizens, including women, have created considerable numbers of women who have completed secondary school and who are university graduates. This young generation of Gulf women, who have been given the opportunity of education for the first time in the history of these countries, have not only surpassed their male colleagues in number but also in academic performance, as far as the evidence from schools and higher education establishments at home is concerned. A rapid increase in the number of educated and qualified women in these societies has been a matter of concern because of its social, economic and political implications. The main reason for this was that Gulf society was not prepared for this change because it happened within a short period of time. In most third world countries, where the funds available for education are very limited, the education of girls has had to be sacrificed for the sake of the education of boys. Even in the Gulf States in the pre-oil period, because of economic hardship, the publicly-financed schools established were often confined to boys. While the access of Gulf women to modern education at all levels was granted in the name of progress and modernisation, the implications of this development were not foreseen. The financial expenditure incurred in providing education for women was of little concern because of increasing national income from oil revenues. What is important is the fact that because the education of women did not constitute any financial burden on these governments, they went ahead with its provision but they had no clearly-defined programme or plan.

Even today, when the education of both sons and daughters is free in the Gulf States, parents attach very little significance to the education of their daughters. A similar attitude has been adopted by

the educational and economic planners in these States who apparently believe that there is little benefit to be derived from providing higher and specialised education for women. Equally or even more important is the fact that although these societies have begun to accept many Western values and customs during the short period of their economic development, their conservative attitudes towards the role of women have remained almost unchanged. It is also obvious that while these societies are reconciled to the idea of women's education, they appear to consider it a part-time or leisure activity for their women and do not see it as contributing to the development of society. The traditional beliefs are slow to change, and it is equally true that some Gulf authorities are doing their best to ensure that the subjugation of women continues. It is probably asking too much that these authorities should actively campaign for women's rights. What they ought not to do is to intervene to prevent the natural consequences of educating women.

As in any other society, Gulf women constitute about 50% of the total population. It might have been expected that under the present economic conditions with their heavy dependence on a foreign labour force the Gulf authorities would have considered it important to secure the maximum participation of women because of the small size of the indigenous population. In fact, the official policies on the participation of women in economic development and in the labour market have been quite contrary to the actual national manpower demands in these countries.

It is important to bear in mind that in the pre-oil economy the position and role of women in Gulf society was vastly different from their

present status. For instance, girls were isolated from the outside world and placed in seclusion within the four walls of their parents' home on reaching puberty. They were released from this confinement only when they married and started new lives as housewives in their husbands' homes. Apart from their expected role of producing and taking care of children, and looking after their husband, no other contribution was expected from them. Although Gulf women had a considerable role to play within the extended family structure and within the tribes, no formal significance was attached to their role and their contribution was seldom acknowledged. The question of whether Gulf women were contented with their role, or whether they wanted to participate more fully in the development of their society, is difficult to answer. However, it can be supposed that under the economic conditions prevailing at that time, women saw themselves as custodians of their family's heritage and did their best to maintain the family structure, without wishing to make any other contribution.

Since the purpose of the present discussion is to assess recent changes in the attitudes in Gulf society towards the role of women, and the part played by education in changing her social status, the following aspects have been selected: (1) the change in the attitude of men towards women in the Gulf and the emergence of the nuclear family structure; (2) the involvement of women in the economic development of the Gulf countries with respect to their participation in professional and wage-based employment; (3) the development of women's societies and organisations; (4) the position of women in the electoral, political and administrative system of the Gulf States.

B. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDES OF MEN TOWARDS WOMEN AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY STRUCTURE

Widespread general education in Gulf society has certainly brought about a subtle change in the attitudes of men and women towards each other and in relationships between the sexes. Taki states¹:

"Education can be considered as one of the most important factors that has affected the position of women in Bahrain in particular and in the Gulf area in general. Education has not only changed their attitude but has broadened their horizons regarding their relationships towards each other as well as their collective and individual responsibilities."

From his survey of the attitudes of Kuwaiti men towards the position of women in present-day Kuwaiti society, al-Thakab concluded that Kuwaiti men who had themselves received university education were the group most sympathetic towards the women's cause and the feminist movement².

Many sociologists and anthropologists have discussed the role of education as a true index of the changing social position and life style of women in various parts of the Arab world. According to Wahaib³, "... in the Middle Eastern countries education was the open sesame that unlocked 20th century harem doors and Victorian parlours."

Apart from its direct effect of increasing the awareness of Gulf women themselves, access to education has also produced encouraging changes in the attitude of men concerning family structure and size. A survey carried out by al-Thakab in Kuwait in 1976 showed that 80% of the educated people, mainly university graduates, among the survey sample wanted to have small families, while only 16% of this group wanted families comprising eight or more children. Conversely, of the uneducated group in this survey, 68% wanted eight or more children⁴.

Education also appears to have increased the trend towards a nuclear

family structure. Young educated people are able to obtain good jobs and salaries which make them more economically independent than their uneducated peers. Through education the young generation have also acquired a different outlook on family life and on the role of parents in bringing up their children. In this respect the education of women is of crucial importance in changing their subservient position in the traditional extended family structure, where they had little say in running the affairs of their own family. As well as being relatively independent economically, young educated couples feel capable of bringing up their own families without interference from the older, senior members of their extended families. In addition, although tribal and blood ties are still extremely important in arranging marriages, educated women have better prospects of marriage compared with their uneducated sisters of similar background. Finally, since education and professional qualifications as well as employment opportunities, however limited, have created greater self-confidence among those who are the beneficiaries of this system, they no longer regard themselves simply as housewives or commodities in their parents' or husband's home.

Although full social realisation of the equality of the sexes and the emancipation of women is still far in the future in these societies, this latter factor is of crucial importance in fostering a better understanding between married couples and in bringing up their children. Most encouraging are the signs that the attitudes of young educated men towards various aspects of family life and its structure are changing.

C. THE PARTICIPATION OF NATIONAL GULF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The extent to which women engage in non-agricultural economic acti-

vities has been assessed by many scholars as an indicator of the development of a country. This does not appear to be the case in the Arab countries because women have not responded to increased development with a proportional increase in their economic participation⁵.

Instead, the 'official' involvement of Arab women in both agricultural and non-agricultural work is low in absolute numbers, low as a percentage of the national workforce, and low when compared to women in non-Arab countries at similar levels of development⁶. According to Genever-Adams, this reflects the tendency of Western industrial society to define work as only that which is directly paid, creating an artificial distinction between household chores and economic activities, which makes little sense in non-industrial nations⁷.

Nearly all women in the Arab world work, often from early childhood and often for longer hours than the men in their family⁸. Beck and Peters⁹ also point out that in the Bedouin and other nomadic groups they studied, women are considered integral members of the household in its division of labour and their work is regarded as essential to the continued maintenance of the economic unit. It would be misleading to view their contribution as subordinate or supplementary. It is true, however, that Arab women have not traditionally taken an active role in the non-agricultural non-home-based labour force. The three major reasons for the lack of women's participation in a wage-based labour force are the traditional family structure, the attitude of society, and their low level of literacy and lack of education.

In terms of traditional attitudes hindering the participation of women in paid employment, many of the same fears operating in a family's reluctance to allow girls to attend school are important in this context

as well. Some people still believe that working women are exposing themselves unnecessarily to men; in their view much like a prostitute¹⁰. Parents think that by letting their daughters work, they are destroying their chances of marriage and ruining their reputations. For many there is an element of shame attached to wage-based work, as it implies that the husband or other male relative is unwilling or unable to provide adequately for the family. It must be acknowledged that there are few incentives for a woman to work in non-home-based employment unless she is internally motivated, as her economic support and well-being is assured within the kinship structure and she gains little if any personal freedom from outside employment¹¹. But, because the majority of recently educated women belong to the upper classes and do not need to work, the fact that they hold a job represents less of a threat to the honour of the males in their families than if employment were an economic necessity.

Education remains the most important factor in determining both the attitudes towards work and the types of jobs held by women. A most significant change in the role of Gulf women during the period between 1970 and 1980 was their increased participation in the workforce. Until the 1970's, the percentage of national women in the total national workforce was about 4.9% in Bahrain, 3.3% in Kuwait and 2.9% in Qatar. From 1970 to 1980 these percentages had increased by three or four times, as shown by the data given in Table 8.1. This period also coincides with a period of expansion in secondary and university education of women in these countries.

Various earlier studies have clearly demonstrated a close relationship between the increased participation of women in the workforce and

TABLE 8.1

Number and percentage of national women
in the workforce 1959-1980

Year	Number of national women in the workforce	Percentage of national women in total national workforce
<u>BAHRAIN^a</u>		
1959	957	3.2%
1965	995	3.2%
1971	1,848	4.9%
1981	7,874	13.7%
<u>KUWAIT^b</u>		
1959	384	1.6%
1965	1,002	2.4%
1970	2,017	3.3%
1975	7,305	8.3%
1980	13,829	13.1%
<u>QATAR^c</u>		
1970 ¹	284	2.9%
1980 ²	2,030	10.7%

Sources:

- a. 1. Ministry of State for Cabinet Affairs, Directorate of Statistics, Bahrain. The Population of Bahrain: Trends and Prospects (1979), p.91.
2. Ministry of State for Cabinet Affairs. Population census 1981, Table 7.
- b. 1. Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Central Statistical Office, Annual Statistical Abstract 1981.
2. Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Central Statistical Office, General Population Census 1980, vol.1, part 1 (1982).
- c. 1. Population Census, Qatar, 1970.
2. Data for 1980 are estimates taken from al-Kuwari "Towards Better Understanding of the Population Imbalance in the Oil-producing Countries of the Arabian Peninsula, op. cit., p.3.

their access to education¹². Educational qualifications provide women with greater chances to compete for employment in the labour market. An immediate result of female education is that it creates confidence in women to investigate future job prospects, and equips them with the ability to seek relevant information about employment opportunities. For these reasons, education also raises women's aspirations to higher incomes and better standards of living and, above all, increases their self-awareness. According to Azzam, a more general and universal effect of education is that it weakens the restrictive barriers to women's participation in the social and economic development initially imposed by existing cultural traditions and customs, and at the same time it increases the propensity of women to join the workforce¹³. According to Youssef, education also tempts and encourages women to work because (i) they want to utilise their education and training in a meaningful way and gain some return for the time and money invested in obtaining qualifications, and (ii) it provides them with opportunities to compete for better and more attractive jobs¹⁴.

The close relationship between the growth of secondary and university education for women and their increased participation in the national workforce can be demonstrated from the data given in Table 8.2. It is important to point out that whereas the data for Bahrain and Kuwait are taken from population censuses of 1980 and 1981 respectively, the information for Qatar for 1980 represents employees in government and a mixed sector excluding the private sector and does not cover the whole population, as no census has been carried out in Qatar since 1970. Nonetheless, the data show that while a large percentage of men (33%-60%) in the national workforce in the three Gulf States is comprised of

illiterate males, the percentage of women at work without any educational qualifications is comparatively small. There is a relatively high percentage of uneducated Qatari women contributing to the total of Qatari women in employment, and this is because the figures include women who were previously servants but are now employed by the government in establishments such as girls' schools and women's hospitals as domestics.

The absolute number of women in the national workforce, based on later records, is considerably lower than the corresponding number of men, as indicated by male to female ratios which are 11:4.1, 10.9:1 and 5.8:1 in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively. However, it is interesting to note that of the total number of women in the workforce, some 81% in Bahrain, 79% in Kuwait and 73% in Qatar have secondary school or university qualifications while men in the workforce with similar qualifications comprise only 41% of the total in Bahrain, 22% in Kuwait and 24% in Qatar. These figures show that if women are to have much chance of entering the employment market, it is essential for them to possess appropriate educational qualifications.

The data may also indicate that both the desire and the opportunity are higher among educated women than among uneducated women to join the workforce. Finally, in view of the fact that women comprise about 50% of the secondary school population and their number in higher education is also increasing, it would be of considerable national benefit if Gulf women were positively encouraged by both the authorities and society in general to actively participate in the workforce in order to reduce the over-dependence of these Gulf States on foreign workers.

There is no doubt that Gulf society has undergone considerable mod-

ernisation, and that the education of women has been expanding rapidly during the last decade. However, there has been little change in the attitude of society towards the idea of men and women working together at the same place. This is not only because ordinary Gulf people strongly believe in the idea of sex-segregation, but also because the employment market itself is highly polarised. So far there are very few employment areas in which the participation of women has become acceptable. A large proportion of women work in occupations which preserve a highly conservative atmosphere and which permit the least possibility of mixing the sexes. A survey conducted by al-Thakab in 1975 to assess the attitude of Kuwaiti society towards the education and employment of women revealed that although the people's rigid resistance to women's employment was relaxing, it was still sex-biased. Among 70% of respondents who were in favour of women in the workforce, a large majority (90%) preferred that women should choose government employment, in particular the teaching profession. The main reason was that the teaching profession provided the least opportunity for the two sexes being mixed¹⁵.

