INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the original text directly from the copy submitted. Thus, some dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from a computer printer.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyrighted material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is available as one exposure on a standard 35 mm slide or as a 17” × 23” black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. 35 mm slides or 6” × 9” black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.
An exploratory study of determinants of motivation toward participation in the labor force among young females in Saudi Arabia

Al-Dakheel, Ilham Mansour, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1988

Copyright ©1988 by Al-Dakheel, Ilham Mansour. All rights reserved.
An Exploratory Study of Determinants
of Motivation Toward Participation in the
Labor Force Among Young Females in Saudi Arabia

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State University
by
Ilham Mansour Al-Dakheel, B.S., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1988

Dissertation Committee:
William Moore, Jr. (Advisor)
Ali Elgabri
Robert Miljus
Philip Young

Approved by

Advisor
Interdisciplinary Program
To My daughter, Alhanof.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to my committee members for their assistance and support. I am particularly grateful to my academic advisor and dissertation committee chairman Professor William Moore, Jr., for his guidance, rigorous standards, friendship, and all that he has taught me.

I benefited from the many conversations and consultations with Professor Robert Miljus, whose wisdom always found solutions to my problems. His careful reading of my manuscript was particularly helpful. Professor Ali Elgabri consistently supported my research goals, and provided valuable insights into problems facing Third World developing countries. I am also grateful to Professor Philip Young for clarifying research problems, data analysis techniques and methodology.

I especially want to express my gratitude to Dr. Al-Awaji, Dr. Altoriki and Dr. Khuthalia, who enabled me to secure permission and conduct this study in Saudi Arabia, and to the professors at King Saud University who
graciously allocated classroom time so that their students could answer my questionnaire.

For her friendship, her editorial assistance, and the long days and nights spent trying to expedite this work, I wish to thank Alyce Ortuzar.

Support from my family has been crucial to my success. My Father (Peace Be Upon Him) instilled in me drive, ambition, and a quest for knowledge, and provided me with the circumstances to experience and understand many world views. My mother, who believes in all of her children, lent consistent and unwavering tolerance, patience, love and encouragement, while taking care of my daughter in order to make this degree possible. I also want to thank my sister Ghadah for her assistance in administering the questionnaire.

Amidst our separation while I finished my dissertation, my husband remained open-minded, supportive, loving and patient. He always found ways to make me feel optimistic and confident.

My daughter Alhanof was my inspiration for this work, and being separated from her made me work harder and finish sooner. For the many hours that we were apart, this dissertation is dedicated to her.
VITA

1982------------------------B. S.
Department of Biology
University of St. Thomas
Houston, Texas

1981------------------------Teaching Assistant
Department of Physics
University of St. Thomas

1984------------------------M. A.
Department of Education
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Fields: Administration of Hospital and Health Services
Administration of Human and Labor Resources
Educational Leadership and Policies
Organizational Communication
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS** iii  
**VITA** v  
**LIST OF TABLES** viii  

## CHAPTER

### I. INTRODUCTION 1
- A. The Problem 11  
- B. Statement of the Problem 15  
- C. Hypotheses 16  
- D. Limitations of the Study 17  
- E. Definition of Terms 18  

### II. SAUDI WOMEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT 20  

### III. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 41
- A. Expectancy-value Models 42  
- B. Women and Development 53  
- C. Women and Work 70  
- D. Islam and Work 88  

### IV. RESEARCH DESIGN 98
- A. General Method 98  
- B. Research Population and Sample 105  
- C. Specific Procedures 106  
- D. Instrumentation 108  
- E. Data Collection 111
V. DATA ANALYSIS
   A. Sample Characteristics 130
   B. Hypotheses Testing 133

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 141

APPENDICES
   A. Questionnaire Format (English) 157
   B. Questionnaire Format (Arabic) 177

BIBLIOGRAPHY 194
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Female Enrollments in All Levels of Education for the Period 1970-1985</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Female Enrollments in Universities 1984-1985</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Female Graduates at All Levels of Education for the Period 1970-1982</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Female Graduates from Local Universities Assorted by Major in 1982-1983</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>A Summary of Saudi Employees in the Public Sector for 1987</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Growth in Number of Foreign Employees in the Period 1975-1985</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Economically Active Females in Selected Countries of the Arabian Gulf 1975</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Percent of Females Enrolled in School and the Female-to-Male Enrollment Ratios by Age Group in the Gulf Arab Countries</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>The Growth of The Number of Graduates From Health Educational Centers and Nursing Schools for the Period 1972-1984</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation Coefficients for all Variables and Demographics</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. Pearson Correlation Coefficients for All Variables.......................... 126
13. Mean and Standard Deviation, for all Variables............................ 127
14. Regression Statistics for Motivation to Work on All Variables............. 129
15. Distribution of Father's Education.... 131
16. Distribution of Mother's Education.... 131
INTRODUCTION

The country of Saudi Arabia has been experiencing rapid growth and development since the recent explosion of oil prices. Responding to these events, the Saudi government has been conducting a series of five-year development plans designed to control the extent and direction of the nation's growth. The most recent plan (1980 - 1985), however, reveals disturbing statistics that indicate Saudi participation in the labor force has decreased from 49.4% (between 1975 and 1980) to 40.2% as of 1985. This decrease reflects an increase of foreign workers in the country, who now constitute approximately 60% of the total Saudi labor force (Fourth Development Plan of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, p. 66.).

These statistics also reveal that the employment rate for Saudis grew 3.7%, while the number of foreigners working in Saudi Arabia increased 11.7%. Moreover, labor participation among Saudi women accounts for only 1.5% of the total growth. These findings raise two critical questions for the country: (1) why is
foreign participation in the labor force increasing; and (2) why is the employment growth among Saudi women so incredibly low? This study will focus on the question of the absence of Saudi women from the work force.

Women constitute approximately 50% of Saudi society (Nabti, 1980), yet they represent only 12% of its work force ("Civil Services," 1987). In addition, the bulk of their employment—approximately 89%—is in the field of education; 7% is in the health professions ("Civil Services," 1987). In 1981, Saudi women comprised 10.22% of the work force, with 85% working in education for one employer, the Directors General of Education (Almana, 1981; Viola, 1986). It is readily apparent that these statistics reflect no real increase or change in the pattern of employment among Saudi women. This unchanging pattern may indicate that concerted efforts on the part of the government to educate women have had no impact on their widespread inclusion into the labor market (see Table 3). Viola (1986) points out that:

Despite the millions of dollars expended to educate them, the employment of Saudi women remains a controversial issue. Moreover, it is interlaced with a variety of interpretations of Islamic Law and fraught with the confused opinions of Saudi men and women alike. (p. 23)
In comparison to world statistics, this low level of participation among Saudi women should arouse concern:

Half of the world’s population is made up of women, and they make up over 30% of the work force involved in production. They represent millions of workers, whose efforts produce one third of the world’s national income. They are an important factor in determining progress; a substantial force whose demands cannot be ignored.
(Rzhanitsina, 1983, p.178)

Thus, the 12% Saudi female employment rate is a dismal figure when compared to that of the rest of the world, which ranges between 24 and 30% (Alyamani, 1985).

When viewed in the context of the high percentage of foreigners working in the Kingdom, this low percentage of Saudi female participation must be very puzzling to an outside observer. It is even more perplexing in the context of the increasing number of women with secondary and post-secondary educations, the prosperous Saudi economy, and the paradox that despite this large number of foreign workers, 20% of all jobs created by the government are unfilled ("Saudi Women," 1986).

Low female employment can be attributed to factors such as culture, society, religion, family structure, education, rapid economic prosperity, and the impact of
development and modernization. These factors affect female employment by adversely influencing the attitudes of Saudi women towards work through religious and social innuendos, or by simply prohibiting women from seeking certain jobs by restricting the majority of jobs to men.

The differences between these causal factors are crucial, although changes must take place in all of these realms in order to improve the existing patterns of low female employment. Since attitudes toward work are internal to the individual, who is usually guided by the ideology of family and society, such attitudes can be manipulated and changed by working with the individual and the societal infrastructures. On the other hand, changes in those sectors restricted to men can only occur through government sponsored nationwide policies and programs.

In this study I explore what I believe to be two of the principal factors affecting Saudi female participation in the labor force. The first factor incorporates attitudes and underlying personal values of Saudi women towards work, which in turn reveal how these factors affect their level of motivation to seek work. The second factor is what perceptions Saudi women have of job opportunities in the Saudi labor market, and how
these perceptions have negatively influenced their willingness to seek employment.

The people of Saudi Arabia are supposed to be guided by Islamic teachings of the Quran, which in turn influence their values, beliefs, attitudes and actions. Since Islamic teachings encourage work for both men and women, it is important to ask how negative attitudes toward work have developed. There are several possible explanations: misinterpretations of Islamic teachings; manipulation of interpretations by certain parties to serve their own goals; and the exclusion of women, because of low and late education, from participating in the early interpretations of Islamic teachings after the death of the Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him).

Specific attitudes toward work -- that work violates Islamic mores such as veiling and integrated contact between the sexes -- have kept Saudi women from challenging new fields and acquiring more jobs. Identifying these problematic attitudes will provide a more focused understanding of the variables that affect female employment. Moreover, tracing the origins of these concepts and assumptions will aid in altering unproductive attitudes. The ability of the researcher to discern these attitudes and their origins, and to
discover which sex is enforcing them, could be critical to furthering employment opportunities for women.

The second factor, job opportunities for Saudi women, has been adversely affected by the affluent economy and by development policies of the country. The recent prosperity of Saudi Arabia has affected female employment in two ways. First, it has thwarted the evolutionary process of development and economic survival which needs a large pool of skilled labor for economic growth and development. Second, access to technology has eliminated many jobs which females used to occupy in sectors such as agriculture and small manufacturing, without replacing them with other jobs.

Despite government efforts to improve the status of women through education, statistics reveal that the final outcomes are fragmented and lack long-range planning. For instance, while the percentage of women attending school has dramatically increased, female education seems to be viewed by both the individual and society as recreation rather than as a serious investment in the future economic well-being of the country. Nabti (1980) articulates these concerns:

An analysis of the educational system of the kingdom and the type of education which Saudi students
receive at home and abroad indicates that for the next two decades Saudi Arabia will not be able to prepare the cadres that are required for the country's economic growth. (p. 232)

The present educational system appears to prepare women for only two professions: education and medicine, which are viewed as extensions of the sort of work women perform at home. Although both of these professions are highly prestigious, development plans should concentrate on opening new fields with a wider spectrum of educational qualifications. Since these contingencies are external to the female, they cannot be altered without overt support from the leadership of the country.

There are numerous studies relating to the shortage of Saudi workers (e.g. Alyamani, 1985; Al-Gadi, 1979; Nabti, 1980). However, my study presents a unique perspective. Whereas previous studies discuss general themes of culture and religion, I focus on some of the specific values held by Saudi women towards work. I identify some of these values, measuring their individual and societal importance and influence, tracing their origins, and recommending new remedies accordingly. I then explore how policies in Saudi development plans have
adversely affected job opportunities for women. Finally, I present explanations as to how these determinants have contributed to the existing low percentage of female employment, and how external policies have reinforced them.

This study is important for several reasons. First, the shortage of and imbalance in the utilization of human resources are Saudi Arabia's greatest obstacles to development (Viola, 1986). Second, Saudi Arabia's prosperity will not continue forever, and plans for a healthier, more stable economy are crucial to its continuing economic and political stability. Third, the cultural effects from the influx of so many foreign workers will prove to be unhealthy for the country. Fourth, the dependency of women, especially the unmarried, widowed, and divorced, will worsen as the extended family structure starts disappearing. And finally, in order for mothers to teach future generations their economic roles and responsibilities, women first need to experience and acquire these values.

Of particular importance to this study are the changing attitudes of Saudi women towards work, and the contention that providing them with more job opportunities does not have to be at the expense of their
traditional roles. The purpose of this study is not to force Saudi women into the work force, but to extend to them the skills and choices to do so. This point is best clarified by Abu Nasr, Khoury, and Azzam (1985):

Integrating women in economic development does not mean a repudiation of all aspects of the traditional role of Arab women; nor does it mean a blind imitation of developed societies. The value of proper child care and strong family ties may continue to rank high on the priority list of Arab societies. It is very important for anyone involved in development planning of Arab society to be aware of the hidden economic contribution of women and their potential working force. (p. 32)

Since it is customary for young children to attend nursery school or to be under the supervision of household help, children already spend a significant amount of time away from their mother. Therefore, a woman working out of the home could be spending the same amount of time away from her home and children as women who do not work, but with the option of using that time in what might be for her and for the national economy a more productive manner. In conclusion, unless an extended effort is directed towards changing the attitudes of Saudi women towards both work and the role
of women in Saudi development, the country will continue to suffer from low female employment and a preponderant dependency on foreigners. Two possible ramifications of these policies are that Saudi women will fall behind their counterparts, and the controversy between the Islamic religion and modernization could lead to a less favorable position for Islam.
THE PROBLEM

Saudi Arabia is a developing country that has experienced rapid changes over the last twenty-five years. Its sudden prosperity from oil revenues has led to investments in large numbers of projects to modernize the country. Large numbers of foreign experts have been allowed into the country to build these projects, with the understanding that they will be replaced by Saudis as the country progresses and technology and skills are transferred. However, current statistics do not reflect these expected changes (Fourth Development Plan of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia). Rather, statistics reflect a continuous increase in foreign workers accompanied by a decrease in Saudi male employment, and very little increase in Saudi female employment (Fourth Development Plan of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, p. 66).

This shortage of Saudi workers becomes more confusing when one looks at the female segment, which constitutes 50% of the society. These women are minimally utilized in current development plans at the same time that increasing numbers of foreigners enter the
country to fill vacant positions. This study was conducted to find out why so few Saudi women work outside of the home.

According to Vroom (1964), people work under two sets of conditions—economic and motivational. Economic in the sense that building a country means creating jobs in order to build a strong economy, thus making demands on people to fill those jobs. As a developing nation Saudi Arabia has been creating jobs and is in need of workers, yet only a small percentage of these jobs are open to women. Job discrimination against women has contributed to a loss of human potential by restricting the job market. Effects of these limited opportunities are visible in high drop-out rates among women at the pre- and post-secondary educational levels (Fourth Development Plan of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabiá). In 1986, the drop-out rate for women at the university level was 30 % ("Saudi Women," 1986).

While the reasons for dropping out may vary (such as marriage or the absence of goals and goal setting), one possible cause is a job market limited to those with the highest qualifications. Not everyone has the intellectual capability or the desire to become a doctor or a teacher. Thus, development plans and aims need to
offer a broader spectrum of jobs with diverse educational and technical qualifications in order to make women's education more meaningful and in turn increase their employment.

Limited job opportunities also affect female employment by saturating the urban sectors of the country with clustering in certain specializations. Most people want to work close to where they live, and with so few opportunities, certain jobs that are highly sought after have a disproportionate amount of qualified applicants. Clustering also tends to occur in specific degree programs that have lower standards of acceptance, such as education and the humanities (as opposed to the natural sciences), because after graduation most jobs and salaries in the few professions open to women are essentially equal. This saturation and clustering have created unemployment among the small segment of highly educated, employable women. Unless a wider spectrum of job opportunities becomes available, the absence of female personnel will persist.

Motivational conditions can be explored by asking why people prefer working to not working (Vroom, 1964). One way to understand underlying motivational force is to look at some of the consequences of working and ascertain
their motivational implications. To begin to understand
the motivation of Saudi women towards work, it is
important to identify undesirable consequences of work
and then relate them to the attitudes of women toward
work.

However, it should be recognized that the
undesirability of certain consequences will not be the
only factor influencing these attitudes. The degree of
importance those consequences represent to the
individual, and the probability of suffering the
consequences for women who choose to look for work, will
also affect individual motivation. So in order to change
perceptions and expectations that determine motivation,
the values which have induced negative attitudes have to
be identified. Only then will it be possible to plan
strategies that will address and positively impact those
attitudes and values inherent in newly created job
opportunities.

Saudi women experience consequences of work similar
to those experienced by women throughout the world (e.g.,
the double burden of family and work). However, Saudi
women also confront some unique consequences that may
exist in other countries in moderation, but not in the
degree of conservatism found in Saudi Arabia. Concepts
such as veiling and seclusion from the opposite sex are of utmost priority to Saudi women. Therefore, any violation of these mores threatens the honor both of the woman and her family. Consequently, Saudi women will view work negatively and will refrain from applying for any job that violates these societal mores.

To summarize, certain values which are held by Saudi women have induced negative attitudes toward work, and these attitudes have not been altered by development programs and policies. Unless these values are corrected and real changes take place in national macro-economic policies that encourage a healthier attitude towards females in the work force, the country will continue to be half-paralyzed by its lack of native Saudi workers.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to explore how certain values held by Saudi women towards work, combined with the impact of certain developmental policies, have affected the participation of Saudi women in the labor force.
HYPOTHESES

Four hypotheses have been proposed in this study:

1. The more conservative the attitude towards some attributes of female employment, the lower the motivation to seek work.

2. The more conservative the attitude towards seclusion, the lower the motivation to seek nonsegregated jobs.

3. Perceptions of family constraints correlate negatively with female participation.

4. Negative perceptions of job opportunities correlate positively with low female participation.
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

--Among the many factors affecting female employment, only a few will be explored.

--Measuring deeply held values can result in some biased responses, but that is a risk with all value studies.

--Despite the frequent use of self-reporting for attitude measurement, it still has its limitations.

