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WOMEN, LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, AND EQUALITY: A STUDY OF EDUCATED WOMEN IN KUWAIT

The Ohio State University

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DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

Abdul Wahab Al-Dhafiri, A.B., M.S.W.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1987

Reading Committee:
Dr. Beverly Toomey
Dr. Keith Kilty
Dr. Daniel Lee

Approved By

Advisor
Department of Social Work
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VITA

1980 A.B., Kuwait University, Kuwait
1983 M.S.W., Tulane University
     New Orleans, La.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Social Work:

Studies in Social Work Policy. Professors,
     Dr. Gwendolyn Gilbert and Dr. Salvatore Imbragno

Studies in Social Functioning. Professors,
     Dr. Daniel Lee and Dr. Joseph Parnicky

Studies in Social Work Practice. Professors,
     Dr. James Billups and Dr. William Eldridge.

Studies in Social Work Research. Professors,
     Dr. Keith Kilty and Dr. Virginia Richardson

Areas of Concentration:

Social Research
Social Policy
Social Work Administration
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The issue of women's rights has been an important concern in the twentieth century. It is of particular importance in the developing world where traditional beliefs prevail and often conflict with modern values. Many studies have been based on the Western experience. Some suggest that legal equality was gained in Western countries with the advent of industrialization, when women began to enter the labor force in record numbers. Other studies maintain, however, that changes in individual attitudes and orientations towards women's roles were more important than women's labor force participation. These represent two divergent perspectives that have been used to study the changing status of women in developing countries.

The purpose of the following study is to examine the relationship between low female labor force participation
and women's perceptions and ambitions in Kuwait. Even though government policies over the last fifty years have made great strides in improving women's education, there have been persistently low levels of female participation in the labor force. Where female participation does exist tends to be limited to certain occupations considered proper for women such as teaching, clerical work, and nursing. Surveys of the Kuwaiti population reveal that although attitudes about whether or not women should be educated are positive, both men and women believe that a woman should not work, although this belief is generally less strongly held by women than men. This study is designed to examine the underlying forces behind female labor force participation. Of particular interest are the factors which predict whether Kuwaiti women with degrees from institutions of higher education will or will not enter the labor force.

As such, this study will provide a means of testing and/or elaborating existing theories. Many studies have been done about the status of women and labor force participation, career choice, achievement orientation and sex role attitudes in the United States. There has been an
implicit assumption that these findings are generalizable to women of all countries. This study will provide an empirical test of these findings in a rapidly industrializing Middle Eastern country.

Aside from the theoretical benefits of such a study, there are also practical ones. Specifically, this research will provide information that can be used in policy-making.

Boserup (1970) argues that an important contributing factor to female labor force participation is change in the government's attitudes in industrializing countries towards the employment of women in modern sectors and the adoption of programs and policies to increase it. Higher levels of work participation of women will not only contribute to accelerating economic development, but will also relieve social and economic problems caused by migration.

Governmental policy has both social and economic implications. The Kuwaiti labor force is more than 50% migrant labor. This has been a major concern of the government. Kuwaiti women represent potential labor and a possible solution to this labor problem by providing skilled labor to displace migrant workers.
With growing manpower shortages in the Gulf, the involvement in social production of women who are still in household occupations would be of great significance. Governmental estimates indicate that the population of Kuwait is over 50% expatriates. The issue of migrant labor has become a major concern of the government policy. Since women are Kuwait's unutilized human resources, better education and a more liberal stance towards female employment would render them capable of contributing to the process of growth and development. As women are increasingly encouraged to go into male-dominated fields of study, both at the university level and at secondary and technical vocational levels, Kuwait can substitute, albeit partially, their indigenous female labor force for the increasing numbers of expatriate labor (Azzam and Moujabber, 1985; 71).

Furthermore, there is the issue of legal equality for women in Kuwait. Some macro-level theorists suggest that legal equality can be directly related to female labor force participation. This might suggest that if the level of Kuwaiti women's labor force participation remains at...
current rate, the legal equality for Kuwaiti women is still far from social reality.

At the same time, this study is sensitive to the interplay between cultural tradition and individual behavior. Through the examination of the attitudes, aspirations, and beliefs of Kuwaiti women, an attempt has been made to determine how Kuwaiti women define themselves and their roles as modern women in a rapidly changing society. Furthermore, the factors associated with their nonparticipation in the labor force has to be analyzed to determine the impact of value assimilation or value conflict involved in their decision.

Implications For Social Work

The implications of this study for social work are obvious. It examines the issue of social equality that is central to the social work framework. According to Gil (1976), in an abstract and general sense all social policies should deal with one or more of the following interrelated elements of societal existence: 1) the overall quality of life in a society, 2) the circumstance of living of individuals and groups, and 3) the nature of intra-
societal human relations among individuals, groups and society as a whole. Social equality is an organizing principle in shaping the quality of life. Striving for equality and distributional justice are primary elements of a social work agenda. Implicit in this central value premise is the notion that every individual should have the right and the resources to develop freely and fully, to actualize her/his inherent human potential and to lead a fulfilling life free of domination, control, and exploitation by others as much as is possible within the reality of, and in harmony with, the natural environment. Therefore the study of women's rights in any country is of central concern to social workers. The knowledge of attitudes and orientations is useful within the framework of the caseworker, and equality and human rights are essential elements for administrators and policy-makers creating policies within a social work frame of reference.

Cultural Values and Role Decisions

The variety and diversity of roles and statuses that women hold in the world testifies to the influence that culture and social structure has in fashioning the social
order and argues against simple biological determinism. Biological capacity merely limits the part each person can play in human reproduction. Society, through its interpretation of what it means to be female or male, and through its establishment of patterns of appropriate behavior for women and men, transforms biological potential into social actuality. The individual as a social actor has a defined position in the social structure that rests on rules and norms defining her/his constituent tasks, goals, expectations, rights and responsibilities. These constancies of behavior of various kinds, or role systems provide the institutionalized modes of action, relationships and groupings that link the individual to society (Smock, 1977;385).

An educated Kuwaiti woman faces a choice between the role of wife and mother and the continuation of active participation in her profession. The relationship of her perception of the values of her family, friends, and others to the methods and decisions by which these seemingly incompatible roles are fulfilled is the major theme of this research.
Islam and The Role of Muslim Women

It is essential to identify the characteristics of Arab tradition considered most dominant in shaping the identity of the individual. The introduction of Islam in 640 A.D. is undoubtedly the single most important determinant molding the character of Arab culture and as such has had a profound effect on the status of women.

The influence of Islam on the status of women has been debated frequently. Although in pre-Islamic Arab society women did not maintain seclusion and were accorded considerable freedom, they did not enjoy secure legal rights. Islam secured legal rights for women, although not equal to those of men. It banned female infanticide, limited the number of wives a man could take to four and accepted women into the community of believers, offering them the same rewards of heaven enjoyed by men.

However, the Holy Koran emphasizes the inferiority and unreliability of women. It states, "Men have authority over women because God has made the one superior to the other and because they spend their wealth to maintain them. Good women are obedient, guarding the unseen as God has
guarded." (Chapter 4, Surah Al-Nisa', The Holy Koran). Surah IV of the Koran implies that a woman is worth only half as much as a man by according women half as much inheritance as the male members of her family and by making her testimony in court worth half as much as a man's. The Koran also outlines many principles that work to the disadvantage of women: it allows a woman to be beaten for disobedience to her husband; it prevents a wife from interfering with her husband's rights to take three additional wives and to divorce her without cause; it compromises the principle of a woman's consent being a prerequisite for marriage by forcing a daughter to marry whomever her father or his representative designates. Other verses suggest that women are morally weak and generally unworthy spiritually (Smock and Youssef, 1977; 38).

One major factor contributing to the conservative evolution of Islamic society with regard to the interpretation of the proper roles of women was the pressure of the ideal of tribal honor. As Arab society became more family oriented through the impact of Islam, male honor came to depend on the virtue of the family's
female members. At the same time men's image of women emphasized female sexuality and postulated that women were weak and irresponsible. Thus it was believed that free contact between men and women inevitably led to a sexual relationship. Seclusion and the veiling of women served the purpose of protecting the family from possible humiliation by the transgressions of its women (Smock and Youssef, 1977; 39). Therefore, the concept of tribal honor can be related to both the custom of the seclusion of women and lack of female participation in the labor force in Arab countries.

El-Guindi (1986) argues that segregation of the sexes is not to be confused with antagonism between the sexes. Islamic culture, in general, is not characterized by cross-sex antagonism in attitude or in institutionalized social form as in the ethnographic cases of New Guinea and South America. Rather, the phenomenon conveyed is one of deep-rooted, historically supported, ideologically reinforced gender self-sufficiency, autonomy, and completeness translated in a women's character into a strong sense of self and a positive self-image as a person and as a woman. Institutions of separate naming, independent economic
status, and autonomous identity reinforce this self-image and strengthen it (El-Guindi, 1986;231).

It is not the idea of gender separation nor the institution of sex segregation per se that is oppressive, but their manipulation and abuse. In fact, historically not only the payment of a dowry but also the use of the veil is a means of distinguishing the status of the woman. In ancient Arab society, the use of the veil and the retirement into seclusion were means of distinguishing the honored wife from the slave girl who was exposed to the public gaze in the slave market. Furthermore, the complete seclusion of women was a privilege that only those of high social status could afford. In poor areas and among poor families where the woman's labor was necessary for the survival of the family, seclusion was enforced less strictly. The important point is that seclusion has been seen by the Arab woman as a symbol of social status, not oppression. Remnants of this feeling still exist today and may provide an intuitive explanation for the low labor force participation among Muslim women in the Middle East. In the contemporary Sudan, for example, it appears to be a mark of distinction and sophistication for an educated girl.
to retire into seclusion when she has finished her education (Boserup, 1970;48).

The concept of seclusion is related to the idea of the stigma of paid employment for women. Male kin have the obligation to support female kin by tradition, Islam and law. Men can prevent women from needing to participate in employment by virtue of their continued responsibility to support them. This factor alone minimizes the Arab woman's need to work for wages. In fact for many it is a stigma to work for wages. Work is culturally devalued or is held in low esteem" (El-Guidi, 1986;227-8). For this reason, jobs that have traditionally been considered feminine in Western society have only recently in poor Arab societies been filled by native women. In wealthy Arab societies, these jobs are generally filled by imported labor.

"The idea of stigma from paid employment and the goal of protecting women from being in subordinate positions to strange men as well as from low-status positions are key factors that have been acting as constraints on women's employment, significantly affecting its pervasive patterns. These factors are particularly evident today in oil-rich
Arab countries where kinsmen can afford to pay the price of protectiveness (El-Guindi, 1986: 228).

Sex Stratification in Kuwait

This macrotheory of sex stratification is particularly interesting when looking at Kuwait. Kuwait is a traditional Muslim society experiencing rapid industrialization since the discovery of oil in 1946. Due to the sudden oil wealth that resulted, industrialization has taken a very different path than it did in the West. The result has been that Kuwait today represents a mixture of traditional values and social patterns preserved by its wealth and modern values and social patterns brought about by rapid change.

In Kuwaiti society, like other Arab societies, women traditionally had an inferior status. Woman's role was seen as that of housewife and mother and her place was at home. There was complete separation of the sexes. When girls reached the age of 10-12 years they were asked to stay home; on those occasions when they did go out they were expected to wear veils to cover their faces. Marriages were arranged by parents, and women were expected
to obey their husbands' wishes. These customs are attributable to the Arab culture rather than to Islam, as is commonly suggested (Al-Thakeb, 1975).

The economic position of women in traditional Kuwaiti society must be contrasted to their economic position in agrarian societies. Arabian gulf cultures were primarily nomadic herding cultures and maritime cultures specializing in pearl diving. In herding societies women's subordination resulted from the importance of fighting in determining water and grazing rights and the limitations imposed on women due to lactation. Similarly, pearl diving required that men spend long periods of time at sea. Women were completely excluded from this type of activity and were restricted to holding down the fort while their men were away.

Furthermore, the wealth in these societies was easily transported, unlike wealth in agrarian societies. A family's wealth was counted by how many sheep, camels and particularly, horses it owned. This can explain why these nomadic cultures were polygamous. Women's status was not linked to the land, a finite commodity, but to the herd. Herds require water, therefore water wells become very
important for the survival of the entire tribe. Feuding over water wells was very common among tribes and the trading of women through intermarriage became a means of mediating conflict.

Herding societies contributed to women's status in Kuwait today because early Arab constraints on women became part of Islam (Huber and Spitze, 1983). There are two cases where Islam may contribute to the discrimination against women, in divorce and inheritance rights. A man has unchallenged rights in the case of divorce, as compared to a woman's limited rights. Whereas a man need only verbalize the wish to divorce to make it so, the woman must go through a lengthy court trial to prove her case. In inheritance, the daughter is expected to inherit only half the share due to her brother.

In many Muslim societies women have been denied their inheritance rights. However, this has not been true in the Gulf states. In Kuwait a woman not only has rights of inheritance, but she can invest her money as she chooses. Many female members of wealthy families have long held title to plots of land which were acquired primarily through inheritance. With the development boom going on in
Kuwait, many of these sites are now underconstruction. Furthermore, many women get involved in wholesale and retail trade, such as clothing, jewelery, cosmetics and other business enterprises.

Women's position has changed in recent years. Widespread education, the increased proportion of non-Kuwaitis and westernization in general have helped to improve women's status in the large community. Kuwaiti women no longer wear a veil or view themselves as prisoners in their homes. Thousands have taken advantage of the new opportunities in the field of education (Al-Thakeb- 1975).

Although the position of women has improved in Kuwait, they are still far from achieving equality. Despite the advances in women's education, the female labor force participation rate was only 2.9% in 1980. Kuwaiti women are recruited to civil service positions on an equal pay basis but none are in decision-making positions that men hold. Women are prevented from taking diplomatic and consular posts as well as key power positions. Women still have not secured the basic political rights to vote or run for public office. Women's organizations supported by the well-educated and wealthy are holding public debates on the
laws, values, and norms which have prevented women from taking an equal position in the society. The trend toward re-evaluation of the traditional norms and patterns is expected to accelerate as the number of educated women increases (Al-Thakeb, 1975).

Women's Education In Kuwait

Education is one of the essential bases for creating a modern country, but not just education will serve this goal. Education must be tied to the economic needs of the country. Sinclair and Birks (1977) have argued that the educational system adopted by Kuwait and other Gulf states has not been the type of system suited to the needs of a rapidly developing country. Rather, it has served to further accentuate the disinclination of the population to undertake jobs other than administrative positions in the government (Al-Tarrah, 1983:24).

Formal education was introduced in Kuwait during the 1930's. With its oil wealth, the government has made great efforts to build schools and expand the educational system in general. In 1936 the first council on education was formed and a special tax for education was adopted. A new
system of education was introduced and teachers were brought in from other Arab countries.

Due to the country's early poverty, education, particularly for females, was not widespread until the 1950s and 1960s. Girls attended school for the first time in 1957, but schools were still not coeducational (Al-Tarrah, 1983:33).

Kuwait has achieved remarkable progress in education. This progress is seen in the rapid growth in the number of students and teachers in the last thirty years. The total number of students in public schools increased from 4,665 in 1948/49 to 361,715 in 1984/85. The number of teachers increased from 198 to 26,594 during the same period (Annual Statistical Abstract of Kuwait, 1985).

Kuwait University was established in 1966. In 1984/85 the number of students enrolled reached 16,831. Of this number 46.6% are males and 53.4% are females. There are nine fields of study offered at the university. These include Science, Arts, Education, Law, Islamic Study, Commerce and Economics, Engineering and Petroleum, Medicine, and the Allied Health Sciences. Thirty-two percent of the women who were student in Kuwait University
in 1984/85 were majoring in Arts, 18.6% in Science and 18.7% in education. Fields such as education and the Allied Health Sciences are mostly female, 68.7% and 81.2% respectively, and law and engineering are mostly male, 69.4% and 61.7% respectively (Annual Statistical Abstracts of Kuwait, 1985).

Women's interest in other fields such as law, politics, engineering and journalism is going at a much slower pace than teaching or social science, perhaps the former are professions that require higher education and long experience. Even those women who have the necessary educational qualifications find it difficult to secure a job in these fields because many parents are opposed to their daughters entering predominately male-controlled occupations (Azzam and Moujabber, 1985; 64).

Despite the expansion of the educational system in Kuwait, there is still a high incidence of illiteracy among Kuwaitis. Total illiteracy declined from 54.6% in 1957 to 23.2% in 1980. Female illiteracy accounted for 75.2% of the illiterates in 1957, but in 1980 they accounted for only 49.6%. Some of this is due to a large number of Bedouins who have been given Kuwaiti citizenship (Tarrah,
1983;96). The educational attainment of most Kuwaitis is low. A majority of Kuwaiati adults have less than six years of education, 72.4% in 1980.

Little effort has been made to improve technical education which would provide skilled labor that would aid in the country's development. Technical schools in operation are not designed to actually provide trained manpower, but to absorb students who fail in academically oriented education.

For this reason, there has been a shortage of manpower in Kuwait that has been filled by migrant workers, who have come temporarily to fill positions in the labor force.

Women's Labor Force Participation in Kuwait

The most significant finding about female labor force participation in the Middle East is the systematic failure of women to respond to higher levels of economic development by a parallel increase in participation rates (Youssef, 1974;19). Evidently, the behavior of Middle Eastern women represents a strong deviation not only from the historical experience of the non-industrialized West,
but also from the current experience of other countries undergoing industrialization (Youssef, 1974; 19). Kuwait is no exception.

El-Guindi (1986) has pointed out that for the purpose of understanding the dynamics of women's changing roles in the Arab world, it is useful to make a distinction between education and employment. Certain factors at the cultural level operate as constraints in the area of employment, but not as much in education (El-Guindi, 1986;235). This might help to explain why even though Kuwaiti women are becoming educated in large numbers, they still represent only 2.9% of the labor force. It is culturally acceptable for a woman to get an education, even desired, but still paid employment for women represents a stigma on her whole family for not being able to support her properly.

The participation rates of Kuwaitis and Non-Kuwaitis in the labor force are shown in Table 1.1. One obvious characteristic of the Kuwaiti labor force is the high percentage of imported labor. In 1980, imported labor accounted for 79.1% of the total labor force. Participation rates of both Kuwaiti men and Kuwaiti women are low in comparison to Western rates. Still, it is
apparent that the participation rate of women, albeit low, is growing. In 1965, women accounted for only 4.8% of the total labor force. This figure grew to 12.9% in 1980.