As stated earlier, the highly sex-biased education and training given to women not only reduces their options for more diversified employment, it also provides an excuse for employers to classify job opportunities as exclusively for men or for women. This phenomenon and its adverse cyclic effects on the education and employment prospects of women in the Arab states, as well as on a global basis, has been discussed by Eileen Byrne¹⁶. It is also important to point out that as it was upper class women who first availed themselves of access to education, their entry into elite employment areas was not inhibited because it did not carry any economic stigma. Permission for these women

to participate in the workforce was granted simply as a leisure activity and as a means of occupying their minds and their spare time, as in the case of their education.

The data on employment of national Gulf women in different occupations are given in Table 8.3, from which it is clear that a large proportion of women in employment has been and is engaged in professional and related occupations. In the period 1970-1980 clerical and secretarial work has been the second most popular occupation among Gulf women. A detailed analysis of the different categories of jobs in both the professional and clerical areas and the factors responsible for the increasing participation of women in these areas of employment will be discussed in the next section of this Chapter.

While the increasing participation of women in the professional and clerical fields as a result of their education is understandable, it is rather surprising to observe that there is hardly any participation of educated and qualified women in the administrative and managerial occupations in the Gulf States. Given the existing attitudes of society which lay emphasis on sex-segregation, one might have supposed that women would have been encouraged to take up administrative and executive positions in certain sections and departments of Ministries of Education, Health and Social Services, since these were the first and are still by far the largest employers of national women. However, the available evidence suggests that although women are employed as teachers, nurses and social workers, they are not able to take up administrative, managerial or executive positions within these areas of employment.

According to al-Essa, there are many Kuwaiti women in government employment who are equally or better qualified than men in terms of

TABLE 8.3
Distribution among major occupations
of national women in the workforce

Occupation	BAHRAIN		KUWAIT		QATAR							
	1981 ^a		1980 ^a		1980 ^b							
	No	% of total women	No	% of total women	No	% of total women						
Professional and related workers	948	51.2%	3,389	43.0%	34	11.9%	1,325	72.8%				
Clerical workers	189	10.2%	3,246	41.2%	446	22.0%	89	31.3%				
Service workers	538	29.1%	850	10.7%	507	25.0%	151	53.1%				
Administrative & managerial workers	45	2.4%	40	0.5%	3	0.1%	69	0.5%				
Sales workers	33	1.7%	105	1.0%	19	0.9%	51	0.3%				
Agricultural and husbandry workers	3	0.1%	6	0.07%	6	0.2%	40	0.2%				
Production and related workers	41	2.2%	197	2.5%	54	2.6%	86	0.6%				
Workers not classified	51	2.7%	41	0.5%	6	0.2%	0	0				
TOTAL	1,848	100%	7,874	100%	2,022	100%	13,829	100%	284	100%	1,818	100%

Sources: ^aPopulation censuses.

^bData for 1980 includes only Government and mixed sectors. Ministry of Petroleum, Department of Employees, Qatar (1980), p.76.

education, experience and seniority, but they rarely get promoted to higher posts¹⁷. The extent to which women participate in the labour force depends mainly on the attitude of those who take decisions and determine policy. Thus, unless women achieve senior positions in the government and become part of the decision-making and policy-forming apparatus, their potential role in Gulf society will remain unachieved and their position will continue to depend on the status granted to them by men.

1. Service, sales, agricultural and production occupations

Service occupations rank third on the basis of total number of women employed. Although the number of women in these occupations has increased in all three Gulf States between 1970 and 1980, the degree of increase has been lower compared with the professional and clerical occupations. This is not surprising because for many uneducated national women there is very little financial incentive to work in the service occupations and also because there is very little regard for these jobs and a degree of disapproval for those who take them up. Also, because of the attitude of society concerning the mixing of the sexes, the freedom of movement in service occupations, which may expose women to strangers, makes this employment unacceptable.

Similar reasons would explain the low participation of women in sales occupations. Both the number and percentage of women in sales occupations are very small, and the relative percentage of women in these types of jobs has shown a decline in recent years.

As the Gulf States have little if any agricultural activity, there is a negligible number of women taking part in agriculture and animal

husbandry. However, it should be pointed out that in rural communities, women play a full part in agricultural, animal and other production industries of their families and their tribes, but these jobs are neither classified nor considered as wage-based, outside the home occupations, and are therefore not represented in the statistical records.

The participation of women in production and related occupations has always been and remains very low. Apart from the attitudes of society which inhibit women from participating in any activity where sex-segregation is not fully observed, these jobs are not associated with women's occupations because of their low social rating. It is worth mentioning that the production industry itself is extremely small in these States.

In summary, these observations suggest that although various sections of the economy and manpower in these societies would greatly benefit from an increased involvement of national women, the existing patterns of women's participation in employment are oriented towards social status and dependent upon educational and professional qualifications. The evidence clearly indicates that education has played a considerable role in the participation of women in the elite employment sectors.

2. Professional and related occupations

The participation of Gulf women in professional and technical, and clerical and related areas of employment has increased many fold during the period between 1970 and 1980 (Table 8.3), although their actual number in relation to men is still small. The numbers of women working in these areas of employment have increased 6.62, 8.81 and 9.18 times

respectively in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar during this time. Women working in these areas in 1980 comprised 84.8%, 91.7% and 69.9% of the total national female workforce in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively.

The participation of national women in professional employment during the last 10-year period, however, shows some interesting differences among the three Gulf States. There appear to be increases of some 258%, 633% and 3100% respectively in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar in the number of women taking part in professional and related occupations which require either university or at least secondary school education qualifications (Table 8.4). An analysis of the data on national women's employment in different kind of professional, technical and related occupations from 1970 to 1980 is given in Table 8.4, and it is clear that the major increase in the number of employed women has been in the teaching profession in all three Gulf States. However, apart from Qatar where the relative percentage of women in the teaching profession shows an increase of 42% from 1970 to 1980, similar relative percentage values show only a 0.4% increase in the case of Kuwaiti women and a 12.5% decrease for Bahraini women.

This variation could be due to the increasing access of Bahraini and Kuwaiti women to other professional and clerical jobs. Also, the education and consequently the professional employment of women in Qatar started later than in the other two States. The data in Table 8.4 clearly indicate that in both Bahrain and Kuwait, women have been given limited access to professional occupations other than teaching, medicine and health care. These alternative occupations include statisticians, mathematicians, computer systems analysts, social workers, accountants

TABLE 8.4
Distribution of women among professional,
technical and related occupations

Country Occupation	1970		1980		Change from 1970 to 1980	
	No.	% of total female workforce	No.	% of total female workforce	No.	% of total female workforce
<u>BAHRAIN</u>						
Teachers	718	38.5%	2,048	26.0%	+1,330	-12.5%
Nurses and Doctors	198	10.6%	703	8.9%	+ 505	- 1.7%
Statisticians, mathematics & computer systems analysts	0	0	57	0.7%	+ 57	+ 0.72%
Accountants	0	0	242	3.0%	+ 242	+ 3.1%
Other professions	32	1.7%	339	4.3%	+ 306	+ 2.6%
TOTAL	948	51.0%	3,389	43.0%	+2,440	+ 8.0%
<u>KUWAIT</u>						
Teachers	714	34.9%	4,926	35.2%	+4,212	+ 0.4%
Nurses and Doctors	69	3.4%	729	5.2%	+ 660	+ 1.8%
Statisticians, mathematics & computer systems analysts	0	0	76	0.5%	+ 76	+ 0.5%
Accountants	0	0	172	1.2%	+ 172	+ 1.2%
Other professions	198	9.7%	1,286	9.2%	+1,088	+ 0.5%
TOTAL	981	48.0%	7,189	52.0%	+6,208	+ 4.0%
<u>QATAR</u>						
Teachers	27	10.0%	951	52.3%	+ 924	+42.3%
Nurses and Doctors	7	2.0%	38	2.0%	+ 31	+ 0
Statisticians etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Accountants	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other professions	0	0	336	18.4%	+ 336	+18.4%
TOTAL	34	12.0%	1,325	72.7%	+1,291	+60.7%

and other related professions. These are certainly new employment opportunities which were not within the reach of Bahraini and Kuwaiti women in 1970.

The social acceptance of Qatari women participating in the teaching profession is an extension of the idea of granting permission for their education in the first place. The field of education has been considered appropriate for women, whether as students or as teachers, only because of the strict segregation and conservative attitudes of the education authorities. Other major factors accounting for the massive increase in the number of national women in the teaching profession may be the acute shortage of national teachers in all three Gulf States and the lack of popularity of this profession among men. Some recent changes in government policies for employing female teachers in boys' primary schools in order to overcome the shortage of male teachers has also increased teaching opportunities for women. Teaching is the only occupation the Gulf governments have taken positive steps to encourage among women. Educated and qualified Gulf women have been quick to seize these opportunities. Women in their role of teachers are thus making significant contributions to Gulf society.

The situation in the teaching profession at university level is quite different, as this is still predominantly a male domain and as yet dominated by non-national staff. The encouragement and training of Gulf women university graduates for a future role as university teachers would be a great investment.

The entry of women into other professions such as computer programming and systems analysis, social work and accountancy, which has already begun

in Bahrain and Kuwait, shows that the socio-economic role of Gulf women is growing. Unfortunately, as in many other areas of development and progress, Qatar appears to be lagging behind the other two States as far as the emancipation of women and their role in society are concerned. The absence of any participation of educated Qatari women in any professional area except teaching is an example of the unhelpful official policies and orthodox and conservative attitudes of this society.

3. Clerical, secretarial and related occupations

Until the 1970's, clerical and secretarial jobs were predominantly male occupations in both Bahrain and Kuwait. Because of socio-economic development and changes in the attitudes of society, the number of national women in this sector of employment increased from 189 to 3,246 in Bahrain and from 446 to 4,855 in Kuwait between 1970 and 1980 (Table 8.5). A comparison of the percentage of Bahraini and Kuwaiti women in clerical and related fields in relation to the total number of national women in employment indicates an increase from 10.2% to 41.2% in Bahrain and from 22% to 35.3% in Kuwait during the same period.

A detailed analysis of women's employment in different types of clerical and related occupations, given in Table 8.5, shows that the absolute number of Bahraini and Kuwaiti women in these occupations has not only increased over the last decade in jobs which existed in the 1970's, but also that new opportunities of employment have been opened to women. A rapid expansion in the commercial sector in Bahrain following the 1973 increase in oil prices and the overall expansion of the economies of the Gulf States not only created a shortage of qualified secretarial and clerical personnel, but also offered improved opportunities

TABLE 8.5

Distribution of national women among
clerical and secretarial occupations

Country Clerical and secretarial occupations	1970		1980		Change 1970-1980	
	Number of women	%age of national workforce	Number of women	%age of national workforce	Absolute numbers	Percentage
BAHRAIN						
Stenographers, typists and computer card and tape punchers	55	2.9%	893	11.34%	+ 838	+ 8.36%
Clerks in government offices	0	0	500	6.35%	+ 500	+ 6.35%
Book-keepers, cashiers and related workers	29	1.57%	346	4.39%	+ 317	+ 2.82%
Telephonists & telegraphists	0	0	106	1.37%	+ 106	+ 1.37%
Other related personnel	113	6.11%	1401	17.79%	+1288	+11.68%
TOTAL	197	10.66%	3246	41.22%	+3049	+30.56%
KUWAIT						
Stenographers etc.	14	0.69%	893	6.50%	+ 879	+ 5.81%
Clerks in government offices	29	1.43%	149	1.08%	+ 120	- 0.35%
Book-keepers etc.	12	0.59%	164	1.19%	+ 152	+ 0.60%
Telephonists & telegraphists	14	0.69%	390	2.82%	+ 376	+ 2.13%
Other related personnel	377	18.65%	2687	19.43%	+2310	+ 0.78%
TOTAL	446	22.10%	4283	30.97%	+3837	+ 8.87%
QATAR						
Stenographers etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clerks in government offices	0	0	0	0	0	0
Book-keepers etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Telephonists & telegraphists	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other related personnel	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	89	31.3%	35	2.17%	- 54	-29.18%

to men to obtain more lucrative employment. The combined effect of these two factors appears to have encouraged women to avail themselves of these opportunities.