--This study was limited to female college students, and cannot be used to represent generalizations about all Saudi women.

--Only a limited number of work consequences will be tested. They include familial obligations and restrictions; seclusion; veiling; limited job opportunities; and the loss of respectability and honor attached to certain jobs.
DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Value - "is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence". (Rokeach, 1973, p. 4)

Attitude - "a relatively stable organization of beliefs around an object or situation that predisposes a person to respond preferentially to that object or situation". (Feather, 1982, p. 273)

Motivation - "a process governing choices made by persons or lower organisms among alternative forms of voluntary activity". (Vroom, 1964, p.6)

Work Role - "a work is defined as a set of functions to be performed by a role occupant, the performance of which contributes to the production of goods and services". (Vroom, 1964, p. 6)
Quran - the sacred text of Islam, believed to contain the revelations made by Allah to Mohammed. (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language)

External Factors - factors which the person exercises no control over (e.g., women cannot be engineers or judges).

Internal Factors - factors which are under a person's control either to accept or in some way modify societal constraints and mores (e.g., veiling).

Seclusion Factors - factors that serve to isolate men from women and minimize their interaction.

The Gulf Region - includes Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, The United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Oman. (Allaghi & Almana, 1984, p. 15)
CHAPTER II

Saudi Women: Education and Employment

Hence the attitude of Saudi women towards work is affected by opportunities available to them in the labor market. The data collected for this study is best viewed within the context of current educational and employment opportunities for women in the country. Saudi Arabia began to educate women in 1960. Today, both pre-secondary and post-secondary schools are showing a steady increase in their enrollments across all educational levels, and reflect a steady increase in literacy among Saudi women (see Table 1 and 2).

However, enrollment alone should not be interpreted as an indication of widespread equal educational opportunities. Education for women has been narrowly designed to conform to popular perceptions of women's roles and abilities. For instance, K-12 books for girls differ from those for boys. Further, only specific fields of study are open to women in higher education. Such practices have gradually diminished the quality and worth of women's education.
Table 1


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pre-school</th>
<th>Elementary Education</th>
<th>Intermediate Education</th>
<th>Secondary Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Higher Education</th>
<th>Teacher Training</th>
<th>Technical Education</th>
<th>Studying Abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data unavailable.

Table 2

**Female Enrollments in Universities 1984-1985.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universities</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King Saud University</td>
<td>4891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Abdul Aziz University</td>
<td>3994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Faisal University</td>
<td>1185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The University of Petroleum and Minerals</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic University</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immam Mohammed University</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umm Alqura University</td>
<td>4084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls Colleges</td>
<td>14172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The high drop-out rates for women could be symptomatic of the low regard and lack of support for educating women. A comparison between the numbers enrolled in and the numbers graduated from K-12 over a ten-year period substantiates these phenomenally high drop-out rates (see Table 3). The situation is no different at the university level. In 1986, drop-out rate for women at King Saud University in Riyadh City was
Development planners have acknowledged this problem and the need for immediate solutions (Fourth Development Plan, p. 52).

The present limitations and shortcomings of women's education could have resulted from earlier poor planning in educational objectives. When first introduced, the general population opposed education for women. In response to this opposition, an organization made up of conservative religious men was granted ultimate authority over women's affairs. The philosophy of this organization is to educate women in an Islamic environment to prepare them to be better wives and mothers, and so insure that any jobs they hold will be extensions of their traditional roles, such as teaching.

Eventually, more efficient utilization of women as a source of personnel became a more salient issue. New educational objectives for women emerged calling for more diversified educational and job opportunities. Male universities then began to open their branches to women. However, these branches did not offer any significant improvement in employment options for women. Since they were branches of men's universities rather than separate organizations with independent budgets, they lacked both
Table 3

Female Graduates at All Levels of Educations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General Education</th>
<th>Higher Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>7,072</td>
<td>1,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>8,056</td>
<td>1,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>11,007</td>
<td>1,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>14,202</td>
<td>1,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>17,180</td>
<td>6,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>19,913</td>
<td>7,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>22,947</td>
<td>10,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>39,446</td>
<td>13,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>32,736</td>
<td>15,537</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General Education</th>
<th>Higher Education</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td>Graduates from Local Universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>32,936</td>
<td>15,017</td>
<td>5,642</td>
<td>2,651</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>35,743</td>
<td>17,527</td>
<td>6,511</td>
<td>3,159</td>
<td>1,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>35,731</td>
<td>20,209</td>
<td>7,590</td>
<td>3,716</td>
<td>1,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>43,129</td>
<td>20,267</td>
<td>8,270</td>
<td>3,250</td>
<td>1,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,683</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Due to increase in degree requirements.

power and authority and were secondary to male priorities when planning educational and broader economic objectives.

Another problem these branches confronted was the placement of their graduates. Because job opportunities for women were limited to certain fields, graduates were forced to accept jobs that did not correspond to their major fields of study, thus suggesting that a diversified education was never meant to correlate with diversified employment for women.

In summary, the administration of female education in Saudi Arabia is completely centralized under the authority of the Directorate of Girls' Schools. This organization has been successful in carrying out its religious agenda. However, its conservative philosophy towards women, its low status in comparison to other governmental agencies, and the absence of women on its administrative staff, have made it difficult to implement more diversified inputs, and a better balance of ideas and abilities in administering educational programs for women.

This narrow philosophy has directly affected employment opportunities for Saudi women. Currently, women graduates are restricted to specified professions
A 1987 review of Saudi employment in the public sector reveals the under utilization of women as a source of personnel (see Table 5). Clustering in the limited number of professions accessible to women is also evident. Out of 55,845 women employed in the public sector, 48,670 are in the field of education.

This unequal representation of women in the public sector reflects a combination of religious, cultural and political constraints. However, a major impediment to employing women in the public sector is the physical arrangement of governmental offices, which have always been accessible only to men.

As a consequence of women's limited access to public offices, Saudi society has gradually developed the assumption that a woman should not be in any work setting that includes men. The religious value of seclusion has reinforced this assumption, and denying women access to jobs in public offices has become an accepted remedy. Thus, Saudi women were employed in the public sector only to fill jobs that, because of social reasons, could not be carried out by men.

Gradually, the steady increase in the number of foreigners in the Kingdom has pressured planners to find ways of utilizing women as a source of personnel.
Table 4

Female Graduates from Local Universities Assorted by Major in 1982-1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Fields of Study</th>
<th>Saudi</th>
<th>Non-Saudi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Studies</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics and Administration</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(See Table 6). However, reactions to this pressure have been fragmented, and no clear policies have emerged. One solution has been the establishment of secluded offices in some ministries staffed by women; the intended purposes of these offices are not yet clear. As for
future plans, The Fourth Development Plans for 1985-1990 states that:

Public sector employment is expected to remain at its present level with continued replacement of foreign staff. (p. 16)

Thus, there are no immediate plans to expand employment opportunities for women.

Although professional opportunities for Saudi women are limited, the support systems for those who work outside of the home are very encouraging. Saudi women who work receive maternity leave with full pay, sick child leave, equal pay and other benefits. A society progressive enough to create such critical support systems should also want to ameliorate the barriers that prevent most women from working outside of the home and from fully utilizing these benefits.
Table 5

A Summary of Saudi Employees in the Public Sector for 1987.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Educational</th>
<th>Universities</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Support Staff</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Courts</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Ministries</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Guard</td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grievance Board</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. Disciplinary &amp; Investigation Board</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Service Commission</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Disciplinary Agency</td>
<td>1098</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Advisory Agency</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Directory of Girls' Schools</td>
<td>2680</td>
<td>3944</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>3811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1131</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>813</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2472</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>602</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>604</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3917</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>843</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7012</td>
<td>48100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Educational</th>
<th>Universities</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Support Staff</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency of Holy Mosques Affairs</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>765</td>
<td>1046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Directory of Sports</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Development Fund</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocery Council</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Human Resources</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Council of Communication</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Retirement Funds</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Zakat &amp; Income Tax</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Support Staff</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Customs</td>
<td>2097</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of General Statistics</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office of Projects</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investigation &amp; Control Board</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Communication</td>
<td>2852</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min. of Petroleum &amp; Minerals</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Telex, Mail,</td>
<td>11567</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4009</td>
<td>15590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Phone Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Commerce</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Planning</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Educational</th>
<th>Universities</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Support Staff</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Higher Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Pilgrimage &amp; Endowment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Defense &amp; Air Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Internal Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Public Works &amp; Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Municipal &amp; Rural Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Manufacture &amp; Electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Labor &amp; Social Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min. of Finance &amp; National Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Loans Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Adlbul-Aziz University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Saud University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Faisal University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam Mohammed University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umm Alqura University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Petroleum and Minerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Cross Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Airline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Development Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real State Development Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academy of Public Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Organization of Railroads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. Organization of Petroleum and Minerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Saudi Currency Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain Silos &amp; Flour Mills Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Organization of Water Recycling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Organization of Ports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Organization of Electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Center of Science &amp; Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. Organization of Technical Education &amp; Vocational Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Organization for Social Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department. of Water &amp; Sewer in Riyadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Water &amp; Sewer in Eastern Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Water &amp; Sewer in Western Sector</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Educational</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Support Staff</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Water &amp; Sewer in Madinah City</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>351</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Water &amp; Sewer in Asear</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Water &amp; Sewer in Qaseem</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Board of Standard &amp; Quality Control</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Board for Jubail and Uanbu Project</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>368</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Civil Service Commission.
Table 6

Growth in Number of Foreign Employees in the Period 1975 to 1985.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975/1976</td>
<td>42,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/1977</td>
<td>47,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/1978</td>
<td>50,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/1979</td>
<td>57,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/1980</td>
<td>64,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/1981</td>
<td>69,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/1982</td>
<td>72,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/1983</td>
<td>86,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/1984</td>
<td>106,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984/1985</td>
<td>121,331</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Civil Service in Numbers 1984-1985
CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There are four areas of discussion in this chapter. The first section focuses on the Expectancy-Value Model of motivation which constitutes the theoretical framework of this study. This model explains in part the relationship between deeply held values toward work or consequences of work as it relates to the motivation among Saudi women toward employment. A discussion then follows on the impact of development on the country and its double negative effect on women: the elimination of their traditional jobs, and the limitations on their participation in newly created, technologically advanced jobs. The third area of discussion reviews female employment in the Gulf countries, and some of the factors contributing to their low level of participation. Concluding this chapter is a brief analysis of the religious origins of some of the values adhered to by Saudi women that adversely impact their employment opportunities.
Expectancy--Value Models

The origins of most motivation concepts can be traced back to the principle of hedonism, which maintains that behavior is directed towards pleasure and away from pain (Vroom, 1964). This principle implies that individuals choose actions that maximize their pleasure and minimize their pain. A major criticism of hedonism is that it lacks empirical content (Vroom, 1964), which means that it is not possible to account for a behavior prior to the event.

Efforts to compensate for these empirical weaknesses provided the impetus for two schools of thought in the study of motivation. Both approaches evolved from the hedonism doctrine. The law of effect or "the principle of reinforcement" is a behavioristic approach that explores the concept of learning. The theoretical framework of this approach is historical in nature in that it searches for relationships between present behavior and past events.

Several researchers have subscribed to and promoted the law of effect or the principle of reinforcement (Allport, 1954; Hebb, 1949; Hull, 1951; Thorndike, 1911). Although theories utilizing this approach as a foundation
for explaining behavior have progressed beyond hedonism, unresolved problems persist that cannot be ignored.

Cognitive theories accept the empirical foundation of the law of effect, but also recognize that stimulus-response reinforcement theories do not provide sufficient explanations for behavior. Early advocates of cognitive theories are Lewin (1938) and Tolman (1932). These theorists view behavior as the result of a cognitive process rather than as neutral information processing. Their central argument is that personal beliefs, preferences and expectations all influence individual behavior.

Campbell and Pritchard (1976) explain the dynamics of cognitive theories:

An individual has an idea about the possible consequences of his or her acts and conscious choices are made among consequences according to the perceived probability of their occurrence and their perceived value to the individual. (p. 74)

Defending cognitive theories as an approach that provides sounder explanations for behavior than the stimulus-response principle, Feather (1982) maintains that:

A cognitive analysis moves one far beyond a machine-like view of the
person reacting on the basis of stimulus-response connections that are either innately programmed or learned. Instead, the model of the person is that of an active processor of information, organizing and constructing experience into meaningful internal representations, and behaving not as an automaton but as a thoughtful, purposeful being. (p. 3)

Thus, cognitive theories provide more dynamic explanations of human behavior.

Cognitive thinkers, however, appear to overlook the relationship between cognition and action. Although these researchers recognize the thought processes taking place in the mind, they fail to explain how these processes lead to behavior (For an illustration, see Guthrie, 1935). The expectancy-value models have emerged as a remedy for this situation by adding an evaluation component that links knowledge with actions. Expectancy-value models have gradually branched into areas of research that include achievement motivation, social learning theory, the psychology of attitudes and values, decision theory, organizational psychology and attribution theory. These models are distinctly characterized by "their attempt to relate action to the
perceived attractiveness or adverseness of expected consequences" (Feather, 1982).

Since these models are all similar (with only minor variations), this study focuses only on Vroom's expectancy-value model and parameters. This model was selected because of its popularity and its predominance within the field of organizational psychology (Lawler, 1973; Mitchell, 1974; Wahba & House, 1974).

Victor Vroom (1964) has constructed two basic models. His first model predicts valences of outcomes, and has been used to predict job satisfaction, occupational preference, and the valence of good performance (Mitchell, 1974). Vroom's second model predicts the strength of force towards behavior. Vroom has suggested that this model can be used to predict choice of occupation, remaining on the job, and effort (Mitchell, 1982b). It is this second model that will be used to explain the motivation of Saudi women towards work.

Mitchell (1982b) has referred to Vroom's second model as the "force" model. It incorporates three primary components: valence, expectancy and force. According to Vroom, valence is an effective orientation that can range from positive preference of outcomes to
negative preference of outcomes. Valence is present in all expectancy-value models, but researchers also refer to it as incentive (Atkinson, 1958); attitude (Peak, 1955); and expected utility (Davidson, Suppes, & Siegel, 1957; Edwards, 1954; Thrall, Coombs, & Davis, 1954). Since the valence is induced by individual values and beliefs (Feather, 1982), the low motivation of Saudi women towards work could be a result of negative valences of work consequences induced by deeply held values. Identifying and addressing these values might improve the current employment situation.

Expectancy is the second component in Vroom's model, which Vroom defines as "momentary belief concerning the likelihood that a particular act will be followed by a particular outcome." Researchers also refer to this concept as subjective probabilities (Davidson, et al, 1957; Edwards, 1954). Expectancy and valence are of equal importance in this model. For example, there will be no motivation to act under conditions of positive valence for outcomes with zero expectancy of attainment.

The final concept in Vroom's model is force, which researchers also refer to as performance vector (Tolman, 1959); aroused motivation (Atkinson, 1958); subjective expected utility (Luce, 1962); and behavior potential
(Rotter, 1955). Force results from the combination of valence and expectancy. According to Vroom, the strength and direction of forces determine individual behavior:

Behavior on the part of a person is assumed to be the result of a field of forces which has direction and magnitude. (p. 18)

Vroom then describes the theoretical integration of all three components as:

The force on a person to perform an act monotonically increasing function of the algebraic sum of the products of the valences of all outcomes, and the strength of the person's expectancies that the act will be followed by the attainment of these outcomes. (p. 18)

Mitchell (1974) expresses the model symbolically:

\[ F_i = \sum_{J=1}^{n} (E_{iJ} V_J) \]

Where

\[ F_i = \text{the force on the individual to perform act } i. \]

\[ E_{iJ} = \text{the strength of the expectancy that act } i \text{ will be followed by outcome } J. \]

\[ V_J = \text{the valence of outcome } J. \]

\[ n = \text{the number of outcomes}. \]
Many studies have utilized this model: Evans, 1970; Mitchell and Nebeker, 1973; Matsui, et al., 1981; Sheriden, Richards, and Slocum, 1974; Turney, 1974; and others. For an excellent review of the force model, see Mitchell (1974 & 1982a, b).

In order for the force model to clarify the employment situation of Saudi Arabian women, it is necessary to inquire as to which consequences of work provoke values and beliefs that inculcate negative valences toward work. Identifying and tracing these outcomes to their corresponding values would provide a better understanding of the problem, and strategies for change would in turn be more focused and effective.

General consequences or outcomes of work include the expenditure of energy (Tolman, 1959; Vroom, 1964); the production of goods and services (Porter, 1963; White, 1959); social interaction (Capwell, Herzberg, Mansour, & Peterson, 1957); social status (Friedmann & Havighurst, 1954); and wages (Vroom, 1964). Even though these consequences tend to be similar across cultures, there are other consequences for Saudi women that contradict some of their basic values and beliefs. For instance, work may imply interacting with or uncovering the face in the presence of the opposite sex. While these beliefs
may seem trivial to an outside observer, they are deeply held by both the individual and society. Accounting for these and other values held by Saudi women toward work, could lead to more effective ways of improving their employment status.

However, accounting for individual values is a difficult and complex task. Rokeach (1973) describes efforts to understand human values as a "never-ending process, a grouping towards an ultimate objective that can be attained only by a method of successive approximation". According to Rokeach, values are comprised of three constituent parts: cognitive, affective, and behavioral.