Table 1.1

PERCENT IN KUWAITI LABOR FORCE, 1965 and 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwaiti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Kuwaiti</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Another interesting facet of women's labor force participation in Kuwait is the type of jobs into which women go. Table 1.2 shows the participation rates within occupational categories of Kuwaiti and Non-Kuwaiti men and women for 1965 and 1980. Three occupational categories stand out as being feminine. Women tend to enter professional, clerical or service occupations. However, characteristic of Middle Eastern labor markets, men dominate all occupational categories. Clerical,
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Administration &amp; Management</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
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<td>Service</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>15.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture &amp; Fishing</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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* Less than one-tenth of a percent.
professional and service occupations are occupations that women, if they work, are most likely to go into. Even in 1980, other occupational categories have distinctly lower rates of female participation. Furthermore, there is a distinction between occupations in which Kuwaiti women and Non-Kuwaiti women enter. In 1965, 21.2% of Kuwaiti women who were working were professionals, compared to 45% of Non-Kuwaiti women. These figures reflected a change by 1980. Fifty-two percent of the Kuwaiti women in the labor force were working in professional occupations, compared to 36.2% of Non-Kuwaiti women. A similar change can be seen in the participation rates in service occupations. In 1965, 40% of the Kuwaiti women who went into the labor force went into service occupations, compared to 41.9% of Non-Kuwaiti women. By 1980 the percent of Kuwaiti women in service occupations declined to 11.1%, while the percent of Non-Kuwaiti women in similar occupations remained stable at 50.1%. The percent of Non-Kuwaiti women in clerical positions is lower than Kuwaiti women. However, like the service occupational
category, this is an occupational category in which the percent of Non-Kuwaiti women is increasing.

In summary, women's labor force participation rates in Kuwait are strikingly low. This is particularly true for Kuwaiti women. Women who do enter the labor force are restricted to certain occupations: clerical, professional and service. However, even within these categories there seems to be a stratification between Kuwaiti and Non-Kuwaiti. As income levels in the country have increased, working Kuwaiti women are drawn to prestigious professional positions rather than service occupations. Similarly, a higher percentage of Non-Kuwaiti women are represented among the lower status positions.

Conclusion

For many years the Gulf region has been one of the least developed regions of the world. However, the discovery of oil has now put the area on the crossroads of world affairs. In such a fast changing context, trying to change the centuries-old stereotyped view of women in a wife-mother role to one where they can perceive themselves in the role of students, teachers, workers and leaders is a
difficult task. The educational and employment opportunities now available in Kuwait have been the catalyst of de-stereotyping women's roles in other Arab countries (Azzam and Moujabber, 1985;70).

In this chapter we have looked at the changing status of women in Kuwait. In the West, economic and educational opportunities led to an influx of women into the labor market. The result has been that Western women have gained greater legal equality. Huber and Spitze argue that as sex roles continue to change in the West, greater levels of equality can be expected within the household division of labor, with men taking on more and more of the responsibilities of housekeeping and child rearing.

However, similar economic and educational changes in Kuwait have not led to massive increases in the number of women in the labor force. One explanation has been the restrictions put on women in traditional Arab society. Furthermore, the government through policy intervention has directed the course of change. Education policies have lowered illiteracy rates among the young and boosted university enrollments, and social welfare policies are
explicitly designed to protect and preserve the traditional family structure.

Undoubtedly, the position of women in Kuwait will change as the result of continual rise in their levels of education and occupational involvement, together with social and economic development. However, one cannot ignore the impact of culture and tradition. With the passing of time and especially through the effects of equal education, it is likely that tradition will yield increasingly less weight against the forces of modernization, and quantitative as well as qualitative input of women into the economy will rise (Azzam and Moujabber, 1985).
Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction: Sex Roles and Social Change

Most theories about change in sex roles have a global character. They are often formulated with a view to understand the very existence of gender differentiation and at the same time purport to explain changes in the position of women.

According to Holter (1975), sociological, anthropological and social psychological theories all seem to point ultimately to changes in the requirements of the economic system as the prime moving force behind shifts in sex roles or changes in the status of women.

Goode (1963), for example, points to industrialization as the main explanation for a trend towards egalitarianism within and outside the family. The industrialized economy and its need for a mobile, flexible, labor force is best served when families are small and independent and women are more free to enter the labor force.
Bott (1971) has shown how the social network of a family, that is, its total web of friends and social contacts, may influence the division of tasks in the family. In short, the families with looser social ties cannot count on stand-in traditional roles, and husband and wife are forced to give up a traditional arrangement and to share more than in families with more close-knit networks.

Holter also presents the "crisis theory of women's equality. Rapid modernization as well as war and crisis often seem to bring women into "male" positions, at least for some time, a fact which may be interpreted as national mobilization of all resources, even secondary ones.

Engels (1942) and Lenin (1952) have argued that women's participation in modern, collective forms of production and the disappearance of individual household work are a condition for the equality and liberation of women. Lenin advocated the establishment of child care institutions and partly collective household functions in the Soviet Union, and seemed to believe that the U.S.S.R. was on the road to the liberation of women.

Perhaps the most comprehensive of recent theories of sex roles and social change is presented by Joan Huber and
Glenna Spitze (1983) in their book, *Women, Housework and Jobs*. Huber and Spitze propose a macro-level theory of sex stratification. The theory's central position holds that the patterns of sex stratification of a society are shaped by the way a given subsistence technology enables women to combine pregnancy and lactation with valued work. Using various types of societies with varying technologies they explicate this theory. The primary relevance of this theory for the proposed study deals with the impact of industrialization on the changing status of women.

In any society those people who produce have more power than those who consume, and the most power and prestige accrue to those who control the distribution of valued goods beyond the family. Theoretically, both men and women are capable of doing all subsistence tasks. However, status difference evolve from the ecological need of the population to reproduce itself. Societies with high mortality rates tend also to have high fertility rates. Women are constantly pregnant and their mobility impaired. Industrialization brought about medical advancements to combat high mortality rates, resulting in a fertility drop. A change in the economy undermined the family as an
economic unit, made children a liability, and brought about widespread education. Women now educated and freed from the constraints of child bearing entered into the labor force. It was then that women in the West began to mobilize for legal equality.

Hunting and gathering societies where both men and women were involved in food collection and there were limited surpluses of goods were the most equalitarian. The slight difference in the status of men and women derived from the kind of tasks they did. Women, who were constantly pregnant due to extremely high mortality rates, were limited in their mobility and became food gathers. Men, free from the restrictions of child bearing, hunted. The difference in the woman's status came about because the food gathered by the female was only enough to feed her family, while the food hunted by the man was quickly distributed throughout the tribe after the hunt.

Plow cultures are particularly important because they were the ancestors of industrial societies in the West. These societies were marked by great inequalities, particularly between men and women. With farming as the main subsistence activity, land ownership became the basis
of social stratification and cultural restrictions on women's behavior were enforced.

Like hunting and gathering societies, agrarian societies had high mortality and fertility rates. Children were the chief form of agricultural labor and occupational specialization allowed women's work to be confined to household activities.

Due to the finite quantity of land, monogamy developed and inheritance rights became important. In Eurasia a man had to provide for both his male and female offspring, the male at death and the female at the time of her marriage. Therefore, a woman's status became linked to the amount of land her family owned since the woman's inheritance was given in the form of a dowry to her husband. Men were also concerned for the future of their estates. Therefore, the concerns for a women's sexual purity, characteristic of agrarian cultures, derives from their status as transmitters of male property (Huber and Spitze, 1983;16).

Industrialization undermined the basis for agrarian patterns of sex stratification. During the 19th century, decreasing mortality rates and rising education levels led to a decline in fertility rates that permitted a massive
increase in women's labor force participation. As women became producers as well as consumers, their political status improved. Huber and Spitze hypothesize that just as women's labor force participation won them rights in the workplace, eventually equality will come to the household division of labor as well.

**Women and Labor Force Participation**

In the experience of the North European countries, industrialization brought about far-reaching changes in women's participation in economic activities outside of agriculture. As economic and occupational opportunities opened up in the new economy, there was an influx of women into gainful employment. This occurrence can be seen as the result of complex factors related to female emancipation and to changes of sex roles in the traditional division of labor within marriage. This occurred as the center of production moved from the household to the factory, and later through industry providing the home an increasing number of services and goods that were once produced within the family. Increased opportunities for women's education, their right to participate in political
life, and their partial relief from the burden of childbearing, caused by modern methods of birth control and improved infant mortality rates, corresponded with these economic changes. All combined, these innovations were sufficiently fundamental to effect changes in the character and organization of the Western family and as a consequence to restructure the role of Western women in relation to society (Jaffe and Steward, 1951; Klein, 1963; Youssef, 1974).

The works of Boserup and Oppenheimer suggest that there is a curvilinear relationship between industrial development and female labor force participation. This curvilinearity theory holds that industrialization and the emergence of market economies in low income countries reduces female labor force participation. Traditional work opportunities of women on farms and in home businesses are lost as labor becomes a market commodity. Moreover, because of family obligations, competition with males, and sexual discrimination, women have difficulty finding employment in the industrial sector of the economy. In advanced industrial nations, however, there is a positive rather than a negative relationship between development and
female labor force participation. Continued economic growth and expansion of the tertiary sector of industrialized economies, where female-labeled jobs are concentrated, increases the demand for female workers. With increased supply of middle-aged women freed from childrearing duties, this higher demand brought about by post industrial growth increases female labor force participation. The end result is a U-shaped relationship in which female labor force participation declines with the emergence of industrial employment, remains low with industrial expansion, but increases with growth of the tertiary sector in advanced industrial economies. Thus, the theory emphasizes the technological and economic organization of work: the kinds of industries and occupations and the modes of production that dominate an economy affect the sex structure of the labor force (Pampel and Tanaka, 1986;600).

A review of the literature shows at least eight possible determinants. One, industrial development, by initially reducing work opportunities in home-based production, and later increasing service sector opportunities for women, may have both negative and
positive effects. Two, more universalistic and equal treatment of women in educational institutions and labor markets may improve qualifications and work opportunities of women (Standing; Wilensky). Three, high fertility, large family size and patriarchal family structures may have negative effects on female labor force participation by requiring home duties and insulating women from outside activities (Collver and Langlois; Oppenheimer). Similarly, less stable family and kinship systems, where the divorce rate is high and unmarried mothers are numerous, may result in higher female labor force participation (Youssef). Four, income inequality, by concentrating economic power in the hands of the elite who block the mobility opportunities of the nonelite and the work opportunities of women, may have a negative effect (Semyonov). Five, a strong state with an activist ideology may increase the employment of women through programs to guarantee access of minorities and women to employment opportunities (Ramirez and Wiess; Wiess et al.) Six, dependence of nations on foreign investment and overspecialized trade relationships limits the access of women to new modes of wage labor production while disrupting traditional sources of livelihood, and
reduces female labor force participation (Ward). Seven, a sex ratio dominated by females may result from differentials in mortality and migration; high supply of females means fewer opportunities for marriage and more work (Guttentag and Secord; Ward and Pampel). Eight, expansion of the labor force and demand for workers during cycles of high economic growth may increase opportunities for female labor force participation. Conversely, Standing has argued that contraction of the labor force reduces work opportunity and female labor force participation (Pampel and Tanaka, 1986:601-2).

Household Composition and Choosing to Work

Christina E. Bose (1984) studied the census years 1880 and 1920, the period of rapid industrialization in the U.S., to determine the factors which influence women's labor force participation. Drawing on the work of Tilly and Scott (1978) and Oppenheimer (1982), she emphasizes household factors such as family income and composition. A woman's employment should depend, in part, on who else resides in her household. The presence of children, servant, other employable adolescents, and employable
single and married men all were found to affect the likelihood of the woman working outside the home. Young children were positively correlated with an increase in home-based work, as well as the likelihood of other adolescent girls in the household to seek employment. The presence of servants probably indicated a sufficient household income to render unnecessary the gainful employment of family women and served to depress the likelihood of daughters or other female relatives' employment. Similarly, the number of single adult men decreased the likelihood of women working. Furthermore, she found that the men's self-employment (i.e. farming) "hid" women's employment in the form of crafts inside the home, taking on boarders and small scale gardening. In conclusion, during the early years of industrialization, women who worked tended to be young, poor, and unmarried. A woman's employment was part of her household's economic strategy.

The results of this study and others like it suggest that household composition is an important variable in determining whether women will enter the labor force. Furthermore, it is suggested that women enter the labor
force, in part, to supply income to the household and that the restraints of household activities, such as rearing children, prevent women from working outside the home.

**Achievement and Female Sex Role**

Krieger, in her study of female career development in 1972, has separated out two dimensions of career orientation, suggesting that family background variables are important determinants of the desire to have a career, and that the choice of occupation and level of choice was more clearly a function of achievement motivation.

Much of the literature on this subject is based on the assumption that the individual in a changing society, particularly in her early years, is socialized to competing orientations and that the resulting configuration of attitudes will be manifested in the individual's instrumental behavior.

Of interest to this research is the intermeshing of achievement orientation and traditional sex role orientation. Several studies have addressed this issue (Gump, 1972; Lyson, 1982; Mandelbaum, 1983; Sherman and Jones, 1976; and Trigg, 1976).
Many early studies suggest that although females achieve at relatively high levels in childhood, their ultimate levels of achievement are considerably lower than those of males. The ratio of female to male unachievers increases with age until the college years when the proportion of female unachievers exceeds the proportion of male unachievers (Raph, Goldberg, and Passow, 1966). The construct of achievement orientation was developed to deal with the discrepancies in performance. However, as traditionally defined and measured, achievement orientation is a masculine characteristic, with little applicability for females. For males, achievement orientation is correlated with academic performance and traditionally masculine personality characteristics, such as competitiveness and independence (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell, 1953; Stein and Bailey, 1975;151).

The most common image of women found throughout history, in both scholarly and popular circles, centers around the idea that femininity and individual achievements which reflect intellectual competence or leadership potential are desirable but mutually exclusive goals. The aggressive and, by implication masculine, qualities
Inherent in a capacity for mastering intellectual problems, attacking difficulties, and making final decisions are considered fundamentally antagonistic to or incompatible with femininity. Since the time of Freud's treatise on the "Psychology of Women," the essence of femininity has been equated with the absence or repression of their aggressiveness, which is imposed on women by their constitutions and by society (Freud, 1933:158).

Research indicates that young men and women tend to evaluate themselves and to behave in ways consistent with the dominant stereotype that says competition, independence, competence, intellectual achievement and leadership reflect masculinity and are basically inconsistent or conflict with femininity (Horner, 1975:206; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz, 1970).

Mandelbaum (1983) studied why women work, looking at medical professions in modern American society. The purpose of the research was to develop a theory of feminine career persistence. She argues that despite the fact that women are culturally viewed as nurturing, they have always been viewed as alien to the medical profession by
physicians as well as the rest of society. Women who enter the medical profession are caught between traditional sex role appropriate expectations and the desire for a career. Among the women she studied three sex role-career orientation configurations existed: 1) There were women who developed independent of traditional dominant sex role appropriate expectations; 2) There were women who perceived society's older message, but felt compelled to overcome the obstacles imposed by the larger society; and 3) Some women integrated traditional expectations that one marry and mother along with the wish to establish a career outside the home.

Studies done by Emprey (1958) and Mintz and Patterson (1968) suggest that a majority of college women planned to have careers even though a career goal was not a major focus of their lives (Richardson 1974).

Gump (1972) related ego-strength scores to the desire to realize one's own potential and the pursuing both career and family objectives. This finding suggests that ego-strength may be negatively related to the adoption of the traditional sex role.
Bem (1977) found that traditional individuals, those who possess high levels of same sex personality characteristics and low levels of opposite sex one are restricted in their coping mechanisms and in their ability to respond with flexibility to emerging situations. When faced with the need to work and with career decisions, traditional women limit career choices to traditionally feminine occupations such as nursing, teaching, and secretarial work.

Trigg and Perlman (1976) surveyed women in the medical profession and distinguished between women who entered traditional careers (i.e. nursing) and nontraditional careers (i.e. physicians and dentists). They found that the crucial factors encouraging women to pursue a nontraditional career include high achievement orientation, perceived support of parents, particularly mothers, a low need to have children, and perceiving the need to have a family as being compatible with a nontraditional career.

Richardson (1974) attempted to clarify the meaning of achievement orientation. Fourteen presumed measures of achievement orientation as well as Super's Work Values Inventory were administered to college women. Analysis of
the relationships among these variables identified two relatively independent clusters. The first cluster most closely approximated the usual definition of achievement orientation. Achievement oriented women were found to be highly career motivated and perceived the career role as primary in their adult lives. The second cluster was called work orientation. The orientation characterized women with well-defined occupational aspirations who placed a high value on both career role and marriage. Work-oriented women tended to choose traditionally feminine occupations in contrast to the achievement-oriented women whose aspirations included higher level and less traditional occupations (Richardson 1974).

She concluded that this study indicates that achievement orientation can best be viewed as a multidimensional construct in which motivation to work and role values are central.

These studies suggest that a woman's sex role orientation is related to her choice of a field of study and her decision about whether or not to enter the labor force.
Lyson (1982) examined the relationship among sex role attitudes, curriculum choice and level of education and occupational aspirations among college women. The data analyzed was from a 1977 survey of college students enrolled in home economics and agricultural curriculums. Results show that sex role ideology is only weakly associated with curriculum choice but is related to career ambitions for women in both sex-typical and atypical areas of study. There is some evidence in the literature that women with liberal sex role attitudes are more likely to enter nontraditional curriculums and consequently prepare for atypical jobs in their sex.

Furthermore, there is evidence that sex role ideology may play a role in influencing levels of career ambitions among women. Lipman-Blumen (1972) and Gump (1975) both found that women with feminist sex role attitudes are more likely to aspire toward graduate education than traditional women. Nontraditional women also more often favor combining a career with family and are more confident that they can successfully combine the two roles (Cummings, 1977).
In short, women with a feminist orientation seem to perceive a different set of career opportunities and life choices than women with traditional orientations.

Schurman and Jones (1976) found that career preferences and educational planning were variables that could be evaluated in assessing the impact of cultural change on women. They conducted a longitudinal study of 407 freshman women enrolled in the University of Hawaii at Manoa in 1959. They found that in 1959 women held values that coincided more with the traditional sex role.