Society in Qatar is less liberal than in Bahrain and Kuwait, so it is not surprising that Qatari women are not allowed to take part in clerical and related occupations. This sharp difference in the pattern of women's employment between Qatar on the one hand and Bahrain and Kuwait on the other may also be due to economic factors which determine the standard of living. According to Hamadin, work for Bahraini women is not only a matter of prestige but also an economic necessity to maintain a certain standard of living because of the less wealthy economy of Bahrain¹⁸. However, this change in the employment pattern of women also reflects a genuine shift in the attitudes of Bahraini and Kuwaiti societies, where the idea of women working as secretaries and clerks in government and in private commercial organisations is apparently gaining public acceptance.

D. ESTABLISHMENT OF WOMEN'S SOCIETIES AND ORGANISATIONS IN THE GULF STATES

In traditional Gulf society, women were confined to their homes and to the company of female relatives and friends. Hafiz Wahba, a historian, remarked on this situation after his visit to Bahrain in 1920¹⁹:

"To know how to write in Bahrain is considered one of the imperfections proper to women, while their good qualities depend on the thickness of their veils and their staying at home. They may only leave home in cases of extreme necessity."

One of the most flattering things that could be said of a dead woman was

that she had crossed the doorstep of her home only twice in her life: when she entered on her marriage and when she left on her death. The situation has, without doubt, changed considerably over the years, but the degree of change varies from country to country in the Gulf States. While Bahraini and Kuwaiti women can go out and travel abroad, drive a car, go to the cinema or attend sports and social clubs, such practices for women are considered innovatory and unacceptable in Qatari society.

Unlike other Arab countries which have a history of women's movements and well-recognised women's organisations, the Gulf States had no such societies or organisations until the late 1950's. This was in part due to the absence of sufficient numbers of educated women and any organised effort by the authorities or the general public. However, with the beginning of education and modernisation programmes, women's societies in primitive forms started to emerge in the Gulf area in the late 1950's. The first women's society, 'The Bahrain Young Ladies Society', was founded in Bahrain in 1955, followed by a similar organisation in Kuwait in 1962. There are now six women's societies in Bahrain and two in Kuwait²⁰. In the case of Qatar, even today there is no proper women's organisation, except a women's branch of the Red Crescent - the Muslim version of the Red Cross - which started in 1980. For fear of incurring the disapproval of the highly conservative and orthodox society, the Government of Qatar does not allow the establishment of any public organisation, society, or union. It may also be the case that the government thinks that such organisations would allow people the opportunity to exchange views and opinions which in turn would lead them to oppose the prevailing system of government in the country.

The work and objectives of women's societies have been and remain mainly charitable and social. The activities of most of these societies include providing adult literacy classes and vocational training centres for women, day-care centres for the children of working mothers and guidance and advice for mothers. Precise information on the membership of these societies is not available. However, the membership in Bahraini women's societies in 1978 was low: about 585²¹. The Bahrain Young Ladies Society, and the Children and Mothers' Welfare Society, the two societies initially founded in 1955 and 1960 respectively, did not have more than 137 and 160 members. The survey in Kuwait carried out by Abdul Rahman in 1971 revealed that out of a sample of 375 Kuwaiti women, only 12 were members of any women's organisation²².

Many reasons were given for not joining women's organisations²³: (a) women were not allowed to go out alone; (b) their fathers would not allow them to join; (c) their housework took up all their time; (d) the women themselves were not convinced about the role and purpose of such societies. According to Abdul Rahman, the main reason was that Kuwaiti women were passive. Certainly the majority of Gulf women even today are reluctant to break away from traditional customs because of social circumstances.

With the exception of the Bahrain Young Ladies Society, founded in Manama in 1955, and the Awal Women's Society, founded in Muharraq in 1969, which both strongly campaign for the right of women to participate in the political life of Bahrain, the other women's societies do not seem to have any strong political motivation. Some researchers have criticised the role of these societies and their lack of popularity among women. This criticism appears to be unrealistic in view of the

fact that the idea of women's organisations has no roots and is still in a very early stage in the Gulf States, as described, for example, in the following statement by Bahbahani²⁴:

"The Kuwaiti woman suffers from alienation, dependency and social customs which she can do without. The women's societies came to confirm such passive spirit in her. The existing women's societies in Kuwait failed to unite Kuwaiti women to fight these obstacles. The spontaneous thinking accompanied by lack of objective planning resulted in a large number of Kuwaiti women shrinking away from joining these 'entertainment societies'."

While it is beyond the scope of this Chapter to discuss in full the social and ideological bases of these societies and their failure or success, it is relevant to consider the effect of education on the foundation of women's organisations and their socio-political role in influencing the status of women. The subject of political freedom and the rights of men and women will be discussed separately in the following section of this Chapter.

A major criticism of Bahraini and Kuwaiti women's organisations has been that they are run by women who belong to the privileged and upper classes of society and hence do not represent or speak for the ordinary Gulf woman. This is a valid argument, but it begs the fundamental question that if it were not for these women, who had access to education in the first place, who else would have initiated these organisations? It should be borne in mind that recent economic developments in the Gulf States were not due to revolutionary and radical changes in their fundamental ideologies. On the contrary, the emergence of the present wealthy Gulf States was due simply to revenue from the discovery and export of oil, a development which did not involve any effort or struggle on the part of the people. An abundance of wealth apparently

abrogated the need for a conscious uprising of the people.

Under these sociological and ideological conditions, it is unlikely that any women's society would commit itself to the achievement of political rights; rather it would concentrate on providing literacy and social awareness and an improvement in the standard of living of the less fortunate women. However, without the driving force of the educated women it is doubtful if even these apolitical organisations would have emerged at all. The effect of the education of women on their increased self-awareness and national role can be substantiated from the fact that the only women's societies which campaigned for electoral and political rights for women were societies such as the Bahrain Young Ladies Society, the Awal Women's Society and the Rifa Women's Society, whose membership comprised educated young women.

A detailed discussion of the efforts of women's organisations in their struggle for political rights will be given in the next section of this Chapter. However, it can be concluded that these societies, whether or not organised by women from the privileged classes, have contributed to the women's cause. It is also important to note that most of these organisations, irrespective of their political or apolitical roles, are financed by the government²⁵. One would have thought that if Gulf society wanted these women's organisations to become more active, the public would have provided sufficient funds to make them financially independent of any government control.

E. POLITICAL RIGHTS OF GULF WOMEN

Until the 1960's and 1970's the three Gulf States did not have any

constitution, the system of government being autocratic. Economic development and modernisation of these societies created a general demand for political and social reforms which in turn exerted pressure on the ruling families to introduce modern national institutions in order to gain a wider legitimacy for their rule. The net result of these forces was the introduction of written constitutions. Kuwait was the first country in the Gulf to democratise its political system by introducing a written constitution and electing a national assembly in 1962. Bahrain followed suit in 1973 with the adoption of a constitution and the election of a national assembly. In contrast to these, the democratisation process in Qatar was confined to issuing a provisional constitution in 1970 and the nomination of an Advisory Council appointed by the ruler himself. In Qatar no-one has a vote and in Bahrain and Kuwait the franchise is restricted to the national male population. Women in both these Gulf States have no political or electoral rights, they cannot nominate themselves or elect anyone to public office. For instance, Article 1 of the Kuwait National Assembly Election Law of 1962 states²⁶:

"Every Kuwaiti male over 21 years has the right to elect: excluded from this category are the naturalised citizens who have been in the country less than 20 years."

Clearly this law not only deprives Kuwaiti women of the vote but also excludes them from being nominated as candidates for the National Assembly or to public office, since the constitution stipulates that a nominee for these positions must be eligible as an elector.

One wonders why women are excluded and what is the basis for such laws. It has been argued that the rejection of the woman's right to vote

or to serve as a deputy in the national assemblies is based on a statement in the Quran (XXXLLL:133) "Remain in your house: do not exhibit yourself as did the women in the times of Ignorance"²⁸. The orthodox religious authorities interpret this text as proof that women must be kept away from the temptation of any political role. In her book, "Beyond the Veil", Fatima Mernissi disputes this view²⁹:

"Contrary to what is commonly assumed, Islam does not advance the thesis of women's inherent inferiority. Quite the contrary, it affirms the potential equality between the sexes. The existing inequality does not rest on an ideological or biological theory of women's inferiority, but is the outcome of specific social institutions designed to restrain her power, namely segregation and legal subordination of women to the men in the family structure."

Moreover, according to Abdul Malik al-Saleh, the electoral law cited above contradicts other constitutional law, such as Law 30 which states³⁰:

The government system in Kuwait is a democracy; the Sovereignty belongs to the nation, the source of all power."

It also contradicts the constitutional Law 7, which states:

"Justice and equality are the basic principles of the society."

and Law 29, which states:

"People are equal in their human dignity, they are equal in front of the law in the duties and rights. No distinction can be made between them for reasons of sex, race, language or religion."

It is rather ironic that whereas neither the tenets of Islam nor the constitutional laws, in principle, deprive women of their political rights, the interpretation of these rules has always denied women's rights.

The position of Bahraini women with respect to their political, electoral and constitutional rights is no different from that of Kuwaiti women. While Bahraini men have the right to vote or to be nominated for public office, Bahraini women are excluded. The situation in Qatar is worse than in any other Gulf States as there is no national assembly and neither men nor women have any political rights. It is strange that no protest has been made either internally or externally over the disenfranchisement of women in these States. The only noticeable protest raised on this subject was by women's societies in Bahrain and Kuwait. The women's organisations such as the Bahraini Young Ladies Society, the Awal Women's Society and the Rifa Women's Society staged an active protest, held several meetings and organised a concentrated appeal to Bahraini women to condemn the disenfranchisement of women³¹.

The Bahraini government had not foreseen that Article 1 of the Constitutional Assembly Law No. 1311972, which restricted voting eligibility to males only, would create such a furore among educated women³². The women's organisations issued a statement asking for popular support for their rights to vote in which they argued against the government's position on this issue. The representatives of the women's organisations asked the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs for a permit to collect signatures to a petition to be presented to the government³³. This request was refused and the Ministry allowed the women's organisations only to collect signatures representing groups and associations. The petition was presented to the ruler on 20th November 1972, 10 days prior to the Constitutional Assembly election³⁴. The ruler expressed sympathy for their cause but nothing positive was done. In their petition concerning women's rights, the women's organisations stated that³⁵:

"The decision to keep the women away from the formation of the Constitutional Assembly and the discussion of the constitution is the most severe insult which can be given to women, who have raised generations and who have exerted every effort over the centuries in the service of their country. Today, for little reason, she is removed from the political scene.

The two reasons given for depriving women of their political rights may be summarised as follows. First, the woman is veiled, and therefore it is difficult to ascertain her identity. Secondly, woman is uneducated, and therefore she has no independent opinion, so that a man can influence her vote.

Both reasons are unconvincing. As to the first, procedures may be taken to ascertain the identity of the veiled woman, and secondly a large percentage of ignorant men also exist - men who have no independent opinions. The election laws do not require that men must be aware and knowledgeable before they are given the right to vote. The United Nations Charter clearly prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex in the area of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1952 also grants men and women equal political rights."

A clear and logical reason for depriving women of their human and constitutional rights was never given, nor was a serious public debate held. According to an article in al-Taliah magazine in February 1982, when the cultural and social women's society in Kuwait was organising a petition to be presented to the Kuwaiti National Assembly during the debate on the election law, the level at which the argument was conducted was as follows³⁶:

"During the period when women's societies were gathering signatures for the petition to be presented to the National Assembly in order to give women the right to vote, one speaker (Khatib) called upon people not to sign the women's petition and asked them to organise a petition against women's right to vote, and proclaimed that those who signed this new petition would go to Paradise."

Although these nations have undergone considerable modernisation and economic development during the last decade, the political and con-

stitutional status of women has remained unchanged. For example, during the last election held on 18th February 1981, Kuwaiti women still had no right to vote or be nominated. The national as well as the international press raised again the issue of the disenfranchisement of women, but to no avail. A contributor to al-Taliah, a Kuwaiti magazine, wrote³⁷:

"Women are equal to men and they should be given their political rights. How unfortunate to discuss such a subject at this time, when women have been granted the right to vote in many other countries and when women proved their abilities to enter different fields and succeeded."

The issue of political rights of Kuwaiti women was debated in January 1982 by the National Assembly, who voted against a proposal to enfranchise women. This decision stunned the Kuwaiti women and those men who had been campaigning for the right of women to vote. However, according to Nadia Hijab, editor-in-chief of 'The Middle East' magazine, the Assembly had an interest in not granting women their basic political right. In her editorial she sardonically referred to some of the several 'valid' reasons being considered by the Assembly in their decision not to allow women voting rights. Again, as a matter of interest, and to explore the banal and naive nature of their argument, the five points mentioned in her editorial are as follows³⁸:

"(a) Many women in Europe do not vote. In the tiny principality of Lichtenstein, sandwiched between Austria and Switzerland in central Europe, women do not yet have the right to vote. Every so often a bill on the subject is sent to parliament, and every time it is turned down. The female population of Lichtenstein is becoming a little restive at being Europe's odd woman out, but parliament holds firm.