Values, like all beliefs, have cognitive, affective, and behavioral components: (1) A value is a cognition about the desirable, ... to say that a person has a value is to say that combatively he knows the correct way to behave or the correct end-state to strive for. (2) A value is affective in the sense that he can feel emotional about it, be effectively for or against it, approve of those who exhibit positive instances of it. (3) A value has a behavioral component in the sense that it is an intervening variable that leads to action when activated. (1973, p. 7)
Values affect our thoughts, emotions and actions, and must first be dealt with in order to change overt behavior.

Rokeach (1973, 1979) extensively researched the relationship between value and overt behavior. One of his conclusions is that values provoke individuals to seek environments that will minimally violate their values. Hence, government and private institutions in Saudi Arabia employ only men, with few exceptions such as schools for girls. The negative valences of certain consequences of work at these institutions, combined with high expectations that they will occur, seem to discourage women from pursuing employment at those institutions as well as in other new and challenging job opportunities.

Therefore, future development should concentrate on either correcting or accommodating these social values in order to enable women to contribute to the economic well-being of the country. Rokeach offers two approaches for changing values. Since values are learned, he explains, they develop as a result of social demands and psychological needs. Changes in self-conceptions or in self-awareness can modify individual values. Changes in individual needs and perceptions of social goals can
generate changes in self-conception (Rokeach, 1979). Self-awareness can be induced by enabling individuals to recognize inconsistencies between personal ideals, values, and related attitudes.

This study recommends the self-awareness method because it can reach large numbers of people (Sanders & Atwood, 1979), and it has no implications for deception because the self-dissatisfaction that is activated is aroused rather than induced (Rokeach, 1979). Altering either the negative valences or the expectations that they will occur, could evoke in Saudi women a healthier attitude and a higher level of motivation towards entering the work force.

A discussion of those values which induce valences in the force model will be followed by a practical application of the model itself. Studies that have applied the force model have generated relevant criticisms. One criticism is that the predictive power of the model decreases as the number of outcomes increases (Olian, Gottlieb, & Heneman, 1979). Other investigators have questioned the additive and multiplicative assumptions built into the model (Mitchell, 1974; Schanteau, 1974; Schmidt, 1973). Feather (1982) raises a third criticism relating to
potential errors in information processing. A fourth criticism challenges the maximization of expectancy and valence in the model itself (Behling & Starke, 1973).

Other authors have responded to these criticisms. Regarding the problem of the number of outcomes, researchers generally agree that the larger the number of outcomes, the lower the predictive power will be (Mitchell, 1982). For best results, Mitchell (1974) recommends using five to eight outcomes. As for the additive and multiplicative assumption, investigators recommend using a true-ratio scale for the former and least-squares in the multiple correlation for the latter (Mitchell, 1974; Schmidt, 1973). Addressing criticisms of error in information processing, Feather (1982) notes that "the model accepts the subjective reality as important for understanding a person's behavior."

Finally, the criticism of maximization is not a problem for this study since trends are explored rather than predictions.

A final observation relevant to this section is Mitchell's (1982) discussion of the advantage of using within-subject models rather than cross-subject models. He points out that Vroom originally intended to use within-subject models. Also, Ajzen and Fishbein (1977)
have suggested that stronger relations occur when there are better correspondences between behavior and attitude entities. These two recommendations have improved the efficacy of the expectancy-value models by improving their predictability.

**Women and Development**

Several scholars began to question the effects of development on women. Prompted by these concerns, Jelin (1982) searched for and found a wide range of responses:

> The answers have varied from early optimism about the beneficial effects of development [on women] in general, grounded in the terminology and approach of "modernization" theories, to pessimistic views about the "evil" effects of the expansion of capitalism. (p. 239)

The literature on this subject leans toward the differential and negative effects of development on women (Blumberg & Hinderstein, 1983). In her book *Women’s Role in Economic Development*, Danish economist Ester Boserup introduced the finding that development has adversely impacted women. Other developmentalists have since elaborated on the deficiencies inherent in the underlying assumptions of developmental practices,

Among the misleading assumptions that developmentalists share is that society is assumed to be one organic unit where changes in one part will automatically lead to changes throughout (Rassam, 1984). This assumption has led to indiscriminate improvements in random sectors of developing countries. Another gross assumption planners make is that women in different developing countries have similar problems and needs. Alyamani (1985) points out the dangers in this assumption, and warns of pure imitation policies.

As a result of these and other erroneous assumptions, policy-makers have relied on misleading evaluation indicators. One such example is the use of GNP as an indicator of comprehensive development where benefits are assumed to be equally distributed (Ehlers, 1983). Other evaluation methods are misleading because they are assessed on the basis of their face validity. The following two examples illustrate this type of methods.
First, developing countries have always assumed a positive correlation between GNP and a woman's education and employment. However, Abu Nasr et al., (1985) points out that:

Available research indicates a limited relationship between per capita gross national product and women's attainment in education and employment. (p. 6)

Agreeing with these authors, Elizabeth White (1978) illustrates this point in her description of the differences between poor and rich Moslem countries:

Poor Moslem states such as Turkey and Tunisia have reformed many laws affecting women and encouraged female education, while some of the wealthier countries, such as Libya and Saudi Arabia, have introduced few or no reforms and report low education achievement of women. (p. 64)

The second example is the claim that the increasing number of women working in administration indicates that the status of women is improving. However, an Indian document entitled "Women's Work and Employment" (1983) refutes this claim:
The increasing numbers and visibility of women in administration, professional and other white-collar jobs have hidden the stark reality that women in the masses are being displaced from employment at an alarming rate, not only in agriculture, but also in the informal and formal industrial sectors in both rural and urban areas. (p.19)

Deceptive indicators of development can, in this way, lead to gross errors that isolate and neglect large segments of society.

These examples are only some of the misleading assumptions and evaluation methods all too often incorporated into development programs, and represent only part of the problem affecting women. Some of the practices implemented under the aegis of development not only fail to improve the status and role of women, but have adversely affected them. As Boserup (1970) so succinctly describes it, development has brought women "deeper marginalization -- not emancipation."

For example, development has reduced the value of economic participation of women. This devaluation began when commercial agriculture and industrialization gradually replaced artisan industries usually dominated by women, culminating in an incremental process that
forced women out of work and into dependency. Elhers (1983) describes the stages of this process:

First by moving production into a centralized work place and then by making the bulk of the wage earners men who depend on the sale of their labor for a cash income. As wages become increasingly important, males assume principal responsibility for supporting the family and women become a dependent reserve labor force. (p. 8)

Boserup points out that once their means of survival was destroyed, women were not absorbed into new manufacturing and technology sectors.

Another discriminatory practice of development is occupational segregation, labelling jobs as gender 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate' for women (Jelin, 1982). This practice is more pronounced in some countries than in others. For example, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia states in 'Targets and Achievements in Higher Education During the Third Development Plan' that:

The Kingdom's objective in women's education is to bring them up in the sound Islamic way and to prepare them for active participation in activities that suit their nature such as teaching, nursing, medicine. (p. 10)
The implementation of occupational segregation has been described as the most visible aspect of discrimination against women in third world countries (Jelin, 1982).

The application of technology in developmental programs has also adversely impacted women in Saudi Arabia. In addition to making men the primary wage earner and reinforcing occupational segregation, the introduction of modern technology has gradually squeezed women out of the already restricted labor market. Current applications of technology incorporate many biases that have set women back economically. In a discussion of these biases, Irene Tinker (1976) argues that technology brings with it the Western model of gender stereotyping and discrimination, which makes it easier for men to acquire ownership and control over new technology at the same time that it displaces the women working in those sectors the technology is replacing. According to Tinker:

Small implements such as presses, grinders, or cutters generally have been introduced to men, even when the work for which they are a substitute traditionally has been done by women. (p. 27)
Two other factors besides these Western biases have reinforced the sole ownership of modern technology by men: 1) high illiteracy rates that handicap women, and 2) the cultural pressures on women not to enroll in classes taught by men (Tinker, 1976). The end result of these constraints is that technological improvements of male production have reduced the value of female manual work, thus making it more difficult for women to compete and easier for them to withdraw.

Development policies also totally ignore the double burden of women working outside of and in the home. For policy-makers to overlook this labor overload automatically hinders the participation of women in economic activities (Lorfing & Abu Nasr, 1980; Michel, 1970), and places them in the dilemma of having to choose between economic independence and their traditional role. Tinker (1976) addresses the failure of development planners to create policies that ameliorate the inequities inherent in this duality:

Planners...have been unable to deal with the fact that women must perform two roles in society, whereas men perform one. (p. 22)
Even though the dual role of women has been universally disregarded, some countries have dealt with it better than others. Comparing the European and American systems, Hewlett (1986) points out that America provides fewer support systems in comparison to other industrialized countries. Appraising the European system, she observes that:

Working mothers in Europe take for granted a set of societal support structures which enable them to choose to breast-feed if they so desire. Free and extensive post-natal care; a statutory right to generous maternity leaves; provisions for breast-feeding time during the working day—all of these rights and services are built into the fabric of European society. (p. 45)

Unless the issue of this dual burden is addressed, no real change in the status of women can occur.

Practices such as wage discrimination, occupational segregation, high rates of illiteracy and fertility, inadequate health care, technological biases, and the imposition of double burdens, are either initiated or reinforced by aims and policies of development. Such policies institutionalize the resultant exclusion of large segments of the population, namely women. These conditions, however, are not unique to developing
countries. The degree of discrimination may vary, but the problems themselves are universal. Tinker, Bo Bramsen, and Buvinic, (1976) have found that:

Despite the range of countries, political systems, and cultures represented—ranging from Nepal to Cuba to the United States -- there was unanimity among the participants that in no country were women being equally integrated into the economies of their countries or into the decision-making apparatus. (p. 138)

The literature on this subject substantiates this universal inequality of women. Feminist writings are replete with examples of discriminatory practices in different countries. A cursory view of this literature, though oversimplified, provides a sense of the adverse effects of development on women throughout the world.

Women in America, for example, have significantly improved their socioeconomic status and their ability to influence public policies (Lansing, 1986). However, they still suffer from shortcomings of public policies. For instance, as a nation Americans continue to encourage child-rearing and to glorify motherhood (Lansing, 1986; Tinker, 1976), and there are no support systems enabling women to facilitate a dual role. Women are left to fend
for themselves as they juggle the two roles at the same time. Hewlett (1986) provides an excellent description of this dilemma based on her own experience:

By the early eighties, my experience had already led me to one important conclusion: Women of my age [about 35] in America are at the mercy of two powerful and antagonistic traditions. The first is the ultra-domestic fifties with its cult of motherhood; the other is the strident feminism of the seventies with its attempt to clone the male competitive model....And her attempt to manage both roles is further undermined by the fact that American society, having produced the strongest and most antithetical dual roles for women, has left them with the weakest support system with which to mediate these roles. (p. 33)

So the same public policies that offer women greater economic participation leave them with no infrastructures to fully realize these alleged options.

While Americans have traditionally reinforced the role of women as "mothers" first and "economic units" second, the Russians have reversed these priorities (Tinker, 1976). The Russians claim that their system of economic equality eliminates gender discrimination. That 90% of all Soviet women between the ages of sixteen and fifty-four work or study full-time, is supposed to
substantiate the implementation of this equality (Attwood & McAndrew, 1984). However, these policies are not only misleading, but have in fact failed by 1) undermining the traditional role of women as mothers by denying them appropriate support systems, and 2) by keeping women in low status jobs (Jancar, 1974; Moses, 1986).

The situation in developing countries is even worse. The adverse effects of development impact women regardless of the economic, cultural, religious and political structure of the country. In the case of Latin American countries, rural women suffer from the "traditional women job" syndrome, which forces them to choose from limited types of jobs (Figueroa, 1976). Those women who do break away from traditional jobs by moving to the cities and working at jobs that are usually held by men, soon face the depressing truth that these jobs afford them neither power nor material benefits (Jaquette, 1976).

Furthermore, most Latin American women share with their counterparts all over the world the lack of dual role recognition. Figueroa (1976) notes that:

> With few exceptions, the provision of special services (such as child-care centers, cafeterias, and boarding schools) that enable women to participate in educational programs,
to hold jobs, and to be involved in civic affairs and political activities has received no special attention at the national level. (p. 50).

Thus, Latin countries also tend to give this important obstacle—that leaves potential contributions of women at a minimum—a low priority.

In the case of African countries, the situation is no different. A report funded by the Ford Foundation entitled "Women and National Development in African Countries: Some Profound Contradictions, (1973)" criticizes development policies adopted by these countries:

Africa is at war against the cruelties of nature and the inequalities of the global situation, and all of her people must be called upon to fight; there is no sense in leaving half of them with primitive tools or, worse still, idle. (p. 2)

African women have tried to gain their freedom by moving to urban areas. Kenneth Little (1976) discusses this process of 'urbanization'. He points out that African women understand that gaining freedom requires acquiring economic power, which to them "apparently means having economic resources". However, he questions whether they
actually can increase their power by moving to towns. Rural women play an essential role in production whereas women in the urban areas are usually confined to the service sector, which has little overall power and importance. Little concludes by pointing out the need for real 'urbanization,' which he defines as:

Urbanization means more than living in cities; it means participation, so far as African women are concerned, ... a less traditional outlet than petty trade. Moreover, it has to be planned in ways that will enable the state to make more profitable use of women's potential and that will enable women in their turn, to draw more fully on the state's own resources. (p. 87)

Urbanization has also adversely affected women in India (Ambannavar, 1975). According to a committee studying the status of women and the reduction of their economic participation in India:

Though women do not constitute a minority numerically, they are acquiring the features of one through inequality of class, status and political power. (p. 360)

Development in general has diminished the economic participation of women in India by gradually displacing
them in agriculture and in small industries, and then by denying them access to modern production inputs through such strategies as demand imbalance and occupational segregation (Jetley, 1979; Krishnaraj, 1985). These strategies have been further reinforced by societal attitudes and pressures (Sinha, 1965), which subject women to severe economic pressures of family responsibilities and no choices other than low status jobs.

Comparing the economic participation of women throughout the world, Moslem women tend to have the lowest rates. A possible explanation of this phenomenon is that in addition to the loss of their traditional jobs as a result of developmental policies, they are prohibited from entering clerical occupations, which in other developing countries are usually held by women (Youssef, 1979). The exclusion of Moslem women from those jobs reflects the attitude of society towards women who work in nonsegregated environments.

These attitudes evolve from a value system that mandates minimal contact between men and women. When the economy grew rapidly, women from high income families withdrew from the labor force. Eventually a stigma of shame was attached to those women who continued to work
out of economic necessity. This stigma continues to apply regardless of the financial status of the family, thus contributing to decreasing female employment in Moslem countries (El Guindi, 1986). However, amidst a growing recognition of the compelling importance of permitting more women into the labor force, Moslem women must discover a way that enables them to work without giving up being good Moslems.

Women in the Gulf countries have also been adversely affected by development. The sudden growth of the economy concomitant with rapid development have hurt the economic status of women. Rural women have been forced out of their traditional jobs with no alternatives or substitutes (Almana, 1981). The elimination of traditional jobs occurs through the selective introduction of technology. The existing social systems simply make it easier for men to own and operate advanced machinery, thus minimizing the value of manual labor and services of women and ultimately forcing them out of the labor market.

Similarly, Gulf women in urban areas have been excluded from the local job markets through an indirect strategy based upon the society's desire to minimize contact between the sexes. Since occupations in the
country’s hierarchy are open only to men, women are automatically denied the right to apply for them. Eventually, job opportunities available to women became dependent on the ability of the government to create isolated branches of this hierarchy. However, these positions usually lack both power and prestige. Actually, the rapid economic growth minimized the participation of women to the extent that even the traditional domestic duties have been taken over by foreigners, leaving Gulf women totally unproductive (Abdulrahman, 1982).

In addition, the wealth of the Gulf countries has denied Gulf women the evolutionary struggle for survival, which could have led to their participation and recognition of their economic worth. Even though this minimum level of participation relegated to women has been unrecognized for so long because of the leisure the country has enjoyed, changes are beginning to occur. The recent decline in oil sales has already generated a gradual recognition of the need for national human resource utilization in general and women in particular.

Overall, the issue of women and development has received widespread attention, and the literature contains recommendations for ameliorating these
conditions. At the 1975 conference celebrating the International Year of the Woman, recommended remedies included improving education, expanding vocational training, and reducing illiteracy. In addition to these general solutions, researchers urge more specific strategies that include a recognition and a commitment of leadership to the importance of women’s economic role (Rassam, 1984); a rethinking of traditional research methods that tend to overlook women’s work or accredit it to the wrong household member (Papanek, 1983); a recognition of the dual role of women by concertedly dealing with the problem (Rzhanitsina, 1983); and finally, finding strategies to change misperceptions of work subscribed to by either men or women (Abu Nasr et al., 1985).

In the context of the aims of the present study, these resolutions for improving the status of women are an illusion for women who lack access to the system. In a country that only allows men into its working hierarchy, with minor exceptions, because of an avowed allegiance to seclusion, job opportunities and overall participation for women are limited. These conditions prevail amidst a wealth of expertise that is brought into the country specifically to transfer skills and
technology to the Saudi people. Yet as long as only men are allowed into the system, women are denied access to this unique opportunity for learning and training. This situation has not been challenged by the women, possibly because of their need to be socially accepted; or their failure to distinguish between good and bad traditions (M’rabel, 1977); or their inability to distinguish between true Islamic rules and man-made rules. However, development can improve their status by finding ways to increase their economic participation.