Changing Perceptions of The Woman's Role In Kuwait

The theories of sex stratification discussed earlier suggest that Kuwaiti women will gain legal equality as female labor force participation increases. Related to these changes is the increase in women's educational attainment. With changes in women's education, relatively liberal attitudes towards equality and work issues are expected. This hypothesis is supported by Lyson's (1982) study of college women in the U.S. He found that among college women there is a general homogenization of liberal values with respect to social equality and women working.
Also, he suggests that the values expressed represent more commitment to the principles of equality than to the actual practice of equality. This was true for women in both traditional and nontraditional college majors.

Several surveys have been conducted among Kuwaiti university students, both men and women, that provide some information about these attitudes. Quteb (1975) surveyed 519 female students in Kuwait University from all fields of study on their attitudes about education and work. 56.5% of the women surveyed said that the ideal level of education for a woman should be up to the doctoral level. 12.1% said that a woman should get a master's degree, 29.1% said a bachelor's degree and only 1.2% said that a woman should only receive a high school education. As for the type of work that they would like to do, 66.6% said that they would like to teach after completing their academic studies. 12.3% wanted to become medical doctors and 18.9% wanted to become social workers.

Six years later in 1981, AL-Khaled sample of 1100 people, 700 of them were from the employed population in Kuwait, and 400 of Kuwait University students. She concluded that 54% of the sample do not consider at the
women labor force as a serious matter. This was particularly true for the younger students and the males. These results are consistent with the findings of Al-Thakeb and Quteb in 1975. (Women Labor Force Al-Khaled 1982).

A study by Shelash (1985) of 500 Kuwaiti students and 250 of their parents found that sex was the most important determinant of attitudes toward women's role in Kuwait. Women were generally more liberal than their male counterparts.

The students were found to be more liberal as a group than their parents. However, the mothers as group were more liberal than male students. Other factors found to be related to attitudes towards women's role included education, religiousity, marital status, family size and type, adherence to traditional culture, and membership in associations (Shelash, 1985:98).

Al-Thakeb found that when people were asked whether women should work outside the home, 57.9% of the males and 81.9% of the females approved. However, they expected that a woman's first priority should be her role as a wife and mother. A career for a woman is viewed by men and women as
transitional, temporary, and something to fill her free time.

Furthermore, Al-Thakeb found a negative relationship between age and performance for women working outside the home. The finding showed that as age increases, the proportion of respondents who approve of women working decreases. While 79% percent of the respondents 15 to 29 years of age approve of women working, only 57% percent of those who over 60 years support this idea. The researcher suggests that these findings are to be expected since the young are more influenced by Westernization and modernization.

Al-Sabah (1983) studied the Kuwaiti economy and the possibility of Kuwaiti women's participation in the labor force. The researcher chose 448 working women to examine the main reason behind working outside the home. The findings of her study suggested that there are differences between the goals of married and single participants. Most of the married women who work, work to support their families, but in most cases the single women work to "kill time". Furthermore, the study suggested that women with higher education would rather continue working to reach
their goals, compared to women with low education who believe that they would stop working if there was no financial need.

Other findings suggest that the majority of the participants of the study (59%) think that being an employee and having children at the same time is not a major problem. Seventy-two percent strongly believe that they should encourage their daughters to work outside the home in the future.

Generally speaking, the past surveys of the Kuwaiti population suggest that there is an acceptance of improving women's education and a growing acceptance of the idea of women working. However, there are some qualifications. Women, and in particular educated women, have more liberal views than men and the young more liberal views the old. And most importantly, there is a basic consensus that a women should always place her role as a wife and mother before her career.

Conclusion: Perceptions and Social Equality

A final research concern is to relate these theories and findings about changing sex roles and female labor
force participation to legal equality in Kuwait. Most macrotheories of sex stratification suggest that as women enter the labor force and gain economic independence, they will achieve greater social and legal equality. In terms of simple social reality, it can be argued that the attainment of a career would increase a woman's freedom so that she is recognized by men and the society as having a legitimate claim to the systematic and autonomous use of time, space, and money; while a woman who does not have a career is far more vulnerable to any specific or general traditional demand from men, from other women, and from children (Agigail, 1974: 249). However, research findings related to sex role orientation and achievement orientation suggest that the perceptions that women have about themselves and their role in society is a determining factor in whether or not they will choose to work, how long they will choose to work and in what occupation.

Because men and women frequently perform different "roles", as husband or wife, doctor or nurse, field worker or home worker, the means by which status is conferred on them is not always the same. It is therefore suggested that "life options" be used to compare opportunity for
making decisions in the important matters that affect the person's life. Blumberg suggests seven types of "life options" that affect the freedom and measure the relative status of women and men in all known societies. According to her, life options include: deciding whether and whom to marry; deciding to terminate a union; controlling one's sexual freedom, pre- and extra- maritally; controlling one's freedom of movement; having access to educational opportunities; sharing of household power; and controlling reproduction and completed family size to the extent that this is biologically possible (Blumberg, 1975: 2).

Giele added to this list the importance of opportunity for political participation and cultural expression. Sandy (1974: 173) suggests that political participation and membership in female solidarity groups has noticeably improved women's status in the 12 non-western and largely preagricultural societies that she compares.

Nawal El-Saadawi studied the barriers that affect the development of the women's movement in the Arab world. Among these barriers are: (a) political and economic barriers such as political and economic policies that do not include women as part of their programs; (b) the
inconsistency in the values and the education. A good example is educated women who still do not believe in or value work, mainly because they are not financially in need of it; (c) the control of the majority of power within the country by a small group of people, who are concerned more with maintaining power than paying attention to the developmental problems facing the whole society; and (d) the traditional status of women in general.

Furthermore, the status of the Arab woman is hampered by weak political participation, unequal economic opportunity, policies and legislation concerning work, the domination of men over women in the political and social arena, the perception that education provides a women with social status rather than preparing her for employment, and the traditional view that work outside the home is the man's right and responsibility.

Other facts can be drawn from Abdul-Khalek's study. Abdul Khalek sees the most effective barriers that have limited the Kuwaiti women development is her social life framework. "The process of socialization for women emphasizes sexism and servitude." A woman sees her role in the society as a sex object. "A girl's worth is measured by
her attractiveness to the opposite sex." The personal attributes associated with working as considered masculine. Furthermore, the society's view of the working woman, as seen through legislation concerning women and employment, reinforces this perception. (Abdul Khalek, 1982)

A study conducted by Kuwait University to examine the level of the female students who graduated from the department of Economics & Political Science in the field work revealed that 91% of the respondents thought that women had less potential than men. This may be related to the women's right to stop working in time of pregnancy, childrearing, divorce, or to join their husband if he transferred to another country to work or study. Furthermore, working conditions do not provide comfortable environments for working women such as childcare and flexible working hours (Abdul Khalek, 1982).

In evaluating the evidence available on sex role orientation and the changing perceptions of equality in Kuwait, it is clear that although some research suggests that perceptions of the proper role for women is undergoing change, this change is slow and there are still strong conservative elements. As Al-Ramahe has argued, "social
evaluations have built a high wall around woman's ambitions in the Gulf. The female child is given the message from the beginning that she has less status than her brother, and if she played with boys she will be called a tomboy and scorned." The same can be said to hold true for women who strive to obtain political freedoms. Al-Rumaihi concludes that it is not exaggerating to say that it is tragedy to be female in this society.
Chapter 3
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Sources of Data

Two types of sources were used to collect data about women, labor force participation and equality. One source was books, articles, and some of the major Arabic newspapers popular in Kuwait. The second source was a questionnaire developed to collect all the data needed to cover the subject.

The data was collected in Kuwait and stored on magnetic tape by the computer department of the University of Kuwait. The data was cleaned in the United States.

In order to test the research question, a survey was conducted of women who are currently attending Kuwait University and women who have graduated recently. The questionnaire contained a number of previously developed indices with established reliability and validity, and the design was modeled after studies done in the United States.
The unit of analysis was the individual. Data was collected through the use of simple questions and scales. The questionnaire was self-administered and approximately 100 questions long. It took about one hour to complete.

The questionnaire was developed in English, since the study and data analysis has been done in this language. However, before administering it, it had to be translated to Arabic. Therefore, one way of double-checking the translation would be to have a third-party re-translate the questionnaire into English. The questionnaire was translated twice; once by the department of Arabic at Ohio State University from English to Arabic and then again from Arabic to English by the researcher. Then, the two English copies were compared and any ambiguities or contradictions corrected.

The Arabic version of the questionnaire was pretested using Arabic-speaking students studying at Ohio State University. A purposive sample of forty-eight female students from various Arab countries studying in the U.S. were given the complete questionnaire. The result was that some questions were added, some were moved, and others were amended.
Sampling:

In keeping with the main purpose of this study, the researcher planned to collect a sample of 300 Kuwaiti educated women. Three samples of about 100 were to be drawn for the study. The first sample was a stratified sample of 100 women currently studying at Kuwait University. The second sample was a stratified sample of 100 working women by field of employment. The third sample was of 100 women who have graduated college within the last five years, but who are not working or seeking employment.

By sampling in such a way an analysis of working and nonworking women who have degrees in both traditional and nontraditional areas of study. The samples were, then, subdivided into working women with degrees in traditional areas of study, working women with degrees in nontraditional areas of study could be done nonworking women with degrees in traditional areas of study and nonworking women with degrees in nontraditional areas of study.

Stratified sampling has some advantages and disadvantages. The advantages of this type of sampling
according to Miller are that it assures representativeness with respect to property which forms basis of classifying units and it decreases chance of failing to include members of population because of classification process. Finally, characteristics of each stratum can be estimated, and hence comparisons can be made. The disadvantage of this type of sampling is that it requires accurate information on proportion of population in each stratum, otherwise error is increased (Miller, 1983).

Therefore, it was desirable if possible to use random stratified samples. Because limitations on data collection in the university setting are few, this type of sample has been chosen. Students were selected randomly by the proportion of female participation in each field with some oversampling of women in nontraditional fields for statistical purposes. Working women were sampled in the same fashion. However, due to the difficulties in collecting the third sample of nonworking women, a snowballing method of data collection was selected. More information about the samples will be presented under sample characteristics.
Sample Characteristics

Students

The sample of students was collected from the various departments that existed as part of the University of Kuwait as of Spring, 1986 when the research was conducted. Of the 150 questionnaires distributed, 109 were returned. The following table indicates the return rate by department.

Table 3.1

RETURN RATES FOR THE SAMPLE OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BY FIELD OF STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of Study</th>
<th>Number Returned</th>
<th>Percentage Of Sample</th>
<th>Percentage Of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce, Economics and Political Science</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allied Health Sciences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Studies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>109</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentage of population.

Some of the factors which affected the number of students responding from each department were: 1) The exact number of female students in each department, 2) whether or not the department is generally considered to be feminine and therefore a traditional field of study for women, and 3) the amount of normal mortality associated with survey sampling.

Working Women

In order to ensure a significant sample size and a representative sample of working women, a second stratified sample was taken in a similar fashion. This sample was stratified by field of work. The following chart served as a guide for selecting the sample.
Table 3.2

RETURN RATES FOR SAMPLE OF WORKING WOMEN BY FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of Employment</th>
<th>Number Returned</th>
<th>Percentage Of Sample</th>
<th>Percentage Of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Human Sciences</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Education</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fine arts</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Law</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Social Sciences</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Natural Sciences</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Engineering</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Medical Sciences</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Agriculture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Unspecified</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentage of population.

Nonworking Women

The final sample was a snowball sample of nonworking women. Unfortunately, the postal service and other socio-structural factors in Kuwait makes it difficult for random mailings. There are no other adequate alternatives for achieving random access to this population. Therefore, in light of these difficulties, a snowball sample was used.
Snowball sampling is based on social networks. The sample is created by a series of referrals that are made within a circle of people who know each other.

This snowball sample was collected by asking students who were currently enrolled in the university or employees used in the two previous samples to pass questionnaires on to friends and relatives who have graduated in the last five years. As might have been expected some cases of working women were also picked up in the snowballing.

Table 3.3
RETURN RATES FOR SAMPLE OF NONWORKING WOMEN
BY FIELD OF STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of Study</th>
<th>Number Returned</th>
<th>Percentage In Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and Political Science</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allied Health</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Studies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

The same questionnaire used was administered to all the women. Since it was the goal to collect 300 cases, 100 for each sample, several additional questionnaires were distributed. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 summarize the return rates for each of the samples and for the return rates by field of study. Information was collected from 293 respondents, 109 students, 118 working women and 66 nonworking women.

In all of these samples the researcher attempted to collect about an equal number of women with traditional and non-traditional field of study. This effort was made for statistical purposes. Table 3.5 presents information about the number of questionnaires returned by traditional or nontraditional field of study for each sample and for all the samples together.

Table 3.4

SUMMARY INFORMATION ABOUT QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTION AND RETURN RATES FOR ALL SAMPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Desired</th>
<th>Distributed</th>
<th>Returned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Women</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonworking Women</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.5

PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH TRADITIONAL AND NONTRADITIONAL BACKGROUNDS BY SAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Non-Traditional</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Women</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonworking Women</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questionnaire Development:

The study has been designed to examine the underlying forces behind the persistently low levels of female labor force participation in Kuwait. Of particular interest are the factors which appear to be related to whether or not the educated Kuwaiti women with degrees from institutions of higher education will enter the labor force.

The women were grouped for this study by work status and traditional/nontraditional fields of work and study. Comparison will be made on the following variables: 1) SES,
2) sex role orientation, 3) achievement orientation, 4) marital status, 5) household composition, and 6) cultural contact. Since the sample was of university women and women who have recently graduated, the samples were controlled for age of respondent. Data on other variables were also collected since they are indicators of these primary variables. Besides the usual demographic variables such as age, marital status, number of children, cultural contact, household composition, financial need, working status, field of study, and socioeconomic status (SES) were used to measure certain characteristics assumed to be associated with women's participation in the labor force. Two additional scales were adapted to measure sex role orientation and achievement orientation.

Operational Definitions and Measurement

Work Status: The operational definition of working was whether or not the woman has had paid employment during the last year or whether she has actively sought employment during this time. By defining working in this way we included women who desire work but who are still unemployment as working. This variable was measured by a
short series of questions (i.e. Have you had paid employed during the last year? yes or no, see questons 7, 8, and 9).

Traditional/Nontraditional field of study: The traditional field of work has been defined using U.S department of labor 1980 as a career in which the majority of those employed are women. A nontraditional career for women is one in which the majority of those employed are men. Traditional and nontraditional field of study in Kuwait was defined in a similar fashion. However, since we expected that the current distribution of female students in the university reflects a developing trend, therefore, some historical and cultural insights was used to determine what is considered traditional in Kuwait. By traditional fields of study we meant 1) education and literature, and 2) the allied health sciences. By non-traditional we will mean 1) science, 2) law, 3) engineering & petroleum science, 4) medicine and 5) economics & political science.

Age: Age was defined by the number of years that the respondent has lived. Age can be measured by asking about their age on their last birthday.
**Marital Status:** Women were asked to respond whether they were married, single, divorced, separated, or widowed as a measure of their current marital status.

**Number of Children:** Each woman was asked to report the number of children that she has given birth to and who are currently alive.

**Household Composition:** Household composition referred to a variety of factors including the number of employed adults, the number of children, the number of servants, currently living in the household of residence. This variable gave some indication of the restraints on the woman's ability to work as well as her household duties. It was measured by a number of questions and each aspect of household composition was analyzed separately. There was also an analysis of extended family versus nuclear family impact on employment.

**Financial Need:** The variable was measured by the degree to which household variables such as employed males and total
household income suggested that it was necessary for the woman to seek employment outside the home.

Scales

Sex Role Orientation (S.R.O):

Sex role orientation was defined as attitudes about what is appropriate for males and females based on perceptions of sex role stereotypes. For example, the view that in general, men are better drivers than women is a sex role stereotype.

In this study the S.R.O. scale was utilized. It was developed by Brogan and Kutner in 1976. The scale was designed to focus exclusively on sex role orientation, which they define as normative conceptions of appropriate behavior for males and females. They conceptualized sex role orientation as a continuum ranging from traditional to non-traditional and including beliefs about appropriate behavior for both sexes.

Sixty-three likert-type attitude statements constituted the pool of items used in constructing the scale. The objective was to reflect opinions of Kuwaitis at this point
In time, within the following content areas: 1) attitudes about the traditional sex-based division of labor in marriage: the notion that a wife's place is in the home, while the husband's is in the "outside" world of work; 2) attitudes toward the traditional sex-based power structure: the notion that men should be in positions of authority over women in the workplace and in the family; 3) attitudes about traditional and nontraditional employment for women and men; 4) attitudes toward traditional and nontraditional political status of women; 5) attitudes about existing stereotypes of appropriate sex role behavior not covered by above areas (standards of dress, morals, etc.).

Subjects were asked to respond to each item by selecting one of the following responses: strongly agree, moderately agree, agree slightly more than disagree, disagree slightly more than agree, moderately disagree, strongly disagree.

A subject's total score was the sum of the numerical value of responses to all 36 items; thus total scores could range from 36 to 216. The higher the total score, the more traditional the subject's sex role orientation and the
lower the score, the more nontraditional the subject's sex role orientation.

Reliability of responses by the 293 subjects to the 36 items was calculated by means of the split-half method. The split-half reliability coefficient was .95.

To obtain an indication of the validity of their 36 item (S.R.O) scale, they examined a series of relationships for which support has been found in previous research on factors related to sex role attitudes: 1) sex and education status, 2) age, 3) religious affiliation, and 4) authoritarian child-rearing ideology.

Legal Equality:

In this study legal equality referred to the right of women in Kuwait under the law. Even though women in Kuwait have been protected by the labor laws and guaranteed equal opportunities and equal pay, Kuwaiti women today do not have the right to vote or to run for political office. Legal equality has been incorporated into this study to examine the changing attitudes that educated women have about this issue.
Four questions were used to measure legal equality. Respondents were asked to rate how much they agree with the following questions: 1) It is acceptable for women to hold important elected political offices in the national government; 2) Kuwaiti women should have the right to vote; 3) Women can be successful in the National Congress; and 4) Some of our diplomats in other countries should be women. Responses ranged from 1 meaning strongly agree to 6 meaning strongly disagree. Besides examining how women responded to each of these four questions, a composite score was also created by averaging their responses to all four questions. Scores ranged from 4 to 24 points.