(b) Many Arab men do not vote. There are several countries where it is felt that the electoral system is not suited to the Arab temperament. It is far better instinctively to sense the people's needs and work towards them. Indeed, this system is so successful that the people's needs are often sensed before the people have even thought of them. Moreover, in those Arab countries which have elections or referenda, the results are so overwhelmingly at one with the leadership as to make the vote superfluous.

(c) The time is not ripe. I have met many Kuwaiti women: they are forceful, strong-willed, hardworking and very articulate. Over 10,000 Kuwaiti women hold university degrees. Clearly the Assembly felt that the scales were already weighted in women's favour and to add political rights would tip the balance. Seven men in the Assembly felt they could cope, but most saw the rationale of waiting until women return to their senses.

(d) Women cannot bear the responsibility. Kuwaiti women clearly have not studied conditions in the Arab world before pressing for the vote. Their Arab 'brothers' are engaged in fratricide in various corners of the nation; large parts of Arab land are under occupation, or lost to them for ever; resources are harnessed to serve interests other than their own; democracy is so powerful that thousands of the most qualified Arabs have emigrated to escape it. So far Arab women have had little part to play in this situation, and cannot be said to bear the responsibility; Arab men can - and do.

(e) It is not in line with Arab tradition. In pre-Islamic times (the jahiliya) women had few or no rights. Indeed, their arrival in the world was looked upon with horror for the dishonour they could bring upon the tribe - hence the practice of burying girls at birth. This all changed with the coming of Islam and its concern to give women their rightful place in society. Far from being upset at the decision to keep them politically buried, Kuwaiti women should be grateful that concern for Arab tradition extends to digging so deeply into the practices of the past."

Despite all these reasons, Kuwaiti women are refusing to take no for an answer, and it looks as though the Assembly is facing a Pyrrhic victory. For one thing the floodgates of debate have opened on a number of normally taboo topics. For another, women are reorganising the campaign for the next session. Crown Prince Saad al-Abdullah (a consistent supporter of women's rights) has said that the Assembly's decision cannot be regarded as final³⁹.

Finally, Nadia Hijab sarcastically suggests that⁴⁰:

"In the meantime there is a much easier and more sensible solution that would spare everyone concerned embarrassment, and to which women hold the key. They should simply make sure that from now on all their babies are boys; this might change the fate of Kuwait as we know it, but it would guarantee equal rights."

The issue of constitutional and political rights for women, their right to vote and nominate themselves, are not only matters of rhetoric but are of fundamental importance. Although Gulf women have been provided with many material facilities and opportunities, including education and employment in appropriate fields, their fate and future is still in the hands of those policy makers who perceive a role for women which is different to that which the modern Gulf woman herself perceives. The role of Muslim woman in the contemporary Arab world is a complex one. She is still bound by traditional patterns of behaviour, yet moving forward to a freer and more active position in society. This creates conflict within herself. According to al-Sa'id⁴¹:

"Thus one of the most important challenges facing the Arab woman today is that of trying to equate her inner self, her thoughts and attitudes and feelings, with the contemporary social reality about her. It is not easy to resolve the contradictions, both personal and societal, which are bound to occur between the old inherited traditions and the new currents of thought."

Central to our discussion is the question of the effect of education on the political status of women in the Gulf. In this context, although the institution of education in the Gulf States and the encouraging increase in the number of educated women do not seem to have produced any clear results for the political status of these women, the role of education in raising personal and political awareness among women is beginning to show its effects. For instance, there were and are the educated women and their societies who campaigned and are rallying for political rights for women. Their number is small at present and their voices unheard, but it is now becoming obvious that as long as these women remain resilient and keep up the struggle and propagate their views, they will eventually win their basic political rights.

According to Genever-Adams, the status of women is undergoing rapid transformation in many parts of the Arab world, and not even in the most traditional and conservative societies such as the Gulf States is the position of women remaining completely static⁴². The greatest advances have been made in the political and economic spheres; however, often legislation is on the books and only required government commitment and some degree of modified societal attitude to be fully implemented. As the chief mechanism for translating the legal structures of society into social reality, education will become increasingly important in initiating this process. The stumbling block to the emancipation of women remains the family laws which are used, deliberately or otherwise, to keep women in a submissive and subservient position by denying them the freedom to make basic life decisions and thus keep their status dependent on factors beyond their control. As long as marriage and divorce laws and other regulations dealing with personal status continue to favour men and give them control over their wives, daughters and sisters, full emancipation cannot be achieved, no matter how great the progress in other aspects of social and political life.

Only when women are given control over their personal lives will they be able to take their full share of responsibility for the growth and development of their country. Equally important, women must be informed of the rights they already possess and be encouraged to exercise them.

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CHAPTER 9

ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF MODERN EDUCATION:
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Among the independent states which emerged after the Second World War, the Gulf States present a unique case compared with other developing countries of the Third World, because of their small populations and their extremely rapid economic development owing to revenue from oil exports. Modern education, provided free of cost to those who wanted it, was first adopted as something fashionable and for its cosmetic value. Later on, the importance attached to school and university qualifications in both government and private employment rapidly boosted its economic value. Since obtaining a school certificate or university degree has become the main object of attending school or university, the real purpose of education and its content, standard and quality have been and still are treated as matters of little interest and importance to the students, and of least concern to the educators, teachers and parents.

The public interest in education merely for its social and financial rewards and the neglectful attitude of the education authorities over the years appear to have been the major causes of the poor quality of education. The system of technical school education, originally designed by foreign experts, which might have been a great success in some other developing countries, has also proved to be a failure in the Gulf States. This costly failure of technical education is another example of the inappropriate planning of diversified systems of education which are least suitable to the needs of these countries and unattractive to their citizens.

The quality, standard and diversity of school education are of major importance to the socio-economic and industrial development as well as to the prosperity of a developing nation. In the case of the Gulf States, it can be assumed that the poor quality and lack of improvement in school education could be due to a shortage of national experts and educationalists.

However, it is difficult to understand how, even after the establishment of national universities and other institutes of higher education, no major steps have been taken to improve the quality of school education. Sound school education is essential, not only for the success of higher education but also for the improvement of standards of literacy and the provision of manpower among the indigenous peoples.

The present state of school education and technical education raises many important questions.

1. What is the purpose of basic education in society in general and what is its role in higher and technical education and in the provision of manpower needs of that society in particular?
2. In what way has the existing system of school education in the Gulf States failed to fulfil its role?
3. How can the present system of school education be modified and improved so that it meets national goals and demands?

Since its beginning some 30 years ago, modern school education has expanded considerably in all three Gulf States. Compared to a handful of male students enrolled at Kuttab in the early 1950's, there are now by 1980 29,889, 277,692 and 39,504 boys and girls enrolled at all three levels of school education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively. Based on statistical records for 1980, the student/class and student/teacher ratios in all three States (Table 9.1) also appear to be highly satisfactory when compared with more advanced nations like the U.K. Whilst Bahrain has a longer history of modern education compared with her neighbours, higher student/teacher or class ratios than those for Kuwait or Qatar is basically due to her limited oil revenues.

TABLE 9.1

Student/teacher and
student/class ratios in 1980

Country	Student/teacher ratio	Student/class ratio
Bahrain	19:1	34:1
Kuwait	13:1	30:1
Qatar	12:1	28:1

Although the large majority of children attend schools, there is clear evidence that some 20%, 30% and 10% of the total number of school-age children in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively are not enrolled in school education. This is a matter of serious concern and it is surprising that no effective measures have been taken, either by the governments or by the education authorities, to eradicate it. There is, indeed, a Compulsory Education Law in Kuwait, but this has never been effectively enforced. Hence it is a matter of the utmost urgency and importance that the governments should take every step to ensure that a law requiring compulsory education should be introduced and effectively enforced in the States. Both parents and education authorities should be held responsible for making sure that every school-age child attends school unless there are some special reasons or exceptional circumstances for their not doing so. It is unwise to let the present situation continue because in addition to reducing the productivity of the educational system, it will result in increasing illiteracy in society in the future.

Another equally serious problem facing school education in the Gulf States is the high drop-out and repeat rates. These are fatal to any educational system because they drastically reduce the productivity of the system. It is surprising that no proper measures have been taken so far, either to diminish or eradicate it. As pointed out earlier, many factors contribute to this type of wastage of available educational facilities. The organisation of the educational systems, such as their curricula, methods of examination and assessment, as well as the methods of teaching, play a significant role in this context.

An analysis of the data on drop-out and repeat rates in the Gulf States carried out in the present work clearly indicates

that rates of drop-out and repetition vary considerably within different grades of education, as well as within different levels of education. Similarly, there is a clear sex-biased difference. High drop-out and repeat rates at the lower grades of primary education occur basically because of the lack of provision for pre-primary or kindergarten education. This has been summarised in a UNESCO report as follows¹:

"Two of the most serious educational problems facing the Arab countries are the high degree of retardation and drop-out in the primary school. Where promotion from class to class depends on passing an examination and where such examinations are beyond the abilities of the average child, considerable retardation takes place especially in the first grades. This, in part, is owing to the fact that in the Arab countries, where pre-primary school facilities are rare, the child often enters the first primary grade straight from home and has considerable difficulty in adjusting himself to a curriculum which is still, by common consent, too bookish. Often more than one year elapses before the child can adapt himself and start to make reasonable progress."

Although modern education started some 30 years ago in these countries, the attitudes of the parents and the home atmosphere in the majority of families do not provide children with the skills and attitudes they need if they are to prosper when they enter school for the first time. The number of children who get the benefit of kindergarten education (private or public) is much smaller than the total number of children entering primary schools for the first time. Urgent government action regarding the provision of kindergarten facilities is therefore required to improve the productivity of school education as a whole. The establishment and availability of kindergarten facilities will also be of equal importance to future society, where the new generation of nuclear families will have both parents pursuing careers, by providing assistance in child care. The cost of providing these facilities would be a worthwhile investment for the future and would almost certainly

improve the productivity of the education system.

Some other aspects of school education also require immediate and radical modification. These include curricula, methods of teaching, and the system of assessment and examination. The school curricula, originally introduced some 20 years ago, have changed little over the years. They are still overloaded and, to a large extent, fail to meet the needs and interests of the students. Despite increasing economic pressure for higher scientific and technological training, the school curriculum still emphasises arts and humanities rather than science and technical subjects. The methods of training remain traditional and depend largely on textbooks and the blackboard. Teachers follow the textbooks page by page and their main objective appears to be to prepare the students to pass examinations. The educational system relies heavily on examinations which have become the only means of evaluation and the criterion of success.

The reason for these traditional methods of teaching remaining in practice is the attitude which still governs teacher training. Hence it is important that the training institutes in the Gulf States re-organise their system of teacher-training programmes in order to produce teachers who are not only highly qualified in general and specialised subjects, but who also are fully acquainted with modern methods of teaching. It is also important to broaden the role of teachers so that they may take an active part in developing the personalities and interests of their pupils.

Also traditional is the system of examinations which assesses only the ability of the student to master the textbook. At the same time, students are aware of this situation and normally turn to excessive rote-

learning in which memorising replaces thinking in order to pass examinations. Hence the facts are memorised without understanding the basic principles or applications, and are reproduced in examinations without being assimilated. This is well-illustrated by al-Kobaisi's observation²:

"In subjects like geography, most primary pupils observed in the fifth and sixth grades could hardly define a location on the map, but could easily tell you the location by heart."

Hardly any modern methods or aids are employed in teaching. The teacher simply gives a lecture with the students listening passively. This traditional method of teaching is used at all levels of school education as well as in the universities and at other institutions for higher education.

Since the beginning of modern education, the shortage of qualified national teachers has been considered to be a major cause of the poor quality of teaching and was the main reason for the expansion of better and more specialised educational institutes such as the universities and the advanced teacher-training institutes. However, the problem of staffing schools and other colleges of education with suitably qualified national teachers does not appear to have been resolved, even after the establishment of the new colleges and institutes of teacher training in these countries. The Gulf States of Kuwait and Qatar still suffer from this problem, though the situation in Bahrain is steadily improving. While there is an urgent need to improve further and upgrade the standards of the existing teacher-training institutes, it is also important to point out that measures should be taken to attract national male youth to the teaching profession.