In conclusion, the adverse impact of development is a universal problem. However, the recent steady growth of the oil countries puts them in a better position to learn and thereby plan with more promise for the future.

Women and Work

As stated in the previous section, development adversely affects women by eliminating their traditional jobs and limiting their opportunities for new jobs. These events squeeze them out of the labor market and deny them the benefits of development. Historically, women in the Gulf countries have played an essential role in contributing to the family income even if they were
not equal partners. Today that is no longer the case. Aims and strategies of modernization are in part responsible for minimizing the contribution women are able to make to the family income. However, development is only one of many factors impeding employment opportunities for women; other factors have kept women in the Gulf countries from even applying for work.

An overview of the extent of women's economic participation in the Gulf region precedes a discussion of these factors. Studies conducted in this part of the world have generally agreed that low female participation is a problem urgently in need of a solution. Studies conducted in Bahrain (Taki, 1975), United Arab Emirates (Abdulbaset, 1975), Qatar (Azzam, 1979), and Saudi Arabia (Allaghi & Almana, 1984), all concur with the findings of Almana. who argues that:

Women should no longer be discouraged or prohibited from joining the labor sector and from contributing to their country's overall development. (p. 26)

Table 1 summarizes female employment rates in the Gulf countries. Shilling (1975) attributes this low participation to inaccurate perceptions of work subscribed to in these countries:
Kuwaiti society tolerates women's employment; it does not encourage it except in those cases where it directly contributes to substitution for foreign labor and then only those jobs which are socially acceptable by Kuwaiti standards. Thus, women's labor is accepted neither to fill a need nor for the economic reward it produces (p. 10).

A change in the perception of female work therefore seems to be a preliminary step to the expansion of the economic participation of women.

The results of several studies, conducted in the Gulf countries on the attitudes of men and women towards the utilization of women in the labor market, can be generalized to apply to the whole region. As the scholars Abdulbaset, Al-Rimehi, and Musa point out:

The historical, cultural, social, religious, economic and political conditions are similar throughout that region. Therefore, where sufficient data are not available, one might assume a similarity in Arab women's status and conditions. (Allaghi & Almana, 1984, p. 15)

It is therefore apparent that the research data gathered in separate Gulf countries are reasonably representative of the whole region. Viola (1986) explored the attitudes of Saudi students studying in the
United States towards women who work. An important characteristic of her sample is that 95.5% were men. In response to a question suggesting the possibility of female employment as a substitute for employing foreigners, the majority of the respondents (67.7%) found it acceptable. However, when they were asked that if they were the managers and if all constraints inhibiting female employment were removed would they hire women, their responses varied. It is interesting to note that 43.3% said they would hire non-Saudi women, 43.8% would hire non-Arab women, 32.3% prefer not to work at all with women, and only 32.8% thought that women would be willing to work with men.

In a more general study* conducted in Kuwait, Alkotob (1975) included proportional segments of university women in different fields of study from different Gulf countries. He asked his sample if they thought women were capable of performing job responsibilities, or whether work should be reserved only for men. Eighty-five percent of the respondents said women are capable of working, and 70.3% thought that both men and women should work. In addition, 43.4% of the women in the sample thought there were no opportunities available to them in higher level decision-making
positions, and 52.8% opposed the proposition that they should avoid jobs that presume contact with men.

In a study* where the majority of the women interviewed were housewives with less than a high school education, Altagheb (1975) interviewed 526 people from 321 families. His sample included almost equal proportions of men and women, but he points out that while 82% of the women opposed the proposition that 'women should work,' 58% of the men supported it. When asked about the priority of home or work, only 13% of the women and 2% of the men said work was a higher priority. Regarding which profession women should work in, 53.1% of the men said teaching.

The low participation of women in the labor force in the Gulf region and the mixed attitude towards their employment, are often attributed to the persistence of traditional social factors. The magnitude of these factors differs from one country to another and from rural to urban areas. A primary influence is tradition (Abu Nasr et al., 1985; Allaghi & Almana, 1984; Altoriki, 1986). The strength of adhering to perceived traditions partially derives from confusion about the consequences

* Data for these two studies are obtained from an article written by Allaghi and Almana (1984).
of societal change. The ambiguity that engulfs terms such as modernization, development, and evolution has impelled people to cling to their traditions with even more resistance. M'rabel (1977) explains this hesitation towards change, particularly opposition to the changing roles of women:

Someone may be against evolution because he does not know quite what it means or, further, because he is against what he thinks it means...Women's evolution did not gain much support, for it was associated in people's minds with the persons [foreign] who symbolized it. (p. 344)

It appears that this ambiguity surrounding notions of change in the status of women has reinforced adherence to a number of unproductive traditions.

Moreover, the preservation of traditional values has been implicitly associated with the protection of female honor in the Gulf countries. Thus, any change in traditional values presents an implied threat to a woman's honor, which in turn, threatens the family or tribal name. The importance of honor is pervasive, expressed in words, proverbs, laws, and poems. For example, a common proverb "woman are like glass," means that a woman's honor is so sensitive that any misconduct
can scratch it and, when scratched, nothing can be done to repair it. Another proverb states that "man's shame is in his pocket," meaning that the only behavior shameful to a man is his inability to fulfill his financial responsibilities as the family wage earner. Even though there is some exaggeration in these two proverbs, they convey the importance placed on the conduct of women in these societies, which has led to more protection and supervision of their behavior. The consequences of this "protection" have negatively affected Gulf women, as Youseff (1978) explains:

To protect female modesty, several measures have been taken, such as the segregation of the sexes, veiling, strict parental surveillance, early marriages, female circumcision, and rigid sex-role socialization. Severe restrictions on females' behavior have confined their activities to their domestic role, have restricted their educational opportunities, thus placing the main responsibility for their economic support on the males in the kinship structure. (p. 6)

In this way the social restrictions resulting from what have been traditionally thought of as moral norms have contributed to confining women to their homes (Viola, 1986), and religious influences have reinforced these social restrictions (Altoriki, 1986).
Subsequently, the desire to protect the honor of women by denying or delaying changes in some traditional values has translated into constraints on the full participation of women in the economic sector.

In the context of these economic constraints, how do women support themselves? Women in the Gulf have the privilege of living in countries with high economic standards, where men usually earn enough to support their families (Abdulbaset, 1975). This responsibility has been reinforced by a religious obligation that men should financially support the females within their families. Both of these circumstances have decreased the need for women to work (Woodsmall, 1983). Still, there are women in the Gulf who, for a variety of reasons including survival, need to work. However, these women tend to accept only those jobs that are deemed acceptable by social standards.

Jobs which are open to women usually presume a form of seclusion (Youssef, 1978). Although the extent of seclusion varies from one country to another in the Gulf, most countries appear to be similar in that they permit the economy to define these limitations. Barclay observes that in a Sudanese village:
With the increase in wealth and access to modern facilities, more women may be expected to remain within the compound, whereas the greater the poverty, the less the seclusion of women. (Altoriki, 1986, p. 36)

This same effect exists in the Gulf region. Both villagers and women with lower economic status tend to define seclusion with less conservatism, simply because survival requires contact with men in most daily activities. Consequently, people gradually started associating the low socioeconomic status of women with their employment (Altoriki, 1986). Such stigma has in turn inhibited the participation of upper and middle class women in the labor force.

The country of Saudi Arabia has tried to deal with the seclusion factor by attempting to gradually duplicate those parts of the system, that have recently accepted women’s participation in them. However, at one level of the hierarchy interaction between the sexes has to occur, and both sides respond to this interaction with ambiguity and unease. The isolation of the sexes creates a missing link in the system, and interferes with its efficiency and effectiveness. Officials have often used seclusion as an excuse for providing inferior services to women.
("Saudi Women," 1986). Moreover, seclusion has pressured officials to deny women opportunities not because they lack abilities, but because of the taboo on interacting with men ("Saudi Women," 1986). This prohibition has prevailed for so long, that the social consequences of violating it have become greater than the religious ones (Altorki, 1986).

The sensitivity of female honor and the subsequent protective behavior from men have left women both powerless and dependent. Gradually, women started to realize that the only source of power left for them was in their family and children. Therefore, marriage became an important goal in the life of every girl. As Youssef points out:

Muslim women are fully cognizant of the need to attain marital status in their own kin group and community. They are not about to de-emphasize willingly the only role that gives them a bargaining position in the social structure. (p. 11)

Gradually, the role of motherhood became so valuable to women that it almost became their only role. It is ironic that men have historically described the role of motherhood as an indication of a woman’s abilities to prepare new generations for maintaining the strength and
well-being of their country. Today it is raising questions about the capabilities of women to participate outside of the home in their country’s future growth and development.

It should be readily apparent from the previous discussion how men have acquired ultimate authority in the Gulf region (Al-Gadi, 1979). The implementation of this authority is reflected in each country’s laws. In the case of Saudi Arabia for example:

Saudi government...forbids women, irrespective of age or status, to travel outside the kingdom without the written authorization of a male guardian. (Altoriki, 1986, p. 71)

These social restraints on women are overwhelming, and have gradually stripped women of their civil rights.

In addition to social and legal obstacles, women in the Gulf are also handicapped by illiteracy and the lack of skills. There is a consensus among researchers that the illiteracy rate in the Gulf region is high (Al-Gadi, 1979; Almana, 1972; Azzam, 1979), but this percentage varies from one country to another. In Saudi Arabia, the illiteracy rate in 1974 was 65% for men and 98% for women, whereas in Kuwait, the illiteracy rate in 1975 was 52% for women and 32% for men (Azzam, 1979).
However, education in Kuwait started earlier than in Saudi Arabia. It was only in 1960 that women gained access to education in Saudi Arabia (Algadi, 1979). In addition to this late start, female education tends to be de-emphasized when compared to that of males. Allaghi and Almana (1984) suggest that "governmental policies regarding education (in Saudi Arabia) are primarily targeted for training men". This differentiation is clearly expressed in the prestige and budgets of the institutions involved in these activities. Al-Gadi (1979) points out that there is no religious basis for this discrepancy:

ELM (education) appeared in the Quran 854 times. Never has it been used to deprive women of education. (p. 56)

While education for women in the Gulf has increased dramatically (see Table 2), it is not evenly distributed between rural and urban areas (Allaghi & Almana, 1984). Furthermore, education in Saudi Arabia has been especially tailored for women. Females have different textbooks that tend to reinforce the traditional roles of women. Abu Nasr et al. (1985) points out that:

Textbooks are used to reinforce traditional attitudes towards the
role of women in society, and females are shown conforming to the expected domestic roles. (p. 10)

This strategy has built an early foundation for the gender segregation of sex roles.

Despite the rapid progress in education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, some people have not yet accepted the necessity for educating women. Several authors have pointed out the need for a policy of compulsory elementary education. Viola (1986) notes that:

Despite these educational advances, it is ironic that this nation, which pays such lip service to education and human resources development, has yet to establish a national policy for compulsory elementary education for boys and girls. (p. 196)

The benefits of such a policy, if the adoption of these policies in neighboring countries is any indication, seems very promising. In 1972, United Arab Emirates adopted a compulsory primary education policy for both sexes. By the end of that same year, 85% of all school-age children in Aby Dhabi were enrolled (Allaghi & Almana, 1984).
With regard to higher education in Saudi Arabia, women in the Kingdom are already experiencing some difficulties. Universities are turning down large numbers of students for lack of space ("Saudi woman", 1986). This finding is not surprising, for women's universities are considered to be an auxiliary duty of the men's universities. Therefore, what is presently offered to women, according to Dr. Shobaili, is only an extra activity of men's universities ("Saudi Woman", 1986). Another problem in higher education is the limitation of fields of study open to women (Viola, 1986). Abu Nasr et al. (1985) found that:

The vertical expansion of female education in the Gulf countries was not accompanied by a horizontal diversification in the field of study. (p. 69)

This sort of limitation has resulted in large numbers of graduates in certain fields, thus creating an imbalance in the supply/demand ratio, overcrowding in some areas and shortages in others ("Saudi woman," 1986). A third problem in higher education is the high drop-out rate among women. In 1986, the reported university drop-out rate was 30%. The problem of drop-outs is not unique to higher education; it is also prevalent at the elementary
and secondary levels, and has received a lot of attention in Saudi development plans.

One reason for the high drop-out rate is the wide range of abilities and interests among the students. Not every student has the ability or desire for an education, nor does every student have an interest in the fields presently offered. One solution to this problem is training. Extending technical training to women who hold lower academic qualifications could attract those students who have no desire to obtain a higher degree, but who do want to acquire certain skills and thereby enhance their potential contribution to society.

However, the image of women as valuable human resources has yet to emerge in Saudi Arabia (Abdulbaset, 1975), and vocational training for women is very limited (Abu Nasr et al., 1985). Presently, most training is in the teaching profession, and in the not too distant future it is supposed to be expanded to the computer industry (Viola, 1986). The relatively high academic qualifications required for enrollment in either field have limited the pool of available women to only certain segments of society.

The absence of diversified training opportunities cannot be blamed on development alone. The attitudes of
the people towards certain types of jobs have also
discouraged diversification. Saudi youth tend to shy
away from service sector jobs, which are usually
associated with lower economic status and are therefore
filled by foreigners (Abu Nasr et al., 1985). According
to Viola, this situation has been tolerated because:

Were one to assess the situation from
a purely economic viewpoint, it could
be suggested that the government
might concede all clerical, craft,
trade, and similar support skills to
expatriates, encouraging the Saudis
to remain either in agricultural
pursuits or to pursue professional
careers. (Viola, 1986, p. 56)

The initiative to Saudize these middle level jobs, which
make up "the backbone of all developing societies" is
crucial (Viola, 1986) The King of Saudi Arabia recently
addressed the issue of women and training, promising more
diversified job opportunities (Alyamami, 1986).

To summarize, countries in the Gulf region are
experiencing low female participation in their labor
sectors, partially attributable to social factors which
are compounded by illiteracy and the lack of training
opportunities.
Table 7

Economically Active Females in Selected Countries of the Arabian Gulf, 1975.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Female Population (Thousands)</th>
<th>Active Females (Thousands)</th>
<th>Percentage if Active Females if Active Females to Total Female Populations</th>
<th>Percentage if Active Females to Total Female Population Aged 15 Yrs. and Above</th>
<th>Percentage if Active Females to Total Active Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>113.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

Percent of Females Enrolled in School and the Female-to-Male Enrollment Ratios by Age Group in the Gulf Arab Countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Ages 6-11</th>
<th>Aged 12-17</th>
<th>Aged 18-23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Females F/M</td>
<td>% Females F/M</td>
<td>% Females F/M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enrolled Ratio</td>
<td>Enrolled Ratio</td>
<td>Enrolled Ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>69 71 0.87</td>
<td>61 72 0.89</td>
<td>6 7 0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>58 62 0.92</td>
<td>61 60 0.88</td>
<td>15 24 0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>1 26 0.49</td>
<td>-- 6 0.26</td>
<td>-- 1 1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>78 100 1.00</td>
<td>51 100 1.00</td>
<td>8 29 0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>16 24 0.52</td>
<td>10 20 0.62</td>
<td>1 5 0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>43 86 0.91</td>
<td>15 46 0.63</td>
<td>1 7 0.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Islam and Work

Although the status of Moslem women has always been an ambiguous and confusing notion, it has often been associated with inferiority (Au-Karsa). This assumption has, unfortunately, led to the image of Islam as a biased religion that:

serves men's cupidity as well as a religion that exploits that cupidity for its own ends, using women as its chief instrument. (Ferna & Bezirgan, 1977, in Forward)

A significant reason for this misleading characterization of Islam is the way the Islamic teaching has been extracted and interpreted from its original sources.

The sources of the Islamic Laws are the Quran; the 'sunna,' which is the prophet's teaching; Al-Ijama'a, which is the consensus of the judges; and jurisprudence (Almana, 1981). The first two comprise the primary sources of Islamic teachings, whereas the last two attempt to explain the contents of the first.

Problems arise as to the reliability of interpretations of the primary sources. Whereas the Quran and portions of the prophet's teachings are absolute knowledge, the other portions of the prophet's
teachings are only probabilistic (Alyamani, 1985), and accuracy depends on the integrity of those who transmitted it (Khallaf, 1981). In regard to women, this probability factor should elicit uncertainty about some laws that have been attributed to the prophet’s teaching but find no substantiation in the other sources.