Achievement Orientation:

Achievement orientation is defined by the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences as the need to achieve. It is important in determining aspiration, and effort. This variable was measured by the Kahl Achievement Orientation Scale. This 20 item scale consists of four subscales derived through the use of factor analysis in a series of studies in the United States, Mexico, and Brazil. The four
subscales are occupational primacy, trust, activism, and integration with relatives. The scale can be administered in 15 minutes.

All questions have four possible answers: Agree very much, agree a little, disagree a little, disagree very much. Each of the answers is scored in the order shown as 4, 3, 2, and 1, whenever the question is worded in a positive direction. The scoring is reversed to 1, 2, 3, and 4, whenever the direction is negative.

Scale reliability was established by Michael A. LaSorte's for these scales. The reliability coefficients were established using the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula. The reliability coefficients were occupational primacy, .81, trust, .94, activism, .94, and familism, .86 (Miller, 1983;459).

Furthermore, the validity of the scale is supported by its consistent association with an index of socioeconomic status based on occupation, education, and self-identification. Trust, activism, and independence from family was positively correlated with SES, while occupational primacy was negatively correlated.
Socioeconomic Status (SES):

Status refers to the honor or prestige accorded individuals or groups in terms of the positions they occupy or the roles they play in society. If everyone were equal in prestige or honor to everyone else in all social relationships, there would be no social status. The term, then, implies inequality in one or several dimensions of social life, and status hierarchies are fundamental characteristic of all human social organization (Green, 1984).

The scale of SES has been utilized widely in many different studies in U.S and Kuwait. National Longitudinal Study-1979, utilized five components: father's education, mother's education, parent's income, father's occupation, and household items. General Social surveys, 1972-1984, also used SES scale and measured it by: occupational level, education, income, class consciousness, and housing. In Kuwait Al-Thakeb (1975) used occupation, occupational rank, educational attainment, income, address, house type, and number of servants as his scale. However, it is important to note that none of these elements was significant except
income. In this study income, level of education, and parents' occupation were selected as the most significant elements to measure the SES because these measures appeared to fit the relatively different characteristics of Kuwaiti society.

Cultural Contact:

By cultural contact we are referring to any contact with Western or Eastern (non-Arab) cultures. This contact may be through travel, media, or acquaintances. This variable will be measured by asking a series of questions about travel, exposure to other cultures through the media and through having non-Kuwaiti friends.

Hypotheses:

Although several variables were examined, five major variables are hypothesized to be related to the likelihood of a woman choosing to work: 1) household characteristics, 2) achievement orientation, 3) sex role orientation, 4) socioeconomic status, and 5) legal equality. The review of the literature presented in the second chapter suggested
several researchable hypotheses about why Kuwaiti women choose to work. The following is a summary of these hypotheses:

Hypotheses 1: The majority of working Kuwaiti women will be single, childless, while the majority of women who are out of the labor force will married and have children.

Hypothesis 2: The presence of servants in the home to help in household activities and child rearing is related to the likelihood of a woman working.

Hypothesis 3: Financial need as measured by low socioeconomic status is not an important factor in determining whether women choose to work. Instead women with higher socioeconomic status are more likely to work.

Hypothesis 4: Traditional sex role orientation is negatively related to choosing to enter the labor force.

Hypothesis 5: Working women score higher on achievement orientation scales than nonworking women.

Hypothesis 6: Women who enter nontraditional fields of study have less traditional sex role orientations than women who enter traditional fields.
Hypothesis 7: There is a relationship between having a high achievement orientation and choosing a nontraditional field of study.

The literature also suggests that more liberal sex role orientations and working are related to women's demand for more equal rights in the society. This suggests three additional hypotheses:

Hypothesis 8: Women who enter nontraditional fields of study have more liberal views about legal equality than women who enter traditional fields of study.

Hypothesis 9: Working women have more liberal views about legal equality than nonworking women.

Hypothesis 10: Students have more liberal views about legal equality than either working or nonworking women.

Data Analysis

The proceeding hypotheses suggest that a combination of statistics must be used in the analysis. The statistics used were chi square, one-way analysis of variance and t-tests.

Chi Square Test of Significance
The first two hypotheses suggest that there is a difference between household characteristics and employment status. All variables in this analysis are measured at the nominal level. Therefore, crosstabulations and Chi-square are appropriate.

The chi square test of independence of variables is used to determine whether two variables are related or independent. If the chi square value is significant, we may conclude that the variables are interdependent or related.

One-Way Analysis of Variance

The one-way analysis of variance is used when you have three or more independent groups and only one dependent variable which is measured at the interval level. It tests the significance of the difference among the means of these groups simultaneously. The purpose of the one-way analysis of variance is to find out if the variance among the means of the groups is a function of chance alone. One-way analysis requires that the population be normally distributed; that variance be equal and two or more independent groups. Individuals are randomly drawn from
the population and the measurement of variables should be interval level.

In this study one-way analysis of variance will be used to test the differences between students, working and nonworking women that are posited in hypotheses 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10. In these cases we are interested in testing whether interval level dependent variables vary significantly among nominal level independent groups.

**T-Tests of Significance:**

One-way analysis of variance allows us to compare the means of two or more independent groups. It is closely related to the t-test of the difference between two independent means and for the special case of having just two groups will lead to exactly the same conclusions as a t-test. The t-test, therefore, used in the same way as one-way analysis of variance when there is only two groups. For hypotheses 6 through 8 a t-test of the significance of the difference between groups means will be used since we are interested in examining the difference between women who enter traditional fields of study compared to those who enter nontraditional fields of study. The dependent
variables in this analysis are measured at the interval level while the independent variable is nominal.

Some Difficulties and Ethical Issues

The difficulties involved with this study were many, yet they were not insurmountable. First, there are few studies done in Kuwait that rely on samples of the general population, especially women. The reason behind this is that it is still a very traditional society and many people refuse to participate in surveys. For one thing, many people are suspicious of the reasons behind collecting information about them. Furthermore, in a society in which the sexes are often segregated, a man collecting information about women may be put in an uncomfortable position. Particularly difficult was the translation of the questionnaire into Arabic. It had to suit the language, and also the culture. Many questions typically included in scales used to measure such things as sex role orientation had to be modified for their use in Kuwait. Not only would they not make sense, but they would seem very indelicate in the Kuwait culture. One final difficulty was the unfortunate need to use snowball
sampling instead of simple random sampling. This is likely to affect the results and hamper comparisons. However, given the social and cultural suspicions against participation in research and the structural factors mentioned previously, this kind of sample is the best available for the study.

The ethical issues associated with this research are basically the same that exist in the U.S. All information must be kept confidential. And all respondents must be properly notified of this intention. Furthermore, reporting of the data must be scientific and non-judgmental.
Chapter 4
DATA ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results of the statistical analysis of the data. The chapter is divided into two sections: 1) descriptive statistics, and 2) bivariate statistics. In section one a descriptive analysis of the frequencies of the variables were divided by topics collected through the questionnaire. Section two presents information from crosstabulations, one-way analyses of variance and t-tests that are necessary to test the hypothesis and determine the differences between groups. A discussion of these results will be presented in the next chapter.

Descriptive Analysis:
Demographic Characteristics

In the survey several questions were designed to measure the demographic characteristics of each sample.
Demographic variables included age, marital status, number of children and desired number of children. Since the three samples included only women with some degree of higher education, sex and educational status has been excluded from our discussion of demographic characteristics.

The first sample contained 109 female students now attending the University of Kuwait. Their ages ranged from 17 to 33 years old. The average age of the students was 21 years. Furthermore, 85% of the students were between 19 and 24 years old. (Table 4.1 summarizes this data.) For the most part the students were single. As for marital status, 76.1% were unmarried, 22% were married and only 0.9% were divorced. Of those students who had been married or are currently married, 43.3% had no children, 40% had one child and 16.3% had two or more. The average number of children was 1.73. Responses ranged from 0 to 5 children. Another question that can be considered demographic is the desired number of children. All the students responded that they would like to have at least one child in their lifetime. About twenty percent, 20.2% said that they would like to have less than three children, 63.6% said that they would like to have between four and six children and 14.1% said
that they would like to have more than six. The second sample contained 118 working women. Their ages ranged from 23 to 57 years old. The average age was 29 years. More than 55% were between 26 and 30 years old. Although the sample was designed to collect data on people who had graduated from college in the last 6 years, the ages of some of the women are much older than what was expected. However, the older people represent less than 12% of the cases. Among the working women, 49.2% were single, 46.6% were married and 4.2% were divorced. Of the married or divorced women, 21.3% had no children, 21.3% had only one child and 57.4% had more than two children, with the average number of children being 2.4. When asked how many children they desired to have in their lifetime, 6.1% said none, 27.3% said less than three, 61.6% said between four and six and 5.1% said more than six.

Our final sample consisted of nonworking women. There were 66 cases. Their ages ranged from 21 to 36 years old. The average age was 27.5 years. However, 46% of the cases were between the ages of 24 and 31 years. The majority of the nonworking women were married, 69.7% About twenty percent, 19.7% were single, 9.1% were divorced and 1.5%
were widowed. The average number of children they had was 2.5. Almost nine percent, 8.8% said that they had no children, 29.8% said they only had one child and 61.4% had two children or more. All the nonworking women responded that they wanted to have at least one child in their lifetime. More than half, 57.6%, said that they wanted less than three, 30.3% said that they wanted between four and six children and 12.1% said they wanted more than six children.

Table 4.1

SUMMARY OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS FOR ALL GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Working Women</th>
<th>Nonworking Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>76.1%</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Number of Children</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Married Only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Household Characteristics

Several questions on the questionnaire were designed to provide information about the household characteristics of the respondents. Participants were asked to give information about the type of housing in which they live, the number of people in their household, how many men over 18 years of age live with them in their household and finally, whether or not they had servants and the type of tasks that their servants, if any, do. This data is presented in Table 4.2.

Of the students surveyed, 57% lived in villas, 26.2% lived in low income housing units, 7% in traditional housing types, 6% in apartments and 2.8% in some sort of temporary housing. Furthermore, the number of people residing in the household tended to be large. 76.6% said that they live with more than 5 people. Slightly more than ten percent, 10.3%, lived in a household of 3 to 4 persons and 11.2% lived in households of 1 to 2 persons. Only 1.9% said that they lived alone. Another important characteristic of their households were the number of adult men living with them. More than twenty percent, 26.2%, said that there were no adult men in their households,
59.2% lived with 1 to 3 adult men, and 1.9% lived with 4 to 6 adult men and 12.1% lived with more than 6 adult men. The majority of the students households (86.9%) had servants. Information about the tasks that servants do suggests that cooking (50%) and cleaning (92.4%) were the most common tasks. However, 32.6% indicated that servants did driving, 28.3% indicated that servants did gardening and 28.2% indicated that servants help to take care of children residing in the household.

The same group of questions were presented to the second sample of working women. The majority of this sample also lived in villas (54.7%), 22.9% lived in apartment type housing and 15.3% were living in low income housing. Other types of housing represented less than one percent of the cases. Similar to the students, the majority of working women were living in households with more than five persons (65%). Almost twenty percent (18.8%) indicated that they lived in households of 3 to 4 persons, 14.5% lived in households of 1 to 2 persons and 1.7% said that they lived alone. Almost one-third, 37.7%, said that there were no adult men living in their household, 49.1% said that there were between 1 and 3 adult
men, 3.5% said that there were between 4 to 6 and 8.8% said that there were more than 6 adult men in their households. Again the majority of the women indicated that they had servants (94.1%). Although the information suggests that servants do a variety of household tasks, the most common tasks were cooking (47.7%) and cleaning (94.6). Only 27% indicated that the servants helped with child care. And, 16.2% said that they did driving and 14.4% indicated that servants did gardening.

For the sample of non-working women, 54.5% lived in villas, 25.8% lived in low income housing, 13.6% lived in traditional housing and the remaining 3% lived in apartments. The majority, 68.2%, lived with more than 5 other family members. At the same time, 22.7% lived with 3 to 4 family members and 7.6% lived only with one other family members. Only 1.5% said that they lived alone. When asked how many of the household were men over 18 years of age, 21.2% said none, 68.2% said 1 to 3, 3.0% said 4 to 6 and 7.6% said more than 6 members of the household were working aged men. Again the majority of the women indicated that there were servants present in the
household, 72.7%. Cooking, child care, and gardening were the most frequent servants' tasks reported.

Table 4.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Working Women</th>
<th>Nonworking Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of Housing:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villa</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Unit</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Income Unit</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary Unit</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Adult Men In House:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one to three</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four to six</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than six</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Have Servants</strong></td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tasks Servants Do:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All statistics presented are percentages.

Generally speaking all three samples when compared according to household characteristics are similar. All
three types of women tended to live in good housing with relatively large family units. In most cases there were at least 2 working age males and most Kuwaiti households contained servants. Working women tended to have both more adult males and servants in the household. If there is any difference that might be noted, it centers around the types of tasks that servants do. In all households with servants the most common tasks were cooking and cleaning. However, the non-working women indicated that child care was a main task that servants were involved with (43.8%) in comparison to the low levels reported by students (28.2) and working women (27%).

Employment Characteristics

Our discussion of employment characteristics will be primarily related to responses by working women, although some related results will be discussed about students and nonworking women. A set of questions were administered to measure why they are or are not working, how long they have worked, how much their current job is related to their
academic field of study, and their job in the future and job satisfaction.

The sample of working women contains 118 women who represent various fields of academic study. At the time of the study all were currently employed.

In an open-ended question they were asked about the reasons for working. The results suggest that there were two primary reasons why women choose to work: 1) for social status or self-gratification and 2) for financial reasons. The most often cited reason for working was for personal gratification. Over half, 60.7%, of the married women who worked and 76% of the single women who worked said that they worked because it provided them with a sense of esteem. Of the married women, 39.3%, and 34% of the single women stated that they worked for financial reasons. Some women indicated that they worked to help support their families, while other women suggested that they worked in order to have their own spending money.

Nonworking women were asked what were the major reasons why they were not working. Of the 66 nonworking women, 53% said they did not work in order to provide a comfortable home for their families. They felt that it was important
to stay home to raise their children, take care of the house, and meet the needs of their husbands. Another 27.3% believed that their families would reject the idea of their working and 16.7% simply did not believe that it was necessary or proper for a woman to work outside of the home.

Students, as well as nonworking women, were asked about their desire to work in the future. The results suggest that there is a general desire to work. Of the students, 83.7% said that they wanted to work in the future and 78.5% of the nonworking women said the same thing. This suggests that the decision whether or not to work is not just the women's decision alone.

Of the women who were currently working the majority have worked for more than 4 years, 59.6%. 13.8% had been working for less than one year and 26.7% had been working for one to three years.

A series of questions was asked to working women to determine how satisfied they were with their jobs. The results suggest that the majority of working women studied were satisfied with their jobs. Most of the women, 88.7%, said that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their
currents jobs and 58.7% said that they would not like to change jobs. Furthermore, when asked whether their jobs were related to their field of study, 63.8% said yes.

Socioeconomic Status

In most social science studies, socioeconomic status plays a great part in understanding the family background of respondents. In this study socioeconomic status was measured by parents' education, parents' occupation and family income. Tables 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 summarize the results.

As Table 4.3 shows, 20% of the fathers of the students sampled were illiterate and 19% could only read and write, but had no formal training. More than twenty percent, 21.9%, had university training and the rest had some years of formal education, but no university training. Over half (55%) of the mothers of the students sample had no formal training and 13.9% had university training. The majority of the students' fathers were currently unemployed or retired and only 9.6% were white collar workers. Similarly, the majority of their mothers were not working, 86.8%. Family income was divided into low, middle, and
high for the purpose of description only. The majority of the students lived in families whose total income fell into the low category, less than $22,400 a year, of which 45.5% fell into this category. About a third (30.3%) were middle income families, with incomes between $22,401 and $41,600 a year and 24.2% lived in households with incomes greater than $41,600.

The same variables for the sample of working women show a different pattern. Both parents of the working women sampled tended to have higher levels of education than the parents of the students. About a third (33.6%) of the fathers of working women had university training as did 27.3% of their mothers. Only 12.1% of their fathers and 31.6% of their mothers were illiterate. As for occupational status, 16.5% of their fathers and 23.3% of their mothers held white collar jobs. 33.1% of their fathers and 73.3% of their mothers were not currently working. Their level of family income reflects this difference in occupational status: 40% came from high income families, 39% from middle income families and only 21% from low income families.
Both students and working women showed different patterns of socioeconomic status than non-working women. Although only 7.6% of the fathers of the non-working women sampled were illiterate, 31.8% could only read and write and 52.8% had some formal years of education, but no university training. Their mothers tended to have even lower levels of education. Close to forty percent (39.4%) were illiterate, 34.8% could only read and write, and only 4.5% had some university education. Virtually all of their mothers were not working and only 18.2% of their fathers. The percentage of fathers currently not working was much less than either of the two previous groups and the majority of their fathers were blue collar workers, 53%. Only 1.5% were white collar workers. Almost two thirds (64.6%) lived in low income families and 26.2% lived in middle income families. And 9.2% lived in high income families.
Table 4.3

PARENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Students FA</th>
<th>Students MO</th>
<th>Working Women FA</th>
<th>Working Women MO</th>
<th>Nonworking Women FA</th>
<th>Nonworking Women MO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read &amp; Write</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary thru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>97.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* FA equals father and MO equals mother.

Table 4.4

LEVEL OF INCOME BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Non-Working</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Income</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Income</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Income</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.5

PARENTS' OCCUPATION BY RESPONDENTS' EMPLOYMENT STATUS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Working Women</th>
<th>Nonworking Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FA</td>
<td>MO</td>
<td>FA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Working</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>86.8</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*FA equals father and MO equals mother.

An index of socioeconomic status was created by dividing each of the five dimensions, father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation and family income, into three levels, high, medium and low, and summing the scores. It is then possible to compare the three groups according to overall socioeconomic status. Table 4.6 presents the results. The majority of the cases in all three groups fell into the middle status group, 60.7% of the students, 56.7% of the working women and 84.8% of the nonworking women. However, more working women had high socioeconomic status. Almost thirty percent, 29.7%, of the working women studied came from high socioeconomic status, compared to 17.8% of the students and only 7.6% of
the nonworking women. Another difference between groups is that more students came from low socioeconomic status, 21.5% compared to 13.6% of the working women and 7.6% of the non-working women.