For many historical reasons, and also due to the economic climate

in these States, young male Gulf graduates are unwilling to join the teaching profession. Teacher-training and the teaching profession are the least favoured options for male students. For example, in Kuwait and Qatar, national teachers constitute only about 15% and 10% respectively of the total number of school teachers in these countries. The simple reason is that the Kuwaiti and Qatari man can easily find better paid and more socially acceptable positions in government. The situation in Bahrain is different, because the more constrained economic situation produces greater competition for jobs.

The governments' policies should aim at bringing teachers' salaries and status onto a par with those of government employees with similar educational qualifications. At the same time, active participation by the national universities in improving teaching methods and curricula in schools is urgently required.

Technical Education

At present the three Gulf States depend heavily on foreign expertise and manpower, and it is of vital importance that they should achieve self-sufficiency in the near future. Previous attempts to encourage more national youth to take up technical education by giving them additional monthly allowances and by raising the standard of technical education from secondary to post-secondary school level does not appear to have made any significant difference. It is therefore highly desirable to review the existing policy of technical education, bearing in mind the importance of the social stigma that is still attached to technical education, the aspirations of the national youth, and the urgent need of these societies to have qualified national personnel in technological fields.

If the secondary school education system were made more balanced between the arts/humanities and technology/science subjects by incorporating some general courses of technical education into the school curriculum, this would not only help eradicate the traditional dislike of technical work, but would also broaden the scope of school education and equip students with sufficient background to be able to take up higher education in applied sciences and technology. The present system, with its emphasis on arts/humanities produces students who take up these subjects at university level.

Although most technical courses have now been raised to the post-secondary school level, enrolment statistics clearly indicate that Gulf students prefer university education to technical education. From previous experience of the failure of technical education at the secondary school level, and the present analysis of recent trends in technical education at the post-secondary school level, it is reasonable to predict that the existing system of technical education will be of only limited value. Instead of upgrading old technical schools or establishing new post-secondary technical schools, it would be more appropriate to establish institutes of applied sciences, commerce and technology which should be equal in status and standard of education to the universities. This type of institute is likely to attract ambitious Gulf youth to participate in technical education.

Occasionally the governments of these States express a desire for closer cooperation in the provision of technical education, but it is clear that unless ideas are put into actual practice, there will be considerable waste of national resources in achieving even partial success in technological development. Because of the small populations of these

States, one institute of technology would probably be sufficient for the needs of all three States. Arrangements could be made to house the three divisions of this proposed institute - applied sciences, commerce and business, technology - separately among the three Gulf States, thereby establishing centres of excellence for the teaching of these vital subjects. The role of this institute can be envisaged as producing highly qualified national personnel who would be able to take responsibility as administrators, managers, executives and technologists in the private and public sectors of national industry.

University education

The provision of higher education in the form of national universities is a fairly recent event in the history of education in the Gulf States. Before the opening of national universities, almost all students who wished to obtain higher education were sent to universities abroad. Even today, when the national universities are offering general science and arts courses, a large majority of male students still go to Western universities for undergraduate as well as postgraduate studies. National university education is still in its infancy and is faced with many internal and external problems.

It is important to point out that although the quality and type of education in the national universities are by no means perfect, they have been of some value in quantitative terms. National universities have made higher education easily accessible to many national students who otherwise had only a small chance of achieving it. For instance, national universities are almost the only places of higher education for Gulf women. This is true also for male students who fail to obtain

government scholarships for higher education abroad or who cannot afford to go to university abroad at their own expense.

The project of universities and university education, like the rest of the educational system and many other national projects, suffers severely from lack of proper planning and a clear definition of its role and purpose. Keeping in view the financial costs in establishing as well as running the national universities, it is pertinent to evaluate the achievements made by these universities in terms of manpower provision. A critical appraisal of the purpose of higher education, either quantitatively, qualitatively or from its role in making these nations relatively independent of foreign expertise and advice, is essential. At present, the easy availability of funds imposes no restrictions on the type of higher education being made available to Gulf students.

A striking feature of higher education is that the majority of students receiving higher education at universities at home or abroad are engaged in studying general arts and humanities. The national universities, being relatively new, are not equipped or staffed for scientific or technological teaching and training programmes. One result is that the standard of these universities is relatively low and their programmes tend to neglect science and technology. This makes the universities less attractive to ambitious students who wish to acquire higher education of a standard which will enable them to compete for employment anywhere in the world. On the other hand, the national universities have greater attraction for some students of lower academic standard who wish to acquire a university degree as a passport to future employment.

Undue importance is attached to university degrees, regardless of their quality and nature, for obtaining positions in the Civil Service. This has been another major reason for the lack of any public pressure on national Gulf universities to improve their quality of teaching and type of degree course which they offer.

All these are complex and difficult problems and cannot easily be resolved within a short period of time and without close and serious consultation between the governments, educators, teachers and students of the three Gulf States.

Higher education should not merely be manpower directed. The main role of the national universities should not only be geared towards preparing national youth for work in industry and other sectors. It is important that higher education should play a much broader role in the general intellectual and economic growth of Gulf society. These States will have to tolerate some financial wastage and even substandard performance in their universities for some time to come before sufficient national academic staff become available to take up university appointments and to lead research activities suitable and beneficial to the local needs and environments. In addition to providing undergraduate courses in general arts, science and other applied subjects, the Gulf universities need to initiate and develop postgraduate facilities, which at present are only available in universities abroad.

The realisation of these ideals will not be easy because of many national and international problems. Whilst it was comparatively easy some 10 years ago to establish these universities and bring them to their present status, their future development will be slow and arduous. The continuing development of the universities in the Gulf States is

now being affected by worldwide economic recession and by a drop in oil prices and uncertainty in the world oil market. These events will affect the balance of payments situation and the income from oil revenue. There are now signs which suggest that the Gulf States are becoming more cautious about spending money on education. The competition among the Gulf universities in attracting overseas personnel has been costly, and any financial cuts in university budgets, if these occur, will seriously affect their ability to continue to expand. An acute shortage of suitably qualified and experienced national academics, both now and in the future, will make these universities highly vulnerable to external influences and pressures and will also reduce their effective role as intellectual bodies.

The present social dichotomy between the national and non-national workforce in general, and at the university level in particular, must be resolved if these universities are to take full advantage of the services of non-national staff. This is of immense importance in the case of non-Gulf Arab scholars and academics employed in the universities on non-permanent contracts. It is not surprising that the feeling of insecurity experienced by these academics has some effect on their full cooperation and contribution. Another important factor affecting the standard and productivity of some faculties in these universities has been the low enrolment of national students. Finally, the national universities are now becoming, to a large extent, places of female education, since the majority of Gulf male students enrol in overseas universities, either sponsored by government scholarships or privately funded.

Although repeated public announcements have been made by the Gulf

States governments of closer cooperation between them in the fields of education and cultural development, there can be little doubt that there now exists a real need for practical cooperation to be realised. It is not necessary to emphasise the many problems facing the national universities, such as (a) the small number of national students who are eligible and willing to enrol; (b) wastage due to duplication of teaching programmes and facilities; (c) substandard libraries; (d) lack of laboratories; (e) shortage of suitably qualified and experienced national teaching staff, and (f) lack of adequate postgraduate teaching and research programmes.

All of these problems can be resolved to a large extent by reorganisation of the available facilities at different universities by close mutual cooperation. Unless the various Gulf universities emerge as centres of specialisation in specific areas without competing amongst themselves or duplicating teaching and research programmes, higher education will not be successful in the future. Reorganisation, however, would require mobilisation of resources, facilities and manpower. From a cursory inspection of the available facilities, experience and active involvement of the various Gulf universities in teaching different subjects, and for the sake of illustration, a tentative reorganisation could be envisaged as follows. The University of Kuwait could be developed along the lines of providing undergraduate and postgraduate teaching and research facilities in all branches of engineering, law and political sciences for the whole of the Gulf region. The future University of Bahrain could become a centre for advanced learning in general science, business, commerce and economics, and the future University of Qatar could aim at specialising in general arts, humanities, education and Islamic studies.

With thorough reorganisation of the existing system, these universities will be able to resolve many of their internal problems and improve their own standards. They will also be able to play a more effective and much needed role in the improvement of educational facilities and programmes at the pre-university levels of education, including improving the quality of the curricula, textbooks, methods of teaching, and student assessment. Another area in which the national universities should be making contributions is the future planning of social and economic growth of the Gulf societies.

Sex-segregation

Whole closer cooperation among the Gulf States is needed immediately in all fields of education to minimise wastage and to avoid duplication of projects, it is also imperative to review the policies of sex-segregation in higher education and in the universities. The teaching of male and female students separately results in the duplication of facilities and wastage of teachers' and lecturers' time. A teacher has to give the same lecture twice at different times to different audiences. His or her input is thereby reduced by half and it may even necessitate the employment of a second lecturer. This demand on a teacher's time merely to repeat lectures leaves little time for research, which is essential from the point of view of his interests and career, as well as for the reputation of the institute or university. Such waste can be avoided and the productivity of the education system doubles if both sexes are taught together. The argument for and against sex-segregation should be properly debated in public.

There is at present a whole spectrum of anomalies in the existing policies on sex-segregation within the Gulf States' education systems as well as between the three Gulf States. For instance, all institutes of higher education in Bahrain are co-educational, while the new Arab Gulf University in Bahrain is sex-segregated. This is because the University of the Arab Gulf is heavily financed by the ultra-conservative Saudi Arabian Government who practice sex-segregation at all levels. At Qatar University there are separate faculties for men and women in the humanities, science education and Islamic studies, but the Faculty of Engineering accepts male students only. The University of Kuwait presents a rather interesting feature in that while some faculties such as engineering, medicine, political science and economics are co-educational, others such as arts, and law and Shariah are divided into separate male and female sections.

The differences in the policies and practices of sex-segregation at the university level in all three States, which are otherwise closely related in their cultures and traditions, suggest that man-made social divisions are not fundamentally right. By formulating a sensible policy of co-education throughout all three Gulf States, the present wastage of time and duplication of facilities caused by sex-segregation will be eradicated, helping to improve the quality and productivity of higher education.

The education of women

The modern education of women in the Gulf States did not start as smoothly as for men. Not only was Gulf society in general hostile to the idea of education of women, the idea was also strongly opposed by

many groups within these societies. The education of women was considered to have a disruptive effect on the traditions and customs of the Gulf States. The continuous efforts of people like Sheikh al-Mani and Amina Mahmoud (see Chapter 2), who had the foresight to champion the cause of women's education, brought the education of women to where it stands today.

As well as this social and traditional bias against women's education, the poor economic conditions of the pre-oil days also played its part. However, the discovery of oil and the resulting income completely negated the economic argument, but the deep-rooted social and traditional biases against women's education have not completely died out even today.

Although the intensity of opposition to women's education and their participation in the professional world is slowly diminishing, traditional and social biases still exist. During the very short history of modern education, a large number of obstacles arising from pressures from society and/or governments were placed in the way of the development and expansion of female education. Women's enthusiasm and dedication to make the best use of what educational facilities and opportunities are available is admirable in the face of such opposition. Gulf women constitute nearly half of the total student enrolment at all levels of school education and they outnumber male students in the national universities. Similarly, they not only perform better in their examinations than the men, but they also surpass and excel men in obtaining top positions. Finally, they have much lower drop-out and repeat rates, indicating low wastage and high productivity in the education of women at the school level. These facts provide clear evidence that women students are more dedicated

and consistent in their pursuit of education than are Gulf men.

It is surprising, therefore, to observe that both educational planners and society in general tend to ignore this ability and enthusiasm in women. Very few women are allowed to avail themselves of technical or scientific education, as these subjects are usually available for men only. It may be that women prefer arts or humanities subjects at pre-university level, thus restricting their entry to higher education in technology and sciences, but it may also be the case that society does not approve of women entering scientific, technical or industrial careers after graduation. Women therefore restrict themselves to the areas in which they can find future employment. In many cases the only acceptable profession for women is teaching. A large proportion of female graduates in the Gulf States either join teacher-training courses from the beginning, or end up working as teachers, regardless of the fact that their first degrees were in general arts or science subjects.

In the very conservative society of Qatar, women are neither provided with any technical education nor allowed socially to seek employment in technical fields. The situation in the relatively more liberal states of Bahrain and Kuwait is slightly different. For instance, in both Bahrain and Kuwait technical education in commercial and business studies is available to female students, and if they wish to pursue careers in banks, commercial or government offices, they can do so without strong social opposition.