A further complication lies in the validity of the application of the transmitted information. That is to say, where the reliability of the Quran and portions of the prophet’s teachings are absolute, the validity of their application is not. Alyamani (1985) explains that:

The absolutely reliable knowledge is absolutely valid when the textual provision is relevant to the issue under discussion and when the textual provision cannot have more than one possible meaning. It is probabilistically valid when it is not absolutely relevant to the issue and when it has more than one possible meaning. (p. 38)

Alyamani also points out that the unreliability and questionable validity of interpreted parts of these sources imply that erroneous assumptions of Islam could have been made, and should therefore be carefully judged. He argues that:
Probabilistic revelation (that is absolutely reliable but not absolutely valid; probabilistically reliable but absolutely valid; or probabilistically reliable and probabilistically valid) is subject to continuous interminable human understanding and in fact is the area where human understanding of nature and society...should be carefully related, preferred, or rejected. (p. 38)

This theory might explain how some ridiculous laws, including those relating to women, have made their way into the Islamic religion. The implications of both the reliability of some of the prophet's (Peace Be Upon Him) teachings, and the validity of the interpretations of absolute sources of Islam are crucial to understanding the status of women. That is because Islam has come at a time when circumstances were unfavorable to women (Alyamani, 1985). During the pre-Islamic period women were viewed as a source of disgrace, as a financial burden, and as sex objects (Almana, 1981). These views were reflected in accepted practices of selling women or burying them at birth. So when the Islamic transformation of women was introduced, they had to be filtered through existing perceptions of women, which could have resulted in misinterpreting or misquoting the laws in Islam governing women.
In addition to these modifications at the early stages of Islam, illiteracy among women left only the men to interpret and extract Islamic laws and beliefs from the primary sources. Men were thus able to insert their own biases into those early interpretations (Altoriki, 1986). Consequently, women were unknowingly deprived of their rights, whereas the rights of men were incorporated and implemented to the last detail and specification. M'rabel (1977) aptly describes this situation:

The jurists have always been men, the majority of women did not know the law, and it was quite natural that the law could be broken without causing any problems for anyone. Throughout the centuries, the Muslim woman has been deprived of her goods; in contrast, those Koranic proscriptions which do not have economic repercussions or affect the man's position, have been applied to the letter and continue to be applied. (p. 339)

These biases have been expanded by the different origins of the early believers of Islam. The different backgrounds of early interpreters of the primary sources of Islam have confounded their interpretations. For example, Levy (1957) has suggested that the background of the Persian interpreters, where women have a history of seclusion,
influenced the interpretation of seclusion into Islamic thought.

Before leaving the problem of interpretation, it is important to point out that the prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) never intended to limit the interpretation of Islamic teachings to men. Evidence of the prophet’s (Peace Be Upon Him) support for female interpreters can be drawn from his sayings, such as:

learn half of your religious duties from this [woman] meaning Aisha. (Shaltot, 1974, p. 108)

Additional evidence is found in remarks of the prophet’s close friends such as Omar bin Zippar:

I have never seen someone who knows as much about principles of [Islamic] jurisprudence, of medicine, or poetry as Aisha. (Shaltot, 1974, p.108)

These and other statements from primary sources document the rights of women to formally interpret Islamic laws. Therefore, the inferior status of women, the related illiteracy among women during the pre-Islamic periods, and the conservative background of early believers are among the
factors affecting the interpretations of women's rights in Islam. The impact of such biased interpretations can be clearly seen in contemporary applications of Islamic laws. Laws benefiting men tend to be emphasized and promoted often, whereas laws benefiting women tend to be de-emphasized and avoided.

Two examples will illustrate this contention. The first illustration is the veiling issue, which has received considerable attention in women's literature. Even though the extent and effects of veiling have varied from one Moslem country to another, it has impeded the economic participation of women in all Moslem countries (Youssef, 1979). Some authors have actually predicted that the economic participation of women will not be possible until the veil is removed (Woodsmall, 1983). Moreover, the veil, which is defined as totally covering the face and the body in some conservative countries, has been promoted as an essential practice of every Moslem woman. However, Almana (1981) questions the religious basis for such claims. To support her argument, she uses the same verse of the Quran that has been commonly used to impose the necessity of veiling. First she quotes the verse, which says:
O prophet! Tell Thy wives and daughters and the believing women, that they should cast their outer garments over their persons (when abroad): that is most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested and God is oft-forgiving, Most Merciful. (Sura Al Ahzab, verse 59)

Then she studies the verse:

In this verse it is important to point out that veiling is not wajib [required], otherwise it would not be the case "God is oft-forgiving, Most Merciful." Therefore, veiling is recommended, but it is not forbidden not to veil, the veil here meaning to dress conservatively rather than covering the face. (p. 41)

Almana further explains that at no place in the Quran is the specific kind of dress for veiling specified. With this contention she challenges the claim that Islam mandates women to totally cover their faces and bodies, or to completely seclude themselves from any contact with males, which are both practiced in some Islamic countries today.

Moreover, the use of the veil today contradicts its original purpose. Veiling in the early days of Islam was used to identify Moslem women and specify their moral standards during their interaction with men (Fernea &
Bezirgan, 1977). Thus, the original intention of veiling was to encourage a specific morality when in the presence of men, not to completely eliminate contact with men. Support for this argument can be found in the active participation of women during the prophet's lifetime (Au Karsa), and the prophet's (Peace Be Upon Him) personal support for this participation (Shaltot, 1974). Whereas the original teachings of Islam did encourage women to dress conservatively, they did not require the total seclusion carried out today in laws and policies of several Moslem countries.

The polygamy issue illustrates how men have self-servingly manipulated and distorted the practices of Islamic law. The following verse from the Quran addresses this issue:

If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with [with them] then only one...to prevent you from doing injustice. (Sura Nisaa, verse 3)

Another verse in the same Sura affirms the inability of men to deal justly with their wives:
Ye are never able to be fair and just as between women [wives], even if it is your ardent desire....(Sura Nisaa, verse 129)

It is evident from these verses that Islam has permitted polygamy only for specific needs. But it has strongly discouraged it by including a qualifier (justness between wives) that is impossible to satisfy. Yet, the existing practice of polygamy in most Islamic countries is presumed to be religious and, in some countries, is even socially acceptable. These religious limitations on polygamy have rarely been discussed by either men or women, let alone implemented in policies or laws.

This unequal treatment in the application of Islamic laws is unfortunate, because Islam is a religion that supports equality between men and women (Al-Sharhawhi; Abu Kharsa; Alyamani, 1985). Alsharhawni quotes from the Quran to document the equality of the origin of men and women on the basis of their origins:

Mankind! Reverence your Guardian-lord, who created you from a single person, created of like nature, His mate, and from them twain scattered (like seeds) countless men and women. (Sura Nisaa, verse 1)
Alyamani (1985) extends this argument by pointing out that this equality does not end with the creation of men and women, but continues into the daily religious responsibilities in their lives:

In the Quran and Sunnah of the prophet....both sexes are moral; required to perform the same rituals; required to shun from the same prohibitions; is essence equally religious; entitles to similar reward in the hereafter. (p. 49)

Some scholars have argued that Islam has extended an equality that is not enjoyed in the East. Woosdmall (1983) notes that:

These legal rights (complete control of her income, and the full liberty to dispose of her property), if applied, ensure to Moslem women a measure of economic independence greater than that of some other Eastern women. (p. 240)

In conclusion, even though Islam has granted women equality, the existing civil laws in Moslem countries have not (Almana, 1981). Unless women start learning their rights in Islam and separate religious laws from cultural mores, little change is foreseen.
CHAPTER IV
RESEARCH DESIGN

A. GENERAL METHOD

The purpose of this study is to explore possible reasons for the low participation of Saudi women in the labor force. This will be approached by studying the attitudes of Saudi women towards work itself or some consequences of it. Selected variables will be presented to Saudi women, and their attitudes towards them will be recorded. The measured attitudes toward the variables will reflect to what extent Saudi women value those variables. Next, those values will be related to work and job opportunities open to women in Saudi Arabia.

It is argued that since people tend to seek environments where their values are shared and reinforced, and violation of their values are minimal (Rokeach, 1979), the level of motivation among Saudi women to work will increase towards those jobs that accommodate their values, and will decrease towards jobs that violate them. Thus any work circumstances representing a threat to Saudi values are viewed as a
possible contributing factor to female low economic participation.

This study is descriptive and exploratory in nature. It utilizes both quantitative and qualitative methods to pinpoint which of the proposed variables affect Saudi women's employment. The studied variables were selected on the basis of a literature search for factors that influenced the attitudes of Arab and Muslim women towards work. The list, derived from the literature, contained two categorized variables. One category consists of internal factors, which are within the person's immediate control. The other category is called external factors because the person has no control over them. A preliminary list of the two kinds of factors was first used and later revised, incorporating information from two focus groups.

The first focus group study was conducted in the United States, and consisted mostly of men. The setting of the focus group was informal and semi-structured. Individuals were asked to state what they believed the major reasons were for the low level of Saudi female participation in the labor force. Their responses were recorded, categorized and later compared to the initial list. The second focus group was conducted in Saudi
Arabia, and consisted of women with similar demographics to those used in this study. The same question of obstacles to women's employment was posed, and the responses of the participants were recorded. Comments from both groups were used to determine what they perceived to be primary reasons for low female employment. The final list was completed after a continuous process of addition and modification.

The variables representing unfavorable consequences of work to Saudi women are: violation of veiling; interaction with the opposite sex; rumors that implicate individual and family honor; imitation of male social role, and family responsibilities. The underlying assumption is that these variables diminish motivation among women towards work, which is then reinforced by what is referred to as external factors measured by family restrictions and limitations of job opportunities. The previous factors represent the independent variables in this study, which will be used to explain the level of motivation to seek work (the dependent variable) among Saudi women.

The proposed variables were operationalized in the questionnaire in the following way:
I. Veiling—which is proposed to lower Saudi women’s motivation to seek nonsegregated jobs and is measured by the following items:

1. A true Muslim woman should cover her face when she interacts with strange* men. (item 1)
2. The Islamic veil is a necessity when working with men. (item 6)
3. The Islamic veil contradicts the idea of working women. (item 11)
4. It is difficult for a woman to pursue various employment opportunities and keep up with the Islamic veil. (item 16)

II. Interaction with the opposite sex also presumably lowers Saudi women’s motivation towards nonsegregated jobs, and was measured by the following items:

1. Women should avoid working in nonsegregated settings, such as hospitals. (item 2)
2. Dealing with strange men professionally during work is unacceptable. (item 7)
3. Dealing directly with male colleagues is a necessity in most professions. (item 12)

*Strange men is any man who could be a women's potential husband. The only men for whom a woman need not to veil are her father, brothers, sons, grandsons, grandfathers and those men who could not marry her by virtue of an existing familial link. (Altorki, 1986)
4. Women should work in secluded environments regardless of the type of job. (item 17)

The rest of the variables are presumed to lower women's motivation towards work in segregated or non-segregated jobs, and were measured by the following items:

III. Rumors

1. Women should avoid even honorable jobs that generate rumors. (item 3)
2. Immorality spreads (in society) as a result of women's employment. (item 8)
3. Women's employment brings up unneeded rumors. (item 13)
4. Women who work jeopardize their honor. (item 18)

IV. Family responsibility

1. Women's natural place is at home. (item 4)
2. Working women are less attached to their family, since they spend a significant amount of time away from their homes. (item 9)
3. Women cannot accommodate both work and household responsibilities. (item 14)
4. A woman should avoid anything that conflicts with her familial responsibilities. (item 19)

V. Imitation
1. Only men should work. (item 5)
2. A woman is imitating a man if she seeks work outside of her home. (item 10)
3. Men are solely responsible for the financial support of the family. (item 15)
4. Society should not allow women to work. (item 20)

VI. Family Restrictions
1. Lack of family support significantly lowers female motivation to seek work. (item 22)
2. Families inaccurate and pejorative stereotypes of women employment constrained women from participating in the labor force. (item 22)
3. Guardians present an obstacle to women's employment. (item 23)
4. Family consent is a necessity before pursuing any job possibilities. (item 24)

VII. Perceptions of Job Opportunities
1. How confident are you about finding a job when you start looking for one? (item 25)
2. How difficult will it be to secure a job when you complete your education? (item 26)

3. What is the probability of your settling for a job that does not satisfy your expectations? (item 27)

4. What is the probability of finding a job without a degree? (item 28)

Responses for the previous variables were measured in a Likert scale ranging from 1-5. The dependent variable, women's motivation to seek work, was measured by the following item:

--Will you be working after you finish your education?

Subject responses to this item were recorded in a 7-point Likert scale.

The entire questionnaire was pretested. The purpose of the pretest was to clarify any ambiguity in either the questions or the instructions, and to estimate the length of time needed to fill out the questionnaire. The pretest was given to students in an undergraduate class at King Saud University. The class had 29 students, between 19 and 25 years of age. A short general
statement explaining the purpose of the study preceded the pretest. Students were encouraged to express their own opinion. Comments from the students were later used to improve the clarity of the questionnaire. Input from both the pretest and focus groups strengthened the reliability and validity of this study.

B. Research Population and Sample

The intent of this study was to survey the attitudes of potential female workers. Smock (1982) found that "those with ten years of schooling or more showed a higher labor force participation in five developing countries and participation rate was much higher for those who have university education". Thus, the potential workers are assumed to be high school and university students. The sample for this study was drawn from these two segments of society. The high school sample was a random sample, chosen through a series of steps. First, the city of Riyadh was clustered into four sections to assure a better social class representation. Then, using Srs, one high school from each section was chosen. Next, a systematic probability sample was to be
drawn from each of the schools to be surveyed on the same day.

The university sample was a non-probability sample. However, it is assumed to give a fair representation of the university population because it was based on multi-sectional courses, drawn from all majors and grade levels in King Saud University (Al-Attibi, 1986). There are 27,000 men and women enrolled at King Saud University. Four hundred questionnaires were distributed to a female sample. The subjects ranged from 17 to 26 years of age and consisted of 300 Saudis and 51 non-Saudis.

C. Specific Procedures

In Saudi Arabia, any topic dealing with women is highly sensitive. Viola observes that:

Although attitudinal surveys are common in the United States, they are unknown in Saudi Arabia, and in some instances, strictly forbidden. (p. xi)

For this reason, securing permission to conduct this study proved to be the major obstacle. Official permission was requested from the Directors General of Education in the city of Riyadh, the highest authority in
female secondary education. A formal letter explaining the topic and its scientific goals was sent with a copy of the questionnaire. Unfortunately, the request was denied. The reason given was that the questions were unfit for young Saudi female students. Repeated efforts to allay their fears and change their decision, have failed.

A second request submitted to the university administration was approved. A schedule of the multi-sectional courses that every student at the university is required to take was obtained. Next the professors teaching these courses were contacted, the participation of an equal number of classes from each professor and an approximately equal proportion from each department were secured, in order to assure better representation.

In April 1986, a self-administered questionnaire was distributed to the university sample in Riyadh. A graduate student from King Saud University and I administered the questionnaire.

The class size ranged from nineteen to fifty students. The instructor first made a general statement about the purpose of the study and the need for the students to express their personal opinion in their
responses, pointing out the anonymity of the questionnaire.

Out of the four hundred questionnaires distributed to the sample at King Saud University, 351 were completed. The rest were either incomplete or blank.* The response rate was eighty-seven percent. It took approximately twenty-five minutes to complete the questionnaire.

D. Instrumentation

The questionnaire contained sections eliciting information about the attitude of Saudi women towards work and some consequences of it. It also contained sections of background and demographic information. The instrument contained seven scales measuring the attitudes of Saudi women towards different aspects of work. Each scale has four items. Responses to each item were recorded in a 5-point Likert scale.

In addition, the questionnaire has another section that is unrelated to the present study, but will be used for future research on this topic.

*Due to absenteeism.
E. Data Collection

The collected data were coded and subjected to different statistical analyses including regression, factor analysis, one-way analysis of variance, and other descriptive statistics.
CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

The questionnaire for this study includes seven variables: Mixing, Veiling, Family Responsibilities, Rumors, Imitation, Family Restrictions, and Perceptions of Job Opportunities. Saudi women's attitudes toward these variables predictably vary with different educational levels. However, the denial from the Directorate of Girls' Education to gather the needed data from their schools prevented me from possibly proving such predictions. The analysis in this chapter will therefore be restricted to the college sample.

The first variable in this study is 'Mixing' or 'Seclusion'. Minimal interaction between women and men has always been an integral component of the Islamic religion. However, Saudi Arabian civil laws have exaggerated its application. Support for this view can be deduced from a comparison between women in urban and rural sectors of the Kingdom. Women living in villages show more liberal seclusion standards than their counterparts in cities, possibly due to an application of
the Islamic teachings that has not been molded by civil laws. Since laws in the country attempt to minimize interaction between the sexes, certain attitudes toward seclusion have gradually developed within the society. These attitudes are held by both men and women in all social classes, and are expected to be a major obstacle to the incorporation of women into the labor force.

This variable, therefore, attempts to measure both the attitudes of Saudi women toward seclusion, and their desire to reinforce it in work settings. A scale made up of four items was used to measure this variable. Results indicate that Saudi women in this sample have a marginal attitude towards working with men in non-segregated environments. Forty-eight percent as compared to 37% opposed the proposition that "women should avoid working in non-segregated settings such as hospitals." Moreover, 49% as compared to 35% opposed the proposition that "dealing with men professionally is unacceptable."

A majority (56%) of the sample, however, thought that women should try to work in segregated work settings regardless of their profession. In addition, 43% of the sample opposed the proposition that "most jobs demand interacting with men", reflecting their view that most jobs do not necessitate mixing with men. It seems that
even though some of this educated sample expresses a marginal approval of interacting professionally with men, the majority show a definite desire to avoid it. The reliability of the items in this seclusion scale was high (.77).

The next variable is 'Veiling', which is a dress code recommended for women in the Islamic religion. The interpretations of this dress code vary in Islamic countries. However, Saudi Arabia has always insisted on one of the most conservative interpretations of the code: so conservative that it is almost synonymous with the total seclusion of women. Both Veiling and seclusion start early in elementary schools. Girls wear the veil and go to segregated schools, thus making an unconscious mental association between veiling and seclusion. When they grow up, they see both as components of the same ideal. This association has adversely affected Saudi women's potential in the economic sector.

This variable, therefore, attempted to measure the value of veiling to Saudi women, and to what extent they believe that it limits their job opportunities. A scale made up of four items was used to measure this variable. Results indicate that women in this sample have a high value of veiling combined with a strong desire to
preserve it when interacting with men at work. Almost the total sample (93%) saw veiling as a necessity when working with men. Moreover, 75% think not only veiling but covering the face is also a necessity when working with men. These findings support the argument that there is an association between veiling and seclusion.