Table 4.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socioeconomic Status</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Working Women</th>
<th>Nonworking Women</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square=21.82, Degrees of Freedom=4; Significant at the 0.0002 alpha level.

Cultural Contact

Cultural contact was measured by a series of open and closed-ended questions designed to tap the respondents' attitudes about other cultures and the amount of contact that they have with other cultures via the media, travel and friends. Tables 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 provide information
about the cultural contact of each group through media, travel and friendships.

All respondents were asked how important it is for Kuwaitis to learn about other cultures and why. Although this was an open question, the responses fall into categories. The majority, approximately 53%, said that it was important to exchange knowledge. The second most popular response was that it was important to learn about the lifestyles that were different from their own. About 34% gave this response. And a small percentage, 12.7%, said that it was not important at all. They expressed concern that the modern Western lifestyle was spoiled and corrupted.

Respondents were asked a series of questions about how often they read the newspaper, listen to the radio and how often they listen to foreign language programs. Table 4.7 summarizes the results. Generally speaking, most of the women studied read the newspaper on a daily basis. Listening to the radio is also a major source of information. In Table 4.7, frequently is coded more than three hours a day, occasionally from one to three hours a day and rarely is codes as less than one hour a day.
Between 51.5% and 57.4% rarely listen to the radio and students tend to spend less time doing so. Respondents were also asked what kinds of radio programs they listen to. When asked what types of the programs they listened to, the majority of the respondents answered social programs, 52.8% of the students, 41.0% of the working women and 36.4% of the nonworking women. Working women were more likely to listen to educational programs. Close to twenty percent, 17.1%, of the working women indicated that they regularly listened to educational programs compared to 8.3% of the students and 10.6% of the nonworking women. Also students were most in favor of watching and listening to programs for entertainment. Of the students, 21.3% indicated that they listened to entertainment programs compared to 12.8% of the working women and 16.7% of the nonworking women. And finally, nonworking women more often listened to religious programming. Almost twenty percent (18.2%) of them indicated that they regularly listened to religious programming compared to 5.6% of the students and 7.7% of the working women.
Table 4.7
CULTURAL CONTACT THROUGH MEDIA BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Students:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read Newspaper</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen To Radio</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>57.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen To Foreign Language Programs</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working Women:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read Newspaper</td>
<td>76.1%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen To Radio</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen To Foreign Language Programs</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nonworking Women:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read Newspaper</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen To Radio</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen To Foreign Language Programs</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cultural contact can also be measured by the amount of travel and where respondents travel. The majority of the students (89.8%), 99.2% of the working women and 77.3% of the nonworking women indicated that they had travelled outside of Kuwait. The majority of those who have traveled outside Kuwait indicated that they travelled outside of the country once or twice during the last two years, 42.4% of the students, 52.6% of the working women, and 50.9% of the nonworking women. The most commonly cited reason for
travel for each group was tourism. Table 4.8 indicates where respondents have travelled. Generally speaking, the most travelled areas are Europe and the Middle East. This is understandable because of their proximity of these regions, the historical contact with European countries and the cultural and religious similarities of Middle Eastern countries.

Table 4.8  
CULTURAL CONTACT THROUGH TRAVEL BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Working Women</th>
<th>Nonworking Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have Traveled</td>
<td>89.9%</td>
<td>99.2%</td>
<td>77.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>64.1%</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A final way of measuring cultural contact is through friendships that respondents have with people from other countries. Table 4.9 provides information of this type for each of the three employment groups. One point that stands out is that nonworking women tend to have fewer friends who
are nonKuwaiti than students or working women, 33.8%, 61.5%, and 76.5% respectively. Of those with nonKuwaiti friends the majority are Arab, then European, and then Asian.

Table 4.9

CULTURAL CONTACT THROUGH FRIENDSHIPS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Working Women</th>
<th>Nonworking Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have NonKuwaiti Friends</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>76.5%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>95.5%</td>
<td>88.6%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Achievement Orientation

The achievement orientation scale was defined as the need to achieve. The scale is composed of four subscales: 1) trust, 2) activism, 3) occupational primacy, and 4) integration with relatives. The possible scores range from 20 to 80. The higher the score, the more the achievement
orientation of the respondent. Table 4.10 shows the mean scores for each scale within each of the three samples. It also shows the maximum and minimum possible for each scale.

Generally speaking, there does not seem to be a big difference between the groups. The mean scores for the overall achievement orientation ranged from 51.10 for working women to 53.42 for nonworking women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.10</th>
<th>ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scale</td>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>13.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activism</td>
<td>20.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Primacy</td>
<td>11.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration w/Relatives</td>
<td>5.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement Orientation</td>
<td>51.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sex Role Orientation**

As we discussed previously, sex role orientation is defined as attitudes about what is appropriate behavior for men and women based on perceptions of sex role stereotypes. The scale that was used to measure sex role orientation consisted of 36 questions designed to measure traditional
to nontraditional attitudes. For each case the sum of the questions was used as a numerical value of sex role orientation. The possible responses ranged from 36, meaning a nontraditional sex role orientation, to 216, a very traditional sex role orientation.

The SROs of all the groups ranged from a low of 74 to a high score of 153. The mean for this group was 129.12. This suggests that as a group all the women studied have SROs which are slightly on the traditional side of the continuum. The student scores ranged from 74 to 150 with a mean of 128.13. The working and nonworking women tended to have scores that were slightly more traditional. The working women had a mean score of 128.87. Their scores ranged from 100 to 153. And nonworking women had scores that ranged from 102 to 146 and a mean score of 129.38.

Bivariate Analysis:

In order to test the hypotheses, a variety of bivariate statistics are necessary. In this section the results of crosstabulations, one-way analysis of variance and t-tests are reported in order to test the hypotheses and provide additional information about the differences between the
groups. Crosstabulations of the differences between employment status, those who are students, working women and nonworking women, and marital status and employment status and having servants are used to test the first three hypotheses. One-way analysis of variance is used to test the differences between students, working and nonworking women. And t-tests are used to test the differences between women who enter traditional and nontraditional fields of study.

Crosstabulations:

Hypotheses one and two suggest that household and demographic characteristics such as marital status, number of children and the presence of servants in the household was related to a woman's working status. Three crosstabulations were done to test these hypotheses: 1) marital status by employment status, 2) number of children by employment status, and 3) the presence of servants in the household by employment status.

Table 4.11 presents the results of a crosstabulation of employment status with marital status. As indicated, 49.2%
of the working women and 19.7% of the nonworking women were unmarried. The chi square statistic was statistically significant at the .001 alpha level.

We also tested to see if there was a statistically significant difference between the two groups and number of children. Table 4.12 presents the results of this crosstabulation indicate that there was not a statistically significant relationship between having children and working. Of the working women, 11% had no children and of the nonworking women 7.6% had no children. In both cases around 90% of those sampled had children, 88.9% of working women and 92.4% of nonworking women. The chi square was 0.245 with 1 degree of freedom.
Table 4.11
EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY MARITAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working Women</th>
<th>Nonworking Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>69.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square=17.08, Degrees of Freedom=3; Significant at the .0007 alpha level.

Table 4.12
EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Working Women</th>
<th>Nonworking Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have Children</td>
<td>88.9%</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To test whether the presence of servants in the household has an influence on the likelihood of a women
working a crosstabulation was conducted. The results of this statistical analysis is presented in Table 4.13. An alpha level of .001 was used. The chi-square statistic was 16.62 with two degrees of freedom. Therefore, we conclude that there is a statistically significant difference between the likelihood of having servants in the household and employment status.

Table 4.13 indicates that 86.6% of the women studied, have servants living in their households. It also indicates that the one group that has the highest percentage of households without servants is the nonworking women. A visual analysis of the results indicates that working women are most likely to have servants and nonworking women are less likely. The majority (94.1%) of the working women had servants in the household, 72.7% of the nonworking women and 86.9% of the students.
Table 4.13

EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY PRESENCE OF SERVANTS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Servents</th>
<th>No Servants</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonworking</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 16.62, Degrees of Freedom = 2; Significant at the .001 alpha level.

One-way Analyses of Variance:

Hypotheses 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10 can be tested using one-way analysis of variance. These hypotheses suggest that sex role orientation, achievement orientation, socioeconomic status and legal equality vary by employment status.

Table 4.14 presents a series of one-way analyses to test the differences between groups on the major variables used in the study. An alpha level of .05 was used for each test. F-statistics were presented only for the variables in
which a significant difference was found between groups. Post hoc tests used the least significant difference procedure (LSD). Sex role orientation, occupational primacy, and socioeconomic status and views on legal equality were found to vary significantly between groups. However, achievement orientation as a total scale was not found to vary significantly between groups.

Hypothesis 4 posits that sex role orientation is negatively related to choosing to enter the labor force. The one-way analysis of sex role orientations found that students' SROs are statistically different from those of working and nonworking women. The results were significant at the .05 alpha level. Students tended to have higher sex role orientations than did both working and nonworking women. The mean sex role orientation for students was 118.05 points compared to 114.6 points for working women and 112.05 points for nonworking women. Post hoc tests document that students have a more traditional sex role orientations than the other two groups.

Overall achievement orientation was not found to be significantly different between groups. This information relates to hypothesis 5. There is a significant difference
in one of the subscales, occupational primacy. Occupational primacy measures how important work and occupation is to the individual. The higher the score the more important work is to the person. Students, again, were statistically different from working and nonworking women in their scores on occupational primacy. Students scored higher on the occupational primacy scales. The mean score for students was 8.26 and 7.82 and 7.92 for working and nonworking women respectively. This suggests that career is more important for women who are currently studying than for those who have already graduated from the university.

The one-way analysis of variance testing how SES varies among the groups indicates that all SES indicators except income are statistically significant at a .05 alpha level. The aggregate SES score and each of the component measures were tested. Only income was found not to vary significantly among the groups. Working women varied significantly from students and nonworking women in their level of SES. They averaged an SES score of 8.89, while nonworking women averaged 7.45 and students averaged 7.89. Mother's education, father's education and mother's
occupation seem to be the major contributors to this observed difference. In each case, working women had statistically significant higher scores than the other two groups. This seems to indicate that working women come from households where both parents were relatively more educated and where mothers were more likely to work.

Hypotheses 9 and 10 posit that views about the legal equality of women in Kuwait vary among the groups. Four questions were used to measure views about the legal equality of women in Kuwait. Women were asked whether they agree or disagree that women should hold important political offices, whether they should have the right to vote, whether they should be in the Parliament and whether they should be allowed to be diplomats to foreign countries. Scores ranged from 1, strongly approve to 6, strongly disapprove. Besides the responses to each of these questions, an aggregate legal equality score was created by averaging the responses to all four questions. Table 4.15 reports the result of the one-way analyses of variance for each of the four questions, as well as the aggregate score.
The results of a one-way analysis of variance between the groups indicates that there is considerable difference in how Kuwaiti women view legal equality. Nonworking women were generally more in favor of legal equality. They averaged 3.27 on the aggregate score, as opposed to 3.95 for students and 3.79 for working women. Although these results indicate that Kuwaiti women of all three categories generally favor improving the legal equality of women in the country, a statistically significant difference was observed only between nonworking women and the other two groups. It should also be noted that none of the groups overwhelmingly favor improving the legal equality of women in Kuwait. In fact, the mean aggregate scores of all three groups fall between slightly agree more than disagree, 3, and slightly disagree more than agree, 4.

Of the four questions asked about the role of women in politics, a statistically significant difference was observed in only two cases. Contrary to what was posited in hypotheses 9 and 10, nonworking women generally favored women holding important political offices more than did students and working women. The means of these groups were
2.82, 4.47 and 4.19 respectively. When asked whether they should be allowed to be diplomats to foreign countries,

Table 4.14

ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean of Students</th>
<th>Mean of Working Women</th>
<th>Mean of Nonworking Women</th>
<th>Mean of All Cases</th>
<th>F Statistic*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex Role Orientation:</td>
<td>118.05</td>
<td>114.60</td>
<td>112.05</td>
<td>115.30</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement Orientation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>51.40</td>
<td>51.10</td>
<td>53.42</td>
<td>51.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occ. Primacy</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>7.82</td>
<td>7.56</td>
<td>7.92</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>9.08</td>
<td>9.05</td>
<td>9.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>16.63</td>
<td>17.04</td>
<td>16.95</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activism</td>
<td>13.94</td>
<td>13.82</td>
<td>13.65</td>
<td>13.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic Status:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa. Occ.</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa. Educ.</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>2.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo. Occ.</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>10.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo. Ed.</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>7.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>5611.30</td>
<td>6240.5</td>
<td>6130.7</td>
<td>5981.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>7.84</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>7.145</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>8.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The f-statistic is given only when a statistically significant difference between groups was found at the .05 alpha level.

...
working women. In both cases the mean scores of nonworking women indicate that they were moderately in favor of Kuwaiti women holding important political offices and being diplomats in foreign countries, while working women and students slightly disfavored this.

As far as women having the right to vote and participate in the Congress, there was no statistically significant difference observed. All the women surveyed were slightly in favor of women getting the right to vote, although nonworking women were less in favor of this than students or working women. This difference was not statistically significant. Students averaged 2.91. Working women averaged 3.08 and nonworking women averaged 4.63. All the women surveyed were generally not in favor of women holding positions in the National Parliament ranging from 4.63 to 4.54.
Table 4.15

ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GROUPS IN THEIR VIEWS OF THE LEGAL EQUALITY OF WOMEN IN KUWAIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean of Students</th>
<th>Mean of Working Women</th>
<th>Mean of Nonworking Women</th>
<th>Mean of All Cases</th>
<th>F Statistic*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Offices</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>23.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right to Vote</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomats</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>13.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>7.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The f-statistic is given only when a statistically significant difference between groups was found at the .05 alpha level.

T-Tests:

Hypotheses 6, 7, and 8 suggest that women who enter nontraditional fields of study differ from women who enter traditional fields of study in their sex role orientations, achievement orientations and their views about the legal equality of women in Kuwait.

Within each sample and for all the cases combined, women were grouped according to whether they majored in a
traditional or nontraditional field of study. Table 4.16 presents the results of t-tests conducted between these groups to determine differences in their sex role orientations, achievement orientations, socioeconomic status and views on legal equality. An alpha level of .05 was used for all tests and the t-statistic is presented only when a statistically significant difference was found.

The higher the sex role orientation score, the more traditional the woman's attitudes about sex appropriate behaviors. Generally speaking, women who entered traditional fields of study had more traditional sex role orientations within all groups. The mean scores for women in traditional fields of study ranged from 112.68 for all cases combined to 120.51 for students. The mean scores for women in nontraditional fields of study ranged from 117.21 for all cases combined to 107.74 for nonworking women. However, the difference between groups based on their field of study was only statistically significant at the .05 alpha level among students and when all cases were combined. The mean sex role orientation score for students in traditional fields of study was 120.51 and for students in nontraditional fields of study it was 114.33 with a t-
For all cases combined, the mean score for those in traditional fields of study was 117.21 and for those in nontraditional fields of study it was 112.68 with a t-statistic of -2.37.

As for achievement orientation, no statistically significant difference was found among any of the groups. However, the subscales were also tested and the scale for integration with relatives was found to vary significantly among students at the .05 alpha level. Women in nontraditional fields of study generally scored higher on this scale, indicating that they are more inclined towards choosing responsibility of the job over other aspects of life. The mean score for students in traditional fields of study was 8.83 and for students in nontraditional fields of study it was 9.51 with a t-statistic of 2.10.

Scores for socioeconomic status ranged from a lowest possible score of 5 to a maximum possible of 15. The difference of SES for those in traditional and nontraditional fields of study was found to be statistically significant at a .05 alpha level for all groups except students. Among working women, the average SES for those from traditional fields of study was 8.21 and
for those from nontraditional fields of study it was 9.61 with a t-statistic of 2.74. Working women who had studied nontraditional subjects came from higher socioeconomic statuses than their counterparts in traditional fields. The same is true among nonworking women. The mean SES for those in traditional fields of study was 7.09 and for those in nontraditional fields it was 8.13 with a t-statistic of 2.29. When all cases were combined, a statistically significant difference was also observed. The mean score was 7.67 for those from traditional fields of study and 8.87 for those from nontraditional fields of study with a t-statistic of 4.02.

Hypothesis 8 was not supported. None of the individual questions about legal equality nor the aggregate score were found to vary significantly between the groups. When asked whether women should hold important political offices, women in traditional fields of study slightly disagreed, 4.09. Women in nontraditional fields had about the same views, 3.85. Both groups favored women obtaining the right to vote. However, neither score was strongly in favor of this change. Women in traditional fields of study averaged 3.122 and women in nontraditional fields of study averaged
3.19. Women generally disagreed with women holding positions in the National Parliament. Women in traditional fields of study averaged 4.39 and women in nontraditional fields of study averaged 4.60. They were only slightly more in favor of women being diplomats to foreign countries. Women in traditional fields of study averaged 3.68 and women in nontraditional fields of study averaged 3.60. Likewise, their aggregate scores indicate that they are slightly in favor of Kuwaiti women gaining greater legal equalities, 3.07 for women in traditional fields of study and 3.42 for women in nontraditional fields of study.
Table 4.16

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND NONTRADITIONAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Non-Traditional</th>
<th>T Statistic*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex Role Orientation:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>120.51</td>
<td>114.33</td>
<td>-2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Women</td>
<td>115.69</td>
<td>113.44</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonworking Women</td>
<td>114.35</td>
<td>107.74</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>117.21</td>
<td>112.68</td>
<td>-2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Achievement Orientation</strong>:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>47.57</td>
<td>48.07</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Women</td>
<td>47.85</td>
<td>47.65</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonworking Women</td>
<td>47.35</td>
<td>46.96</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>47.67</td>
<td>47.62</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Integration W/Relatives:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>8.83</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Women</td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td>9.14</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonworking Women</td>
<td>9.06</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>9.24</td>
<td>8.96</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socioeconomic Status:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>8.28</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Women</td>
<td>8.21</td>
<td>9.61</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonworking Women</td>
<td>7.09</td>
<td>8.13</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>8.87</td>
<td>4.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legal Equality:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Offices</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right to Vote</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomats</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* t-statistic is given only when a statistically significant difference was found at the .05 alpha level.