Opportunities for women's higher or university education were very limited before the opening of the national universities in the Gulf

States. The idea of sending female students abroad for higher education has never been readily acceptable to Arab society. While the opening of the national universities has provided greater opportunities for the higher education of women, it has set back the cause of overseas education for women, as it can now be argued that facilities for women are available at home. The unfair restrictions placed on women seeking higher education abroad have posed serious problems both for women and for the national universities. As yet the national universities are unable to offer any postgraduate courses or research facilities (with the exception of some Masters of Arts and Science courses at Kuwait University), and female students therefore have no hope of any further qualifications. This is waste of human resources in these States which are in desperate need of suitably qualified nationals, and which continue to depend on foreign expertise. All kinds of policies which either ban women from acquiring postgraduate qualifications or technical education, or put obstacles in the way of their doing so, are contrary to the national proclamation of equal rights and opportunities for women. They also deter the growth of the national economies and of development planning.

Although the Gulf States have been transformed from small desert sheikhdoms into the world's richest and most modern nations within a very short period of time, the mentality and attitudes of their people seem to have changed little. The traditional beliefs in sex-segregation and seclusion and subservience of women have not been overcome. The provision for women of only limited levels or types of education, according to the wishes and plans of Gulf men and society in complete disregard of the needs and obvious contributions of women, clearly in-

dicates that the position of women in society has not changed.

A number of aspects of official policies and of society's attitude towards women's education which emphasise that it is sufficient for women to obtain education to school level, or that there is no need for the technical education of women, or there is no need for them to obtain higher education, indicate that so far no real significance has been attributed to the role and usefulness of women's education. It is humiliating for women to think that their own societies and nations, who spend time and money in educating and training them, do not require them to make any contribution towards the welfare and prosperity of the community in return. It is for this reason that no significance is attached to their education and its role. It is true that the attitudes of the society towards the education of women, the subsequent exploitation of their training and skill, and rules and regulations regarding their access to different types and levels of education are due to a deep-rooted belief in the society that women have an inferior position and a subordinate role to play. Wastage of existing educational facilities and opportunities because they are not fully utilised by male Gulf students can be reduced, and maximum use of available educational and training programmes can be made if Gulf women are encouraged to take part in them.

In the Gulf nations, whose indigenous populations are very small, it is important that both men and women contribute to the prosperity and development of their society. It can be achieved if at least some of the traditional attitudes and beliefs regarding the inferiority of women are swept aside and they are allowed to make a contribution to the society in which they live.

REFERENCES

1. UNESCO (1956) Compulsory Education in the Arab States. Paris, pp.56-60.
2. Al-Kobaisi, A.J., op. cit., p.162.

APPENDIX 1

TABLE A1

Enrolment of boys and girls in
primary education in Bahrain 1940-1980

Year	Number of girls	Number of boys	Total enrolment
1940/41	667	1,188	1,855
1941/42	763	1,149	1,912
1942/43	822	1,295	2,117
1943/44	1,167	1,360	2,527
1944/45	1,178	1,423	2,801
1945/46	1,193	1,714	2,907
1946/47	1,310	2,028	3,338
1947/48	1,283	2,299	3,582
1948/49	1,285	2,663	3,948
1949/50	1,356	3,081	4,437
1950/51	1,763	3,659	5,422
1951/52	1,952	3,806	5,758
1952/53	2,250	4,413	6,663
1953/54	2,299	5,240	7,539
1954/55	2,618	6,239	8,857
1955/56	3,274	6,912	10,186
1956/57	3,911	7,950	11,861
1957/58	4,020	9,122	13,142
1958/59	4,909	10,378	15,279
1959/60	5,315	11,581	16,896
1960/61	6,236	12,677	18,913
1961/62	7,394	13,440	20,834
1962/63	9,113	16,250	25,363
1963/64	10,966	17,648	28,614
1964/65	11,920	18,508	30,428
1965/66	12,273	18,532	30,805
1966/67	13,927	19,532	32,829
1967/68	14,379	20,786	35,165
1968/69	14,636	20,110	34,746
1969/70	14,951	19,465	34,416
1970/71	15,523	20,590	36,113
1971/72	17,757	21,196	36,953
1972/73	16,335	21,568	37,903
1973/74	16,704	21,858	38,562
1974/75	17,660	22,765	40,425
1975/76	18,219	23,532	41,751
1976/77	18,661	23,929	42,950
1977/78	19,042	24,411	44,003
1979/80	20,016	24,576	44,952

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Various statistics published by the Ministry.

TABLE A2

Enrolment of boys and girls in
primary education in Kuwait 1954-1980

Year	Number of girls	Number of boys	Total enrolment
1954/55	810	2,257	3,067
1955/56	1,205	2,962	4,167
1956/57	6,863	9,886	18,749
1957/58	9,175	11,636	19,811
1958/59	9,238	12,880	22,118
1959/60	10,455	14,459	24,914
1960/61	11,479	15,376	26,855
1961/62	12,744	16,549	29,293
1962/63	14,729	19,074	33,803
1963/64	17,084	22,473	39,557
1964/65	19,075	24,956	44,131
1965/66	21,444	27,118	49,562
1966/67	22,619	29,368	51,987
1967/68	23,512	30,516	54,028
1968/69	23,805	30,476	54,377
1969/70	23,942	30,476	54,418
1970/71	25,300	32,114	57,414
1971/72	28,231	35,119	63,351
1972/73	31,137	38,104	69,241
1973/74	34,130	41,369	75,499
1974/75	37,971	45,610	83,581
1975/76	42,206	50,034	92,240
1976/77	48,504	55,781	104,285
1977/78	52,573	60,936	113,509
1978/79	54,418	62,303	116,721
1979/80	57,969	64,269	122,238

Source: Ministry of Education, Kuwait. Various statistics published by the Ministry.

TABLE A3

Enrolment of boys and girls in
primary education in Qatar 1957-1979

Year	Number of girls	Number of boys	Total enrolment
1957/58	451	1,787	2,238
1958/59	579	2,252	2,831
1959/60	1,423	3,025	4,448
1960/61	1,942	3,722	5,664
1961/62	2,435	4,247	6,682
1962/63	2,682	4,794	7,476
1963/64	3,309	5,369	8,678
1964/65	3,725	6,001	9,726
1965/66	4,550	6,627	11,177
1966/67	5,021	6,719	11,740
1967/68	5,068	6,803	11,871
1968/69	5,472	7,148	12,620
1969/70	6,056	7,609	13,665
1970/71	6,530	7,949	14,479
1971/72	7,402	8,594	15,996
1972/73	8,234	9,321	17,555
1973/74	8,884	9,871	18,760
1974/75	9,624	10,528	20,152
1975/76	10,252	11,150	21,402
1976/77	10,787	11,839	22,626
1977/78	11,179	11,885	23,064
1978/79	11,521	12,021	24,248

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports
1963/64-1978/79.

TABLE A4

Total enrolment and total boy/girl drop-outs
in primary education in Bahrain 1970/71-1979/80

Year	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Total enrolment	Total no. of drop-outs	Total enrolment	Total no. of drop-outs
1970/71	20,590	539	15,523	316
1971/72	21,196	592	15,757	434
1972/73	21,568	770	16,335	166
1973/74	21,858	672	16,704	282
1974/75	22,765	606	17,660	290
1975/76	23,532	660	18,219	260
1976/77	23,929	543	18,661	208
1977/78	24,122	545	19,042	278
1978/79	24,411	440	19,592	272
1979/80	24,576	454	20,016	241

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

Total enrolment and total boy/girl drop-outs by grade
in primary education in Kuwait 1976/77-1980/81

TABLE A5

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL			
	Number of drop-outs								BOYS		GIRLS	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Total enrolment	Total drop-outs	Total enrolment	Total drop-outs
1976/77	148	54	64	56	45	92	30	50	25,712	287	22,638	252
1977/78	212	N.A.	61	N.A.	128	N.A.	12	N.A.	26,545	413	23,828	N.A.
1978/79	N.A.	108	N.A.	84	N.A.	77	N.A.	72	27,439	N.A.	24,591	341
1979/80	79	48	81	56	144	31	101	N.A.	28,492	405	26,438	135 ^a
1980/81	91	56	111	40	85	23	22	N.A.	28,681	309	27,563	119 ^a

Source: Unpublished information obtained from the Ministry of Education, Kuwait (national students only)

N.A. = Not available

TABLE A6

Total enrolment and total boy/girl drop-outs
in primary education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

Year	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Total enrolment	Total no. of drop-outs	Total enrolment	Total no. of drop-outs
1970/71	5,603	256	4,189	215
1971/72	6,064	209	5,453	234
1972/73	6,572	218	6,126	211
1973/74	6,908	218	6,516	171
1974/75	7,238	241	6,922	215
1975/76	7,753	193	7,323	181
1976/77	8,166	298	7,647	135
1977/78	8,089	333	7,728	217
1978/79	8,223	263	7,961	166
1979/80	8,368	240	7,950	149

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80 (national students only).

TABLE A7
Total enrolment and drop-out of boys by grade
in primary education in Bahrain 1970/71-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		Grade 5		GRADE 6	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
1970/71	3,652	132	3,323	56	3,171	43	4,422	106	3,174	97	2,848	104
1971/72	4,277	131	3,461	47	3,327	47	3,922	125	3,279	119	2,930	124
1972/73	4,161	193	4,014	84	3,443	83	3,932	141	3,077	119	2,941	150
1973/74	4,040	170	4,109	90	3,804	63	3,713	98	3,394	122	2,798	129
1974/75	4,234	141	4,059	49	4,002	47	4,128	95	3,345	127	2,997	147
1975/76	4,153	127	4,125	59	4,130	57	4,245	111	3,675	156	3,204	150
1976/77	3,899	102	4,100	36	4,211	42	4,362	75	3,890	107	3,467	181
1977/78	4,054	134	3,755	52	4,142	52	4,383	85	3,993	98	3,795	128
1978/79	4,184	75	3,882	33	3,840	33	4,405	83	4,134	85	3,966	131
1979/80	4,247	68	3,958	34	3,955	30	4,182	69	4,169	107	4,065	146

EN = enrolment DO = drop-out

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

TABLE A8
Total enrolment and drop-out of boys by grade
in primary education in Bahrain 1970/71-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
1970/71	2,851	84	2,616	28	2,725	39	2,815	61	2,217	54	2,299	50
1971/72	2,900	117	2,698	40	2,785	43	2,797	79	2,398	76	2,099	79
1972/73	3,258	21	3,000	29	2,740	30	2,883	32	2,327	31	2,127	23
1973/74	3,307	89	3,086	35	3,030	45	2,637	40	2,527	33	2,117	40
1974/75	3,359	57	3,231	58	3,184	31	3,053	59	2,475	47	2,358	38
1975/76	3,308	54	3,227	23	3,210	32	3,345	61	2,765	50	2,364	40
1976/77	3,423	38	3,163	20	3,426	21	3,223	35	2,997	39	2,609	55
1977/78	3,487	64	3,222	39	3,154	43	3,191	32	3,126	45	2,852	55
1978/79	3,278	70	3,391	45	3,154	26	3,200	39	3,068	35	3,051	57
1979/80	3,835	66	3,657	36	3,385	23	3,138	49	3,082	29	2,919	38

EN = enrolment DO = drop-out

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

TABLE A9
Total enrolment and drop-out of boys by grade
in primary education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
1970/71	1,209	82	1,120	22	925	43	958	18	825	62	566	29
1971/72	1,372	50	1,136	16	1,068	22	975	29	867	51	646	41
1972/73	1,472	53	1,263	18	1,148	19	1,131	34	860	52	698	42
1973/74	1,493	56	1,369	27	1,174	23	1,209	83	970	35	693	44
1974/75	1,471	54	1,337	27	1,275	20	1,295	34	1,105	56	800	50
1975/76	1,559	49	1,388	16	1,274	17	1,383	32	1,179	39	970	40
1976/77	1,665	64	1,439	36	1,270	19	1,362	44	1,304	67	1,126	68
1977/78	1,558	76	1,485	17	1,405	35	1,291	50	1,239	98	1,111	57
1978/79	1,722	64	1,431	20	1,425	27	1,395	40	1,169	58	1,081	54
1979/80	1,599	57	1,620	16	1,433	24	1,447	42	1,205	76	1,064	34

EN = enrolment DO = drop-out

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80 (national students only).