In determining to what degree veiling is a barrier to female employment, 91% do not see veiling as an obstacle, and 63% think that many jobs can be performed with the veil. It is possible that because of current available job opportunities, Saudi women see work and veil as unrelated issues. This means that they do not currently perceive the possibility of working in non-segregated settings, thus they see the veil as presenting no problem to female employment. The reliability of the items on the veiling scale was low (.28). A potential reason is a possible confusion of the precise meaning of the term 'veil'. Some people define veiling as total coverage of the face and body; others see it as completely shrouding the body with the exception of the face and hands.

A general conclusion drawn from the previous data (veiling and seclusion) is that this educated sample of women has a firm attitude towards veiling but a divided
views of seclusion. This discrepancy could mean that these women are differentiating between religious restrictions and cultural ones, insisting on the former but uncertain about the latter. While this distinction is very encouraging, it is doubtful that it exists among people with little or no education.

The third variable is 'Family Responsibilities,' which measures the attitude of women towards dual female roles of work and family. With domestic help readily available and reasonably affordable in Saudi Arabia, family responsibilities should not be a serious problem for Saudi women. However, family responsibility is valued for the image it represents rather than the efforts it demands. Saudi women have always been appraised on the basis of their motherhood role, and receive more prestige as a consequence of it. Therefore, they are expected to make it a primary role.

Even though responses to the scale measuring this variable reflect that 73% of the women in the sample think that it is possible to fulfill dual obligations of family and work, the majority (85%) think that a women's first responsibility is to her home. Actually, 41% of those women thought home is the natural place for women, indicating that her family responsibilities are her
primary role. Further, 38% thought that women who work have less ties with their families due to their employment. These are views expressed by a group which has indicated a desire to work after completing their education and a group which has 314 women, out of which 300 are single. The results raise an interesting question: will their desire to work decrease after marriage? The reliability of the items on this scale was moderate (.53).

In another scale, respondents were asked to list three major reasons for low employment among Saudi Women. The reasons given and their frequencies are listed in Table 9. Responding to perceived constraints on female employment, 135 women chose family responsibilities. These data also raises question about the desire of these women to pursue a job after marriage.

The fourth variable in this study is 'Imitation,' which measures attitudes of women toward the social preference of preserving employment for men only. The wealth of the country from oil revenues has adversely affected the status of Saudi women. This prosperity was facilitated by the many free benefits, such as health
Table 9

Reasons for Saudi Women's Low Participation in the Labor Force

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No available jobs</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumors</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Constraints</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seclusion</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Living Standards</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Responsibilities</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Credentials</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No ambition</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

care and education, which the government was able to provide, enabling one parent (male) to earn a sufficient household income, thus eliminating the need for the other parent (female) to contribute to the family income. Traditional jobs held by women, such as sewing, were displaced by advancing technology or by foreigners; changes which were welcomed by the Saudis as consistent with their religious society and traditional views of
women. Families of women who continued to work were stigmatized, implying a state of poverty for the women, and a failure of the men to provide for their families. Although a declining prosperity has forced Saudis to reconsider some of these assumptions, they still persist among the less educated.

The majority (80 %) of women in this college sample agree that both men and women should work. Nevertheless, a small percentage (17 %) still believe that only men should work. More interestingly, 39 % of the women thought that men alone should carry the financial responsibilities of the household. So while these women are supportive of women who want to work, they still retain the traditional view that men should support the family. The reliability of the items on this scale was moderate (.53).

The fifth variable is 'Rumor.' If female employment is perceived as a source of vicious gossip, it could affect the attitude of the Saudi people towards women who work. The sensitivity encompassing female honor and the ensuing protective behavior have generated a conservative consensus against any actions taken by women. So women are under severe societal pressures to reject jobs that are in any way deleterious to their honor. Modern jobs
have not necessarily adhered to these conservative standards. Subsequently, Saudi women reject these jobs by not applying for them, and more foreigners are then brought in to fill them. This attitude might partially explain the low participation in jobs open to women in the health area (see Table 10).

Responses to items measuring this variable (rumor) reflect that 89% of the women in this sample do not view female employment as harmful to a women’s honor. However, 49% also believe that women should avoid any job, regardless of its credibility, if it presents any possibility of bringing dishonor to them or to their families. This finding may indicate that while these women find female employment generally acceptable, they are not prepared to take any risks by accepting jobs that could provoke controversial views. Lastly, the reliability of items measuring this variable was moderate (.50).

The sixth variable is ‘Family Restrictions,’ which explores women’s perceptions of familial influence on female participation in the labor force. This variable differs from the previous variables. While the previous ones measure women’s attitudes toward internal factors, this variable measures their attitudes of an external
factor. The importance of this factor arises from the inability of Saudi women to pursue most outside activities without the approval of the male guardian of the family. This constraint subjects women to the

Table 10

The Growth of the Number of Graduates from Health Educational Centers and Nursing Schools for the Period 1974-1984.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974/75</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/80</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/81</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/82</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/83</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/84</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Civil Service in number 1975-1984. Note -- These numbers include both Saudi and non-Saudi women.
domination of male perceptions as to which actions are and are not appropriate for women. Thus if the male guardian were to view female employment negatively, he could restrain the women in his family from working outside of the home.

The sensitivity of women's issues in the Gulf has led to a systematic avoidance of setting clear policies of most women's issues, leaving it to norms and traditions to set the guideline for appropriate women's roles. However, some of the unproductive norms and traditions have produced negative perceptions of female employment, thus, they have encouraged uncalled for restrictions on women's choices. The matter becomes more problematic when one recognizes the difficulties in altering those perceptions. Since norms and traditions are the products of cultural and religious values interwoven together, it is difficult to oppose an unproductive cultural more without appearing to challenge Islamic laws. This confusion has discouraged both men and women interested in altering the situation from doing so. Consequently, Saudi women are not only subjected to the imposition of family restrictions, but have to be extremely careful when confronting the norms that provoke those restrictions.
Responses in this study clearly indicate that family restrictions are perceived to adversely affect the number of Saudi women in the labor force. Three scales were used to measure this variable, and all of them indicated similar results. In the first scale, in which women were asked to list major reasons for low Saudi women's employment, 'Family Restrictions' was listed as a primary reason (see Table 9). Moreover, they identified husbands as a major obstacle to female employment. These findings are interesting because 87% of the women in this sample are currently single, which raises the possibility that these women may perceive the need to choose between marriage and employment. The other scale measuring 'Family Restrictions' revealed that 82% as opposed to 2% agree that family restrictions present a major obstacle to female employment.

In the third scale measuring this variable, 73% of the women in this sample see family restrictions as a major obstacle to female employment. Thirty-five percent specified the male guardian as the main obstacle, and 73% attributed this restriction to misperceptions of female employment. Thus, it is clear from this data that families are perceived to be rigidly opposed to female
employment. Yet these findings also indicate that this opposition should not be overlooked by working women. Actually, 95 % of the women in this sample insisted on the necessity of obtaining family approval before pursuing any job. Lastly, the reliability of the items in this scale was high (.66).

The last variable, 'job opportunities' is also an external variable, and it measures women's perceptions of the adequacy of jobs open to women in Saudi Arabia. Since the discovery of oil in the Kingdom, traditional jobs for women have been slowly disappearing while new job opportunities are few in number and are limited to very specific groups of women. For instance, while there are jobs for women with post-secondary higher education in fields such as the humanities; jobs for women with a high school education or with no education are almost nonexistent. These conditions deny the country the benefits from a wealth of human potential and resource.

The long-term ramifications of this economic imbalance have not been fully realized because of high standards of living most of the country enjoys. Recent changes in the economy, however, have generated some modifications in employment opportunities for women. Although some of the changes are encouraging, they amount
to only a band-aid approach to the problem of incorporating women into the hierarchy of the country. The solutions they offer are short-term and superficial. Fundamental changes incorporating more profound, long-term goals are urgently needed.

Responses to two scales measuring the variable 'job opportunities' reveal that women do perceive a definite lack of job opportunities for themselves in the Kingdom. In the first scale, in which the reliability was moderate (.55), 64% of the women in the sample expressed uncertainty about the possibility of finding a job when one is sought.* Furthermore, 66% of them expressed the perceived need for a degree in higher education in order to secure those jobs that are available, and 51% do not expect to find a job in their desired occupation. These findings do reflect some dissatisfaction with job opportunities currently available to women.

The second scale measuring this variable provided similar results. In this scale, women were asked to rate in order of importance a list of reason for declining female participation in the labor force. Eighty-two

---

*Two response categories (not confident and not sure) of the items measuring the 'Job Opportunities' variable were classed together because when translated they conveyed the same meaning.
percent blamed development plans and policies for failing to provide enough jobs, while 70% held the private sectors responsible for failing to do so. In summary, women in this sample do perceive a shortage of job opportunities for women in the labor force.

After discussing Saudi women’s attitudes toward the independent variables, correlations among those variables are examined. Table 11 and 12 illustrate correlations among all variables, and among independent variables and demographics. Welch and Comer (1983) explain that a concern should arise when correlations among the independent variables exceed 0.7. Even though this study aims at pinpointing specific variables that are closely related to one concept, thus accepting some moderate correlations among the independent variables, correlation results are not alarming.

The next step is to assess the relative impact of the independent variables on the dependent variable. The independent variables are: Veiling, Mixing, Family Responsibilities, Imitation, Rumor, Job Availability, and Family Restrictions (see Table 13 for descriptive statistics). The dependent variable is Saudi women’s
Table 11

Pearson Correlation Coefficients for all Variables and Demographics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father's Education</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Education</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Employment Status</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Employment Status</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: Veil = Veiling; Mix = Mixing; F. R. = Family Responsibilities; Imit. = Imitation; Jobs = Job Opportunities; Rest. = Family Restrictions.
Table 12

Pearson Correlation Coefficient for All Variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>QO</th>
<th>Veil</th>
<th>Mix</th>
<th>F. R.</th>
<th>Imit</th>
<th>Rumor</th>
<th>Jobs</th>
<th>Rest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QO</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veil</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. R.</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imit.</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumor</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest.</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: Veil = Veiling; Mix = Mixing; F. R. = Family Responsibilities; Imit. = Imitation; Jobs = Job Opportunities; Rest. = Family Restrictions.
Table 13

Mean, and Standard Deviation, for All Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veiling</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixing</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Responsibilities</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imitation</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumor</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Opportunities</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Restrictions</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

motivation to seek employment. Distribution of responses to the dependent variable are as follows: 37% of the women surveyed want to work for sure; 26% want to work; and 26% will probably work. Thus, a total of 89% of the studied sample expressed a desire to seek employment.

Regression analysis is used to measure the aggregate effect of all independent variables on the dependent variable. The studied variables are measured by ordinal data. Even though interval data is ideal for multiple
regression, ordinal data has been an acceptable practice in behavioral research (Welch and Comer, 1983).

The interpretation of the regression analysis has to be done carefully, remembering that the main interest here is correlation indications rather than causal relations. Results of the multiple regression analysis are illustrated in Table 14. One can see that the independent variables have explained a significant amount of the variations \( (R^2 = .12) \) on the dependent variable. Moreover, the standardized regression coefficients (beta weights) have specified that the Imitation variable is the best predictor of the dependent variable, followed by Job Availability and Rumors. Mixing, Veiling, Family Responsibility and Family Restrictions are not significant predictors of the dependent variable. Two major points should be made of the regression analysis results. First, the amount of explained variance is expected to be low due to the numerous possible factors affecting Saudi women participation in the Labor force. Second, the independent variables that explained a significant amount of the variation within the dependent variable might be considered less reliable in predicting women's motivation to seek employment.
Table 14

Regression Statistics for Motivation to Work on All Variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables and Order of Entry</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>Standardized Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veiling</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixing</td>
<td>-1.60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Responsibilities</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imitation</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumor</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Opportunities</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Restrictions</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ R^2 = .1182 \]

Lastly, controlling for the demographic variables in the Regression model was not applied. Hence, it was doubtful that any meaningful conclusions can be reached through its application. Now, after discussing the
Regression model, the next step is to relate the obtained findings to the proposed hypothesis in this study. However, before doing that, a brief description of the sample characteristics will give a better background for understanding the obtained results.

**Sample Characteristics**

This sample is made up of 351 female college students drawn from King Saud University in the country of Saudi Arabia. The age of those students ranges from 17 to 28 years old, the mode being 19 years old. Their marital status was reported as follows: 300 single, 41 married, and 3 divorced. In regard to nationality, 51 were non-Saudi and 299 were Saudi. The last four items in demographics were aimed at obtaining data about the parents' education and their employment status. Results show that 31% of the fathers have an education of 6 years or less, and 34% have an education of 12 years or less (see Table 12). In comparison, 57% of the mothers have 6 years or less of education and 33% have 12 years or less of education (see Table 16). With regard to employment, the percentage of employed fathers was 92%,
Table 15

**Distribution of Father’s Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No education</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Elementary or less</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. High school or less</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. College</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Higher education</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16

**Distribution of Mother’s Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No education</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Elementary or less</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. High school or less</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. College</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
whereas the percentage of employed mothers was 3 %*. This low percentage of employed mothers reflects Saudi women's low participation in the labor market.

*This percentage includes non-Saudi.
Hypotheses Testing

Four hypotheses have been proposed in this study. They are:

1. The more conservative the attitude towards some attributes of female employment, the lower the motivation to seek work.

2. The more conservative the attitude towards seclusion, the lower the motivation to seek non-segregated jobs.

3. Perceptions of family constraints correlates positively with low female participation.

4. Negative perceptions of job opportunities correlates negatively with female participation.

These hypotheses are aimed at exploring some of the reasons behind the current low employment among Saudi women.
Information about young Saudi women's attitudes toward some personal values that relate to work was collected. Then, the collected data were analyzed in an exploratory and descriptive fashion. Correlations between women's expressed attitudes toward the studied variables (which are assumed to be provoked by their values) and their motivation to seek employment, were examined. It is proposed that any conflict between personal values and work might serve as a demotivator to Saudi women's participation in the labor force. Based upon the expectancy-value theory, the high valences for personal values will directly affect Saudi women's motivation to work. Thus, for example, if Saudi women express strong attitudes toward seclusion, which indicates high valence for this variable, they are expected to be reluctant to seek employment in non-segregated settings. The obtained information will help development planners to be more effective in both maximizing the employment of college graduates, and in planning future job opportunities for women.

First, Saudi women's attitudes toward some traditional variables (Family responsibilities, Imitation, Rumors) were examined. Conservative attitudes toward these variables are assumed to be consequences of
the perceived traditional role of women in the society. That role implies that a woman's responsibilities are inside her house, whereas men's responsibilities are outside the house. The 'Family Responsibility' variable is a direct product of such views. This study proposes that if women believe that they cannot combine work and family, or they should not combine them, then their motivation towards employment is highly doubtful. The other variables, 'Imitation' and 'Rumors', are also products of such traditional views. If women's roles are conceived to be at home only, then the choice of seeking employment is considered improper and unacceptable. Thus, the unacceptance of female employment is presumed to provoke unproductive rumors affecting a woman's image. The proper protective reaction expected of women is a total avoidance of employment.

In sum, it is proposed that the previous variables are expected to be viewed conservatively by women who are not motivated to work, and more liberally by those who are motivated to work. Thus, discrepancies in the correlation between women's motivation and their expressed attitudes toward any of these variables is taken as an indication of being a possible determinant of the current low female participation in the labor market.
Hence, the majority of women in this sample expressed a desire to seek employment. They are then expected, according to the first hypothesis, to express positive attitudes toward those traditional variables. Data measuring the 'Rumor' variable reflects that these women do express positive attitudes, and do not believe that female employment can negatively affect their image. Similarly, women in this sample express a disbelief that work should be preserved for men only. Thus, this educated sample of women show both a desire for employment and a liberal view of the economical role of women.

In regard to the 'Family Responsibility' variable, women expressed divided views toward it. Some thought that a woman could combine work and family; others did not. However, the majority agree that family responsibilities should always come first. The optimistic views of the ability to combine work and family could partially be exaggerated due to the fact that the majority of the women in this sample are single, thus judging from an observer's point of view. However, generally women in this sample express both a desire for employment and a reasonably liberal attitude towards the proposed traditional variables, thus supporting the first
hypothesis. This information indicates that no change needs to be introduced to change women's attitudes towards these values. Finally, an area for future research is to investigate whether or not similar attitudes are held by women with lower education.

The second hypothesis proposed to deal with the seclusion variables. An examination of these variables (veiling and mixing) revealed some encouraging findings. These two variables which were initiated by religion and reinforced by society, are usually blamed for the low economic role played by Moslem women. At the beginning of Islam, women were encouraged to dress with modesty. However, a gradual change in prescribed modesty codes led to the current total seclusion of women. Such practices limited women's opportunities in the job market. In Saudi Arabia, the seclusion of women has been tolerated so far, due to the healthy economy. However, recent changes in the economy have already encouraged a more active economic role for women. Such an active role is only possible when a separation between veiling and seclusion is recognized and accepted by the whole society.

Findings in this study reflect that these college women are differentiating between veiling and seclusion,
insisting on preserving the former, but marginal toward the latter. Women in this sample expressed a high positive valence for veiling. Actually, the majority insist on face coverage when interacting with men. But, surprisingly, these women see no contradiction of these conservative views of veiling and female employment. A possible explanation is that the majority of current jobs are performed in completely segregated settings.