** This is the total score for achievement orientation. Only the one subscale of achievement orientation, integration with relatives was found to vary significantly and is therefore included in the table.
Conclusion: Evaluation of the Hypotheses

Ten hypotheses were tested using crosstabulations, one-way analysis of variance and t-tests of significance. Four hypotheses were verified, while six were proven false.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 deal with the effect that household characteristics have on the likelihood of a woman working. Both were verified. Hypothesis 1 suggests that more working women are single compared to nonworking women. A statistically significant difference in marital status among the groups was found at a .001 alpha level. Fifty-three percent of the working women were single compared to 30% of the nonworking women. Hypothesis 1 also suggests that working women were also more likely not to have children. However, this was not verified. Roughly the same about of working and nonworking women had children, about 90% of each group surveyed.

Hypothesis 2 deals with the presence of servants in the household. The presence of servants should be associated with working. Although the analysis indicates that having servants in the household is generally true of all groups, more working women have servants relative to nonworking women. Ninety-four percent of the working women have
servants, while 72.7% of the nonworking women do. This difference was statistically significant at the .001 alpha level.

Hypothesis 3 was tested using one-way analysis of variance. As the hypothesis indicates, working women had higher SES, 8.89, while nonworking women had the lowest, 7.45, statistically significant at the .05 alpha level. This suggests that financial need may not be the major reason why educated Kuwaiti women choose to work or not. Parents' education and mother's occupation were the major contributors to this observed difference. This suggests that the influence of family background and particularly that the mother's is an important factor. Remember that SES in an oil-rich state like Kuwait is a tricky dimension to measure since most families enjoy a fairly high standard of living and since the rapid increase in the country's standard of living has occurred over the last one or two generations. The influence of parents' education and mother's occupation may indicate the family's standing before oil wealth, families who had perhaps had more contact with Western ideas and values prior to independence.
and had, therefore, assimilated more Western values and behaviors.

Hypothesis 4 was not verified statistically. There was no observed difference in SRO between working and nonworking women. However, a statistically significant difference was observed between students and these two groups. Students have the most traditional SROs. This suggests that there may be a cohort difference with younger women being more traditional.

Hypothesis 5 posits that achievement orientation varies among working and nonworking women. However, no statistically significant difference was observed. When the subscales of achievement orientation were tested, students were found to be different from the other two groups on their occupational primacy scores. This difference was statistically significant at the .05 alpha level, indicating that students are more career oriented than their older counterparts.

Hypotheses 6 and 7 deal with differences between women who enter the traditional and nontraditional fields of study. Hypothesis 6 posits that women who enter nontraditional fields of study have less traditional SROs.
This hypothesis was verified at the .05 alpha level for students and when all groups were combined. However, when working and nonworking women were analyzed separately the difference was not statistically significant, although the same pattern was observed, women in non-traditional fields of study had less traditional SROs.

Hypothesis 7 suggests that there is a positive relationship between women who enter nontraditional fields of study in achievement orientation. No statistically significant difference was observed within the groups being studied. When, the subscales of achievement orientation were tested only integration with relatives varied significantly and only among students. Therefore, female students who entered nontraditional fields of study exhibited less favoritism towards their relatives in their attitudes about work compared to female students who enter traditional fields of study. However, similar findings were not observed in the other groups or among all women surveyed. Therefore, we conclude this hypothesis was not verified.

Hypotheses 8, 9, and 10 deal with views that Kuwaiti women have about the legal equality of women. Hypothesis 8
posits that women in nontraditional fields of study have more liberal views about the legal equality of women. This hypothesis was not verified. Neither the composite score nor the individual questions were found to vary significantly among these two groups. Hypothesis 9 posits that working women have more liberal views about legal equality than nonworking women. This hypothesis also was not verified. Instead, nonworking women had the most liberal views about legal equality, a difference that was statistically significant at the .05 alpha level. Although nonworking women were slightly more in favor of equality under the law than students or working women, all Kuwaiti women surveyed were moderately in favor of improving the legal equality of women in the country. All favored obtaining the right to vote. However, working women were more in favor of women holding important political positions and being diplomats in foreign countries. Hypothesis 10 was also proven wrong. It suggests that students have the most liberal views about equality. On the contrary, students were observed to have the most conservative views, even though they were generally not
significantly different from nonworking women statistically.

The test of these hypotheses provides some interesting conclusions about the differences among the groups. Generally, the proposed differences between women who enter traditional and nontraditional fields of study were proven insignificant. The household characteristics were found to be related, however, the tests of SRO and achievement orientations of students, working women and nonworking women suggests that the attitudinal changes that occur in Western cultures as women enter the labor force do not hold in Kuwait. Further investigation is necessary to understand why educated Kuwait women do or do not choose to work.
Chapter 5
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

Within the last 40 years Kuwait has undergone a remarkable transformation from a small maritime society to a modern one. The expansion of the economy stimulated by the discovery of oil in 1946 generated a high per capita standard of living. During the 1960s, the government took an active role in the redistribution of income through the use of oil revenues in public expenditure and a land compensation scheme. Today Kuwait has one of the most comprehensive social welfare programs in the world. Education and medical care are free to all and housing for low-income families is heavily subsidized.

However, contemporary Kuwait also represents a mixture of traditional values and social patterns preserved by its wealth and modern values and social patterns brought about by rapid social and economic change. This is perhaps best exemplified by the status of Kuwaiti women. They have
traditionally had an inferior status. Arab culture relegated the woman's role to that of a housewife and mother and her place to the home. And the Islamic religion reinforced and legitimized her inferior status. Government policies have opened the doors of education to women and more women than ever are entering the university in a variety of academic fields. However, Kuwaiti women are still far from achieving equality. Women still have not secured the basic political rights to vote or run for public office. Women are prevented from taking diplomatic and consular posts. And although they are recruited to civil service positions on an equal pay basis but undoubtedly, none are in decision-making positions that men hold.

The position of women in society as an indicator of modernization has been a primary concern of modernization theories. Inkeles and Smith (1974) argued that the issue of women's rights is ultimately related to modernization. Goode (1963) points to the link between industrialization and equalitarianism, while traditional societies are seen as vigorously male-dominated. In the West, industrialization was related to lower fertility rates,
expanded educational opportunities for women, increased female labor force participation and the elimination of polygyny. Halter (1975) suggests that rapid industrialization accelerates the movement to greater equality for women.

The improved status of women is related to the need of industrializing economies to have a mobile labor force, best served when families are small and women are given the freedom to develop their work skills and enter the labor force. Huber and Spitze (1983) argued that only when educated women began entering the labor force did the West begin to mobilize for legal equality and hypothesize that just as women's labor force participation won them rights in the workplace, eventually equality will also come to the household division of labor.

Furthermore, modernization theories posit that individual experiences such as family status, exposure to formal education and work experiences account for differences in individual modernity.

This study was designed to examine how individual aspirations and perceptions affect the likelihood of educated Kuwaiti women entering the workplace and the
impact that such experiences have with regard to their views about the equal status of women under the law.

A review of the literature suggests that there are four important variables that affect the likelihood of a woman entering the labor force: 1) household composition, 2) achievement orientation, 3) sex role orientation, and 4) socioeconomic status. In sum, studies done both in Kuwait and in Western countries suggest that women who choose to work are more ambitious, resulting in higher achievement orientation scores, have more liberal sex role orientations, have higher socioeconomic status than women who do not work and come from smaller households. Some research indicates that there is a difference along these same dimensions and whether a woman chooses to enter a traditional or nontraditional field of study. And that this in turn, may affect the likelihood of her choosing to work.

Household Composition

As with other studies, the findings suggest that household composition is an important factor in discriminating between women who work and those who do not
(Bose, 1984; Shaw, 1981; Oppenheimer, 1980; and Tilly and Scott, 1978). The presence of servants in the household, marital status and having children were all found to be related to working status. Working women were more likely to be single, childless, and to have servants. All of these factors are related to responsibilities that women have within the household. For example, only about one-fifth of the nonworking women were still single, while about half of the working women were. These findings generally support the notion that women with fewer household responsibilities are freer to take on employment outside the home.

This suggests that contemporary Kuwaiti society may be at a comparable stage of industrialization as the United States between 1880 and 1920, the era studied by Bose. Bose points out that women's employment during the early stages of industrialization in the U.S. was hidden by the fact that many women were working either out of their homes or in family owned businesses. Similarly, a woman's economic activities in Kuwait may be concealed by the type of income-generating activities she engages in. For example, many Kuwaiti women today own businesses or
generate an income through investments in stocks. There is, however, one notable difference. The financial need of women to work is alleviated by Kuwait's very high standard of living and a social welfare system that protects a woman's right to stay at home and raise her children by providing subsidies to needy families.

Achievement Orientation

Common sense suggests that women who are more achievement-oriented or more ambitious would be more likely to pursue a career and excel in their academic studies. Past research on women in the United States supports this idea to varying degrees (Trigg and Perlman, 1976; Richardson, 1974; Krieger, 1972).

In this study, however, there was generally no statistically significant difference observed in the achievement orientation scores of students, working women or nonworking women and all group means on achievement orientation were fairly low. Of the subscales of achievement orientation, only occupational primacy was observed to vary significantly between groups. Students
surveyed conveyed more job-centered attitudes than did either of the other two groups. And, no statistically significant difference was observed when respondents were grouped by whether they had entered a traditional or nontraditional field of study.

At first glance these findings seem baffling. The principle difference seems to be between students and older women, not between working and nonworking women and this difference is limited to only one aspect of achievement orientation, attitudes about the importance of work. This may indicate that there will be a future tendency for younger Kuwaiti women, now in the university, to enter the labor force after graduation.

However, the mean achievement orientation scores of all three groups fell into the low to moderate range, between 51.40 and 53.42 out of 80 possible points. This either means that Kuwaiti women are not very ambitious or that the measure used is inappropriate in this context.
Shaw (1981) noted that past research on female labor force participation of Arab women is often based on false assumptions about their desire to work:

"Careful assessment of how Arab women should be integrated into economic development is rare. Understanding of the cultural context is shallow and empirical impressions are usually fragmented, and assumptions about the desire of Arab women to participate in the labor force are often unfounded. As a result, the development literature is replete with platitudes. (M)isconceptions about Arab culture have promoted implausible or insensitive policy recommendations. Unvariably these have failed to appreciate the overwhelming importance of the family and traditional sources of women's power through devotion to the family" (Shaw, 1981:238).

In fact, several researchers have pointed out that achievement orientation as commonly defined and measured may be inconsistent with the traditional female sex role (McClelland et al., 1953; Stein and Bailey, 1975). Femininity has historically been conceptualized as nonaggressive, nonassertive, and bound by the importance of the home and hearth.
The real question may not be whether Kuwaiti women are achievement oriented, but rather how they choose to express themselves. Bem (1977) argued that women with traditional sex role orientations limit themselves to sex appropriate occupations. Similarly, it may be that Kuwaiti women attain a sense of achievement through their roles within the family. Therefore, achievement orientation scales which measure work attitudes, typically a masculine characteristic, may simply be inadequate to capture Kuwaiti women's achievement orientations.

In a similar fashion, El-Guindi (1985) has pointed out that for the purpose of understanding the dynamics of women's changing roles in the Arab world, it is useful to make a distinction between education and employment. Certain factors at the cultural level operate as constraints in the area of employment are not as problematic in education (El-Guindi, 1985). This might help to explain why even though Kuwaiti women are becoming more educated in larger numbers, they still represent only 2.9% of the labor force. The labor force participation that does exist is limited to certain occupations that are
Sex Role Orientation:

The work of Richardson (1974), Lyson (1982), Lipman-Blumen (1972) and Sherman and Jones (1976) suggested that women's sex role orientation is related to her choice of a field of study and her decision about whether or not to enter the labor force. The literature also suggests that women with liberal sex role attitudes are more likely to enter nontraditional curricula and consequently to prepare for sex typical jobs. Furthermore, there is evidence that sex role ideology may play a role in influencing levels of career ambitions among women. In short, women with feminist orientations seem to perceive a different set of career opportunities and life choices than women with traditional orientations.

Sex role orientation was found in this study to vary significantly between students, working women and nonworking women, as well as between women who entered traditional fields of study as opposed to those who entered
nontraditional fields of study. However, not all of the observed relationships were what was expected. Specifically, students, expected to have more liberal sex role orientations, had more conservative views than other working or nonworking women and there was no observed difference between nonworking and working women as the literature suggests there should be. Women who entered traditional fields of study had more traditional sex role orientations than women who entered nontraditional fields of study. This observation held when all women of the study were combined and for students when they were analyzed separately. However, the relationship was not statistically significant when working and nonworking women were analyzed separately, although the observed pattern persisted. This finding may be due to the sampling procedures used.

Perhaps another explanation has to do with the recent conservative movement in the Gulf region. Since the 1970s the relationship between many Middle Eastern countries and the West has deteriorated. The perceived failure of development in the region and the rejection of Westernization has led to a resurgence of Islamic values and traditions. Evidence of this trend can be seen through
Kuwaiti society. There are increasing numbers of women who have returned to the practice of 'haijab' or wearing the veil. There has been growing resistance to the integration of men and women in the university level courses and a movement to segregate them as is done at the primary school and high school levels. Religious clubs and organizations that promote conservative values have gained greater support. And in the marketplace, there are more and more facilities that cater to conservatives, such as stores selling Islamic dress and banks advertising Islamic practices.

Young people are perhaps the most important target of these influences, since they are more vulnerable to corrupting Western influence. Much attention has been paid in recent years to promoting youth clubs and organizations within the schools that advance Islamic values.

**Socioeconomic Status:**

Modernization theories based on the notion of diffusion have long argued that socioeconomic status is an important aspect of the modernization process. High socioeconomic status groups are thought to be the first to adopt modern
attitudes and behaviors. Then, through example and through attempts to mold social policies, their attitudes and behaviors diffuse throughout the rest of the population. This suggests that family's socioeconomic status should be related to educated women choosing to work and having more liberal attitudes and perception about the status of women and about legal equality. Al-Thakeb (1975), Al-Sabah (1983) and Al-Khaled (1981) in their studies of Kuwaiti women showed a significant effect between socioeconomic background and choosing to work. Furthermore, socioeconomic status was also related to length of time that the women chose to stay in the labor force.

In this study socioeconomic status was measured by father's occupation, mother's occupation, father's level of education, mother's level of education and annual family income. Income was the only variable that did not vary significantly between the groups, while mother's occupation and mother's level of education had a surprisingly strong variance. Generally, working women had higher socioeconomic status than did students or nonworking women and women who entered nontraditional fields of study had
higher socioeconomic status than women who entered traditional fields of study.

The importance of mother's status and the insignificance of annual income may be explained by factors relating to traditional Kuwaiti culture, rapid industrialization, and modernization theory. Income as an indicator of socioeconomic status may be inadequate to pick up long standing status differences due to the income redistribution policies adopted by the government in the 1960s and influence of oil wealth on the standard of living within the country. It is also important to remember that women in traditional Kuwaiti society were relegated to a secondary status. Families who could afford to provide their children with a formal education, educated the male heirs first. Therefore, the women's level of education was a sign of the family's elite social status since only those families of means could afford to educate their women. Because of traditional marriage practices, women of elite social status married into other elite families in order to cement the bond between the families. Therefore, the importance of the mother's education is an indicator of long-term socioeconomic status that may be linked to
families who had elite standing in the society before oil wealth. Similarly, it is understandable that these families would be the first to allow educated women to seek employment outside the home. According to modernization theory, elite families which first had contact with Western values and behaviors are the first to adopt such behaviors. Working, formal education, and education in male-dominated fields of study may all represent freeing of women from the confines of sex segregation practiced in traditional Arab society. Employment, then, can be seen as a social status among educated women, rather than a financial necessity.

Modernization and Women's Emancipation In Kuwait

At the root of theories of modernization is the supposition that as societies develop modern economies and their members develop modern orientations, political institutions will become more participatory and democratic. And in particular, women will gain legal rights. Implicit is the notion that women's attitudes change. As they gain more experiences outside the home through work and formal education, they will demand legal treatment under the law. Therefore, it was of particular interest in this study to
examine educated women's attitudes about legal issues of equality and specifically about holding political offices and having the right to vote. In contemporary Kuwait, women do not have these rights. Therefore, it is important to examine their attitudes that might signal a need for change.

Generally, the women surveyed in this study were indifferent to slightly in favor of gaining more equal rights to that of men in their society. The only statistically significant difference observed between any of the groups studied was between nonworking women as opposed to students and working women. Nonworking women were more in favor of women holding political offices and being foreign diplomats. There was no difference in the attitudes of women when divided into groups according to their fields of study. All the women studied were generally not in favor of women being in the National Parliament and only slightly more in favor than not of obtaining the right to vote. The findings also indicated that students and working women were slightly more in favor of getting the right to vote than nonworking women, but this observation was not statistically significant.
Generally, these findings seem to suggest that legal equality is not an important issue to educated Kuwaiti women. The apparent contradictions in the areas of legal equality that women are more in favor of and those that they oppose may reflect the notions about what is considered sex appropriate behavior. Apparently, some aspects of political life, such as holding political office is acceptable, while others, such as being in the Parliament are not. What separates these types of political positions may be their centrality within the decision-making process. These findings suggest that attitudes about legal equality are tempered by Islamic values, political realities and views about what is appropriate behavior for women. Although the canons of the Islamic faith are not against women's emancipation, the political reality is that politics is a male-dominated activity. In order for women to actively participate in politics, many of the deeply embedded ideas about sex segregation would have to be crossed.
Limitations of the Study

It is my belief that an evaluation of study is an important step in the research process. It is a procedure that maximizes the benefits of the research experience. The preceding study was meant only to be exploratory descriptive research. As such, much attention must be paid to its shortcomings and possible ways of ameliorating them in future research endeavors.

Some of the difficulties encountered were due to lack of research experience and others were due to the nature of the study and the circumstances under which the research was conducted.

One problem that inhibited the research process was a cultural one. In Kuwaiti society it is still difficult for a man to conduct research that requires obtaining information from and about women in the society. Traditional beliefs and values about the segregation of men and women and the respectability of women persist. This poses difficulties not encountered in more open societies. Another related difference has to be with the receptivity of the public to survey research. Generally, people in Kuwait are not familiar with surveys and may be suspicious
of anyone asking personal questions and obtaining a written record of their responses. Credibility is always called into question and these suspicions may influence the quality of the data. For this very reason, most research done in Kuwait is limited to selective groups of people, students, and workers who are more familiar with social research and therefore, more willing to participate. This necessity is a severe limitation on the types of quantitative research possible and the sampling designs used.