TABLE A10
Total enrolment and drop-out of girls by grade
in primary education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
1970/71	1,120	78	946	35	852	24	820	32	707	37	374	9
1971/72	1,300	83	1,036	32	991	32	852	28	808	37	466	22
1972/73	1,514	72	1,179	41	1,025	20	1,027	39	807	23	574	16
1973/74	1,439	56	1,362	21	1,086	24	1,073	33	987	24	569	13
1974/75	1,459	58	1,324	29	1,278	27	1,058	37	1,098	36	705	29
1975/76	1,475	53	1,347	22	1,292	14	1,255	32	1,119	32	835	20
1976/77	1,510	68	1,387	27	1,271	28	1,380	38	1,300	55	799	19
1977/78	1,466	77	1,336	27	1,323	19	1,304	19	1,291	38	1,008	35
1978/79	1,569	53	1,339	12	1,293	15	1,355	28	1,269	23	1,136	35
1979/80	1,493	44	1,380	20	1,311	13	1,362	20	1,288	24	1,116	28

EN = enrolment DO = drop-out

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80 (national students only).

TABLE A11

Total enrolment and total boy/girl repeaters
in primary education in Bahrain 1970/71-1979/80

Year	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Total enrolment	Total no. of repeaters	Total enrolment	Total no. of repeaters
1970/71	20,590	5,255	15,523	3,310
1971/72	21,196	4,982	15,757	3,202
1972/73	21,568	4,760	16,335	3,109
1973/74	21,858	4,684	16,704	2,924
1974/75	22,765	4,515	17,660	2,971
1975/76	23,532	5,232	18,219	3,156
1976/77	23,929	4,348	18,661	2,794
1977/78	24,122	4,380	19,042	3,086
1978/79	24,411	4,661	19,592	3,646
1979/80	24,576	4,478	20,016	2,995

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

TABLE A12
Total enrolment and total boy/girl repeaters by grade
in primary education in Kuwait 1976/77-1980/81

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		BOYS		GIRLS	
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Total enrolment	Total repeaters	Total enrolment	Total repeaters
	Number of repeaters											
1976/77	1,060	920	1,194	965	1,200	996	738	449	25,712	4,192	22,638	3,330
1977/78	999	941	933	849	1,015	756	701	249	26,545	3,648	23,828	2,795
1978/79	819	800	918	828	873	589	408	220	27,439	3,018	24,591	2,437
1979/80	795	837	946	1,010	855	783	416	218	28,492	3,012	26,438	2,848
1980/81	750	784	893	863	963	758	474	246	28,681	3,080	27,563	2,651

Source: Unpublished information obtained from the Ministry of Education in Kuwait (national students only).

TABLE A13

Total enrolment and total boy/girl repeaters
in primary education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

Year	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Total enrolment	Total no. of repeaters	Total enrolment	Total no. of repeaters
1970/71	7,949	1,886	6,530	1,546
1971/72	8,594	1,924	7,402	1,713
1972/73	9,321	2,186	8,234	1,734
1973/74	9,876	2,359	8,884	1,906
1974/75	10,528	2,352	9,624	2,074
1975/76	11,150	2,352	10,252	2,165
1976/77	11,839	2,696	10,787	2,329
1977/78	11,885	1,977	11,179	1,727
1978/79	12,031	1,974	11,521	1,572
1979/80	12,031	2,008	11,796	1,716

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80.

TABLE A14
Total boy enrolment and repeaters by grade
in primary education in Bahrain 1970/71-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP
1970/71	3,652	567	3,323	583	3,171	748	4,422	1,542	3,174	835	2,428	980
1971/72	4,277	813	3,361	689	3,327	690	3,922	1,340	3,279	754	2,930	696
1972/73	4,161	798	4,014	716	3,443	664	3,932	1,295	3,077	691	2,941	596
1973/74	4,040	719	4,109	864	3,803	694	3,713	1,070	3,394	713	2,798	624
1974/75	4,234	744	4,059	727	4,002	665	4,128	998	3,345	781	2,997	600
1975/76	4,152	810	4,125	738	4,130	867	4,245	1,117	3,675	835	3,204	865
1976/77	3,999	615	4,100	592	4,211	699	4,362	942	3,890	772	3,467	728
1977/78	4,054	652	3,755	593	4,142	684	4,383	937	3,993	721	3,795	793
1978/79	4,184	701	3,882	618	3,840	698	4,405	962	4,134	810	3,966	872
1979/80	4,247	715	3,958	547	3,955	603	4,182	970	4,169	790	4,065	853

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

TABLE A15
Total girl enrolment and repeaters by grade
in primary education in Bahrain 1970/71-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP
1970/71	2,851	573	2,616	497	2,725	749	2,815	581	2,217	377	2,299	533
1971/72	2,980	616	2,698	501	2,785	610	2,797	729	2,398	466	2,099	280
1972/73	3,258	414	3,000	553	2,740	642	2,883	803	2,327	431	2,127	266
1973/74	3,307	582	3,086	480	3,030	575	2,637	587	2,475	423	2,117	277
1974/75	3,359	552	3,321	472	3,184	584	3,053	618	2,527	447	2,358	298
1975/76	3,308	581	3,227	486	3,210	453	3,345	657	2,765	499	2,364	480
1976/77	3,423	568	3,163	466	3,246	506	3,223	579	2,997	381	2,609	294
1977/78	3,487	648	3,222	514	3,154	518	3,191	498	3,136	469	2,852	449
1978/79	3,728	701	3,391	623	3,154	565	3,200	646	3,068	539	3,051	569
1979/80	3,835	588	3,657	525	3,385	498	3,138	517	3,082	466	2,919	401

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1970/71-1979/80.

Total boy enrolment and repeaters by grade
in primary education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

TABLE A16

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP
1970/71	1,687	455	1,626	423	1,360	319	1,314	340	1,157	296	805	53
1971/72	1,915	473	1,618	400	1,544	314	1,405	370	1,193	277	919	90
1972/73	2,085	530	1,811	427	1,630	414	1,592	441	1,230	276	973	98
1973/74	2,092	575	1,957	477	1,717	391	1,740	487	1,372	308	998	121
1974/75	2,121	555	1,946	420	1,846	326	1,871	483	1,595	371	1,149	197
1975/76	2,248	551	2,014	471	1,862	390	1,950	503	1,701	386	1,375	226
1976/77	2,478	643	2,087	481	1,860	336	1,996	483	1,855	422	1,563	331
1977/78	2,279	516	2,260	392	2,026	326	1,906	374	1,801	255	1,613	114
1978/79	2,454	512	2,136	443	2,130	329	1,991	325	1,752	239	1,568	126
1979/80	2,477	428	2,357	392	2,155	391	2,122	423	1,756	238	1,585	136

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80.

Total girl enrolment and repeaters by grade
in primary education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

TABLE A17

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6	
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP
1970/71	1,488	375	1,314	274	1,201	314	1,108	327	930	244	489	12
1971/72	1,771	396	1,392	330	1,350	356	1,195	337	1,050	285	644	9
1972/73	2,013	448	1,587	321	1,367	314	1,395	347	1,113	290	759	14
1973/74	1,983	526	1,823	382	1,500	311	1,419	345	1,361	326	798	15
1974/75	2,066	508	1,850	404	1,731	331	1,516	339	1,475	421	986	71
1975/76	2,135	478	1,949	397	1,799	365	1,718	374	1,544	433	1,107	118
1976/77	2,211	544	2,032	461	1,837	357	1,851	418	1,746	481	1,110	68
1977/78	2,179	456	2,016	340	1,937	277	1,876	331	1,755	282	1,416	41
1978/79	2,284	448	2,001	304	1,933	240	1,954	276	1,808	237	1,541	67
1979/80	2,332	471	2,061	273	1,958	244	2,011	370	1,837	292	1,597	66

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80.

Percentage pass rates by grade for boys/girls
in primary education in Bahrain 1972/73-1979/80

TABLE A18

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1972/73	80.8	81.6	77.4	83.7	78.6	77.1	70.1	77.2	73.2	82.5	74.6	86.8	75.9	81.2
1973/74	82.0	83.1	80.6	84.7	81.0	81.5	69.6	78.1	73.0	84.0	75.2	87.8	77.2	83.0
1974/75	80.2	81.6	80.3	84.3	77.5	84.1	69.4	76.1	70.7	78.7	66.5	76.5	74.6	80.7
1975/76	84.7	82.2	84.7	85.0	82.8	80.5	75.8	80.1	77.2	82.5	72.9	84.9	80.0	82.8
1976/77	81.7	79.9	84.5	83.5	82.8	89.1	76.3	82.6	78.7	83.0	73.5	81.2	79.7	82.4
1977/78	82.0	80.1	83.0	80.6	82.9	82.1	77.0	79.5	78.8	80.9	72.9	78.9	79.4	80.3
1978/79	83.2	83.1	85.6	85.8	83.1	83.2	77.0	82.5	79.4	83.9	73.0	85.5	80.1	83.5
1979/80	86.0	83.7	86.0	86.5	85.4	87.4	78.4	84.6	80.7	87.9	86.5	92.5	83.8	86.9

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1972/73-1979/80.

TABLE A19

Percentage pass rates for boys/girls
in primary education in Kuwait
1972/73-1979/80

Year	Boys %	Girls %
1972/73	83.0	83.6
1973/74	84.1	83.5
1974/75	85.7	85.5
1975/76	87.4	87.5
1976/77	89.5	90.0
1977/78	92.2	92.2
1978/79	92.4	91.1
1979/80	92.6	92.3

Source: Ministry of Planning, Kuwait.
Annual Statistical Abstract(s)
1972-1981.

Percentage pass rates by grade for boys/girls
in primary education in Qatar 1972/73-1979/80

TABLE A20

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		GRADE 5		GRADE 6		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls %	Boys	Girls %	Boys	Girls %	Boys	Girls %	Boys	Girls %	Boys	Girls %	Boys	Girls %
1972/73	71	72	73	75	75	77	68	74	72	69	84	98	73	76
1973/74	72	73	77	77	80	77	71	75	70	67	67	90	75	75
1974/75	73	76	75	78	78	78	70	74	72	68	77	86	71	76
1975/76	71	73	75	76	81	79	74	74	73	67	73	93	75	76
1976/77	78	78	82	82	81	84	79	81	83	82	91	96	82	83
1977/78	76	79	80	84	83	87	81	84	84	85	90	95	82	85
1978/79	80	78	81	86	80	86	77	82	84	85	90	95	82	85
1979/80	84	83	87	89	88	82	82	83	85	83	94	94	86	86

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1972/73-1980/81.

APPENDIX 2

TABLE A21
Total enrolment and boy/girl repeaters by grade
in intermediate education in Bahrain 1971/72-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1				GRADE 2				TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP
1971/72	2,231	367	1,877	132	1,814	286	1,342	60	4,045	653	3,219	192
1973/73	2,436	371	1,749	104	1,791	203	1,677	51	4,227	574	3,426	155
1973/74	2,531	491	1,845	108	1,919	253	1,721	160	4,450	744	3,566	268
1974/75	2,482	433	1,911	104	2,011	185	1,806	127	4,494	618	3,717	231
1975/76	2,624	683	2,001	336	2,008	999	1,900	474	4,632	1,182	3,901	810
1976/77	2,706	425	2,193	206	2,232	325	2,022	300	4,938	750	4,215	506
1977/78	2,842	424	2,403	297	2,398	337	2,109	311	5,240	761	4,512	608
1978/79	3,027	307	2,377	180	2,680	340	2,284	216	5,707	647	4,661	396
1979/80	3,287	382	2,705	159	2,610	208	2,220	119	5,897*	590	4,925*	278

*Does not include student enrolment in the third grade, which was introduced in 1979/80.

EN = enrolment, REP = repeaters.

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1971/72-1979/80.

TABLE A22
 Boy/girl repeaters by grade and total enrolment
 in intermediate education in Kuwait 1976/77-1980/81

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL				
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys		Girls		
	Number of repeaters										EN	REP	EN
1976/77	2,917	1,550	1,647	834	1,101	653	252	208	22,799	5,917	18,599	3,245	
1977/78	2,688	1,392	1,752	876	1,153	635	227	273	23,795	5,820	19,445	3,176	
1978/79	2,361	1,319	1,604	812	1,017	645	280	198	24,818	5,262	20,196	2,974	
1979/80	2,519	1,402	1,667	890	1,006	682	279	161	25,092	5,471	20,584	3,135	
1980/81	2,331	1,268	1,677	923	1,026	614	342	175	26,052	5,376	21,725	2,990	

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Unpublished information obtained from the Ministry of Education, Kuwait (National students only).