With regard to the 'mixing' variable, divided views were reflected. Some of the women thought that working with men could not be accepted; others thought it could be tolerated. However, the majority preferred working in segregated settings. Generally, results of the seclusion variables indicated reasonably conservative views, and a preference for employment in segregated settings, thus supporting the second hypotheses. This obtained information may partially explain the low participation of Saudi women in new jobs opened in the health arena. A last comment about the seclusion variables is that the divided attitudes toward 'mixing' can be viewed as an indication of marginality in views. Thus, it may be a proper area for introducing some changes.

After examining the previous variables, a different set of variables were reviewed to test the last two
hypotheses. They are different, hence, women have less ability in manipulating them. These variables are referred to as external variables and include 'Family Restrictions' and 'Job Availability'. The argument is that if Saudi women are motivated to work but have these external variables working against them, then that might explain their low participation in the labor market. First, since Saudi women's activities are monitored and restricted by her male guardian, the 'Family Restrictions' variable was chosen to be investigated. Surely, women in this sample expressed high negative perceptions of Family Restrictions on women, suggesting that family constraints are a major reason affecting female employment. Specification of the husband, and not the father, could be attributed to the fact that working women are at the age in which they are already married. These findings have given support to the third hypothesis. Also, these findings may suggest that a possible way of increasing female employment is through dealing with the male segment of the society. This suggests that changes in men's attitudes may result in dramatic changes in women's participation in the labor market.
In regard to job opportunities in the kingdom, the situation is not encouraging. The female job market in the public sector is extremely limited. The situation in the private sector is even worse. Changes are doubtful without serious changes in both the country’s employment practices and people’s attitudes toward female employment. This shortage is worse in some areas more than others. Women with higher education usually have better chances of locating jobs. In contrast, the chances of employment for women with low or no education are almost totally absent. Findings in this study reflect a recognition of this shortage. These data give support to the last hypothesis. In sum, the studied sample of women saw no problem with the traditional variables, expressed a preference for seclusion, and had strong negative perceptions of external factors. A discussion of the implications of these findings is the topic of the next chapter.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to identify some determinants of the low participation among young Saudi women in the labor force. In this sample, Saudi women reported that while 92% of their fathers are employed, only 1.5% of their mothers work. This low level of employment is alarming because Saudi Arabia is developing rapidly, and desperately needs the participation of all of its citizens. While reasons for the low female employment may vary, it is usually attributed to a combination of religious, political, social, economic and education factors. These factors have affected women's participation in the work force in two ways: either by demotivating women from applying for work, or simply prohibiting them from performing it.

The first set of factors studied appears to serve as demotivators. Women's attitudes toward those factors are presumedly provoked by their own value systems. My assumption, arguing from within the context of the
expectancy-value models, is that if a Saudi woman expresses a positive attitude towards any of the studied factors, and that factor is expected to be violated in a work setting, it will act as a demotivator to her participation in the labor force. For instance, if Saudi women express a high value for seclusion, they are expected to refrain from seeking jobs in non-segregated settings. In this study, it is argued that if one could pinpoint some of those factors, an expansion of female employment could be more effectively planned and implemented.

The second category examined consists of factors that inhibit women from seeking employment. The job market for Saudi women in the Kingdom is extremely limited, and women are restricted to a few fields considered to be extensions of their traditional female roles, such as teachers and doctors. Moreover, in order for women to apply for a job, they must have the official approval of a male guardian such as a father or a husband. These constraints place a woman at the mercy of the society that deems which jobs are appropriate for her, and of the male guardian whose permission she must have in order to work.
Findings for the demotivators reveal that Saudi women see no problem with employment itself. These results support Alyamani's (1985) proposition that Saudi Arabians are not against female employment. However, Saudi women did anticipate potential problems for women working in non-segregated settings. Saudi women in this sample expressed high positive valence for veiling, a strong desire to preserve it, and an unqualified preference for working in segregated settings. These results partially explain why Saudi women do not pursue available jobs in the health professions, such as nursing.

Furthermore, young Saudi women in this sample express an extremely conservative view towards seclusion. The majority prefer covering the face completely when in the presence of men. These attitudes could have originated from misinterpretations of Islamic teachings. The Islamic religion encourages modesty and requires veiling when interacting with men. However, nowhere does it specify the exact extent of the veil (Almana, 1981). It has therefore been left to the interpreters to clarify these specifics.

Today, there is an urgent need to re-evaluate veiling in the context of contemporary societal needs and
interpretations. A more logical and accurate interpretation is needed. The Islamic religion originally recommended veiling to ensure that a certain morality would govern interactions between men and women. It was not introduced to eliminate these interactions. Moslems should look to the prophet's teachings and actions and learn from them. Women who lived at the time of the prophet traded in the market, fought in wars, worked as nurses, acted as religious leaders, riding camels as their means of transportation. They were an active and vibrant part of society. Questions arise as to the abilities of these women to accomplish such tasks with their faces completely covered. And at prayer time where women and men were present, women uncovered their faces and hands.

Such practices in the prophet's time indicate that veiling served a spiritual purpose, unlike the superficial one it serves today. The contemporary misuse of the veiling custom produces so much mystery about women it encourages immoral behavior, thus defeating its original purpose.

Veiling should therefore be utilized to serve its original spiritual meaning. A re-evaluation and re-education of the purpose of the veil will preserve the
veiling custom, and improve the current status of women. Such modest interpretations will enable Saudi women to prove that a combination of traditional values and modernization is not only possible but more productive.

Family responsibilities are also a possible demotivator to female employment. Even though the majority of this sample believed in their ability to combine work and a family, they still viewed family responsibilities as their primary role. The choice between family responsibilities and work is expected to be affected both by their perceptions of their traditional role, and the social prestige gained from such a role. Hence, there are several advantages that relieve some of the effort and the burden of carrying out familial obligations. The persistent preference women expressed to remain housewives implies other potential reasons. Saudi women enjoy the benefits of extended family ties, short work days, housekeeping services at reasonable rates, and good work benefits (e.g. paid maternity leave, paid sick child leave). They are also privileged to live in a society that can economically provide support services in work settings, such as child care centers.
However, such generous benefits have not increased female participation in the labor force. A possible explanation is that while the societal support is high for marriage and family, it is low for women's employment. Another possible explanation is the general perception women hold — that men effectively convey — of the expected appropriate role as a wife, encourages them to choose to stay at home. However, both men and women should remember that children are the future, and to raise them to be productive citizens requires unique abilities and experiences of both parents. Also, women should not perceive work and home as conflicting roles. A healthier perception is the ability to perform the appropriate role at the appropriate time.

Furthermore, the women in this sample collectively agreed that husbands are likely to be obstacles to female employment. Even though this study requested women to respond to family constraints in general, the husband was specifically and consistently identified. This finding is interesting, and may indicate a cognitive choice between marriage and work in the minds of these women (300 women in this sample are single), unconsciously impelling them to sacrifice one role for the other. These mental attitudes are reinforced by the existing
power that the husband wields as the male guardian of his wife.

The power of the male guardian did originate in the Islamic religion. However, present interpretations and applications of this power have been misused. Male guardianship was originally intended to be a leadership role with specific responsibilities, limitations, and expectations. It was never intended to promote 'male superiority' or any 'absolute authority' over women (Alymaani, 1985). Yet, today, women are crippled by unproductive values held not by them, but by their male guardians.

In addition, current misperceptions of this role also place severe pressures on the male segment itself. Today, Saudi men are overburdened by the high expectations of their social roles. For instance, responsibility for protecting the honor of the women in his family places so much pressure on him cognitively, that it forces him to behave constantly as a 'watchman' rather than as a member of a family. Thus, it deprives him of enjoying his life and puts him under constant mental stress. The high expectations for men are numerous, but the point here is that an accurate
depiction of this role, offers relief and benefits to both men and women.

A different problem confronting women in the Kingdom is the shortage of job opportunities. Women's views of the discriminatory job market are reflected in the findings of this study. These results are consistent with those of Almana (1981). This pessimistic view of the job market is now expressed by students who are judging from the perspective of an observer and who are expected to have more optimistic views (Feather, 1982). This could be attributed to the obvious extreme limitations of women's choices in the market.

The job market has been immune to the recent alterations in women's education and training. However, one of the major factors contributing to the shortage of female job opportunities is the lack of preference for women's public visibility, which is an outgrowth of the seclusion factor. Whereas jobs available to women in the public sector are performed in completely segregated settings, the private sector has responded to the problem by providing no jobs for women at all. The public approval of these limitations stems from the valence of seclusion and the acceptance of the difficulties these
restrictions present to incorporating women in the modern job market.

A more creative way of thinking is needed to overcome the problem of job opportunities for women. One suggestion derives from the Prophet Mohammad’s (peace be upon him) teachings. He allowed both men and women to pray together inside one mosque. He did not designate some mosques for men and others for women. Yet, even though he allowed both sexes to pray in one building, he minimized their interaction by grouping each sex together in one part of the building. In this setting, questions and comments were exchanged between the two sexes in a very moral way. If such ideas were incorporated into work settings, women could retain their veil while utilizing their abilities more efficiently than when they work under totally secluded conditions.

In other words, jobs in the public sector can accommodate the religious values of women, while enabling them to utilize their abilities to develop and strengthen themselves and their country. However, since employment shortcomings for women originated in early employment practices, the growth of new job opportunities in Saudi Arabia has to be carefully monitored. Currently, working Saudi women enjoy an excellent support system, and
efforts should be extended to preserve this system in future jobs, encouraging a positive view of these benefits that are offered to women. These benefits should not be viewed as a weakness of women employees, but as an investment that benefit the whole society. Thus, if women take a maternity leave, it should be viewed positively by both the employer and the employees. Hence, women are not using such benefits to serve a selfish goal, but to provide for a family, which is the basic building block for any productive society.

Also, the government of Saudi Arabia has to pressure the private sector to play a more constructive role in the society. For instance, the private sector has to develop a more active social agenda by offering education and training opportunities to Saudis to help build a skilled labor force for the country, and to accept Saudis into its organizations. Currently, the private sector relies on cheap services provided by foreigners, which has minimized its utilization (thus education and training) of Saudi workers. Pressure from the government leaders to nationalize a designated percentage of the private sector will help reduce the Saudi human resources problem. Finally, these jobs have to be distributed
through the agency hierarchy to guarantee a more equal representation of Saudis.

Collectively, the previous results imply that the present job market has to be expanded and diversified. Furthermore, new job opportunities have to carefully accommodate seclusion in order to attract Saudi women. Planners have to either initiate a campaign to gain an accurate understanding of the religious purpose of the veil, thus encouraging more modest practices, or accommodate seclusion on new jobs. Also, the strong negative perceptions of family constraints found throughout this study indicate that an initial strategy for improving women's economic participation is ameliorating the conservative views held and imposed by the male segment of society.

In conclusion, Saudi women's low employment is attributable to several interwoven factors, and requires a multi-faceted approach to resolve it. The following oversimplified and general recommendations are viable suggestions:

-- A comprehensive research team (including women), utilizing the technical skills of scientific inquiry should be formed. This team would collect data on
attitudes of both men and women toward female employment, to be used for long-term strategies and goals instead of short-term solutions and piecemeal rhetoric.

--- Set clear, broad objectives and goals for women's education in the Kingdom.

--- Diversify women's education programs in order to provide more opportunities for women with a variety of talents and interests.

--- Establish independent universities for women, equivalent in quality, prestige and power to those of men.

--- Increase support funds and authority to existing women's organizations in order to encourage a more active role for women in society.

--- Raise the acceptance standards in colleges and universities to divert students to other educational possibilities.
-- Increase technical and vocational training to address the needs and utilize the human potential of school drop-outs. Also, provide training programs for the illiterate and semi-illiterate.

-- A strategy to improve the prestige of vocational and technical school graduates.

-- Plan training programs with organizations in the surrounding environment to maximize their utilization.

-- Develop a periodic evaluation of the progress and achievements of foreigners in the Kingdom as it relates to forecasted objectives.

-- Decentralize authority in women’s education to permit more diversified inputs in employment.

-- Utilize the mass media to provide accurate information of the Islamic position on women’s employment, and to concentrate on promoting a positive image of women in the work force.
Today, Islam has been blamed for many problems confronting Moslem women. A campaign to re-evaluate and re-educate unproductive values that have been inaccurately passed along as religious values would result in a more accurate image of Islam.

Both men and women's religious commitment should be utilized to improve employment opportunities for women.

The mental pressures placed on men that in turn induce very conservative attitudes towards women, have to be alleviated by delineating the limitations of their duties and responsibilities according to the Islamic teachings.

The assumption of having to choose between a family or a career has to be modified. A healthier attitude permits a distinction between the appropriate role at the appropriate time, thus maximizing women's contributions to society.

To establish the social understanding that a favorable attitude towards female employment does not
devalue or reduce the priority of traditional roles of women.

--- To compensate for the shortage of female employment in rural areas, women would be required to spend a minimum of two years working in professions where they are seeking similar jobs in urban areas.

--- More diversified female jobs should be provided at different levels of abilities and interests.

--- Solving the problem of women’s mobility is essential to increasing their employment. Alymanai (1985) provides a sound suggestion for the gradual introduction of women drivers:

Those females of certain age, with certain executive responsibilities, may be granted permission to drive with certain conditions to ensure a safe and respectable beginning (p. 180).

This suggestion will provide both prestige and respect to those who drive, thus encouraging a high social value.
-- Lastly, pressure has to be placed on the private sector to play a more active role.
APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT

(ENGLISH)
QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to collect information about the Saudi women’s role in development. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. It is important that you read each question carefully then mark the answer that describes your own opinion.

-- The goal of this study is scientific research only

-- There is no need to write your name on the questionnaire.
Fellow Students:

To answer the items in this questionnaire, read each statement carefully. Then reply by placing a (✓) mark in the appropriate box which represents your own opinion as illustrated in the following example.

Example

A woman has an important role in developing society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**** Proceed to the next page ****
Will you work after the completion of your education?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I’ll work</th>
<th>I’ll work</th>
<th>I’ll probably work</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>I’ll probably not work</th>
<th>I’ll not work</th>
<th>I’ll not work for sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Muslim woman should cover her face when interacting with men at work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women should avoid working in non-segregated work settings (e.g. hospitals).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regardless of the credibility of the job, a woman should avoid it if it might produce rumors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Home is the natural place for a woman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only men should work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Islamic veil is a requirement when working with men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dealing with men professionally (at work) is unacceptable behavior.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immorality is spread in society as a consequence of female employment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women employment lessens family ties, due to the long hours spent outside the home.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A woman is imitating men if she seeks work outside the house.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Veiling comes in contradiction with female employment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women's direct interaction with men is a necessity in most jobs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Female employment produces uncalled for rumors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women cannot combine work and home responsibilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is only the man's responsibility to provide for the family.

Strongly Agree | Agree | Not Sure | Disagree | Strongly Disagree

It is difficult for women to enter various professions and keep up with the veiling tradition.

Strongly Agree | Agree | Not Sure | Disagree | Strongly Disagree

A woman should always work in a segregated setting, regardless of the type of profession.

Strongly Agree | Agree | Not Sure | Disagree | Strongly Disagree

Women's employment negatively affects a woman's reputation.

Strongly Agree | Agree | Not Sure | Disagree | Strongly Disagree
A woman should avoid any action that might interfere with her family responsibilities.

Society should not allow women to work outside their homes.

Lack of family encouragement is a major factor in lowering female motivation to seek employment.

Family misperceptions of female employment are constraining women from participating in the labor force.
Male guardians are major obstacles to female employment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Family consent is a necessity regardless of the credibility of the job.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**** Proceed to the Next Page ****
Each individual has his/her expectations when seeking employment. Please respond to the following questions.

When you start looking for a job, how confident are you of locating one?

Not Confident Not Confident Not Sure Confident Very Confident

At All

How difficult do you expect it will be for you to find a job after the completion of your education?

Very Difficult Difficult Not Sure Easy Very Easy

What is the probability of accepting a job that does not satisfy your own expectations?

Very Probable Probable Not Sure Not Probable Not Probable At All

What is the probability of your obtaining a job without a degree?

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Probable</td>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>Not Probable</td>
<td>Not Probable At All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**** Proceed to the Next Page ****
There are several factors affecting Saudi women’s low participation in the labor force. In your opinion how important are the following factors?

**Low literacy levels among Saudi women.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Important At All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Failure of schools in providing proper counselling and guidance about female employment.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Important At All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lack of motivation among women to seek employment.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Important At All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Failure of the private sector to provide job opportunities for women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Important At All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Failure of the development plans to create job opportunities for Saudi women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Important At All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reasons relating to family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Important At All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**** Proceed to the next page ****
In this section of the questionnaire, rank the importance of the following values as they apply to you and your own life. The ranking should range from the most important (1) to the least important (18).

--- A comfortable life (a prosperous life)
--- An exciting life (a stimulating, active life)
--- A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)
--- A world at peace (free of war and conflict)
--- A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)
--- Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
--- Family security (taking care of loved ones)
--- Freedom (independence, free choice)
--- Happiness (contentedness)
--- Inner harmony (freedom from inner conflict)
--- Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
--- National security (protection from attack)
--- Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
--- Self-respect (self-esteem)
--- Social recognition (respect, admiration)
--- True friendship (close companionship)
--- Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)
Rank the following values using the same procedures from the previous page.