Choosing a random sample of the general population is difficult, if not impossible. It is even harder to choose a random sample of Kuwaiti women. Telephone directories do not generally provide information about women in households and there are few attainable records that provide reliable information on their social characteristics such as level of education. As a result, I was limited to either taking a random sample of women in the University or taking nonprobability samples of nonstudents. I chose to do both. Students were sampled in order to get a grabble on their attitudes and aspirations using best random procedures possible under the circumstances and nonprobability samples
were taken of working and nonworking women with university degrees. The sample of working women was purposive and the sample of nonworking women was a snowball sample. This was because of the varying degrees of difficulty in locating them.

This type of sampling procedure limits the interpretation of the results. It must always be kept in mind that the findings are exploratory and descriptive. The findings uncovered are those of the women surveyed and may not be generalizable to the entire population of educated women.

The sampling and research design also created difficulties in choosing the statistical procedures that could be used. Specifically, the independent variable, working status, was necessarily measured at the nominal level. This would suggest that several descriptive statistics could be used and some possible multivariate statistics such as discriminant analysis and logit or probit analysis. Two problems exist, the generalizability of the findings due to the type of sampling conducted and the limited number of cases. Logit and probit analysis require a very large sample size. Therefore, analysis of
variance was chosen as the primary statistic for analysis. Future studies should address these sampling problems so that multivariate statistical procedures could be used.

A final limitation has to do with the measurement of variables. Scales are used in social research to measure attitudinal variables within the population. The more sensitive the scale, the more accurate it will be in providing quality data. However, when doing comparative quantitative research, there is always the problem of identifying just how accurately the scale measures a given concept in another cultural setting. In this study the scales of achievement orientation and sex role orientation were developed and tested in Western and non-Middle Eastern countries. These scales had not before be used in a study of the Kuwaiti population. The divergent norms and values of Kuwaiti society may have minimized the sensitivity of these scales. Perhaps in the future more attention should be paid to constructing attitudinal scales that fit Kuwaiti society.

However, despite the limitations we have discussed, this study does provide a basis for beginning to understand and explain the aspirations of educated Kuwaiti women. The
purpose of examining the weaknesses of the study is not to discredit its worth, but rather to provide a better understanding the problems that were faced in order to stimulate future research.

Implications For Social Work In Kuwait

Despite the fact that knowledge about any field is cumulative and can therefore be borrowed, each society has its own needs. This study, like other recent works, can provide a good means of conveying facts about Kuwaiti society to policy makers and professionals. Therefore, researchers, policy makers, and practitioners have to work side by side in order to understand the society's needs in which they work and to create the right policies that fit these needs. This study is one of the small proportion of studies that have been done recently about women's labor force participation and its effect on the situation of women's future legal rights in Kuwait. As such it is hoped that it will provide a basis for creating social policies that incorporate knowledge of society and social work research, policy and practice. For the responsibility of social workers in Kuwait does not end by conducting
fragmentary pieces of research, but by bringing these pieces together to create an integrated whole.

Policy makers in the social work profession have to be prepared to deal with a changing role of women in society. The findings of this study suggest that Kuwait is going through a transitional period. Women who are currently in the university may very likely want to work in larger numbers than their older counterparts, yet they still have conservative sex role orientations. Policy-makers must address the specific needs of Kuwaiti women and examine alternative ways of meeting these needs. Social policy of Kuwait must insure women a comfortable and respectable work environments and a way of balancing work opportunities with family responsibilities. The segregation of the workplace is perhaps one alternative that should be considered. However, it is costly and may be economically infeasible. Another alternative is an increase in part-time employment opportunities for women. At any rate, legislation must be flexible enough to allow women to work and still maintain their roles as wives and mothers.

Legal equality should also be an issue that policy makers address. Social work policy makers should encourage
legislators to avoid future societal conflicts as women realize their potentials. Women should be encouraged to participate both in the economy and politics, to use their skills to promote the good of their society.

On the micro level, social work practitioners have to pay more attention to emerging social consequences of increasing women's education and labor force participation. If we assume that Kuwait will experience similar problems to those that exist in Western societies as the role of women changed, it is likely that there will be increasing problems such as divorce, single parenthood, family conflict associated with shifting authority patterns inside the family. Practitioners must also be concerned with problems of creating work and educational environments that are conducive to the needs of Kuwaiti women with conservative sex role orientations.

This study suggests several implications for social research. First, the findings suggest that theories and measures developed to study members of Western societies may not directly translate to Kuwaiti society. It is important to develop a more indepth understanding of Kuwaiti society that is nonetheless theoretically grounded.
Future social researchers must combine both qualitative understanding and empirical investigations. Much remains to be learned about the problems that face Kuwaiti society.

This study and other recent quantitative studies in Kuwait have suffered from a lack of quality data and an inability to conduct surveys of the general population. The result has been that most research designs are limited to qualitative interpretations or restricted populations such as university students who are more willing to participate in the survey. This points to the need to generate longitudinal data bases based on random sampling of the general population. Similarly, attention must be paid to developing better attitudinal measures. Without these advances, many of the real problems facing the country cannot be adequately addressed.
APPENDIX A

The Questionnaire
QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I: General Information

1. In what year were you born? ______

2. What is/was your major in the university?
   1. Sciences
   2. Literature
   3. Law
   4. Commerce, Economics, & Political Science
   5. Engineering and Petroleum
   6. Medicine
   7. Allied Health Sciences

3. What are the major influences that led to the choosing of your major in the university?

4. What is your marital status?
   1. Single
   2. Married
   3. Divorced
   4. Widowed
   5. Separated
5. If married, how many children do you have?

1. None
2. One
3. Two
4. Three
5. Four
6. Five
7. Six or more

6. In your lifetime how many children you want to have?

1. None
2. Less than three
3. Four to six
4. More than six

7. Currently, what is your employment status?

1. Student
2. Employee
3. Not working

8. If you are not currently employed, what are the major reasons that keep you from working?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

9. Do you participate in any women's clubs?

1. yes ______
2. no ______
10. If so, in these clubs which kinds of activities do you participate in?

1. Cooking  
2. Sports  
3. Social activities  
4. Crafts and Hobbies  
6. Other

******************************************************************************************************************************************

Please answer questions 11 to 16 only if you are currently employed. If you are not currently employed skip on to question 15.

11. What is your field of work?

1. Human Science  
2. Education  
3. Fine Artes  
4. Law  
5. Social Sciences  
6. Natural Sciences  
7. Engineering  
8. Medical Sciences  
9. Agriculture  
10. Others specify

12. How long have you been working?

1. Less than one year  
2. One - three years  
3. Four - six years

13. How much do you think that your job is related to your field of study?

1. Very much  
2. Related  
3. Somewhat related  
4. Not related at all

14. How much are you satisfied with your job?

1. Very much  
2. Satisfied  
3. Not satisfied  
4. Unsatisfied
15. If you had a chance to change your job, how much would you like to do so?

1. Very much  2. Like to  3. Would not like to  4. Very much not like to

16. In your own words please explain why you are currently working?

PART II: A.O.

Instruction: Please respond to each item by selecting one of the following answer: 1= agree very much, 2= agree a little, 3= disagree a little, and 4= disagree very much.

17. It is not good to let your relatives know everything about your life, for they might take advantage of you.  

1 2 3 4

18. It is not good for you to let your friends know everything about your life, for they might take advantage of you.

1 2 3 4

19. Most people will repay you kindness with ingratitude.

1 2 3 4

20. Most people are fair and do not try to get away with something.

1 2 3 4

21. People help persons who have helped them not so much because it is right but because it is good business.

1 2 3 4

22. You can only trust people whom you know well.

1 2 3 4

23. Making plans only bring us happiness because the plans are hard to fulfill.

1 2 3 4
24. It doesn't make much difference if the people elect one or another candidate for nothing will change.

25. With things as they are today an intelligent person ought to think only about the present, without worrying about what is going to happen tomorrow.

26. We, Kuwaitis, dream big dreams, but in reality we are inefficient with modern industry.

27. The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.

28. It is important to make plans for one's life and not just accept what comes.

29. It is very important to know clearly in advance your plans for the future.

30. The job should come first even if it means sacrificing time of recreation.

31. The best way to judge a man is by his success in his occupation.

32. The most important qualities of a real person are determination and driving ambition.

33. The most important thing for a parent to do is to help his children get further ahead in the world than he did.

34. When looking for a job a person ought to find a position in a place located near his parents even if that means losing a good opportunity elsewhere.

35. When you are in trouble only a relative can be depended upon to help you out.
36. If you have a chance to hire an assistant in your work it's always better to hire a relative than a stranger.  

PART III: Travel and Cultural Contact

37. In your opinion how important is it for Kuwaitis to learn about other cultures? Why or why not?

38. How frequently do you read the newspaper?
   1. Every day  
   2. Occasionally
   3. Rarely  
   4. None

39. How many hours do you listen to the radio every day?
   1. Almost none  
   2. Less than one hour
   3. One to two hour  
   4. More than three hours

40. In general which type of programs you like most in TV, radio, or newspaper?
   1. Social programs  
   2. Science
   3. News and analysis  
   4. Religious programs
   5. Entertainment
   6. Cultural programs

41. Do you listen to foreign stations in Arabic languages besides the Arabic stations (e.g., BBC, Voice of America, etc.)?
   1. None  
   2. Rarely
   3. Occasionally  
   4. Very often

42. Have you traveled outside Kuwait?
   1. Yes  
   2. No
43. If yes, how often do you travel?

1. Very often
2. Occasionally
3. Rarely

44. In the last two years, how many times did you travel outside the country?

1. One - two
2. Three - four
3. Five - six
4. Seven or more
5. None

45. Where do you usually travel?

1. Middle East countries
2. Far East
3. Europe
4. U.S.A
5. Other

46. What is the main purpose of your travel?

1. Tourism
2. Study
3. Treatment
4. Work
5. Other

47. Do you have a close friends who are not Kuwaitis?

1. Yes
2. No

48. If yes, from which nationality are they?

1. Arab countries
2. European or American
3. Far East
4. Other
PART IV: SRO

Instruction: Please respond to each item by selecting one of the following answers: 1= strongly agree, 2= moderately agree, 3= agree slightly more than disagree, 4= disagree slightly more than agree, 5= moderately disagree, and 6= strongly disagree.

49. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have a career herself. 1 2 3 4 5 6

50. The idea of young girls participating in basketball teams is ridiculous. 1 2 3 4 5 6

51. The relative amount of time and energy devoted to a career on the one hand, and the home and family on the other hand, should be determined by one's personal desires and interests rather than by one's sex. 1 2 3 4 5 6

52. It is more important for a woman to keep her figure and dress becomingly than it is for a man. 1 2 3 4 5 6

53. The old saying that "a woman's place is in the home" is still basically true and should remain true. 1 2 3 4 5 6

54. A woman should refrain from being too competitive with men and keep her peace rather than show a man he is wrong. 1 2 3 4 5 6

55. A woman whose job involves contact with the public, e.g. salesperson or teacher, should not continue to work when she is noticeably pregnant. 1 2 3 4 5 6

56. The husband should take primary responsibility for major family decisions, such as purchase of home or care. 1 2 3 4 5 6
57. In groups that have both male and female members, it is appropriate that top leadership positions be held by male.

58. Unless it is economically necessary, married women who have school-aged children should not work outside the home.

59. If there are two candidates for a job, one a man and the other a woman, and the woman slightly better qualified, the job should nevertheless go to the man because he is likely to have a family to support.

60. Marriage is a partnership in which the wife and husband should share the economic responsibility of supporting the family.

61. A woman should not accept a career promotion if it require her family to move and her husband to find another job.

62. A married woman who chooses not to have children because she prefers to pursue her career should not feel guilty.

63. Unless it is economically necessary, married woman who have preschool-age children should not work outside the home.

64. It is generally better to have a man at the head of a department composed of both men and women employees.

65. A husband should not feel uncomfortable if his wife earns a larger salary than he does.
66. It is all right for a woman to hold local political offices.

67. A male student and a female student are equally qualified for a certain scholarship; it should be awarded to the male student on the grounds that he has greater "career potential."

68. The use of profane or obscene language by a woman is no more objectionable than the same usage by a man.

69. It is certainly acceptable for boys, as well as girls, to play with dolls.

70. Girls should primarily be counseled to enter "feminine" vocations such as nursing, public school teaching, library science, etc."

71. Woman should not feel inhibited about competing in any form of athletics.

72. Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons.

73. Women should be able to compete with men for jobs that have traditionally belonged to men, such as telephone lineman.

74. Career education for boys should have higher priority with parents and teachers than career education for girls.

75. Even though a wife works outside the home, the husband should be the main breadwinner and the wife should have the responsibility for running the household.
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<td>76. In elementary school, girls should wear dresses rather than slacks to school.</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. It is acceptable for women to hold important elected political offices in the state national government.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. It is not a good idea for a husband to stay home and care for the children while his wife is employed full-time outside the home.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>79. The only reason girls need career education is that they may not marry or remain married.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. There is no particular reason why a man should always offer his seat to a woman who is standing on the crowded bus.</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. Men should be able to compete with women for jobs that have traditionally belonged to women, such as telephone operator.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>82. Kuwaiti women should have the right to vote.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. Women can be successful in congress.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>84. Some of our diplomats in other countries should be women.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85. Working women are more independent than non-working women.</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
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**************************************************
PART V: Household Information

86. In which residential area do you live?

87. What is the name of your governate:
   1. Capital
   2. Ahmadi
   3. Hawall
   4. Al-Jahra

88. Which type of housing do you live in:
   1. Villa
   2. Building apartment
   3. Traditional building
   4. Limited low income
   5. Shacks
   6. Temporary building
   7. Sub-rooms
   8. Annex & Guest house
   9. Other

89. How many people live with you in your house?
   1. None
   2. 1 - 2
   3. 3 - 4
   4. 5 or more

90. How many men 18 or older live in your household?
   1. None
   2. One to three
   3. Four to six
   4. More than six

91. What is your father's level of education?
   1. Illiterate
   2. Read & Write
   3. Elementary School
   4. Intermediate Sch.
   5. Secondary School
   6. 2 years college
   7. University Degree
   8. Graduate Degree

92. What is your mother's level of education?
   1. Illiterate
   2. Read & Write
   3. Elementary School
   4. Intermediate Sch.
   5. Secondary School
   6. 2 Years of college
   7. University Degree
   8. Graduate Degree
93. What is your father's occupation?
1. Professional
2. Administrative or Manager
3. Clerical
4. Sales
5. Service
6. Hunter or Fisherman
7. Laborer
8. Student
9. Retired
10. Others

94. What is your mother's occupation?
1. Professional
2. Administrative or Manager
3. Clerical
4. Sales
5. Service
6. Housewife
7. Laborer
8. Student
9. Retired
10. Others

95. What is your family's annual income?
1. Less than 3,000 KD
2. 3,000 - 4,999
3. 5,000 - 6,999
4. 7,000 - 8,999
5. 9,000 - 10,999
6. 11,000 - 12,999
7. 13,000 - 14,999
8. 15,000 - 16,999
9. 17,000 - over

96. Do you have servant(s) in your household?
1. Yes _____
2. No _____

97. What types of work do they do?
1. Cooking
2. Take care of the children
3. Cleaning
4. Driving
5. All of the above
6. Other, Please specify

Thank you for your cooperation. I would like to give you the opportunity to make any comments or give suggestions.

The end of the questionnaire - Thank you.
APPENDIX B

The Questionnaire in Arabic
نحِّم هذه الأوراق استناداً إلى شريعة القرآن الكريم، حيث إن الرجاء من المرأة في حق المساواة والرغم من دورها في الأسرة، أدى إلى تغيير في المواقف والاجتماعات والتوجهات الاجتماعية نحو ال erg بوسا و نحو دورها في الأسرة وكيف يؤثر ذلك في موقفها مسألة المساواة.

الرجاء من هذا الاستبان بالكامل، بالإجابة على جميع الاستفسارات الموجهة حتى ذلك، سواء السؤال عن المعلومات التي ستوفرها بها في الوصول إلى مزج المرأة في المجتمع.

أورد أن أؤكد أي حا أن المعلومات التي سنستلهم بها ستتخذه للسيرة الناتجة، ولكننا نعتمد على ذوي فرضنا، وسيكون لهذه الرسالة، بزيادة كثافة الاستبانات، أو على أي أوراق مراجعتها بها. بالإضافة إلى المعلومات الأخرى، سيأخذ من وتكا ما يناسب حالة ويستثنا ذات فائدة عظيمة لهذه الرسالة.

شكرًا لحسن تعاونكم...

عبد الرازق الداييري
المجزء الأول: معلومات عامة

1 - سنة الميلاد
2 - ماهو مجال تخصصك في الجامعة?

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</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>حقوق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>تجارة واقتصاد وعلوم سياسية</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 - عدد السبب الرئيسي الذي جعلتك تختارين هذا التخصص؟

4 - ما هو وسائطك الاجتماعية؟

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<td>3</td>
<td>متزوجة من الزوج</td>
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</table>

5 - إذا كنت متزوجة، كم عدد أطفالك؟

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6 - كم طفلا تحنين أن تنجبي خلال حياتك؟

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- من الأداة أن لا تدعوا أن يكون
- يقبل من كل شيء حسانتك الخاصة حيث لا يستنلوك
- من الأداة أن لا تبطيل الأمد 41 على حبتك كي لا يستمك
- مستمك الناس بحري أو احترامك
- بالجمع
- يصف غالبية الناس بالعدل ولا بحول الامتثال
- يساعد الناس من يخدمهم للمساعدة إلا أن ذلك ما يخدمهم للنطاق بل لماع ذاك من مصلحتهم
- يكده أن تنفي فقط بالناس الذين تمريلهم جدا
- لا فائدة من وضح ما استو
- شعورنا بالرجال كالخطط
- بحث تحققا
- في الأدبيات عمها لا في خفي أن يتبغي الحرب في آخر لا أن ذلك لن يجري في الأمر
- كاهي الإخوين وانغلاءهم على الإنسان الذي التعزز أضر بو حالته دون الإهمام بما سوف يحدث غدا
- نحن الكهرباء التي تشبعركا في التواصل مع المجتمع الحديث
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- اسستاء الناحية: 
  - د. ع. 
  - د. ع. 
  - د. ع. 