Total enrolment and boy/girl repeaters by grade
in intermediate education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

TABLE A23

Year	GRADE 1				GRADE 2				GRADE 3				TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP
1970/71	692	76	387	2	516	78	287	6	430	35	225	8	1,638	189	899	16
1971/72	854	126	507	24	669	104	375	12	455	61	303	20	1,978	291	1,185	56
1972/73	935	176	681	49	700	87	449	9	592	47	373	10	2,227	310	1,503	68
1973/74	967	193	887	122	762	106	602	52	583	24	408	14	2,312	323	1,897	188
1974/75	989	222	855	120	860	145	783	41	680	84	603	54	2,529	451	2,241	215
1975/76	1,070	204	916	47	905	143	829	56	762	85	737	31	2,737	432	2,480	134
1976/77	1,214	190	1,148	87	965	122	927	103	805	29	791	64	2,984	341	2,866	254
1977/78	1,547	164	1,159	64	1,065	113	1,087	53	825	52	886	47	3,437	329	3,132	164
1978/79	1,711	286	1,407	71	1,273	110	1,087	70	1,018	100	1,075	91	4,002	496	3,569	232
1979/80	1,712	341	1,640	176	1,343	821	1,309	104	1,273	149	1,083	138	4,328	572	4,032	418

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80.

TABLE A24
Total enrolment and boy/girl drop-outs by grade
in intermediate education in Bahrain 1971/72-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1				GRADE 2				TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
1971/72	2,231	107	1,877	89	1,814	89	1,342	61	4,045	196	3,219	150
1972/73	2,436	170	1,749	25	1,791	128	1,677	30	4,227	298	3,426	55
1973/74	2,531	146	1,845	31	1,919	101	1,721	38	4,450	242	3,566	69
1974/75	2,483	134	1,911	37	2,011	71	1,806	25	4,494	205	3,717	62
1975/76	2,624	132	2,001	30	2,008	137	1,900	77	4,632	269	3,901	107
1976/77	2,706	123	2,193	30	2,232	84	2,022	59	4,938	207	4,215	89
1977/78	2,842	75	2,463	49	2,398	63	2,109	21	5,240	138	4,512	70
1978/79	3,027	87	2,377	35	2,680	63	2,284	37	5,707	150	4,661	72
1979/80	3,287	89	2,705	44	2,610	81	2,220	29	5,897*	170	4,925*	73

*Does not include student enrolment in the third grade, which was introduced in 1979/80

EN = enrolment DO = drop-outs

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1971/72-1979/80.

Boy/girl drop-outs by grade and total enrolment
in intermediate education in Kuwait 1976/77-1980/81

TABLE A25

	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
	Number of drop-outs											
1976/77	303	297	335	130	389	204	437	237	22,799	1,464	18,599	868
1977/78	273	351	223	150	330	222	361	234	23,795	1,187	19,445	957
1978/79	326	154	366	205	353	182	334	253	24,818	1,379	20,196	794
1979/80	297	113	250	190	317	265	378	296	25,092	1,342	20,584	864
1980/81	286	212	292	179	349	253	356	257	26,052	1,283	21,725	901

EN = enrolment DO = drop-outs

Source: Unpublished information obtained from the Ministry of Education, Kuwait (National students only).

TABLE A26
Total enrolment and boy/girl drop-outs by grade
in intermediate education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1				GRADE 2				GRADE 3				TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
1970/71	547	65	279	15	460	40	189	6	334	17	155	13	1,281	122	618	34
1971/72	596	45	402	15	473	37	262	9	309	23	200	5	1,378	105	864	30
1972/73	698	61	523	23	471	37	342	18	400	29	262	14	1,569	127	1,127	55
1973/74	712	50	703	29	542	25	449	12	373	15	302	10	1,627	90	1,459	51
1974/75	639	47	623	20	607	46	605	20	459	30	460	13	1,705	123	1,688	53
1975/76	717	23	651	26	574	42	606	24	515	37	563	34	1,806	113	1,820	84
1976/77	816	57	843	24	632	49	667	17	467	31	542	17	1,915	137	2,052	60
1977/78	1,120	66	837	37	715	39	785	45	527	27	633	48	2,362	132	2,256	130
1978/79	1,205	85	1,031	29	895	53	759	26	677	28	778	42	2,778	166	2,568	97
1979/80	1,184	72	1,201	34	899	61	935	27	904	74	766	52	2,987	207	2,902	113

EN = enrolment DO = drop-outs

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80 (National students only).

TABLE A27

Total enrolment and boy/girl repeaters by grade in general secondary education in Bahrain 1971/72-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1				GRADE 2				GRADE 3				TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP
1971/72	1,091	345	1,293	146	662	135	752	45	682	93	852	58	2,435	573	2,897	249
1972/73	1,331	266	1,201	147	742	76	1,068	19	626	121	862	170	2,699	463	3,131	336
1973/74	1,316	365	1,413	205	851	103	933	39	724	130	1,160	167	2,891	598	3,506	411
1974/75	1,440	299	1,683	290	957	122	1,028	61	820	142	1,107	275	3,217	563	3,818	626
1975/76	1,246	334	1,551	392	1,063	156	1,187	137	949	198	1,158	316	3,258	688	3,896	845
1976/77	1,293	201	1,534	258	1,011	154	1,185	73	1,002	140	1,240	164	3,306	495	3,959	495
1977/78	1,582	287	1,584	194	980	125	1,330	86	1,006	192	1,277	219	3,568	604	4,191	499
1978/79	1,562	237	1,667	214	1,290	93	1,378	81	1,148	295	1,380	180	4,001	625	4,425	475
1979/80	*510	268	*598	267	1,298	196	1,328	107	1,319	225	1,346	136	3,127	689	3,272	510

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1971/72-1979/80.

*The fall in enrolment is a result of the introduction of the third grade in intermediate education in 1978/79 which delays the entrance of students into secondary education.

Boy/girl repeaters by grade and total enrolment in general secondary education in Kuwait 1976/77-1980/81

TABLE A28

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP
	Number of repeaters											
1976/77	888	663	376	360	190	171	119	102	9,608	1,573	9,731	1,296
1977/78	1,331	906	511	551	230	235	94	136	10,473	2,166	10,580	1,828
1978/79	1,006	700	391	366	86	113	114	75	11,212	1,597	11,489	1,254
1979/80	805	590	537	496	120	127	124	77	12,452	1,596	12,199	1,290
1980/81	1,142	637	567	560	161	173	211	113	13,746	2,081	13,086	1,483

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Unpublished information obtained from the Ministry of Education, Kuwait (National students only)

TABLE A29
Total enrolment and boy/girl repeaters by grade in
general secondary education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		TOTAL									
	Boys		Boys		Boys		Boys									
	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP	EN	REP								
1970/71	248	31	126	1	195	15	84	7	184	19	74	2	627	65	284	10
1971/72	348	52	142	3	210	28	123	0	215	41	94	0	773	121	359	3
1972/73	416	118	249	26	256	22	122	0	266	46	150	10	938	186	521	36
1973/74	583	95	312	40	344	26	203	2	277	24	134	3	1,204	145	649	45
1974/75	583	130	346	56	441	37	260	8	375	28	210	13	1,399	195	816	77
1975/76	568	66	501	31	517	46	311	7	459	44	274	21	1,544	156	1,086	59
1976/77	739	61	696	55	540	48	450	12	535	43	320	13	1,814	152	1,466	79
1977/78	733	45	806	112	629	21	559	17	528	26	451	18	1,890	92	1,816	147
1978/79	806	198	806	53	558	58	719	15	607	35	575	37	1,971	291	2,100	105
1979/80	881	95	919	62	722	38	749	46	592	90	733	59	2,195	223	2,401	167

EN = enrolment REP = repeaters

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80.

TABLE A30
Total enrolment and boy/girl drop-outs by grade in
general secondary education in Bahrain 1971/72-1979/80

Year	GRADE 1				GRADE 2				GRADE 1				TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
1971/72	1,091	46	1,293	46	662	45	752	15	682	71	852	10	2,435	162	2,897	71
1972/73	1,331	82	1,201	27	742	40	1,068	0	626	34	862	0	2,699	156	3,131	27
1973/74	1,316	138	1,413	37	851	33	933	13	724	25	1,160	26	2,891	196	3,506	76
1974/75	1,440	62	1,683	34	957	22	1,028	14	820	8	1,107	20	3,217	92	3,818	68
1975/76	1,246	47	1,551	35	1,063	20	1,187	16	949	11	1,158	3	3,258	78	3,896	54
1976/77	1,293	54	1,534	33	1,011	39	1,185	22	1,002	10	1,240	23	3,306	103	3,959	78
1977/78	1,582	32	1,584	34	980	16	1,330	23	1,006	37	1,277	11	3,568	85	4,191	68
1978/79	1,563	46	1,667	59	1,290	20	1,378	20	1,148	30	1,380	11	4,001	96	4,425	90
1979/80	*510	26	*598	23	1,298	23	1,328	14	1,319	20	1,346	20	3,127	69	3,272	57

EN = enrolment DO = drop-outs *See Table A.27

Source: Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1971/72-1979/80.

Boy/girl drop-outs by grade and total enrolment in general secondary education in Kuwait 1976/77-1980/81

TABLE A31

Year	GRADE 1		GRADE 2		GRADE 3		GRADE 4		TOTAL			
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys		Girls	
	Number of drop-outs								EN	DO	EN	DO
1976/77	299	189	128	246	88	83	89	65	9,608	604	9,731	583
1977/78	625	292	222	137	76	84	25	70	10,473	948	10,580	583
1978/79	766	414	201	205	61	98	26	34	11,212	1,054	11,489	751
1979/80	522	358	157	238	51	106	44	26	12,452	774	12,199	728
1980/81	517	308	277	312	52	109	71	64	13,746	917	13,086	793

Source: Unpublished information obtained from the Ministry of Education, Kuwait (National students only).

Total enrolment and boy/girl drop-outs by grade in general secondary education in Qatar 1970/71-1979/80

TABLE A32

Year	GRADE 1				GRADE 2				GRADE 3				TOTAL			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO	EN	DO
1970/71	154	19	62	7	119	7	38	1	105	6	21	1	378	32	121	9
1971/72	239	20	85	10	115	3	40	2	130	6	43	2	484	29	168	14
1972/73	261	27	139	6	161	5	70	0	151	8	76	5	573	40	285	11
1973/74	388	26	196	10	177	6	109	1	167	6	76	2	732	38	381	13
1974/75	362	43	232	8	237	11	153	4	183	9	111	8	782	63	496	20
1975/76	370	37	344	16	289	9	208	0	236	10	157	9	895	56	709	25
1976/77	503	44	503	27	318	21	296	7	275	17	208	5	1,096	82	1,007	39
1977/78	434	32	557	34	415	12	385	15	311	11	293	10	1,160	55	1,235	59
1978/79	516	33	552	26	301	16	481	30	390	14	403	24	1,207	63	1,436	80
1979/80	574	41	628	48	430	18	501	35	319	23	487	21	1,323	82	1,616	104

EN = enrolment DO = drop-outs

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1970/71-1979/80 (National students only).

TABLE A33

Percentage boy/girl pass rates in intermediate education
in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar 1972/73-1979/80

Year	BAHRAIN ^a		KUWAIT ^b		QATAR ^c	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1972/73	75.3%	89.6%	67.7%	77.7%	82%	87%
1973/74	79.8%	91.2%	68.7%	77.2%	77%	88%
1974/75	63.9%	84.8%	69.9%	80.8%	79%	92%
1975/76	72.3%	81.7%	75.1%	83.1%	85%	89%
1976/77	79.3%	83.9%	77.1%	85.3%	87%	92%
1977/78	81.8%	90.3%	80.0%	86.7%	83%	91%
1978/79	80.9%	87.0%	80.9%	86.5%	82%	85%
1979/80	84.9%	89.0%	81.7%	87.6%	67%	82%

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1972/73-1979/80.

(b) Ministry of Planning, Kuwait. Annual Statistical Abstracts 1973-1981.

(c) Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1972/73-1980/81.

TABLE A34

Percentage boy/girl pass rates in general secondary education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar 1972/73-1979/80

Year	BAHRAIN ^a		KUWAIT ^b		QATAR ^c	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1972/73	65.9%	89.6%	77.2%	84.5%	80%	91%
1973/74	70.3%	91.2%	78.7%	85.1%	77%	87%
1974/75	59.1%	84.8%	75.7%	85.3%	85%	91%
1975/76	71.6%	81.7%	79.5%	84.2%	87%	91%
1976/77	73.8%	83.9%	76.5%	81.2%	92%	88%
1977/78	75.9%	90.3%	62.8%	72.4%	80%	93%
1978/79	73.7%	81.8%	79.4%	85.6%	83%	86%
1979/80	84.9%	89.0%	69.2%	82.4%	86%	91%

Sources: (a) Ministry of Education, Bahrain. Educational Statistics 1972/73-1979/80.

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"	Circular No.55, dated 1.7.78.
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