--- Ambitious (hardworking, aspiring)
--- Broad-minded (open-minded)
--- Capable (competent, effective)
--- Cheerful (lighthearted, joyful)
--- Clean (neat, tidy)
--- Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)
--- Forgiving (willing to pardon others)
--- Helpful (working for the welfare of others)
--- Honest (sincere, truthful)
--- Imaginative (daring, creative)
--- Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
--- Intellectual (intelligent, reflective)
--- Logical (consistent, rational)
--- Loving (affectionate, tender)
--- Obedient (dutiful, respectful)
--- Polite (courteous, well-mannered)
--- Responsible (dependable, reliable)
--- Self-controlled (restrained, self-disciplined)
Now rank the importance of the following list of values as you perceive a working woman would rank them.

--- A comfortable life (a prosperous life)
--- An exciting life (a stimulating, active life)
--- A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)
--- A world at peace (free of war and conflict)
--- A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)
--- Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
--- Family security (taking care of loved ones)
--- Freedom (independence, free choice)
--- Happiness (contentedness)
--- Inner harmony (freedom from inner conflict)
--- Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
--- National security (protection from attack)
--- Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
--- Self-respect (self-esteem)
--- Social recognition (respect, admiration)
--- True friendship (close companionship)
--- Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)
Rank the following values as you perceive a working woman would rank them.

--- Ambitious (hardworking, aspiring)
--- Broad-minded (open-minded)
--- Capable (competent, effective)
--- Cheerful (lighthearted, joyful)
--- Clean (neat, tidy)
--- Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)
--- Forgiving (willing to pardon others)
--- Helpful (working for the welfare of others)
--- Honest (sincere, truthful)
--- Imaginative (daring, creative)
--- Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
--- Intellectual (intelligent, reflective)
--- Logical (consistent, rational)
--- Loving (affectionate, tender)
--- Obedient (dutiful, respectful)
--- Polite (courteous, well-mannered)
--- Responsible (dependable, reliable)
--- Self-controlled (restrained, self-disciplined)
Finally, please answer the following questions.

How many years of schooling has your father completed?

____________________________________________________________________

How many years of schooling has your mother completed?

____________________________________________________________________

What is the monthly income of your family?

____________________________________________________________________

How old are you?

____________________________________________________________________

Does your mother work?

____________________________________________________________________

Does your father work?

____________________________________________________________________

What is your marital status (married, single, etc).

____________________________________________________________________
Are you a

_____ Saudi

_____ Non-Saudi

What are your future plans?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

There are various reasons for Saudi women’s low employment. In your opinion, what are the most significant ones?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

Thank you for your cooperation.
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT

(Arabic)
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(استبيحان)

هذه الاستمارة مصممة لجمع بعض المعلومات عن دور المرأة السعودية في التنمية الوطنية. ليس هناك إجابة صحيحة أو خاطئة على أي من هذه الأسئلة، المهم هو تراغة السؤال بتفهم واطلاع الإجابة المعبرة عن رأيك الشخص في المكان المناسب.

الهدف من تجميع هذه المعلومات هو البحث العلمي فقط.

ليس هناك داعٍ لكتابة أسئلة أخرى على الاستمارة.

يتكون هذا الاستبيان من خمسة أقسام رئيسية.

الباحثة
الهام منصور الدخيل

أختي الطالبة:

بعد قراءة السؤال التالي ضع علامة (✓) أمام الإجابة المناسبة.

هل ستمطر بعد أن درست؟

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم

لا أعلم  لا أعلم
أختي الطالبة، للإجابة على سلسلة هذا الاستبيان اختر الفقرة
قراءة جيدة وبعد ذلك وضحي رأيك الشخصي بالنسبة للفقرة وذلك بوضع
علامة (✓) في المكان المناسب كما هو موضح في المثال التالي:

مثال:

المرأة عامل مهم في المجتمع الناصي.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكدة لا أوافق بشدة

لا يوجد إجابة صحيحة أو خاطئة لهذه الفقرة أولئك،
وانما هي سؤال اعطاء رأيك الشخصي فقط.

فضلًا اقلي الصفحة وأبدئي في الإجابة
1- المرأة المسلمة يجب أن تغطي وجهها في حالة تعلقها مع غير ممارسهماء أثناء العمل.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكدة لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

2- يجب على المرأة تجنب العمل في البيئة المختلطة كالسياجات مثل 

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكدة لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

3- مما كان العمل غيراً يجب أن تتجنبه المرأة إذا كان يجلب الأذى.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكدة لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

4- مكان المرأة الطبيعي هو المنزل.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكدة لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

5- الرجل فقط يجب أن يعمل.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكدة لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>الحجاب يعتبر مطلباً أساساً في حالة العمل مع الرجال.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أوافق بشدة</td>
<td>أوافق غير متأكد</td>
<td>لا أوافق</td>
<td>لا أوافق بشدة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>تتعامل المرأة مع غير محارسها أثناء العمل يعتبر أمراً غير مقبول.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أوافق بشدة</td>
<td>أوافق غير متأكد</td>
<td>لا أوافق</td>
<td>لا أوافق بشدة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>الانحرافات الخلقية تشيع في المجتمع نتيجة عمل المرأة.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أوافق بشدة</td>
<td>أوافق غير متأكد</td>
<td>لا أوافق</td>
<td>لا أوافق بشدة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>عمل المرأة يقلل من ارتباطها بالعائلة نتيجة لقضاء وقت كبير خارج المنزل.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أوافق بشدة</td>
<td>أوافق غير متأكد</td>
<td>لا أوافق</td>
<td>لا أوافق بشدة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>المرأة التي تبحث عن عمل خارج منزلها تعتبر متشابهة بالرجال.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أوافق بشدة</td>
<td>أوافق غير متأكد</td>
<td>لا أوافق</td>
<td>لا أوقع بشدة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
الحجاب يتعارض مع فكرة عمل المرأة.

أوافق بشدة  أوافق  غير متأكد  لا أوافق

تعامل المرأة المتشرع مع الجنس الآخر يعتبر أمرًا ضروريًا لإنجاز الكثير من الأعمال.

أوافق بشدة  أوافق  غير متأكد  لا أوافق

عمل المرأة بجلب إشاعات لا مبرر لها.

أوافق بشدة  أوافق  غير متأكد  لا أوافق

لا تستطيع المرأة التوفيق بين عملها وسُلاليتها المنزلية.

أوافق بشدة  أوافق  غير متأكد  لا أوافق

الصرف على العائلة يعتبر ص壁垒ية الرجل فقط.

أوافق بشدة  أوافق  غير متأكد  لا أوافق
16 - يصعب دخول المرأة مجالات العمل المختلفة والمحافظة على الحجاب في نفس الوقت.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق

لا يوجد

17 - يجب أن تتمتع المرأة في بيئة منفصلة عن الرجل بما كانت نوعية العمل.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق

لا يوجد

18 - سمعة المرأة تتأثر بخروجها للعمل.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق

لا يوجد

19 - يجب أن تتفادى المرأة أي شيء يعارض مع مكوناتها العائلية.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق

لا يوجد

20 - يجب على المجتمع ألا يسمح للمرأة بالعمل خارج منزلها.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق

لا يوجد
21 - عدم تشجيع الأهل يعتبر عملاً أساسياً في قلة طبيعة المرأة للعمل.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة

22 - نظرة الأهل الخاطئة تجاه عمل المرأة يقلل من توجه المرأة للعمل.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة

23 - ولي الأمر يقف حاجزاً أمام عمل المرأة.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة

24 - فيما كان العمل شريفاً مواقفة الأهل تعتبر أمراً ضرورياً.

أوافق بشدة أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق بشدة

25 - يتبع

---
لكل انسان طموحات في الحصول على عمل يتناسب مع رغباته، أجبى على الأسئلة التالية:

السؤال 25 - عندما تبدأين في البحث عن عمل، ما مقدار شكوكك في الحصول عليه؟
- غير واثقة على الأطلاق
- غير واثقة غير متأكدة
- واثقة جدا

السؤال 26 - ما مدى صعوبة حصولك على عمل بعد اكتمال تعليمة؟
- صعب جدا
- صعب
- سهل جدا

السؤال 27 - ما هو احتمال حصولك على عمل لا يتناسب مع رغباتك؟
- محتمل جدا
- محتمل
- غير محتمل

السؤال 28 - ما هو احتمال حصولك على عمل بدون شهادة علمية؟
- محتمل جدا
- محتمل
- غير محتمل

........ بيع
تعددت أسباب عدم تواجد المرأة السعودية في ميدان العمل، من وجهة نظره عددى مدى أهمية الأسباب التالية:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>جملة</th>
<th>غير متأكد</th>
<th>غير مهم</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29- ضعف المستوى التعليمي بين النساء غير عاملات</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29- تقصير المدارس في إعطاء الطالبات التوجه المناسب حول فرص العمل، غير متأكد غير مهم

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>جملة</th>
<th>غير متأكد</th>
<th>غير مهم</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30- عدم حرص المرأة غير عاملة في البحث عن عمل</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31- فشل القطاع الخاص في إتاحة فرص عمل للمرأة

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>جملة</th>
<th>غير متأكد</th>
<th>غير مهم</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32- عدم حرص المرأة غير عاملة في البحث عن عمل</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
33. تقصير خطة التنمية في إيجاد فرص عمل كافية للمرأة السعودية.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>غير مفيد على الإطلاق</th>
<th>مفيد جدا</th>
<th>غير متأكد</th>
<th>غير مفيد</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

34. عوامل متعلقة بالأبسطرة.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>غير مفيد على الإطلاق</th>
<th>مفيد جدا</th>
<th>غير متأكد</th>
<th>غير مفيد</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
في هذا القسم من الاستبيان رتبت القيم التالية على حسب أهميتها بالنسبة لك:

- حياة المريحة (الحياة المزدهرة)
- الحياة الشهيرة (تتسم بالحيوية والنشاط)
- الانجاز (عمل مفيد)
- السلام العالمي (بدون حروب أو صراع)
- عالم الجمال (جمال الطبيعة والفن)
- المساواة (الأخاء، الفارق للجميع)
- اقتراح الأسرة (عائلة أفراد الأسرة)
- الحرية (الاستقلال، الاختيار الحر)
- السعادة (البناء النفسي)
- التوازن الداخلي (التحرر من التلقى والصراع الداخلي)
- الحب الناضج (المودة الحسنة والروحية)
- الأمن القومي (حماية من العدوان)
- الابتعاد (الحياة الخارجة من المشاغل)
- النجاح (حياة أبدية في الآخرة)
- احترام الذات (تقدير واعتبار للنفس)
- التقدير الاجتماعي (الاحترام والاعتراف)
- الصداقة الحقيقية (المشتركة الحقيقة)
- الحكم (الفهم الناضج للحياة)
لا تَنْتَهِي أَيْضًا القائمة التالية بِيَدِ النَّبيّة الْفَرْعَوِيّةِ:

- الصُّدُورُ (العمل الجَمَادِ)
- وَاسِعُ الْأَفْقٍ (مَفْتَحٌ عَقْلِيّةً)
- قَوْمٌ (كَفَّارٌ، مُؤَثِّرٌ)
- مَتْسَواً (ٍفَال مِن الْبَيْوُمَمِ، مَرَّ)
- نُظِّيْفَ (أَنْبَقِ، مَرَّبِّبَ)
- جَيْبٌ (تَدْافِعُ عَن مِبَادِلَةِ)

- مُسَاامُحَ (الاِسْتَعْمَادُ لِلَّتِمَاذِيِّينَ)
- مُسَاامُحَ (تَعْمَلُ عَلَى مَسَاءَةِ الْآخِرِيَّينَ)
- أَمَامِينَ (صَادِقٌ، مَخَلَّصُ)
- وَاسِعُ الْخِيَالِ (مَبْدِعَ)

- أُسْتِقَتِلَ (مَعْتَمِدُ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ، مَكْفِيٌّ ذَاتِيّ)
- مَفْكَرٌ (ذَكَّارٌ، سَأَمَال)
- مَنْطِقُ التَّفَكِّيُّ (ثَابِتُ عَلَى مِيْداً، عَقْلَانٌ)
- مَحَبُّ (حَنْسُون مَرْيَمَ)
- مُطِيّعُ (مَنْبِعُ مِن التَّحْمِيسِ بِالْوَاجِبِ)
- مُطِيّعُ (مَدْبِذٌ، مَمْلَوقٌ)
- مُطِيّعُ (مَدْبِذٌ، مَمْلَوقٌ)
- ضِفْطُ النَّفْسِ (الْانْضِباَثُ الذَّاتِيِّ، خَلَقُ)
ورتب القيم التالية كما لو كنت امرأة عاملة: 

1. أمام الصحة، التي تبينها أكثر أهمية بالنسبة للمرأة العاملة، ورقم (2) أمام الصحة الأقل أهمية.

وهكذا حتى آخر صفحة في القائمة:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>القيمة</th>
<th>رقم</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الحياة البريدة</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الحياة المشحودة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الاستمرار بالحيوية والنشاط</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الاستمرار بالإنجاز</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>السلام العالمي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جمال الطبيعة والفن</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الأغواة، ترضي الجميع</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عائلة أفراد الأسرة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الاستقلال، الاختيار الحضوري</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>البناء النفسية</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>التوازن الداخلي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الحب الفاضح</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الصبر في الحياة الروحية</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الأمن القومي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الحياة الخالية من المخاطر</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حياة أبدية في الآخرة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>احترام الذات</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>التقدير والاعتبار للنفسية</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الاحترام الاجتماعي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الصداقة الحقيقية</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الهيمنة الناضجة للحياة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ورثى القيم التالية كما لو كنت امرأة عاملة، ضمن رقم (1) أمام الصف
التي ترينها أكثرا أهمية بالنسبة للمرأة العاملة، ورقم (2) أمام الصف
الأقل أهمية... وهكذا حتى آخر صف في القائمة:

الطموح (العمل الجاد)
واسع الأنف (منتخب عقليًا)
قادر (كنفوذ مؤثر)
سيمفونية (خال من الهموم، مرح)
نظيفة (أنيق، مرتب)
جهوزية (تداعف عن مبادئك)
متاسيس (الاستعداد للتعامل مع الآخرين)
صاعد (ت создан على ساءة الآخرين)
أمومين (صادق، مخلص)
واسع الخيال (صدع)
استقلال (معتمد على نفسه، مكتف ذاتيا)
فكك (ذكي، متأمل)
منطق التنكير (ثابت على مبدأ، عقلاني)
مهم (حسن، رقي)
مطمع (منبعث منه التحسس بالواجب)
لطين (مبدع، مبدد)
مسؤول (موثق به، معتمد عليه)
ضبط النفس (الانضباط الذاتي، خالٍّ)
أخيراً أجبي على الأسئلة التالية:

1. كم من السنوات الدراسية أنتم؟

2. كم من السنوات الدراسية أنتم ووالدك؟

3. ما هو دخل العائلة الشهري؟

4. ما هو سكنك؟

5. هل يعمل والدك؟

6. هل تعمل والدتك؟

7. الحالة الاجتماعية: ( متزوجة، مزروعة، مطلق، غير معروف)
ما هو أنسب من أسد محنو قلبه من بطلة القهر؟

ما زلت لا أعرف هل هذا ما تفعله. 

ما زلت لا أعرف هل هذا ما تفعله. 

ما زلت لا أعرف هل هذا ما تفعله. 

ما زلت لا أعرف هل هذا ما تفعله. 

ما زلت لا أعرف هل هذا ما تفعله.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


AL-Samman, G. (1977). In E. Fernea and D. Bezirgan (Eds.), *Middle Eastern Muslim women speak* (pp. 391-399). Austin: University of Texas Press.

AL-Sharhawhi, M. _MAR' AD KAMA ARADHA ALLAH_ [God's Intentions for a Woman].


Civil Services in Numbers 1404/05. Department of Statistics. Saudi Arabia.


Female Students Complain about Academic Counseling. (1986, July 20). *Al Riyadh*, p. 11


Dowing, and A. D. 'Heurle (Eds.). Sex role attitudes and cultural change. Holland: Reidl.


Mahfuz, N. (1977). An excerpt from Bayna AL-quasrayn [Between two places]. In E. Fernea and B. Bezigan (Eds.), Middle Eastern Muslim women speak (pp. 95-123), Austin: University of Texas Press.


Oussedik, F. (1981). *The conditions required for women themselves to conduct research on women in the Arab region*. Paris: UNESCO


Schwab, D., Olian, G., Judy, D. & Heneman, H. (1979). Between subjects expectancy theory research: Statistical review of studies predicting effort and


**Targets and achievements in higher education during the Third Development Plan (1980-1985).** Saudi Arabia.


Women's liberation and socialism. (1978). Evolutionary  
Workers League Papers NO. 11. Toronto: Vanguard  
Publications.

Women's work and employment: Struggle for a policy.  
Delhi: Center for Women's Development Studies.

International Labor Organization.

New York: Round Table Press.

system. Delhi: BIMLA.

Youssef, N. (1978). The status and fertility patterns of  
Muslim women. In Beck, L. and Keddie, N. (Eds.),  
Women in the Muslim world. Cambridge: Harvard  
University Press.

Washington, D. C.: International Center for Research  
on Women,

Youssef, N. (1986). Women in the Muslim world. In  
Iglitzin, L. and Russ, R. (Eds.), Women in the  
world: A comparative study (pp. 203-219). Santa  
Barbara: ABC-Clio press.

Zimmerman, J. (1983). The technological women,  
terfacing with tomorrow. New York: Praeger  
Publishers.