- اسستاء الناحية: 
  - د. ع. 
  - د. ع. 
  - د. ع. 

- اسستاء الناحية: 
  - د. ع. 
  - د. ع. 
  - د. ع.
البؤوس الثالث: السفر والاتصال بالحسابات الأخرى.

3 - ما مدى أهمية اقلاع لكثيرين في رأيك على الثقافات الأخرى؟ ذكرى أهمية ذلك أو عدمها.

3 - ما معدل اقرأك للصحف؟
   - بوسا 3 - نادراً
   - أحياناً 4 - لا أقرأها أبداً

4 - كم ساعة تستمتعين الى الاذاعة في اليوم؟
   - لا تستمتع أبداً 3 - ساعتها سعماً
   - أقل من ساعة 4 - أكثر من ثلاث ساعات

4 - بصرف النظر، أي البرامج تميلين إليها أكثر في الاذاعة والتلفزيون والصحف؟
   الرجاء وضع إشارة على واحد مما يلي:
   1 - برامج دينية
   2 - برامج تحريرية
   3 - الأدبيات وتحليلها
   4 - برامج متعددة

4 - هل تصنعين إلى إذاعة أجنبية باللغة العربية؟
   - حسب الحقيقة 3 - نادراً
   - لا أسمع أحياناً 4 - لا أسمع

4 - هل ساندت خارج الكويت؟
   - نعم 2 - لا

4 - إذا كان الجواب نعم، ما هو معدل سفرك؟
   - مرار 2 - أحياناً 3 - نادراً
45 - كم مرة سافرت خارج البلاد في السنين الأخيرة؟

1 - لم أسافر
2 - خمسة مرات
3 - مرة أو مرتان
4 - سبع أو أكثر
5 - ثلاث أو أربع

46 - إلى أي البلاد سافرتم؟

1 - بلاد الشرق الأوسط
2 - الشرق الأوسط
3 - غير ذلك
4 - الولايات المتحدة
5 - أوروبا

47 - ما هو الترقيم الأساسي من ضربة (اعتبار واحد فقط).

1 - السباحة
2 - العمل
3 - الدراسة
4 - غير ذلك

48 - هل عدت إلى مدن غير الكويت?

1 - نعم
2 - لا

49 - إذا كان الحوار بنعم، من أي الجنسية هم؟

1 - عرب
2 - من الشرق الأوسط
3 - أوروبية أو أسيوية
4 - غير ذلك

الجزء الرابع:

التعليمات: الرجاء الإجابة على كل بند مما يلي باختيار أحد الإجابات التالية:

1 - أوافق بثانية
2 - أوافق بخفة
3 - ملحوظة سيد ما
4 - غير واضح المدى
5 - لا أوافق
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>يجب رأي الزوج أن تساعد زوجها في عملها. لا أن يكون لها طبيبات.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>تحكيمات الصغيرات على حسب كرائسألها الدائرة مثل أم سعيدي.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>إن الوقت والメリضين للبيت والآسرتين جهيلك العميل ممتن جهيلك. يجب أن يحدد هما الرزيات وال🎉المؤهل الشمسي وليس كون الإنسان ذكراً أو أثناً.</td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>المعاهة قبل الرشاقوشن للمس. أمر مهم للمرأة أكثر من الرجل.</td>
</tr>
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<td>54</td>
<td>الول حسنان مكان المرأة هو البيت وازال محيتاً. يجب أن يظل محيتاً.</td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>يجب أن تشتم المرأة عن مناهفة الرجل وأن تحم دين أن تبين لها أنه على غلاة.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>المرأة التي تريد فضيلة الاتصال بالنساء مثل السكرتيرات أو السلطات يجب أن تكون من العقل حين يظهر عليها نواوات الحكمة.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>تدف إستكشاف الزيارات العائلية للكبيرة مثل شراء بيت أو سيارة عملي عاطف الرجل.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>في الجماعات التي يخرج الزعيم والإخاد يستحسن أن يعيش الرجل دوى العابد القائد.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المسمى</td>
<td>الوحدة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النساء المتزوجات اللائي لم ينجبن أولاد في سن المدرسة يجب أن يطلبن ختان المنزل الذكور في هناك لضرورة مادية</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>إذا كان هناك مرضان لنصب واحد أحدهما رجل والأخرى امرأة والمرأة مؤهلة أذن يا من الرجل بدليل هذا العمل، فإن النصب مع ذلك يكون من نصيب الرجل لأن لأسرة يعيشها</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الزواج ملزمين الرجل والمرأة فعليهما تحمل السرقطية مما ينتمي rerlay الإسرة</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ينبغي على المرأة ألا تكون مريضة ملتزمة يرافقها زوجها لتكون بقية</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يجب على المرأة المتزوجة بالمهر بالذنب إذا أخذت أن تتزوج بسبيب تشتركها بعملها</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ينبغي على النساء اللائي برضعن أبناء إياها في سن ما قبل المدرسة، إلا يعمن خراج المنزل إلا بسبب وجود شروط جيدة من فائدة</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>من الأفضل أن يكون رئيس دائرة تشترك على موالين من الجنسين رجلا، السيدات على الرجل</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يجب على الرجل، التي يشرب بالحعن إذا كانت تزوجت تعاشق رابيا أولاً من راحية</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المادة</td>
<td>الملاحظة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.44</td>
<td>في حالة تأهيل طالب بالcommended بشكل مثالي من خلال دراسة يجب أن تعمل البنط على أساس أن لديها امكانية أكبر للعمل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.47</td>
<td>استعمال المرأة للكلمات البذيلة لم يعد يتعارض معه أكثر من الاعتراض على استعمال الرجل لها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.48</td>
<td>اللعب بالدم من المقبول بالنسبة للصبيان والبنات على حد سواء</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>يجب أن توجه البنات للدخول في مهن نسائية مثل التمريض والتعليم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>وعلم النباتات و纹理</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>ينبغي أن يكون الاعترافي المرأة من التنافس في أي شكل من أشكال الرياضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>يجب على الهام تشبع الاستقلالية في البنات كما هو الحال منسق على الصبيان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>يجب للهامة مقاومة الرجال في أعمال كانت تقليدية مخصصة للرجال مثل تصريف المياه أو أعمال النشأت وإصلاح النقاط وغيرها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>على الهام والمدرسين املاً أوليًة في تعليم الصبيان للحصول على مهنة أكثر من التي يعانونها للبنات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>بالرغم من عمل الزوجة خارج المنزل فإن سلوكية كتب النصيحة تعطي عائق للرجل من المرأة تتبع مسؤولية تدبير المنزل</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

الرقم 179
الإجابة المرتبطة بالجنس

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>اللون</th>
<th>الجنس</th>
<th>الوظيفة</th>
<th>الجدول</th>
<th>المنتج</th>
<th>المادة</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>أبيض</td>
<td>ذكر</td>
<td>معلم</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أحمر</td>
<td>أنثى</td>
<td>طالب</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أزرق</td>
<td>ذكر</td>
<td>موظف</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- يجب أن يكون الفنون ووردنا
- الدبلوماسية في بعض البلدان من النساء.
- تتمتع المرأة العامة باحتياجيات
- أمام من تلك التي تتعامل مع المرأة التي لا تعمل.
APPENDIX C

Code Book

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>VARIABLE NAME</th>
<th>COLUMNS</th>
<th>CONTENT AND CODING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>CASEID</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>Serial number.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>Participant's age.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>MAJOR</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>University major.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Commerce, Economics, &amp; Political Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Engineering &amp; Petroleum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Allied Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Islamic Studies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. ------------------------------- What are the major influences that led to the choosing of your major in the university?
   "Open ended question"

| 4. | MARITAL       | 7       | Marital Status.   |
|    |               |         | 1. Single         |
|    |               |         | 2. Married        |
|    |               |         | 3. Divorced       |
|    |               |         | 4. Widowed        |
|    |               |         | 5. Separated      |

| 5. | CHILDREN      | 8       | Number of children |
|    |               |         | 1. None           |
|    |               |         | 2. One            |
|    |               |         | 3. Two            |
|    |               |         | 4. Three          |
|    |               |         | 5. Four           |
|    |               |         | 6. Five           |
|    |               |         | 7. Six or more    |
6. WANTCHIL 9  Number of children that are wanted.
   1. None
   2. Less than three
   3. Four to six
   4. More than six

7. EMPLOY 10  Employment Status.
   1. Student
   2. Employee
   3. Not working

8. DESIRE 11  Do you have the desire to work?
   1. Yes  2. No

9. ------------------------  If you are currently not employed, what are the major reasons that keep you from working?
   "Open ended question"

10. PARTICIP 12  Participating in women's clubs.
   1. Yes  2. No

11. ACTIVITY  
    • Cook 13  Kinds of activities in women's clubs.
    • Sport 14
    • Socact 15
    • Craft 16
    • Lit 17
    • Othract 18

   1. Cooking
   2. Sports
   3. Social activities
   4. Crafts and hobbies
   5. Literature activities
   6. Others

   "This variable contains six different variables"
12. FIELD 19-20 Field of work.
   1. Human Science
   2. Education
   3. Fine Arts
   4. Law
   5. Social Sciences
   6. Natural Sciences
   7. Engineering
   8. Medical Sciences
   9. Agriculture
   10. Others

13. TIME 21 Time been working.
   1. Less than one year
   2. One - three years
   3. Four - five years
   4. More than six years

14. JOBREL 22 How much do you think your job is related to your field of study?
   1. Very much related
   2. Related
   3. Somewhat related
   4. Not related at all

15. JOBSAT 23 How much are you satisfied with your job?
   1. Very much satisfied
   2. Satisfied
   3. Somewhat satisfied
   4. Not satisfied

16. JOBCH 24 How much would you like to change your job?
   1. I would like very much to
   2. I would like to
   3. I would not like to
   4. I would not like to very much

17. ------------------------ In your own words please explain why you are currently working?
    "Open ended question"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. ACH1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>It is not good to let your relatives know about your life, for they might take advantage of you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. ACH2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>&quot;Questions 18 - 37 will be measured as&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. ACH3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1. Agree very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. ACH4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2. Agree a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. ACH5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3. Disagree a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. ACH6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4. Disagree very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. ACH7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>It is not good to let your friends know every thing about your life, for they might take advantage of you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. ACH8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Most people will repay your kindness with ingratitude.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. ACH9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Most people are fair and od not try to get away with something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. ACH10</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>People help persons who have helped them not so much because it is right but because it is good business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. ACH11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>You can only trust people whom you know well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. ACH12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Making plans only brings us unhappiness because the plans are hard to fulfill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. ACH13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>It doesn't make much difference if the people elect one or another candidate for nothing will change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. ACH14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>An intelligent person ought to think only about the present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. ACH15</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>We Kuwaitis dream big dreams but in reality we are inefficient with modern industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. ACH11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>The secret of happiness is not expecting too much of life and being content with what comes your way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. ACH12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>It is important to make plans for one's life and not just accept what comes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. ACH13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>When looking for a job a person ought to find a position in a place located near his parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. ACH14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>The job should come first even if it means sacrificing recreation time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. ACH15</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>The best way to judge a man is by his success in his occupation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. ACH16</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>The most important qualities of a real person are determination and driving ambition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. ACH17</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>The most important thing for a person to do is to help his children to get further ahead in the world than he did.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. ACH18</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>It is very important to know clearly in advance your plans for the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. ACH19</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>When you are in trouble only a relative can be depended upon to help you out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. ACH20</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>If you have a chance to hire an assistant in your work it is always better to hire a relative than a stranger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td></td>
<td>In your opinion how important is it for Kuwaitis to learn about other cultures? Why or why not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Open ended question&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
39. NEWSPR 45 How frequently do you read newspapers?
1. Every day
2. Occasionally
3. Rarely
4. None

40. RADIO 46 How many hours do you listen to the radio every day?
1. Almost none
2. Less than one hour
3. One to two hours
4. More than three hours

41. PROGRAM 47 In general which programs do you like most on TV, radio or in newspapers?
1. Social programs
2. Science
3. News and analysis
4. Religious programs
5. Entertainment
6. Cultural programs

42. FOREIGN 48 Do you listen to foreign stations in Arabic languages besides the Arabic stations?
1. Very often
2. Occasionally
3. Rarely
4. Never

43. TRAVEL 49 Have you traveled outside Kuwait?
1. Yes  2. No

44. RATE 50 If yes, how often do you travel?
1. Very often
2. Occasionally
3. Rarely
In the last two years, how many times did you travel outside the country?

1. None  
2. One - two  
3. Three - four  
4. Five - six  
5. Seven or more

Where do you usually travel?

- Mideast 52  
- Far East 53  
- Europe 54  
- U.S.A. 55  
- Othrtrav 56

What is the main purpose of your travel?

1. Tourism  
2. Study  
3. Treatment  
4. Work  
5. Other

Do you have a close friend who are not Kuwaitis?

1. Yes  
2. No

If yes, from which nation(s) are they?

- Arab 59  
- Euroamer 60  
- Orient 61  
- Othrnat 62  
1. Arab countries  
2. European or American  
3. Far East  
4. Others
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50. SR01 63</td>
<td>It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have a career herself.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. SR02 64</td>
<td>The idea of young girls participating on basketball teams is ridiculous.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. SR03 65</td>
<td>Time devoted to a career and family should be determined by one's personal desire rather than one's sex.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. SR04 66</td>
<td>It is more important for a woman to keep her figure and dress becoming than it is for a man.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. SR05 67</td>
<td>The old saying that &quot;a woman's place is in the home&quot; is still basically true and should remain true.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. SR06 68</td>
<td>A woman should refrain from being too competitive with men and keep her peace rather than show a man he is wrong.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. SR07 69</td>
<td>A woman whose job involves contact with the public should not continue to work when she is noticeably pregnant.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. SR08 70</td>
<td>The husband should take primary responsibility for major family decisions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. SR09 71</td>
<td>In groups that have both male and female members, top leadership be held by males.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Questions 50 - 85 will be measured as"

1. Strongly agree
2. Moderately agree
3. Agree slightly more than disagree
4. Disagree slightly more than agree
5. Moderately disagree
6. Strongly disagree
59. SR10  72  Unless it is economically necessary, married women who have preschool-aged children should not work outside the home.

60. SR011  73  For two equally qualified job applicants, one male and one female, the job should go to the male because he is likely to have a family to support.

61. SR012  74  Marriage is a partnership in which the wife and husband should share the economic responsibility of supporting the family.

62. SR013  75  A woman should not accept a career promotion if it requires her family to move and her husband to find another job.

63. SR014  76  A married woman who chooses not to have children because she prefers to pursue her career should not feel guilty.

64. SR015  77  Unless it is economically necessary, married women who have preschool-aged children should not work outside the home.

65. SR016  78  It is generally better to have a man at the head of the department composed of both men and women employees.

66. SR017  79  A husband should not feel uncomfortable if his wife earns a larger salary than he does.

67. SR018  80  A male and female student are equally qualified for a scholarship; it should be awarded to the male because he has greater career potential.

68. SR019  81  The use of profane or obscene language by a woman is no more objectionable than the same usage by a man.
69. SR020  82  It is certainly acceptable for boys, as well as girls, to play with dolls.

70. SR021  83  Girls should primarily be counseled to enter "feminine" vocations.

71. SR022  84  Women should not feel inhibited about competing in any form of athletics.

72. SR023  85  Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons.

73. SR024  86  Women should be able to compete with men for jobs that have traditionally belonged to men.

74. SR025  87  Career education for boys should have higher priority with parents and teachers than career education for girls.

75. SR026  88  Even though a wife works outside the house, she should have the responsibility for running the house.

76. SR027  89  In elementary school, girls should wear dresses rather than slacks to school.

77. SR028  90  It is acceptable for a woman to hold important elected political offices in the state national government.

78. SR029  91  It is not a good idea for a husband to stay at home taking care of the children when his wife works fulltime outside the home.

79. SR030  92  The only reason girls need career education is that they may not marry or remain married.
80. SR031 93 There is no particular reason why a man should always offer his seat to a woman who is standing on the crowded bus.

81. SR032 94 Men should be able to compete with women for jobs that have traditionally belonged to women.

82. SR033 95 Kuwaiti women should have the right to vote.

83. SR034 96 Women can be successful in congress.

84. SR035 97 Some of our diplomats in other countries should be women.

85. SR036 98 Working women are more independent than non-working women.

86. Which residential area do you live in?

87. HOUSING 99 Which type of housing do you live in?

   1. Villa
   2. Apartment building
   3. Traditional building
   4. Limited low income
   5. Shacks
   6. Temporary building
   7. Sub-rooms
   8. Annex & Guest house
   9. Other

88. HOWMANY 100 How many people live with you in your house?

   1. None
   2. One - two
   3. Three - four
   4. Five or more
89. MALES  101  How many men 18 or older live with you in your household?

   1. None
   2. One - three
   3. Four - six
   4. More than six

90. FAED  102  What is your father's level of education?

   1. Illiterate
   2. Read & Write
   3. Elementary school
   4. Intermediate school
   5. Secondary school
   6. 2 years college
   7. University degree
   8. Graduate degree

91. MAED  103  What is your mother's level of education?

   "The same as question #90"

92. FAOCC  104  What is your father's occupation?

   1. Private business
   2. Administrative & managerial
   3. Professional
   4. Employee
   5. Laborer
   6. Student
   7. Retired
   8. Others

93. MAOCC  105  What is your mother's occupation?

   "The same as question #92 + 'housewife'"
94. INCOME 106-107 What is family's annual income?
1. Less than 3000 KD
2. 3000 - 4999 KD
3. 5000 - 6999 KD
4. 7000 - 8999 KD
5. 9000 - 10999 KD
6. 11000 - 12999 KD
7. 13000 - 14999 KD
8. 15000 - 16999 KD
9. 17000 and over KD

95. SERVANT 108 Do you have servant(s) in your household?
1. Yes 2. No

96. TASKS 109 What types of work do they do?
- Tcook 109 1. Cooking
- Tchild 110 2. Take care of the children
- Tclean 111 3. Cleaning
- Tdrive 112 4. Driving
- Tgarden 113 5. Gardening
- Tothr 114 6. Others

"This variable contains six different variables"

Thank you for your cooperation. I would like to give you the opportunity to make any comments or give suggestions.

"Open ended question"

P.S. The open ended questions are Q# 3, 9, 17, 38, 86, and 97.

P.S. 9 is missing variable for all questions except questions # 8, 19, and 94 take 99.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


